XENOPHONTIS

OPERA OMNIA

RECOGNOVIT
BREVIQVE ADNOTATIONE CRITICA INSTRVXIT

E. C. MARCHANT

E COLLEGIO SANCTAE ET INDIVIDVAE TRINITATIS APVD OXONIENSES

TOMVS I
HISTORIA GRAECA

OXONII
E TYPOGRAPHEO CI ARENDONIANO
OXONII

Excudebat Horatius Hart

Typographus academicus
PRAEFATIO

XENOPHONTIS Opera omnia retractanti, quae olim Ludovicus Dindorf multa cum laude recensuit, mihi erat consilium editionis Oxoniensis simul textum propius ad scripturam codicum optimorum reducere, simul apparatus criticum ita purgare et emendare ut cum novis fortasse augerem copiis tum omnia constanter delerem quae aut mendosa aut parvi essent pretii. Permulta igitur quae commemoravit Dindorf eieci; multa e codicibus ab aliis posterius eruta silentio praetermisi. Imprimis autem id mihi agendum arbitratus sum ut quae in libris manuscriptis tradita erant ea, si ullo modo tolerari possent, in textu retinerem potius quam conjecturam acciperem veri quidem simillimam, sed non fatalem, ut ita dicam, et necessariam. Orthographiam tamen contra libros correxī nulla plerumque varietatis mentione facta.

Quod autem ad 'Ελληνικά sive 'Ελληνικὴν ιστορίαν attinet, anno 1890 edidit Otto Keller, qui codices B D M V C F alios tanta cum diligentia partim a se se partim ab aliis collatos adhibuit ut in tanto illo tamque immenso campo nullum iam inexploratum reliquerit angulum. Itaque cum apparatus critici ornandi munus obirem, leve mihi impositum est onus eorum eligendorum quae ad institutum huius editionis quad-
PRAEFATIO


Inter codices melioris quae dicitur familiae quantopere ceteros bonitate antecellat codex B nemo ignorant. Dolendum sane praestantissimum illum codicem in libro septimo miserrime esse truncatum. Sed quae illi desunt, ea in codicibus melioris familiae M D V H Pal.
PRAEFATIO


Pal. = Palatinus 140 bibliothecae Vaticanae, saeculi XIV bombycinus. Nihil praeter Hellenica continet. Huius codicis G. E. Underhill, qui ipse paucis ante annis inspexerat, conferendum curavit librum septimum, et collationem, qua est benevolentia, mecum communi-
PRAEFATIO

cavit. Ut minus saepe quam H a ceteris codicibus discrepat, ita eo fortasse pluris esse videatur quod nunquam fere delirat. Fatendum tamen nullas inde fruges percipi posse quae non in codicibus M D iam antea fuerint reperta. In varietatibus autem memorandis ut aliorum ita Britannici et Palatini brevitatis causa multa consulto praetermissi quae memoratu indigna iudicavi.


Ceterum monendus lector signo [Π] in apparatu nostro significari Π ibi deficere.

E. C. M.

Scribem Londini
mense Ianuario a. m.DCCCC.
XENOPHONTIS OPERA

TOMVS I . . . . . HISTORIA GRAECA
TOMVS II . . . . . COMMENTARII
OECONOMICVS
CONVIVIVM
APOLOGIA SOCRATIS
TOMVS III . . . . . EXPEDITIO CYRI
TOMVS IV . . . . . INSTITVTIO CYRI
TOMVS V . . . . . OPVSCVLA
SIGLA

P = duae laciniae pap. saeculi II (III. i, 3–7)
II = fragmenta papyracea saeculi III (I. ii, 2–I. v, 8)
B = cod. Parisinus 1738
M = cod. Ambrosianus Mediolanensis A 4 inf.
H = cod. Britannicus 5110
Pal = cod. Palatinus 140
D = cod. Parisinus 1642
V = cod. Venetus Marcianus 368
C = cod. Parisinus 2080
F = cod. Perizonianus Lugduno-Batavus 6
F₂ = coniecturae cod. F additae
X = cod. Neapolitanus XXII
vulg. = lectio editorum vetustiorum
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Α

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὑστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἐλλησποντοῦ διαγώνου ἐκ Ρόδου εἰς Ἐλλησπόντον εἰσέπλεξε άρχομένου χειμώνος τέταρτον καὶ δέκα ναυσίν ἀμα ἡμέρα. κατιδών δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλησποντῶν ἄνθρωπον ἠμεροκόπος ἔσημην τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκοσὶ ναυσίν, ἐς δὲ Δωρεῖν φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβιβάζετο τὰς αὐτῶν τριήρεις, ὡς ἤσοιε, περὶ τὸ Ροίτειον. ἐγνὺς δὲ γενομένων τριήρεις τῶν Ἐλλησποντίων ἐμάχησαν ἀπὸ τὸν τεῖχος καὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι οἱ Ἐλλησπόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδους πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην 4 ἐν Ἡλίῳ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἐλλησπόντος ἐβοήθησε ἐπὶ τὴν ὀλοκλατά, καὶ καθελκόσας τὰς ἐαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλευε, διὸς ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἐλλησπόντες ἀνταναγιαγάμενοι ἐναγάμα-5 χείρας περὶ Ἀβυδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔνων, μέχρι δελθης ἐς ἐῳνων. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικομένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ
6 δυνών δεούσας εἶκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελο-
πονησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν "Αββυδον" καὶ ὁ Παρνάβαζος
παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπεισδαίμων τῷ ἱππῳ εἰς τὴν ὥλατταν
μέχρι δυστῶν ἤν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἱππεῦσι
7 καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκκλείετο. συμφράζοντες δὲ τὰς ναύς οἱ 5
Πελοπονησίωι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο.
'Αθηναίοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναύς τῶν πολεμιῶν
λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ὃι αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς
8 Σηστῶν. ἐντεῦθεν πλῆν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλα ἄλλῃ
φόντῳ ἐπὶ ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ 'Ελληστῶν" καὶ ὁ 10
Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὅπ τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς 'Αθήνας ἔπλευσε
9 ταῦτα ἔξαγγελων καὶ στρατιῶν καὶ ναυῆς αἴτήσων. μετὰ δὲ
tαῦτα Τισαφέρης ἤλθεν εἰς 'Ελληστῶν" ἀφικόμενον
dὲ παρ' αὐτῶν μᾶ τρηθεὶς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἑξιόν τε καὶ ὅφρα
ἀγονίη συλλαβῶν ἐήρεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν 15
10 βασιλέα πολεμεὺς 'Αθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ύστε-
ρον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαυτίθεου τοῦ ἀλῶντος
ἐν Καρίᾳ ἱππῶν εὐπορήσοντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζ-
11 μενᾶς· οἱ δ’ ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναίοι, ἀληθομενοὶ Μύδαρον πλείων
ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μέλλοντα ναυσίν ἔξηκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς 20
Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἤκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζ-
μενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεις καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι
αἱ τῶν Πελοπονησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀββυδοῦ ἀνηγμέναι εἰν εἰς
Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεξῇ ἢλθεν εἰς Σηστῶν, τὰς δὲ ναύς
12 περιπλεῦν ἐκείσε ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπει δ’ ἢλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἦδη 25
αὐτῶν μέλλοντος ὁς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης
εἶκοσι ναυσίν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Ὁρασύθουλος
εἶκοσιν ἐτέρας ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἄργυρολογηκότες.
13 Ἀλκιβιαδῆς δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτως διώκεις αὐτὸν ἐξελομένους
tὰ μεγάλα ἱστια αὐτὸς ἐπελεύσεν εἰς Πάριων" ἀδράι δὲ 30
γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἀπασάεν ἐν Παρίῳ ἔξοι καὶ ὄργοκοντα τῆς

1 δεούσαν codd. praeter M 4 αὐτῶν codd. 11 εἰς om. B
15 εήρεν codd. 22 ἐπακτρίδιον B 30 ἀδράει codd. ut ubique
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

11

25

έπονος Πατρίδος, κατά τη διάρκεια της διαστολής

16 άθων του Κοβατού, 30 αντίτι ης Κοππένας

και Πελοποννήσου και Στρατηγικής.

πολέμος ονομαζόταν της Κοππένας.

εκεῖνα, εφώ, Χειρότερα ηλικία, ρούς δε πολεμός διένεργε

πέρα από τον Κύκλο, κατά τη διάρκεια της διαστολής

ανακαινίσεις τον Ηλειοθαλάσσιο και Παρθενών από τον Κύκλο, κατά τη διάρκεια της διαστολής

ονομαζόταν της Κοππένας.

εκεῖνα, εφώ, Χειρότερα ηλικία, ρούς δε πολεμός διένεργε

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III ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ξαντο εἰς τὸ ἀστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο

22 μὲν οὖ, χρήματα δὲ ἐδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν οὔ, ἀφικόμενοι τῆς

Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτέχθησαν αὐτῆς, καὶ δεκαευ-

τήριοι κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν

ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπτόντες ναῦς 5

τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο, Θεραμείνην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τὸν

tε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεούντων πλοίων καὶ εἰ
ti ἄλλο δύναυτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι

23 στρατηγοὶ εἰς τοὺς 'Ελλησποντου φῶςτο. παρὰ δὲ Ἰππο-

κράτους του Μυδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα γράμματα 10

πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς 'Αθήνας λέγοντα τάδε. Ἐρρει τὰ

cάλα. Μύδαρος ἀπέστησα. πεινώντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίσμες

24 τὴν χρή δρῶν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῶν Πελοπονη-

σίων στρατεύματι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων παρακελευσάμενος μὴ

ἀδυμεῖν ἕνεκα ξύλων, ὥς ὅντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείω, 15

ἐως ἐν τὰ σώματα σῶα ἦ, ἵππαι τῷ ἑσκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ

ἐφόδιον δυοῦν μηροῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναῦτας φύλακας

25 κατέστησε τῆς έαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας

τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε

ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις εἰς 'Αυτάνδρφω ὡς ἑκατον ἀπώλεσαν, 20

χρήματα τοῖς δίδοις καὶ ὑλῆν ἐκ τῆς Ἰόδης κομίζεσθαι φράξῳ.

26 ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἀμα τοῖς 'Αυτάνδροις τοῦ

tείχους τοῖς ἐπέτελεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων

μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρα-

κόσιοι εἰς 'Αυτάνδρφω ἐστι. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ὅν ταῦτα 25

dιατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων

στρατηγοῖς οᵘκ θεοῦν ὁτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμον. συγκαλέ-

σαντες οὐν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας 'Ερμοκράτους προηγο-

ροῦντος ἀπωλοφύρουντο την ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὡς ἀδίκως 30

3 Χαλκηδονίας codd.: Καλχηδονίας II B ad i. 3, 2 8 δύναυτο B: ἡδύ-

ναυτο cett. 11 έάλω Cobet 12 κάλα Bergk: καλά codd. Μύδαρος

d' codd.: d' om. Plutarch., Eustath. ἀπέστησα B 17 φύλακας C:

φυλακᾶς cett. 29 προηγοροῦντος V: προηγοροῦντος cett.
φεύγοιεν ἄπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήμεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἔλεσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωσαι οἱ ἦρμηνευον ἄντε ἐκεῖνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοή- 28
5 σαντε ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνηταί. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δὲ τις ἐπικαλούτι τι αὐτοῖς, λόγοι ἔφασαν χρῶνα διδόναι, μεμνημένοι ὁ Οστας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς μενικήκατε καὶ νὰς εἰλήφατε,
10 ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγονατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχουσες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετήν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ δάλασταν ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδεῦδο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἐμει- 29 ναν ἐως ἀφίκωσαν οἱ ἄντε ἐκείνους στρατηγοί, Δῆμαρχός τ'
15 Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριήραρχων ὁμόσαιτε οἱ πλείστοι κατάζεων αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκουσα, ἀπετέμασαν ὅποι ἐβού- λοντο πάντας ἐπαυνώντες· ἵδια δὲ ὁ Ἐρμοκράτης 30 προσομηλούσες μάλιστα ἐπόδησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προδομίαν καὶ κοινότητα. διὸ γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικε- 20 στάτους καὶ τριήραρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸ καὶ πρὸς ἐστέραν συναλίζον πρὸς τὴν σκηνήν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἀνεκοινοῦτο ὁ τι ἐμελλεῖ ἢ λέγεων ἢ πράττευ, κακείως ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγεων τα μὲν ἀπὸ 31 τοῦ παραχημα, ὁ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τούτων Ἐρμο- κράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ηὐδόξει, λέγεων το δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύει τὸ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους

I παρὰ τὸν νόμον secl. Nauck 4 μέχρι codd. ut saepe 7-8 εἰ δὲ 8-13 μεμνήμενοι lacunam statuens 9-13 μεμνήμενοι ... υπάρχουσαν Schneider post ἄντε ἐκεῖνων (4), Dind. post παραγγελλόμενα (3) transposuit 17 ὁ δὴ B 18 τοῦν vel τοπρωτ codd. corr. Wolf 14 τ' Ἐπικύδου Cobet: το πιδίκου συναλίζων Morus: συναλίζων codd. 23 ἀνεξωνοῦτο Suidas 27 sqq. κατηγορήσας ... τριφεῖς del. Brückner
ἐν Λακεδαιμονὶ Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυνόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αὐτῆς χρήματα λαβῶν, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ἐξένουσ τε καὶ τριήμεροι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἢκουν οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον 5 τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Ἡν Θόσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καίρον τούτον στάσισις γενομένης ἐκπίπτονσιν οἱ λακωνισταί καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστὴς Ἐσεόνικος. καταπιεθέντες δὲ ταῦτα πράξα兮 σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν, ὁ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἥθροικε ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησίππιδας, καὶ παρέδαξεν ἐν Χίῳ. περὶ δὲ τούτος τοὺς χρόνους Ὀρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθηναίων ὄντος Ἀγίας ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Ὀρασύλλος δὲ ἔξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ 15 πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντᾷ παρέταξεν παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον, ὃς μαχούμενος, ἄν προσώπῳ. Ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἀγίας ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τυχε αὐτῶν ὁλγοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναίοι τῷ Ὀρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἐτί προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἔφι τῇ ἥκε, καὶ ἐφηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τῆς αὐτῶν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἰππεῖς δὲ ἐκατον, τριήμεροι δὲ πεντῆκοντα. Ἀγίας δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοία πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιὰ καταθέντα, ὁδὲν ὀφελος ἐφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν πολλῶν ὑδρίων Ἀθηναίων ἐργεῖν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχῆσιν καὶ ὄθεν ὁ κατὰ οὐλατταν σιτος φοιτᾶ· 25 κράτιστον τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.

36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεῖσῶν νεῶν ἐκ τῆς Μεγάρως καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκάιθεκα στρατηγότεις μάλλων ἡ ταχείων ψχετο. καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπὸλ- 30 λυνται ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν,

αἰ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοία διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι ἐφύγων εἰς τὸ Σηστὸν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἐναυῶδος ἔληγεν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀνυβα φηγομένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σκελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιῶς αἴροντος εὖ τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνιδᾶς Σελευκοῦντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.

Τὸ δὲ ἄλλω ἔτει [ἢ ἤν Ὁλυμπίας τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆ, Π] ἡ προστεθείσα ἐσωρώσ ἑνίκα Ευαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναίοι, ἐπὶ ἐφόρον μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἀρχιστὸν δ’ ἐν Ὄλθνας Ἐυκτήμονος, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θερμικὸν ἔτει κυριακῶν, Ὀράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοία λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίον τῶν ναυτῶν πελατστάς ποιησάμενοι, [ὡς ἁμα καὶ πελατστάς ἐσωρώσουσιν] ἐξέπλευσαν ἀρχιστόν τὸν θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέπλευεν εἰς Πύγελα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἔδωκαν καὶ 15 προσέβαλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοὺς Πυγελεύσις διεσπαρμένους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὄντας τοὺς ψυλόων ἐδώκων. οἱ δὲ πελατστάλ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχου βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψυλόους ἀπέκεταν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσιάς, καὶ τροπαίων ἑστηκαν. τῇ δὲ ύστερα ἐπέλυσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐνεδέθην παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφώνα. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιουσῆς νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ στίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλάς ἐνέτρησαν καὶ χρύματα ἔλαβον 20 καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὃ 5 Πέρσης περὶ ταύτα τὰ χωρία ὡν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἴδιας λείας, βοηθήσαντές τῶν ἵππεων ἑνα μεν ἔως ἔλαβεν, ἐπτα δὲ

6 ἀπέκτευεν. Ὡράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἷς Ὁφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τιςσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τούτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγεν πολλὴν καὶ ἵππεας ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πάσιν
7 εἷς Ὁφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Ὡράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη 5 καὶ δεκάτη ἁμέρα μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἷς Ὁφεσον ἀπέπλευε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἀμα τῇ
8 ἁμέρᾳ προσήγαγο ὁσοῦ στρατόπεδα. οὖ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 10 ἐβοηθήσασ + σφίσιν 1) οἱ τε σύμμαχοι οὓς Τιςσαφερνῆς ἤγαγεν, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οὗ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων έικοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἰ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμενα, νεωτί ἤκουοι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἐπιπνωος καὶ Ὡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀρι-
9 στογεύνους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελυνοῦσιαν ὅων. οὕτωι δὲ πάντες 15 πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοηθήσασ
tούτους δὲ τρεψάμενου καὶ ἀποκείμενοι εἰς αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἐκαθὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδυόμεντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἐφύγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώ-
10 λυσόν αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οὗ δὲ Ὁφεσίου τροπαίων ἐνταῦθα 20 ἔστησαν καὶ ἐτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ. τοὺς δὲ Συρακοσίους καὶ Σελυνοῦσιος κρατήστωσ γενομένως ἀριστεῖ διδακαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοίς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βου-
λομένῳ αὐτῷ: Σελυνοῦσιος δὲ, ἔπει ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ
11 πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οὗ δ' Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους 25 ἀπολαβώντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότουν, κάκει δάφαντες αὐτῶν
12 ἐπλευσαν εὐθὺ Λέσβον καὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. ὅρμοντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμην τῆς Λέσβου εὐθὺ παραπλεύσας ἔξ Ὁφεσίου τὰς Συρακοσίας νὰρτ πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀναχέιντες τέταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν 30

4 συνέλευσεν II 6 α(πεπλευσαν) II : ἔπλευσε(ν) υπερο. II II σφίσιν
'Εφέσοι Sauppe, 'Εφέσοις Kurz: σφίσιν Simon 15 καὶ
Σελυνοῦσια δύο secl. Büchsenschütz 22 ἔδωκαν| ἔδοσαν Cobet
24 ἀπολάλει II C F 26 ἔπλευσαν II 27 εὐθὺ II : εἰπὶ κετ.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ A

I. ii

eis Ἐφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θράσυλλος 13 eis Ἀδηνας ἀπέτευμη πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀδηναίον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὤντα ἀνέψιον καὶ συμφυγόδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐν- τεῦθεν δὲ ἐπέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα. 5 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπασα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χεί- μῶν ἐπῆς, ἐν δὲ οἱ αἰχμαλώτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργαμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίας, διορύχαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς φοίνικος εἰς Δεκέλεαια, οἱ δὲ εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ 15 Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στρατεύμα πάν οἱ 10 πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλουσιν τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς ἅμα τοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἱλπη- μένοι ἡκοίνεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχεῖμαζον ἀπαντεῖς Λαμψάκου τεχνόντες. καὶ ἐστρατεύοντα πρὸς Ἀβινδον Φαρναβαζός 16 δὲ ἐβοήθησεν ἦποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἱλπηθεῖς ἐφυγεν. 15 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδώκειν ἐχῶν τοὺς τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλω- τῶν ἐκκόσι καὶ ἑκάτον, ὃν ἠρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφεῖλετο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται 17 αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον δὲ τίνας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τούς χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον 20 καὶ ἐπόρθουσιν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ 18 Δακεδαίμονι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Ἐλλήστων ἄφ- εστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν καιρῷ καὶ ἐν Ἰρακλεῖα τῇ Τραχυίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιταγμένους πάντων πρὸς Οἰκητέους πολεμίους ὄντας, 25 προέδρουσαν, ὡστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐπικοσμίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος ἁρμοστή Λαβώτη. καὶ ὁ ἐναυτὸς 19 ἐλημυνεν ὦτος, ἐν δὲ καὶ Μήδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεκόρησαν αὐτῷ.

Τοῦ δ’ ἐπισώτερος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς III 30 ἐνεπρήσθη προστήρος ἐμπεσόντως. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ χειμῶν ἔληγε, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύουτος, ἄρχουτος δ’ Ἀντιγένους,

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

έαρος ἀρχομένου, δυνών καὶ ἐκοσυν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρ- 
εληλυθότων, οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν ἐν Προκύννησον παντὶ 
2 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἔκειθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον 
ὁρμήσαντες ἐπιστατοπεδώσαντα πρὸς Καλχηδόνην. οἱ δὲ 
Καλχηδώνιοι προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, τὴν 5 
λείαν ἀπασαν κατέθεντο ἐν τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾶκας, ἀστυ-
3 γείτονας ὅπως. 'Αλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν 
ὅλογος καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, 
ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπήτευσε τὰ τῶν Καλχηδώνων 
χρήματα· εἶ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἐφή αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπ' 10 
4 ἔδοσαν. 'Αλκιβιάδης δ' ἔπει ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν 
τε λείαν ἐχὼν καὶ πίστευς πεποιημένοι, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν 
Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατόπεδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλαταν 
5 καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅσον οἶχον τῇ ἑυλίῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθα 
Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστῆς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 15 
ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς μαχομένους· οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι 
ἀντιπαρετάζαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξωθεν τῶν περιτε-
6 χισμάτων ἐβοήθει στρατιὰ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἰπ-
ποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐράσυλλος ἐμάχοτο ἐκάτερος τοῖς 
ὀπλιταῖς χρονον πολὺν, μέχρι 'Αλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλῖτας 20 
τε τινας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν 25 
ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 
7 ἀμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὕτω ὅνως εὐμείζει πρὸς τὸν 
Ἰπποκράτη διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν 
ἀποτείχισμάτων ἑγώς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον 30 
8 τοῦ τῶν Καλχηδώνων, οὔ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ 
τούτου δὲ 'Αλκιβιάδης μὲν ὄχετο εἰς τὸν 'Ελλήσποντον καὶ 
εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξεων· οἱ δὲ λοιποί στρατηγοὶ 
συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρναβαζοῦ ὑπὲρ Καλχηδώνος ἐίκοσι

1 ἐτῶν II cet., corr. Dind., qui δυνώ ... παρεληλυθότων secl. 
6, 7 βεθυνοὺς, ὀπλείων II 14 οἷον [ΠΙ] B: om. cet. 17 ἐξωθέν II: 
ἐξω cet. 18 εἴθηθε II: προσεβοθεῖ cet. 19 ἔρασυλλος II: 
θράσυλος BMD: θρασύλος CF hic et ubique 20 ὀπλε(τ)αῖς II 
μέχρι II B: μέχρις cet. 23 συμμείζει II: συμμίζει cet. 24 στενο-
πορίαν B: στενοπορίαν II: στενοχώριαν cet.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Α
I. iii

tάλαυτα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὁς βασιλεά πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγείν, καὶ ὁρκοὺς ἔδωσαν καὶ ἐδαβον παρὰ Φαρναβαζόν ὑποτελεῖν τῶν φόρων Καλχη-δονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὁσονπερ εἰσώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὁφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίους, ἐως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοὺς ὁρκοὺς οὐκ ἔτυγχανε παρῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ 10 Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δὲ ἐλῶν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤκειν, ἔχων Χερσονησίας τε πανδημεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἵππεας πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἄξιών 11 δεῖν κάκεων ὁμώνυμα, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδώνι, μέχρι ἔλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεων αὐτῷ ὁμείσται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμοσεν ὃ μὲν 12 ἐν Χρυσόπολει οἶς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ ἤραπε, ὃ δὲ ἐν Καλχηδώνι τοὺς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυ-πτολέμῳ καὶ Διστίῳ τὸν τε κουινὸν ὀρκοὺ καὶ ἰδία ἀλλήλους πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῆλε, 13 καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπάντων ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν 20 Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκόδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτους Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπο- ρεύσατο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἔτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἐρμοκράτης, ἦδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρ- νάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἠγείνοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολύρωκοι περιτείχισαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἀκροβολι- σμοῦς καὶ προσβολῶς ἐποιοῦτο. ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν· 25

Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρμοστής καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοικῶν τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδικώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν "Ελιζὸς Μεγαρέως καὶ Βωιωτῖκος καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἔδωντο διαπράξασθαι κατ’ ἱσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυ-5
ζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἄρμοστῆς οἱμένοις οὐδέν ἢ τοῦτο πούσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἀπαντά ὡς ἐδώντο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἐλιζῷ, διέβη παρὰ τῶν Φαρνάβαζων έλθο τὸ πέραν, μισθῶν τε τοῖς στρατιώταισι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον 10 καὶ ναῖς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἄς Ἀγγανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Ὄρακης, ἐπιβάτῃς ὁμ Μενδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλα εὐπροσβεθεῖσαν, ἄθροι αὐτὲ δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων 15 ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.
18 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδοῦντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων, Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ
19 Ἀνκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος (ὁς ἐπαγόμενος θανάτου ὑστερον ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ἀπολογού-20 μενος ὅτι οὐ προδίδοι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παῖδας ὅρων καὶ γυναικὰς λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὄν καὶ οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὁ γὰρ ἐνώτα σῖτον Κλέαρχον τῶς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδότα: διὰ ταῦτ’ οὖν τός πολεμίως ἐφι εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἄργυριον ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ 25 μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίου") ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶς παρασκευάστω, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Ὄρακιον καλομέναι
21 εἰσῆγαγον τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἔλιζὸς καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδέν τούτων εἴδοτες εἴβοθησαν μετὰ

4 κοιρατάδης II 5 ἡδύναντο Π cet. 11 post ἀλλαί add. ἀλλα
Schafer 12 καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ post ὅπως (14) transposuit Trierer
18 Βυζαντίων πρὸς ἑργον ἔτραποντα· ἦσαν δὲ οἴδε coni. Hartman
19 επαγόμενος Π: ἐπαγόμενος cet. 20 απολλυμένους Π: εἰπάν V:
om. cet. 21 προδοθη Π: προδοθῇ cet. 22 απολλυμένους ΠΒ:
ἀπολλυμένεις cet. 27 καλομένου Dind.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ

Πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἔπει δὲ πάντη οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι πουήσαεν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοῖς. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας 22 ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαίνοντων ἐν Πειραιᾷ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρᾶς καὶ 5 ἀπεσώθη ἐἰς Δεκέλεαν.

Φαρναβάζως δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδείῳ IV οὔτε τὸν χειμώνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἴκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένους αὐτοῖς 2 παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνουτε οἱ τε Λακεδαι-ιο μονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιοι [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἅλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον δι᾽ Ἰακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέονται πάντων πεπραγμένα εἶπ εἰς παρὰ βασιλέας, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξεν 3 πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ βαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἐφερε τοὺς κάτω πάσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα 15 ἔχουσαν, ἐν ἦ ἐνήν καὶ τάδε. Καταπέμπτω Κῦρον κάραν 19 τῶν εἰς Καστωλῶν ἄθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάραν ἐστὶ κύριον. τοῦτο οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἔπειδη 4 Κῦρον ἐδόν, ἐβούλουστο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνα-βήναι, εἰ δὲ μῆ, ὦκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζωφ 5 εἰπεν ἤ παραδόσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐαυτῷ ἢ μῆ ὦκαδε πῶ ἀποτέμψαι, βοῦλομενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις μή εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρναβάζως δὲ τέως μὲν κατείχε τοὺς πρέσβεις 6, φάσκων τοτε μὲν ἀνάξεων αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτε δὲ ὦκαδε ἀποτέμψει, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψησθε· ἔπειδη δὲ 7 ἐνιαυτὸ ἦσαν τρεῖς, ἐδεικὴ τοῦ Κῦρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς, φάσκων ὁμοσκέπαν καὶ ἀπάξεως ἐπὶ βαλάτται, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀρισταρχάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· δὲ ἂν ἠγγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, οθέν πρὸς τὸ ἅλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8 'Αλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν οίκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἰκοσὶν ἐπέλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν
9 κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συν λέξας ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἤκειν εἰς τὴν Σάμου. Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης 5 φχετο, ἐκεὶ δὲ τὰ τὴν ἀλλὰ χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεσθηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσου, ἔχουσαν κακὸς ὑπὸ 10 τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Ὁράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἅλλῃ στρατῇ εἰς 'Αθῆνας κατέπλευσεν. πρὶν δὲ ἤκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι στρατηγοὺς ἔλοντο 'Αλκιβιάδην 10 μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Ὁρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον
11 ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθεν. 'Αλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἰκοσὶν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τρῡμων, ὡς ἐπιυπότευν Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτὸθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, 15 καὶ τῷ οἰκαδε κατάπλου ὁπως ἤ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοι.
12 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρᾳ ἐαυτῷ εὖνον οὕτω καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρμένου καὶ ἱδία μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιὰν ἡμέρα  fetisch ἡ Πλωτήρια ἤγεν ἤ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδως κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς, δ' τῶς οἰωνίζουν 20 ἀνεπιτήδειου εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. 'Αθηναίως γὰρ οὖδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδεὶς σπουδαῖον ἔργον τολμῆσαι
13 ἄν ἄφαιρεν. καταπλέουτος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεώς ὄχλος ἡθοπόθη τρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἱδεῖν βουλόμενοι τοὺς 'Αλκιβιάδην, λέγοιτε 25 [ὥτε] οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἶν τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [ἀπελογῆθη ὡς] οὖ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαπτὸν ἐκείνου δυναμένου μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἱδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου αἰε

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ

τὸ κοινὸν αὐξομένος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ ἐθέλοντος δὲ τὸτε κράνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἀρτί γεγενεῖτε ὡς ἥσσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἵ ἐξήρω τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα 5 αὐτῶν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος: ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἁμηχανίας δουλεύων ἡμαγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύως τοὺς ἐχθρίστους, κυνονεύων αἰὲ παρ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέοντας τοὺς δὲ ὀλκειστάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπαχάν ὀρῶν ἑξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὀφελοῦν φυγῇ ἀπείρ. 10 γόμενοι: οὐκ ἔφαγαν δὲ τῶν οἰωνίπερ αὐτὸς ὁποιῳ εἶναι καὶ τῶν δεῖότατοι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μετατάσσονται: ὑπάρχει χάρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχουσιν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων, μὴ ἐλάπτονται, τοῖς δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐχθροῖς τοιοῦτοι δοκεῖν εἶναι οἰοοπερ πρότερον, ὑστερον δὲ δυναμεὶς ἀπολλύων τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λει- φόντας δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο ἀγαπάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν δι’ ἐπέρως δεῖ δεῖ τῶν ἐκτετάρτων οὐκ εἶχον χρήσθαι: οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τῶν παρο- χομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αὐτοῖς εἶχα, τῶν τε ροβερῶν ὃντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κυνωνεύσαι ἡμερῶν κατα- στάθηκα. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὄρμισθείς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθὺς, φοβοῦμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς: ἐπαινεστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδεύον τοῖς, καὶ παρείπησαν. κατείσω τοῖς Εὐρυπόλεμον τοὺς Πεισίδακτος, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκεῖον καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβᾶς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένον, εἰ τις ἀποτομοῦ, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεται. ἐν δὲ τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογισμάτων ὡς οὐκ ἥσσεβηκεν, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἥδικηται, λεχέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιοῦτων καὶ οὐδενός ἄντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἀν τὴν

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

21 τόσο στρατιώτας ἀπαντας: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρα- 

22 γῆν στρατηγοῦ. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα ἀπεβίβασε 

23 ὅλης ἐπιλεγον οἱ Σάμον, κακεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει. 

5 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ 

3 σθαί. Κύρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἐφή ταύτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ 

2 πρότερον] πρῶτον Dind. [Π] 6 ἰππεύς codd. 8 πρότος] τετάρτῳ 

Cobet: πέμπτῳ al. 11 ὁ στρατεύμα ἀπεβίβασε Π: ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στρα- 

27 ἂν'] ἄλλα Π 28 ἐὰν] ὅν Π εἰπιληθί Π: ἐκληθή ced. 29 ὅν Π
καὶ χρυσοῦν. οὶ δὲ ταῦτα τε ἐπίφουν καὶ ἐκέλευν αὐτὸν 4
tάξα τῷ ναῦτη δραχμὴν Ἀττικῆν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὖτος
ὁ μυσθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολέσουσι τὰς
νάυς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὃ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἐφὶ 5
5 αὐτός λέγειν, ὅπως δυνατὸν ὃ ἐστὶν παρὰ τὰς Βασιλείας ἐπέστει-
λευν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὗτος
ἔχουσας, τριάκοντα μέν ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι,
ὁπόσα ἄν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὃ δὲ Λύσαν- 6
ὁρος τότε μὲν ἐστιότητος· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ
10 προπέμνων ὁ Κύρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν,
ἐπειδὲ ὁ Κύρος ἦσθον ἐκάστη ναύτη ὀβουλὸν προσ-
θείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τετταρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ἢν ὁ μυσθὸς, πρότερον 7
δὲ τριῳβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προσφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἐτὶ
μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον
15 εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθώμοι μὲν εἶχον, 8
ἐπεμπὸν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύρον πρόσβης διὰ Τισσαφέρνουν. 9
ἡμεῖς τούτους διαμένον Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἢ
Ἀλκηβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως δὴ τῶν 'Ελλήνων μηδὲ οὕτως ἴσχυροι ἦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες
20 ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ οὐ δὲ Λύσαν- 10
ὁρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετάκτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν
τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναὸς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσύχαι ἤγεν, ἐπισκευά-
ζον καὶ ἀναψύχον αὐτός. Ἀλκηβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύ-
βουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἠκούται τειχίζειن Φώκαιαν δι-
25 ἐπέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναοῖς Ἀντιοχοῦ
tοῦν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μη ἐπιπλέω ἐπὶ τὰς
Λυσάνδρου ναὸς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντιοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ ἒνα καὶ ἄλλῃ 12
ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλέυσας παρ
αὐτᾶς τὰς πρόφας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεὼν παρεπέλει. ὃ δὲ 13

XEN. HELL.

2
Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδώκεν αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ 'Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείσοι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλευσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἄνεξηθήσαν, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἦνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου 5 δὲ ἐναιμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ 'Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρ-μένας ταῖς ναυσὶ, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαί-δεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐξωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαίον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς 'Εφεσον, 10

οἱ δ' 'Ἀθηναίοι εἰς Σάμου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμου ἄνεξηθη ταῖς ναυσὶ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Λιμένα τῶν 'Εφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἰ τοὺς βού-λιοι ναυμαχεῖν. ἔπειϑε δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦθαί, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμου. 15

Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὑστερου ἀνρούσι Δελφίνων καὶ Ηίόνα. οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ 'Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔπειϑε ἡγγέλθη ἡ ναυ-μαχία, χαλεπῶς εἰχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδη, οἴομενοι δὲ ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἴλουτο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διουμέδουτα, Λέουτα, Περικλέα, 20 Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, 25 Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογέννη. Ἀλκιβιάδῆς μὲν οὖν ποιηρός καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήριν μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἐκατού τείχη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδροῦ σὺν αἰς εἴχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσι ψηφισμένων ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδροῦ ἐπεμήναν Φανοσθένην, τέταρας ναῦς ἑξοντα. οὔτος περιτυχὼς δυοὶ τριήρων Ἐσορίαν ἐλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπαντας ἐδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὦντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, 30 πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδιον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων

κατεψηφισμένων αυτού θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐλεύθερος ἢ ἀφείσαι οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ’ ἐτείς τὴν Σάμου ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ 20 ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις 5 ἐξδομήκοντα αὐτὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἕκατον, καὶ ταύτας ἀναγαγόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλήξετο. καὶ ὁ 21 ἑνιαυτὸς ἐλήγεν, ἐν ὧν Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύ- σαντες ἐίκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν τριήρεις καὶ πεζῆς στρατιάς δώδεκα 10 μυράσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἠτηθεῖντες, προσκαθέζομεν δ’ εἰπτ’ μήνας.

Τὸ δ’ ἐπιώτε ἐτείς, ὃς τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπτεν ἐσπέρας καὶ δ’ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη, [Πιτᾶ καὶ ἐφορευότος, ἀρχοντος δὲ Καλλίον Ἀθηνῆσιν], οἱ Λακε-15 δαμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἠδορὸ τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ ἐκοσίων ἑτῶν] ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παραδόθη ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς 2 ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ δὶς βαλαστοκράτῳ τε παρα- διδοτι καὶ ναυμαχίαν νευκηκός. δ’ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ 20 Ἕψιου εὐν ἀριστερὰ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὐ χαμαί αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ τὰς ναῦς παραδόθηκε, καὶ ὁμολογήσας ἐξώβαλα των βαλαστοκρατέων. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάν-3 δροῦ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου αρχοντος, αὐτὸς δ’ Καλλικρατί- δᾶς πρὸς αἰς παρὰ Λυσάνδρον ἔλαβε ναυῶς προσεπλήρωσεν 25 ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντῆ-κοντα ναυᾶς. ταῦτας δὲ πάσας ἁθηρώσας, οὕσας τεττάρκοντα καὶ ἕκατον, παρασκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων. καταμαθῶν δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, 4 οὐ μόνον ἀποθήμισος ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροοῦντων 30 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὦτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπλέπτοιεν ἐν

6 ἀναγάμενοι codd.; corr. Hertlein 7-11 καὶ ... μῆνας del. Unger 13-14 Πιτᾶ ... Ἀθηνᾶσιν et mox καὶ ... ἐτῶν secl. Dind. Πιτᾶ Dind.: πίτιον B al.: πίτιον V 19 fort. ναυμαχίαν 20, 21 οὖ ... νῆες del. Cobet 21 τὰς ναῦς παραδόντας B: παραδόντας τὰς ναῦς cett. 2*
τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γυναικέων καὶ ἄρτι συννέντων τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γυναικότων τὰ πέμπτοις καὶ ἀγνώταις τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κυνωπεύοις τι παθέων διὰ τοῦτον, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συνκαλέσας τοὺς Λακε—5 δαμομινών ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἐλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοῦδε.

5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἄρκει οίκοι μένεων, καὶ εἴτε Δύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθέις οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποῖῳ ἂ τὰ κελεύομένα ὡς ἃν ἐκ δύναμις κράτιστα. ὡμείς δὲ πρὸς ἄγω τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἤμων αὐτίάζεται (ἱστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὡσπερ καὶ ἐγώ), συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἀριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένεω ἡ οἰκάδε ἀποπλεῖς ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστώτα ἐνθάδε.

6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἡ τοῖς οίκοι πει—θεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ᾽ ἡ ἑκεῖ, ἔλθων παρὰ Κῦρον ἤτει μισθῶν 7 τοῖς ναῦταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰπὲ δυό ἡμέρας ἐπισχείον. Καλ—λικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεως ὁργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς 20 Ἐλληνας, ὁτι βαρβάρους κολακεύσουσιν ἑνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἰκάδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτὸν δυνατῶν διαλλάξει Θηραίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως, ἀπέπλησεν εἰς 8 Μιλητον—κάκειθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀδροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἰπεν. 25 Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Μιλησίων, ἀνάγκῃ τοῖς οίκοι ἄρχοντι πει—θεσταί· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξῖον προσβομιτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάρους πλείστα κακά ἰδον

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Α

I. vi

ύπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ' ὡμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ιόμοις ἰσίως ἀν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἦσος ἄν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίως ἤκωσι, οὕς ἐγὼ ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσαν-

δρος Κύρω ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὅντα οἴχεται: Κύρως δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβαλλότο μοι διαλεξήθηναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων θύρας φοιτάν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι. ὑποσχοῦμαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἢμῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὥς ἄν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάρων ἀξίαν ἀποδώσεων. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξομεν τοῖς βαρ-

βάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνου θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχόρους τιμωρεῖσθαι.

'Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αὕτιαζόμενοι ἐναυτούσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγουόμετε πόρους χρη-

μάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ὑδία. Λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνοις καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἐπελευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μῆθυμαν πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μῆθυμναιῶν προσχωρεῖν, 13 ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὑμῶν Ἄθηναῖον, καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα 20 ἐχόντων ἀττικιζότων, προσβαλὼν αἴρει τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ οἰκοτικῶτα, 14 τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικράτιδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μῆθυμναιοὺς οὐκ ἔφη ἕαυτον γε ἀρχύστοις οὐδέν, ἂν 25 Ἐλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν ἀνδραποδισθήναι. τῇ δ' 15 ὡστερά τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἅθηναιῶν φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο. Κόνων δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναγόμενον ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδώκειν ύπο-

20 τεμνόμενοι τῶν εἰς Σάμων πλοῦν, ὅπως μη ἐκείστε φύγοι.

16 Κόνων δ' ἐφευγε ταῖς ναυσίν εἰς πλεοῦσας διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρομάτων εἰς ὅλγας ἐκκελεδέχαι τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἑρασίωθης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισπέλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσίν ἐκατὸν 5 καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὧς ἐφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθησεῖ, ἡγακόσθη ναυμάχησαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναύς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὖσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνελκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος 10 ἐπολιορκεῖ ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλου ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μετα- πεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμαλίους πανδημεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματα τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν. 19 ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεί ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σύτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορήσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι πολλοὶ 15 ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυρηνάσθαι ταύτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀριστα πλεοῦσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἀριστοὺς ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην 20 ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλών. τὴν 20 μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὐτως ἀνείχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἰς, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἰναι τοὺς πολε- μίους ταῦτα ποιοῦσας. πεπτή δὲ ἡμέρα ἐσθέμενοι στὰ μέτρα, ἐπειδή ἦδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφομομεῖτες ὁλιγόρως εἴχον καὶ ἦνοι ἀνεπαύστο, ἐξεπλεῦσαν ἐξω τοῦ 25 λιμένος, καὶ ἦ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου ὄρμησεν, ἦ δὲ εἰς τὸ 21 πέλαγος· τῶν δ' ἐφορμοῦσων ὡς ἔκαστοι ἦνοιγον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγ- μένου, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιοῦμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ

I. vi

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

eis to pleagos tōn euωνυμων, paratetagmenoi òde. 'Aristokrátēs mēn to euωνυμον ἤχων ἥγειτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, metà dé taútà Διομέδων ετέραις πεντεκαίδεκα. ἔπετέτακτο δὲ 'Aristokratēi mēn Periklēs, Διομέδοντι δὲ 'Erasiaivēs. parà dé Διομέδουτα oi Sámiou déka nausín épi mías tēsag-5 mēnou. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Sάmios ónōmati Ἰππεύς ἤχο-μεναι δ' ἰ τῶν taξιάρχων déka, kal aútaí épi mías. épi dé taútais aí τῶν naanárchωn trefís, kal eì twes allai ἰςαν συμμαχίδες. to dé deziōn keras Pρωτόμαχος εἰxhe πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί. parά δ' αὐτῶν Θράσυλλος ετέραις 10 πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Pρωτομάχω μὲν Λυσίας, ἤχων 30 tás ἵςας ναῦς, Θρασύλλω δὲ 'Αριστογένης. οὗτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ὡς μὴ διεκτάλων διδοῖεν. χείρων γὰρ ἐπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἤσαν ἀπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὥς πρὸς διεκτάλων καὶ περιπλάνου παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ 15 τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἰxhe dé to deziōn keras Kαλλικρατίδας.

32 "Ermwōn dé Megareus ὁ τῶν Kαλλικρατίδων κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν ὅτι εἰ τὴν καλῶς ἤχου ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τρῆρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ πλεῖους ἦσαν. Kαλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη ὑπὲρ μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτῷ ἅπαθανότος, 20 33 φεῦγεν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐφί έναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνου πολὺν, πρῶτον μὲν ἄδροι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Kαλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλουσῆς τῆς νεώς ἀποπεσόν εἰς τὴν ἡλάτταν ἡφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν δεξίω τὸ εὐωνυμον εὐκήσαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγῇ τῶν 25 Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Xίων, πλεῖστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργονοῦσας κατ-34 ἐπλευσαν. ἀπόλουτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆς πέντε καὶ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Α

I. vi

είκοσι αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, πασῶν ὦσῶν δέκα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἦ ἐξήκουτα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς 35 ἐπτά μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Ἡθραμένην τῇ τε Ὑρασύ-βουλων τριμάρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν τινῶν πλείων ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκώσιος ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ᾽ Ἐτεούκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορ-μούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμών

dιεκάλουσει αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ἡνίκοντο. τῷ δ’ Ἐτεούκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα 36 ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. δὲ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἔγειρεν καὶ ἐποίουσας ὑπὸν τοῖς ἐνοίοις σωμάτῃ ἐκπλεύσας καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγονται, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖόν εἰς τὸ ἔαντόν
15 στρατόπεδου ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικράτιδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆσις ἀπολο-λασίων ἀπασα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο ἐποίοντος αὐτός δ’, ἐπειδὴ 37 ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλευσαν, ἔθεε τὰ ἐναγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρῆγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα
20 σωμάτῃ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Χίον (ἡν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχύτηταν. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ 38 πεζὸν ἀπῆγγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἔπει οἱ τε πολέμοι ἀπεδε-δράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐθείατρος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς
25 Ἀθηναίοις ἥδι ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργυρωσίων ἐφράσε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεούκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξαμένοι ἀπεπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

Οἱ δ’ ἐν οἰκῷ τούτῳ μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπανυόν πλῆν VII

30 Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ ἐλούντο Ἀθείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος 2

3 πασῶν] τῶν πασῶν Cobet 4 kal secl. Schneider 5 ἐπτὰ D :

ἐξ cet. 28 σάμων BC
I. vii

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἔξις καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδους καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Ὀθασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος δὲ τοῦ δήμου τύτε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδη ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν 5 κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἐλλησπόντου αὐτῶν ἔχειν χρήματα ὅταν τοῦ δήμου κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.

3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμώνος. Ἐπικράτους 10 οἱ εἰπόντες ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δήμον

4 παραδοθῆται, ἡ βουλὴ ἐδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἧς τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὀθασύλλης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι οὐκ ἀνέλικου τοὺς ναυαγοὺς. ὡς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλου 15 καθήπτοντο, ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύρων ἦν ἐπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ἄλλο οὐδέν

5 αἰτιώμενοι ἡ τῶν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἐκατόστο ἀπελογήσατο (οὐ γὰρ προσεβή σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τῶν νόμων), καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι 20 αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάζανεν τῶν τριπράξων ἀνδράσιν ἰκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσῳ ἡδί, Ὀθασύλλης καὶ Ὀθασύλλης καὶ ἄλλοις

6 τοιοῦτοις: καὶ έπερ γε τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιώσασθαι ἡ τούτους οἰς 25 προσετὰχθεί. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἐφασαν, ἰπυσόμεθα φάσκουτε αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμώνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεύσων πολλοὺς. τοιαύτα λέγοντες ἐπειδόθον τὸν δήμον 30

7 ἐβούλουστο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγύναθαι ἀνιστάμενοι:

4 ὁ τοῦ δήμου B: om. cet. 5 διομήδημος Dind.: διομήδημος BM: διομήδημος CF 8 τῶν om. B 14 υποσχεῖν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς Β 16 ἡν Stephanus: καὶ cod. 18 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα CF 25 αὐτοῦς del. Cobet
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ A

I. vii

εδοξε δε ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν (τότε γὰρ ὅψε ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεδώρων), τίνι δὲ βουλήν προ-
βουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκείν ὅτω τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοιτο.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγγυνετο Ἀπατοῦρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες 8
καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν
Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλαια ἰμάτια ἔχοντάς
καὶ ἐν χρυσοὶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐορτῇ, ἤνα
πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν. ὃς δὲ συγγενεῖς δύτες τῶν
ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίζενον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορέων
10 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐνετέθει ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίου, εἰς ἂν ἡ βουλῇ 9
εἰσήγηκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλίζενον εἰσόντος τῆνδε:
'Επειδή τῶν τε κατηγοροῦντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ
ἐκείνων ἀπολογομένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι,
διασφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἀπράγματα κατὰ φυλᾶς· θείων δὲ
15 εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο υδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῆ
κήρυκα κηρύττει, ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ἄδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ
ἀνέλομενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν
ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτι δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ύστεραν· ἄν δὲ δύο ὡσοιν 10
ἀδικεῖν, ὑπαντῶ ζημιώσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ
20 τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεύσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι.
παρῆλθε δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους 11
ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους,
ἐὰν σωθή, ἀπαγείλαι τῷ ὅμω ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ
ἀνέλοντο τῶν ἀριστῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.
25 τὸν δὲ Καλλίζενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες 12
συγγεγραφεῖν Εὐρυπτόλεμος τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι
τινεῖς. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἐνοι ταύτα ἐπήνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος
ἐβοᾷ δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μή τις ἐάσει τὸν δήμον πράττειν ὁ ἄν
βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εἰπόντως Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους 13
30 τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἑπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, εἰαν

4 φράτερος Dind. 6 Θηραμένης Β F al. 9 καλλίζενον ΒΜ ut in
§§ 9, 12, 14, 26, 35 13 προτεραία ΒΜ 17 εν om. Β 20 δημοι-
σαι Riemann 25 προσεκαλέσαντο Morus: προσεκαλέσαντο codd.
26 συγγεγραφέναι] γεγραφέναι Cobet
μη ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὦχλος, καὶ
14 ἡναγκάσθησαν ἀφέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων
tινῶν οὐ φασκόντων προθήσει τὴν διαψήφισσι παρὰ τὸν
νόμον, αὐτὸς Καλλίξενος ἀναβᾶς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά.
15 οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεων 5
φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσει πλὴν Σωκράτους
τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλὰ ἦ κατὰ νόμον
16 πάντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβᾶς Ἐὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν
ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὡ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε 10
Περικλέους ἀναγκαίον μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομή-
dοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβου-
17 λεύσων ᾧ μοι δοκεῖ ἄρωστα εἶναι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ
μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐπεισόνας τοὺς συνάρχουντας βουλομένους
πέμπεις γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ 15
Θηραμένει καὶ Ὀρασυβούλῳ τεταράκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ τριήμεσιν
18 ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναναγούς, οἱ δὲ οὖν ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν τῇ
19 τῆς αἰτίας κοινῆ ἔχουσιν ἐκείνου ἡδὰ ἀμαρτώτων, καὶ αὐτὶ τῆς
τότε φιλαιθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπι-

1 κλῆσιν Dobree: ἐκκλησίαν codd. 8 πάντα B Athenaeus:
om. cet 14 ἐπεισαγ] μετέπεισαν Brückner: ἐπαινεῖαν Goldhagen
19 ὑπ' C al.: ἐπ' B al. 21 μᾶλλοντα τάλαθη Weiske 23 τὰ
μέγιστα els Morus: εἰς τὰ μέγιστα codd 26 εἰδότες Castalio:
eιδότας codd. 27 μίαν] κἂν μίαν schol. in Demosth. cod. Patm.
πάντες ὁτι τὸ Καυνωνοῦ ψήφισμα ἐστὶν ἵσχυρότατον, ὃς Κελευθερίας ἀθναίων ὁμοῖον ἀδική, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγωγίαν ἀδικεῖν, ἀπο-θανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ὅρισθαι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. κατὰ τούτο τὸ 21 ψήφισμα κελεύου κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὴν Δία, ἵνα ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἔμοι προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν (γὰρ) μοι ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἡ τῆς ὀλυμπίας πόλις. τοῦτο δὲ ἐβούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίσατε, 22 ὅς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους καὶ προδότας, ἕαν τις ἡ τῆς πόλεως προδοθῇ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα καταγωγίαν, μὴ ταφήναι ἐν τῇ ἀθηναία, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ὅρισθαι εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρω βούλεσθε, ὡς ἄνδρες 23 Ἀθηναίοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρίνεσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἑνά ἐκαστον 15 ὅρισθαι τῆς ἡμέρας τριών μερῶν, ἕνας μέν ἐν ὃς συνε-γεσθαι ὅμοι δεί καὶ διαψυχιζέσθαι [ἐάν τας ἀδικεῖς δοκῶς ἕαν τε μη], ἑτέρου δὲ ἐν ὃς κατηγορήσαι, ἑτέρου δὲ ἐν ὃς ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γιγανενάν οἱ μὲν ἀδικούντες 24 στεώπομι τῆς μεγάλης τιμωρίας, οἱ δὲ ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθῆ- 20 συντα ὑφίς ὑμῶν, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπο-λοῦνται. ύμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐφρο- 25 κοῦντες κρίνετε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νευκήκοτας, τούτων ἀπολύσεις ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τὰ δὲ καὶ 26 25 δεδομένα σφόδρα ὅτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἡ μη οὐν ύμεῖς ὅν ἄν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνῃ τε καὶ εἰλεθρώσῃ, ἄν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίσση, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὡς περι Καλλίξενος τῆς βουλῆς ἐπείσειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενέγκει μη ψήφῳ;
I. vii

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

27 ἀλλ' ἰσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αὐτίου ὄντα ἀποκτείνατε, μεταμελήσει δὲ ὅστερον. ὃς ἀλγενῶν καὶ ἀποφελεῖς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἐτι καὶ περὶ θανάτον ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. δεῶν δ' ἂν ποιήσατε, εἰ 'Αριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δήμου καταλύσατε, ἐφέ δ' Οἰνόνη προδίδοντι 5 Ὑβαίους πολεμίους οὐσιν, ἔδωκε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν νόμων προúdeτε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξατα, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπο- 29 στερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὃ 'Ἀθηναίοι, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῶν ὄντας τὸς νόμον, δὲ οὖς μάλιστα μέγιστο ἐστε, φυλάσσοντες, ἀνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττετε πειράσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἄ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενήσαται τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσατο, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευον 15 ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρων ἀπαντᾶς ἀναφεύγοντας τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, Ἕρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχύτητα πλείων ἀπαντᾶς. Ὀράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἐφ' ἑνὲ γενέσθαι, ἄν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν καταλίψωσι, ταῖς 30 δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι καὶ δοξάσων τούτων κατα- 20 λιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὡστὶ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς ναυαρχῶν τρεῖς, αὐτὰ ἀπασαι γλυφοῦνται ἐπὶ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέταρα περὶ ἐκάστην 31 ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυνων δώδεκα οὕσων. τῶν δὲ καταλειφ- 25 θέντων (τῶν) τριπάρχων ἦσαν καὶ Ὑπασύβουλος καὶ Ὑπαρ- μένης, ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρα ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ A

I. vii

tacis de ἀλλαίς ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἰκανὸς καὶ καλὸς ἔπραξαν; οὖκοι δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν μὴ 5 ποιήσαντας ἢ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνέιλουτο κρίνεσθαι. τοσούτων δ’ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ 32 χειμῶν διεκόλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι δὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὃν ἔσ ἡ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσῃς νεῶς δια- 10 σωθεῖς, δν κελεύοντο τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν τότε δεόμενον ἀναίρεσις, ἤπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοῖς, ὃς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἀντὶ μὲν 33 τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐνυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσίν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἕκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων 15 ἀγνωσμοιείς δόξης, προδοσίαν καταγνώντες αὐτί τῆς ἀνυναμίας [οὐχ ἰκανοὺς γενομένους διά τῶν χειμώνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα]; ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαίωτον στεφάνως γε- ραίρεως τοὺς νικῶντας ἡ θανάτῳ ζημιών ποιηροῖς ἀνδρώποις πειθόμενους.

20 Ταύτ’ εἰπὼν Εὐρυπόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ 34 Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἐκαστον· ἢ δὲ τῆς θουλῆς ἢ μὴ Ψήφῳ ἀπαντᾶς κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκρων ἡν Εὐρυπο- λέμου ὑπομοσμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας 25 γενομένης ἔκρων τῆς θουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατ- εψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὁκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ξῆ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ύπερευ 35 μετέμεμε τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οὕτως τῶν δῆμων ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολᾶς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητᾶς κατα-
στήσαι, ἕως ἀν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προιηθήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέσσαρες, καὶ ἔδεθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων, ύστερον δὲ στάσεως τινος γενομένης, ἐν ἦ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὕτω, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ 5 ἀστυ, μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

1 ἕως ἄν Stephanus: ἐὰν codd.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Χώμ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεόνικου στρατιώται ὡντες, ἔως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔπει δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἴχον γνωμοί τε ἢσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συν-5 ἵσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χώμ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἔδόκει, ἦνα ἀλλήλους μᾶθοιν ὀπόσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ 2 Ἐτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἰχὲ τὸ χρὸνο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τὸ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανῶς 10 ἐπιχειρήστατα σφαλερὸν ἔδοκε εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσσοσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἀν κρατήσωσι, τὸ τ’ αὖ ἀπολλύσαι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαύλετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας διαβολὴν 15 σχοίνει καὶ οἱ στρατιώται ὄντοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα δωσὶν ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνδρὰς πεντεκαῖδεκα ἐγχειρίδια 3 ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινὶ ὀφθαλμωτὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίστω ἐξ ὀφθαλμοῦ, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν 4 20 διὰ τὸ ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνθρωπός, παραγγέλλων ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἰχὲ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελλών ἐρρήπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς κάλαμος, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἄκούων δεδώς μὴ ὀφθείη ἔχον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεό- 5

7 πόσοι Β

XEN. HELL.
νικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἑκέλευνε συνενεγκεῖν, ὁπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μυσθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσι τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν ἀμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναύς ἐσώμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν προσιῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ’ ἕκαστην ναύν παρεθάρρυσε τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἶδός, καὶ 5 μυσθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διεδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταύτα τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς, εἵ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν 10 προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυ- 7 μαχίαν. καὶ ἀπετέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονοι ἐδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναυαρχον δὲ Ἠρακλίου ὃς γὰρ νόμοι αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχίαν τὰς μέρους 15 ναύς παρέδωσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἦδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ παρεληλυθότων].

8 Τοῦτο δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀυτοβοιουάκην καὶ Μιτραίον, νεῖσ τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς [τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέω- 20 σαι διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦνται βασιλεῖ μόνων ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἡ χείρι, ἐν ἡ τῆς χείρα ἐχὼν οὐδὲν ἄν 9 θύματο πούσας. Ἰεραμενῆς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαίου δεῶν εἶναι εἰ περιόψαι τὴν λίαν ὑβριν τούτου· ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελοι. 25

10 Τῷ δὲ ἐπιώντι ἐτεί [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ’ ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἁλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἑπεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθρουσεν, εἰ ποὺ τις ἦν,
καὶ ταῦτα τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ὁυτάνδρῳ ἐναπηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κύρον χρήματα ἤτει' ὁ δ' αὐτῷ 11 εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα ἔη, καὶ ἕτε πλεῖω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὡσα ἐκατός τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, 5 ὡμώς δ' ἐδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τάργυριον, ἐπὶ τὰς 12 τρυπῆες τριπάρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοὺς ναύτας τὸν ὅφειλο- μενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ σὺν πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

Κύρος δ' ἑπὶ τούτως μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἑπεὶ αὐτῷ 13 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἀγγελὸς λέγων ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκείνων καλοῦ, ὅν ἐν Ὁμανήριοις τῇ Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὗ ἐστάτευσαν ἀφεστῶσα. ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον 14 οὐκ εἶχα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίουσ, εἰῶ μὴ πολλῷ πλεῖον ναῦς ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐαυτῷ, 15 ὡστε τούτον ἐνεκέν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδεχε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἳ αὐτῷ ᾧτοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἐδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλία πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἴδια, ἀνέβαυε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

20 Λύσανδρος δ', ἑπεὶ αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδόος τὰ 15 αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μεταπεμπτος ἀνέβαυε, μισθὸν διαδόος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῇ Καρίᾳ ἐκ τῶν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὑπόμακα Κεδρείας τῇ ὑπεραία προσβολῇ κατὰ 25 κράτος αἴρει καὶ ἐξηραπατῶσεν. ἦσαν δὲ μετοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἡροδόν. οἳ δ' 16 Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁμοψυχοῦν τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἔποιον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλευον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοῦσ πρὸς τοῖς 30 ὑπάρχοντι προσεληνοῦ Ἡμιανδρὸν, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον.

1 τ' om. CF 8 πρὸς del. Kurz τὰ πρὸς conicio 16 κεῖνον codd. 11 μηδείας BCF 17 ὡς] ὁς Nauck 21 πρὸς] παρὰ B 24 προσ- βολῇ del. Zurborg 28 ἐπὶ τὴν τὴν ἐπὶ CF 30 προσεληνοῦ B: 3*
17 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδου παρὰ τὴν 'Ιωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλησποντοῦν πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφετηριών αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγουτο δὲ καὶ οἱ
18 'Αθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιων ἥ γάρ Ἁσία πολεμίᾳ αὐτοῖς ἦν. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ 'Αβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμ-5
ψακὸν σύμμαχον οὕτων Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ 'Αβύδοι τοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν πεζῇ ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θωρᾶς Λακεδαίμωνος.
19 προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ δυή-
πασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὕτων πλουσιάν καὶ οὕτως καὶ σιτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑπταδέκατοι πλῆρη τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα 10
20 πάντα ἄφηκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας
πλέοντες ὄρμωσαν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐν Ἑλαίωντι ναυσίν
 Odysseyκοντα καὶ ἔκατον. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιουμένοι
αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν
21 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπιστυγᾶμεν ἐπλευσαν 15
εἰς Ἀιγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκος διείχε δ' ὁ
'Ἑλλῆσποντος ταύτῃ σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα
22 δὴ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ νυκτὶ, ἐπεὶ
Ὀρθρὸς ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιουσάμενοι
ἐσβαίνεν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν 20
καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων, προείπεν ὡς μὴ δεῖ
23 κωνύστοι ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
ἀμα τῷ ἤλω ἀνύχοντες ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο εὔ
μετόπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύ-
σανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὄψε ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς 25
24 τοὺς Ἀιγὸς ποταμοὺς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχύστας τῶν
νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαί τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβόσι, κατιδώντας ὁ τι ποιοῦσι ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι.
καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβιβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρῶ τοῦΤοι ἡκώ.
ταύτα δ' ἐποιεὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπαυ-30
25 ἡγοῦντο. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν

'Αθηναίοις ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρός οὐδεμιὰ πόλει,
tὰ δ’ ἐπιτίθεια ἐκ Σμύτοι μετίοντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους
ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει
ἐχοῦσα πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ
5 μεθορμίσατε εἰς Σμύτον παρῄνει πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς
πόλων οὐ δύνετε ναυμαχίσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βουλήσθηκε. οἱ δὲ 26
στρατηγοὶ, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπείναι
αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄχετο. Λύσανδρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη 27
10 ἐπιπλέοντι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπει τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπομένους,
ἐπαύν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ
τὴν Χερσονήσου, ὅπερ ἐποίειν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ’ ἐκάστην
ἡμέραν, τὰ τε στὶτα πόρωθεν ὕπνοιμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦτες
δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνταπήγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοὺς-
15 παλῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τῶν πλοὺν. ὦι
dὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δὲ εὐθὺς 28
ἐσῆμην τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρῆξε δὲ καὶ Ὅραξ
τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἴδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσῆμην
 eius τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν
20 ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μοῦκροτοι,
αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἦ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ πλῆρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ’ ἡ
25 ἀλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλει-
στους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον εἰς τὰ
tοιχοῦρα. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐνεαν ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼν 
29 τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχόν ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἀβαρίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἀκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸθέν τὰ
μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἑστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὁκτὼ
ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ’ Εὐαγόρων εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος
30 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγέλεσα τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος 30
5 πρὸς] εἰς Kurz 11 ἐπειδὰν D: ἐπὴν cet. (B?) 17 et 18 ἐσῆ-
μανε(v) codd. 30 ἀπαγγέλεσα BM DV: ἀπαγγέλεσα CF: 
ἀπαγγέλεσα V corr.
Δάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους 
τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ 'Αδεμάντουν. ὡς θ' ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατερ-
γάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀκτήν εἰς 
Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπαγγελοῦτα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος 
31 τριτάιοις ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἄθροίσας 5 
τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλευσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώ-
των. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν 'Αθη-
ναίων, ἃ τε ἦδη παρενεμομῆκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν 
ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξίαν χεῖρα ἀπο-
κόπτειν τῶν ζωγρήθεντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο ἱο-
τρήρεις, Κορωνίλαν καὶ 'Ανδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν 
pάντας κατακρημνίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν 
32 'Αθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ 
pολλὰ, καὶ ἔδωξεν ἀποκτεῖνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν 
'Αθηναίοι πλὴν 'Αδεμάντουν, ὃτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ 15 
ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· 
ἡτίαθη μέντοι ύπὸ τῶν προδοῦντα τὰς ναὸς. Λύσανδρος 
δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσασ, ὃς τοὺς 'Ανδρίους καὶ 
Κορωνίλους κατεκρῆμνυσε, τί εἰη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος 
eἰς Ἑλλήνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

II 'Επελεῖ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Δαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλευ ἐπὶ τὸ 
Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτόν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς 
tῶν 'Αθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποστόνδος ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ 
προδότες Ἀλκιβιάδη τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἐφυγον εἰς 
tῶν Πόντων, ὕστερον δ' εἰς 'Αθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο 'Αθηναῖοι. 25
2 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν 'Αθηναίων καὶ εἰ τῶ 
ποὺ ἄλλου ἵδοι 'Αθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας, 
ὅπως ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέον ἅσφαλειν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὕ, 
εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἄν πλεοὺς συλλέγωσιν εἰς τὰ ἀστυ καὶ τῶν 
Πειραιῶν, θάττων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεικνύει ἑσεῖθαν. κατ' 
30 ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν Ἡράκλειον καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἄρμοστην 

18 ὡς . . . κατεκρήμνυσε del. Cobet 28 μόνον] μὲν Cobet 
ἄλλως] ἄλλοσε Hertlein 29 ὅτι om. C
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ B

II. ii

Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεῦσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπε-σκευάζειν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς 3 ἔλεγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγῆ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν 5 μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἑτέρος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγ-γέλλων· ὥστ' ἔκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμηθῆ, οὐ μόνον τούς ἀπολογοῦσας πενθοῦστες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μάλλον ἐτί αὐτοῖς ἐαυτοῖς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οία ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολυρκία, καὶ

10 Ἰστιαῖας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αλγυνήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραιά ἐκκλησίαν 4 ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἧ ἐδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχώσας πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολυρκίαν παρασκευάζειν τῇ πόλιν. καὶ

15 οὕτως μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἴσωσαν.

Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις 5 ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἔπι Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐπεόνικον, ὅσ τά ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς

20 Λακεδαιμονίων μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἐλλᾶς 6 ἀφεωσίζηκε Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμῖων· οὕτως δὲ σφαγάς τῶν γυνώρμων ποιῆσαις κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέμψε πρὸς Ἀγίῳ τε 7 εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπληκτὶ σὺν δια-

25 κοσίας ναυσὶ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημελὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν 'Ἀργεῖων, παραγγεῖλαν τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπαν- 8 τες ἥρροισθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρα- τοπέδεσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ [τῷ καλομένῳ γυμνασίῳ].

30 Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἶγαν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν 9 Αλγυνήτας, ὅσος ἐδοῦσα πλεῖστος αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὡς δ'
II.ii ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς ὤσι τῆς αὐτῶν ἑστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁρμῶσαν Σαλαμώνα ὁμολόγατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ νανοὶ πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἔφυγε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

10 Οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκοῦμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασ-5 ταν ἴπορον τὸ χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὤντων οὔτε σίτου ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν ἔλει μῆ παθεῖν ἢ οὐ τιμωροῦμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν ἡδίκους ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ’ ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτία ἐτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους 10 ποιήσαντες ἐσκαρπέρωσαν καὶ ἀποθησυκτένων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παυτελώς ἡδὴ ὁ σῖτος ἐπελεοῦσαι, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ’ Ἀγων, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαίμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ 15 αὐτῶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευσεν ἔναι: οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτὸς. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθη-13 ναῖσις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνίκης] καὶ ἐπόθυμοτοι οἱ ἐφοροὶ αὐτῶν ἢ ἐλεγον, ὅταν οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγων, αὐτόθεν αὐ-20 τοὺς ἐκέλευσαν ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἰ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλουν ἢκεν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν φώνει γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεται, καὶ ἔως ἃν πέμπωσιν ἐτέ-15 ρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν 25 τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβουλεύτο συμβουλεύειν. Ἀρ-χέστρατος γὰρ εἴπων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαίμονίους κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ’ οἷς προνεκαλοῦτο εἰρήνη ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη προν-καλοῦτο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεών ἐκατέρω. ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων συμ-30

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

II.ii

βουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὅτων Θεραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ 16 ὦτι εἰ βουλοῦνται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἶδὼς ἦξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεῖς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Δυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείον, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅτι θʼ Αθηναίοι ἐμελλοῦν διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειτυέναι τὸν σιτῶν ἀπαντᾶ ὅ τι τις λέγοι ὀμολογήσειν. ἐπεῖ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ 17 μηνὶ, ἀπῆγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἰτὰ κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα λέγαν· οὐ γὰρ 10 εἶναι κύριος ὅν ἔρωτῶτο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρεθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ’ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλῃ, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίων ὅτα, ὅ τι ἀποκρίνατο Θεραμένης ἐκείνους κυρίους 15 εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θεραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 19 πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἥκοιν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖεν ἐκέλευνεν αὐτοὺς. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἕν ἀντέλευον Κορώνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μᾶλλον, 20 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ ἔξαιρεν. Λακεδαιμόνες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν 20 Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδίειν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κυδώνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ’ ἐποιοῦτο εἰρήνην ἔφ’ ὧν τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺν Πειραιᾶ καθελότας 25 καὶ τὰς ναὸς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδότας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέναν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξήρον καὶ φίλων νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεσθαί καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅποι ἂν ἠγγώντας. Θεραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβεῖς ἐπαν- 21 ἐφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. εἰσιόντας δ’ αὐτοὺς ὅχλοι 30 περιεχότα πολὺς, φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ἀπρακτοὶ ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐτὶ ἐνεχόρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ

4 ἀντέχουσι Leonclavius: ἀνέχουσι codd. 5 πλέον] πλέον
Franke 9 κελεύοι B: κελεύει cet. 16 post Σελλασία lacunam stat. Otto δὲ om. C 17 εἶπαν B 28 ἐπανεφέροντο C F
II. ii ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

22 λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ υπεραία ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' ὅς οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι πουώτῳ τῇν εἰρήνῃ προηγόρει δε αὐτῶν Ὁμαμένης, λέγων ὃς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Δακεδαμώνιοι καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαρεῖν. ἀντεπόντων δὲ των αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειώνων συνεπαισάντων, ἐδοξε δέχεσθαι τῇν εἰρήνην. 5

23 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῆς προθυμίας, νομίζοντες ἔκεινην τῇν ἡμέραν τῇ 'Ελλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

24 Καὶ δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐληγεν, ἐν δὲ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ 'Ερμο- κράτους Συρακόσιος ἔτυραννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, στάνει δὲ σιτῶν ἐλώνων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τῇν πόλιν.

III Τῷ δ' ἔπιοντε ἔτει [ὁ ἤν ὁ Ὀλυμπιάς, ἦ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Εὐδών ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύνοντος, Πυθο- δώρου δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναίων ἁρχοντος, διὶ Ἀθηναίοι, οἷ τὲν ἀλιγαρ-
χία ψέθη, οὐκ ὄνομάζοντοι, ἀλλ' ἀναρχιαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν 2 καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία οὕτε.] ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, κἀ' ὡς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ψέθησαν οὔτε 20 Πολυχάρης, Κριςίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Ἐυκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Ὁμαμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διο-
κλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ὀλυμπιᾶς, Λευκίνης, Ὀλυμπίας, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φέδων, Δρακοντίδης, 25
3 Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μησιδείδης. τοῦτων δὲ πραξάντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμων, Ἀγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὸν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἐκλεισεν Δυκό- 30 φιὼν δ' Φειαῖος, βουλόμενος ἀρξαί ὀλης τῆς Θετταλίας,

§ 24 del. Unger § 1 del. Marsham 14 ο B : ἐν φ cet.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

II. iii

tοὺς ἐναντιομένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θεσπαλῶν, Δαμιανός τε καὶ ἄλλοι, μάχῃ ἐνυκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτενεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος 5 τύραννοι μάχῃ ἤττηθεν ὑπὸ Καρχηδόνων Τέλαν καὶ Καμά-5 ρων ἀπάλεσε. μετ’ ὀλίγων δὲ καὶ Λεωντίων Συρακοσίως συνοικούντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίων καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάψην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκοῦμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντη, ἐπεί 6 10 οὐ βουλευμένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λυσάνδρος, ὁμολόγησαν ἐν ἵματιν ἅχων ἐκάστος ἀπέλευσεν τῶν ἔλευθερόν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα παραδοῦσιν καὶ οὕτως ἔξηλθον. Λυσάνδρος δὲ τοῖς ἄρχαιοις πολίταις 7 παραδός τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνώντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἀρχον-
15 τας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἄφθικε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικῶν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Δακωνικαῖς ναυσὶ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς 8 Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρω-
τηρία καὶ τὰς ἑκ Πειραιώς τρίφεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφά-
νους, οὔς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἱδία, καὶ ἀργ-
20 ρίον τετρακύσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἐπερεγένεντο τῶν φόρων, οὐς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδεξεν εἰς τῶν πόλεμον, καὶ εἶ τι ἀλλ’ ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα 9 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [εἰς δ’ ἐξά-
μυνος καὶ ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐκκοσμῆν ἐτή τοῦ πολέμου ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς 25 ἐφοροὶ οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οὐδὲ ἐγένοντο, Λυσίνθειον πρῶτος, ἐφ’ ὦν ἠρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ’ Ἐγκυσίας ἄλωσιν τριακοντατεῖδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησί—10 στρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὡμομακλής, Ζεύξιππος, Πτίδας, Πλει-
30 στόλας, Κλεώμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαρίλας, Πατησιάδας,

6 αὐτῶν codd. 10 οὗ Paris. A : om. cet. βουλευμένων C F
15 φρουρεῖν del. Brückner 17 ἄπαγαγὼν B 18 πειραιῶς B : τοῦ πει-
    ραίως cet. 23 εἰς 8 . . . 10 κατέπλευσεν del. Brückner ἐκκυσμος Cobet
24 ὀκτὼ] ἐπτὰ Weissenborn 25 οἱ B : om. cet. 30 Χαρίλας Heiland
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπίρατος, Ὀνομάτις, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μυσγολάδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλής, Πιτυάς, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐδίος, ἐφ’ ὦν Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οὖκαὶ κατέπλευσεν].

11 Ὅ̂ ὑ̂ τριάκοντα ἤρέθθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ 5 τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ’ ὄτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ’ οὐστίνας πολιτεύσωτο, τούτοις μὲν ἀεὶ ἐμέλλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύα, βουλήν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς.

12 ἐπειστα πρῶτον μὲν οὐς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ 10 συκοφαντίας ὑπότας καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτων καὶ ἧ τε βουλή ἢδεως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἳ τε ἄλλοι οὕσοι συνῆδεσαν ἐαντοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἦχουντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἢρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἄν ἔξειλ αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βουλουντο, ἐκ 15 τούτον πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχύνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπείσαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσει συμπράξαι ἑλθεῖν, ἐς δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἑκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσας τὴν πολιτείαν. θρέψεων δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπηρέχοντο.

13 ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τοὺς τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν 20 συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐλαβοῦν, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευσαν πάση θεραπεία, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοῦ ἣ πράττοιε, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τοῦτον συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὖς ἐβούλουτο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ’ ἥδη οὗς ἐνόμιζον 25 ἦκιστα μὲν παρωθομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἄν τοὺς συνεθέλουτας λαμβάνειν.

14 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτιάς τῷ ὘θηραμένει ὁμογρώμον τε καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοῦ ἀποκετείνειν, ὧτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ 30 ὘θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἴκος εἰς θανατοῖς, εἰ

3 εἰδικὸς B CF M: vid. c. 3. 1 II κἀγαθοὶς B: καὶ ἀγαθοὶς cet. 26 ἀν ἀνέχεσθαι Schäfer 30 ὑπὸ Köppen: ἀπὸ codd.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ  B

τις ἔτιματο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν
κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ
ἀρέσκειν ἐνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὃ δὲ 16
(этому γὰρ οἰκείως ἔχριτο τῷ Ὑπραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ
5 ἐγχώρωθη τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν
ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανοτάτους διακωλύων· ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντα
ἐσμέν καὶ οὗ ἐις, ἦττον τι οἰεὶ ὀσπερ πυρανύσιος ταῦτης
τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐθύς εἰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθη-
σκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοι
10 τε καὶ βαθμάζοντες τί ἐσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ
Ὑπραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοιμώνοις ἰκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν
πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἐσοιτο τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν διακρίνειν. ἐκ
18 τοῦτον μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἦδη φοβοῦ-
μενοι καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τὸν Ὑπραμένην, μὴ συνεργηθεὶσαν πρὸς
15 αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται, καταλέγουσιν τρισχιλίων τοὺς μεθέξοντας
ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὐτ Ὑπραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα
19 ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοῖ ἐαυτῷ γε ἐναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν
βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοιμώνοις ποιή-
σαθαί τρισχιλίον, ὀσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἑχοντα την
20 ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἐξω τοῦτων σπου-
δαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς τοῦτων πονηροὺς οὐὸν τε εἰ ἐνεσθαίνεν
ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὅρω ἐγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράτ-
τοντας, βιαίων τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἦττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων
κατασκευαζόμενοι. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἔγετοσιν
20 ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἐξω
τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλασσο, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ
ὄπλα, ἐν δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλίθησαν πέμψαντες τούς φρονεῖν
καὶ τῶν πολίτων τοὺς ὀμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων
πλήν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρέλθοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα

7 ὁ ὂσπερ Hermann: ὀσπερ τυραννίδος del. Jacobs 14 συρ-
ρείσασιν B: συστάσασιν C: συστάσασιν M α. l. : συστάσασι Portus 17 εἶναι
πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Zurborg 19 τρισχιλίον] post hoc v. εἶτα ποιήσασθαι
add. Cobet, ὀρίσασθαι add. Dind., καταλέξασθαι add. Leonelavius,
καταλέξαι add. Hartman 22 ἡμᾶς B: ἡμᾶς cet. 26 ἐπὶ] θέσθαι
Kan 28 αὐτῶις codd.
II. iii

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

21 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέβηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔδοχον ἡδὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ τι βούλευτο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἵνα ἀπέκτεινων, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρονοῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτούς μὲν ἀπο-5

22 κτείναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημώνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεοραμένην λαβεῖν ὅτι τινα βούλευτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο. Ἄλλ' οὖ δοκεῖ μοι, ἐφη, καλὸν ἐναίσχοντας βελτιστοὺς εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συνοφραίνων ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἐν χρήματα λαμβάνουν ζην εἴον, ἠμείς δὲ τοῖς ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικούντος, ἣν χρήματα λαμβάνομεν;

23 πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἄδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδών νομίζοντες αὐτῶν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν τὸ βούλευτο, ἐπιβουλεύοντοι αὐτῷ, καὶ ἵδα πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέμαχον ὡς λυμαύσομεν τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ 15 παραγγεὶλαντες νεανίσκους οἱ ἐδόκου τοῖς βρασυταῖοι εἶναι εὐφῶδα ὅπει μάλις ἐχοντας παραγγείλοντας, συνελέξαν τὴν βουλὴν. ἔτει δὲ ὁ Θεοραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὅδε.

24 Ἡ ἀνδρεῖς βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους 20 τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποδυνάσκειν, ἐνυποσάΓω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθιστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίνεται, πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίου εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὅλης ὅλης μεθιστάσι διά τε τὸ πολυναθωριστάτην τῶν Ἐλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δήμον τεθραφάναι. 25

25 ἠμείς δὲ γνώνετε μὲν τοῖς οἷοι ἧμιν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπτὶν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνώνετε δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίος τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δήμος ὑποτ' ἄν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀλὰ ἄν πιστοὶ διατελοῦεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ 26 Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμη τῇνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ 30 εάν των αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὅλης χριστιανίας, ὅσον δυνάμεθα

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ B

II. iii

ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῶν δίκαιων εἶναι, εἰ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτη τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτῶν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην 27 τουτοῦ οἶς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ 5 ἡμᾶς ἀληθῆ, ἀν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε οὗτε πέγουτα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τοντού τὰ παρόντα οὗτε ἐναισθούμενον, ὅταν τυχὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τῶν έξ ἀρχῆς ταύτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι ποιηρὸς γ’ ἀν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς 28 μὲν ἀρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρῶτοις υπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτυθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς 15 μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δόμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὡςτε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρὸς αὐτῷ προσήκει 29 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότη ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καλτοί τοσούτω τῶν δεσμῶτεροι προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσων χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφαιρὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτω 20 ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ὅσως πολέμιος μὲν ἀνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοί γίγνονται, ὅτι δ’ ἂν προδοῶντα λαμβάνωσιν, τούτῳ οὗτε ἐπεσίζεσται πῶς ποτε οὐδὲς οὔτ’ ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ κανὰ ταύτα οὕτως ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ 30 φύσει προδότης ἐστὶν, ἀναμνήσω ἡμᾶς τά τοῦτο πεπραγμένα.

25 οὕτως γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τῶν πατέρα Ἁγνων, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μετατίθησαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦσθετο αὐτίπαλὸν τῇ δηλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὐτῷ ἢγεμόνων τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· οὗθεν δήπου 31 καὶ κόσμον οὐκειλαίται. [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμον ἀρμότευεν

4 ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς B 5 ἤρ codd. 12 ἡμᾶς τοῖς Brückner: ἡμᾶς τοῖς codd. 20 πολέμιος Weiske: πολέμιοι codd. ἀνθρωποί Cobet 29 δήπου Steph.: δήπου γὰρ codd.: δήπου et γὰρ supra l. B 30 καὶ γὰρ ... ἀμφοτέρων del. Morus
μὲν τὸις ποσὶν ἀμφοτέρως δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.] δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενε, ἀνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζήν οὐ προάγεω μὲν δεινὸν εἰναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δὲ τι ἀντικόπη, εὔθυς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀσπερ ἐν νη δια-ποιεῖσθαι, ἢς ἂν εἰς οὗρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῶς δὲν ἀφίκοισιν ποτὲ ἐνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδὰν τι ἀντικόπη, εὔθυς εἰς ἐς τὰναντία πλέον; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν ὅπῃ πάσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτείων διαναπόθοροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἰναι πλεῦστοι μὲν μεταίτιοι εἰ εἴς ὀλυγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄμου ἀποπολλεῖναι, πλεῦστοι δὲ ἕκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίωνων. οὕτως δὲ τοῖς ἐστίν· καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισσωθείη. ὡς τις γε μὴν φανερὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰὲ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντερπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτὲ φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τᾶς μεταβολὰς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτα δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύουμεν καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς. ὡς δὲ εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐνυφῆσατε. καλλιστή μὲν γὰρ ὅπῃ δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνη ἐπιχειρήσεις τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγευς τῇ πάντω ἄρχην καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴησθε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως 25 τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἁξιοθήναι; καὶ ὡμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονήση, οὐ τοῦτον ἀλλ' υμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὕτως σωθεῖς μὲν πολλοίς ἃν μεγά φρονεῖν ποιῆσει τῶν ἐναντία γεγραμμένοις ὑμῶν, ἀπολογομένοις δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι αὐν τὰς ἔλπιδας. 30 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἴπον ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστᾶς

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

II. iii

έλεξεν· 'Αλλά πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὡ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταίον κατ' ἐμοὶ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκτείναι κατηγοροῦτα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον ὅπῃ τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐφασαν προσταχθένι μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦτας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμώνα οὐδὲ πλεῖ, μὴ ὃτι ἀναρέωσα τοὺς ἄνδρας δυσατῶν ἢ, ἐδοξά τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι ο' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γαρ οἶδο τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλέοντες ήχοντο, οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω 36 γε τὸ Κριτίαν †παρανευμηκέναι†· ὃτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἢν, οὐ παρόν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θεταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκέυαξε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὤπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὃν μὲν οὖν οὕτος ἐκεὶ ἐπράττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε 37 γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τοῦτο, εἰ τις ὦμας μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βουλεύστω παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὄμω ἵσχυρος ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτῶν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι δ' ταῦτα πράττων ἕστω οὐμαί ἢ ὦμας κάλλιστα κρίνει, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ὃν 20 πράττει ἔκαστος ἴμων εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὕκοιν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ 38 ὦμας τε καταστήσατε εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεχθήσηται καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους συνοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγινωσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὕτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε κάκαθοι συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τοῦτον κἀγὼ ἢρξαμεν τάναυτα 25 τούτοις γιγνώσκειν. ἦδειν γὰρ ὃτι ἀποθνῄσκοντος μὲν τοῦ 39 Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμωνίου, ἄνδρος καὶ οὕτως καὶ δοκοῦς ἰκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὖν ἐν, οἱ ὦμοιοι τοῦτω φοβηθοῦστο, φοβοῦμεν δὲ ἐναντίον τῇ δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὃτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικέων, 30 καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πάποτε δημοτικόν οὕτε αὐτοῦ οὕτε

4 προσταχθέντα με C F

XEN. HELL.
τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαυτος, οἱ τοῦτῳ ὄμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἤμων γενέ-
40 σουτο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφωόντος ὑφ’ ἤμων ἀπολλυμένου,
ὅς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τρυῆρεις εὐθὺς πλεοῦσας παρέιχε τοῖς
ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες
ὑπόπτως ἤμων ἔξοιεν. ἀντείπου δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῶν μετοίκων 5
ἐνα ἐκατόν λαβέων ἐφασαν χρῆμα· ἐνδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι
τοῦτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἀπαντεῖς πολέμιοι τῇ
πολιτείᾳ ἐσούτο. ἀντείπου δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους
παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζουν χρῆμα ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν·
οὔτε γὰρ τούς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτων ἑνεκα βουλο-
10 μένους περισσῶσαν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ὀλίγους γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυνα-
μεθ’ αὐτοὺς ὁφελεῖν· ἔξοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοιστο,
καὶ μηδένα λαπεῖν ὄλγον ἔτι χρῆνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας.
42 οὔτε γε τὸ φρούριον μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν
τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνει, ἐως ῥαδίως ἐμέλ-
15 λομεν οἱ ἀρχουτες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσεις. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν
πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δυσμενείας, πολλοὺς
δὲ φυγόντες γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Ὁρασύβουλον
οὔτε Ἀνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι
σοῦτ σὲ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἱσχυρὸν ἐσούτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλῆθει 20
43 ἡγεμόνες ίκανοὶ προσγενήσουτο, τοὺς δ’ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλο-
μένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσουσι. ὁ τοῖτε ὦν νουθετῶν
ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενῆς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομί-
ζοῦτο; οὔχ οἱ ἐχθροῖς, ὡς Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποι-
εῖσθαι, οὔτ’ οἱ συμμάχοις πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτάσθαι, 25
οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους ἱσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον
οἱ ἀδίκοις τε χρήματα ἀφαιροῦμενοί καὶ τοὺς οὔτεν ἀδικοῦστας
ἀποκτεῖνοντες, οὐτοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναυτοὺς
ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ
44 ἐαυτοὺς δ’ αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλλος γνωστὸν ὅτι 30
ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὅδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Ὁρασύ-
βουλον καὶ Ἀυτοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ὃ ἐγὼ λέγω
12 γ’ ἐδέωντο Brückner 20 εἰ οὕτω ... τῷ μὲν C 27 τὲ] τὰ C
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β  ΙΙ. iii

μάλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γλύνεσθαι ἃν ὁ οὕτω πράττουσιν; ἐγώ μὲν γὰρ οὕμα τῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπῶς ἂν ἴγνούσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποιεῖν τῆς χώρας. ἃ δὲ εἰπέν ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος αὐτοί ποτε μεταβάλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγας ἐψηφίσατο, διδακσκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τάση πολιτεία μάλλον ἂν ἡ δημοκρατία πιστεύσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεκαί 46 αἰσθανοῦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 'Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀριστοκρατία σφατηγοῦσιν φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώρατι ἑρμία τεῖχιζοντες, εἰς ὁ ἐβαύλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖξαν ψυχοῦν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταύτ' αἰσθανοῦσαν ἐγὼ διεκὼλυν, τοῦτ' ἑστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν 15 φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορον με, ὡς ἀμφότεροι πειρώμενοι 47 ἀρμότεροι. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τούτων δὲ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρῆ; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντως μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζεις, εἰς δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντως μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαί. ἐγὼ δ', ὁ 48 Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἂεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν [ἂν] καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δ' ἄποριαν δραχμὴς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τῇ πόλιν ἄρα γε, καὶ μετέχουσι, καὶ τοῦτο γ' αὖ ἂεί ἐναντίος εἰμί οἱ οὐκ ὀφείλεμεν καλὴν ἂν γεγενεῖσθαι ὀλγαρχίαν, πρὶν [ἂν] εἰς 25 τὸ ὑπ' ὅλῃς τυραννεῖσθαι τῇ πόλις καταστῆσαι. τὸ μὲντοι σὺν τοῖς δυσαμένοις καὶ μεθ' ὅπων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ἀφελείς διὰ τούτων τήν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. εἰ δ' ἐχεις εἰπέω, ὁ 49 Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἃ τυραννοῦσαν τοὺς 30 καλοὺς τε κάγαθους ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε·


4*
II. iii  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

έαν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχάτα παθῶν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθυγήσκειν.

50 Ὁσὶ δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλή δὴ λεγεῖ ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθυρβήσασα, γνώσις ὁ Κρίτιας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύγει, καὶ τούτῳ οὐ βιωτῶν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλέχθεις τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξήλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκεῖλευσι τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐχοῦσιν φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἔπι τοῖς ὀρφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν ἐπευγ. Ἑγὼ, ὃ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον ἐίναι οἷον δεῖ, ὅ ἂν ὅρων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὗ τούτο ποίησι. καὶ γὰρ οἴδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασὶν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τῶν φανερῶς τῆν ὀλυγαρχίαν λυμαίνονταν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς κανοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων ἀποθυγήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα βανατούν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἐφή, Ὁθραμένην τούτου εἶξαλεῖφρον ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῖν ἀπασίων ἡμῖν. καὶ τούτον, ἐφή, ἡμεῖς βανατούμεν.

52 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θοραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίναν καὶ ἐπευγ. Ἑγὼ δ', ἐφή, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννοομάτα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κρίτια εἰναι ἐξαλειφὲν μὴ χει μήτε ὑμῶν ὅν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὀντερ νόμον οὕτω ἐγραφαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τούτον καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐμοί τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐφή, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνω, 25 ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκέσει δὲ ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βουλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὕτω οὐ μόνον εἰς ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεῶν ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἐφή, ὃ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἔμοι 30 54 ὅνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἡ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

2 ἐσχάτα V D : ἐσχάτωτα cct. 5 ἐπιτρέψει cct. 13 ὑμῶν B 19 ὑμῶν C M 21 τοὺς πάντων ἐννομωτάτουs B 31 ἐξαλειπτότερον B
II. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

1. εκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κήρυξ τοὺς ἐνδεκα ἐπὶ τῶν Ὄθραμένης· εκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἤγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θεραπευτῶν τε καὶ ἄναι-δεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίσομεν ὡμῶν, ἔφη.

5. Ὄθραμένης τοιοῦτοι κατακεκριμένοι κατὰ τῶν νόμων· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἐνδεκα οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὅσ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται· ὁ δὲ Ὄθραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκός καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλείτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθοράν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἤ δὲ βούλη ἤσυχαν εἰχεν, ὀρώσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἄγουόντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς 56 μᾶλλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν 15 ῥήμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῶν. ὃς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξειτο, εἰ μὴ σωπῆσειν, ἔπηρεν· 'Ἀν δὲ σιωπᾷ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξεια; καὶ ἔπει γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἐπιε, τὸ λειτόμενον ἐφασαν ἀποκοταβάζαντα εἰπεὶν αὐτὸν. Κριτία τοῦτον ἐστὼ τῷ καλῷ, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγ· 20 νοῦ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, εἴκειν δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀγαστῶν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρύνωμαι μήτε τὸ παγυνώοις ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Θοραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, IV ὡς ἐξὸν ἦδη αὐτῶς τυφάνειν ἀδεώς, προείπον μὲν τοῖς 25 ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσέλθειν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἔγιν γε ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ῥ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἁγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιά καὶ ἐνετέθειν πολ· λούς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωροῦντων.

30 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ὀθρασύβουλος ὁμοθείς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν 2 ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ

1 εκέλευσε] εκάλεσε Steph. 3 τοῦ om. B te B: αὐτῶν cet.
5 Ὄθραμένη B M D V 6 οἱ ἐνδεκα del. Naber
II. iv

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

tριάκοντα ἑβούθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεώς σύν τε τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ σύν τοὺς ἰππεύσι καὶ μᾶλ' εὐμερίας οὕςης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκουστο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα 3 δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. Βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα 5 ἀποτελήσαντες, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσησαι αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἔπηγάγεται τῆς νυκτὸς χίων παμπλήθης καὶ τῇ υστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νυφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς 4 ἀποβαλόντες. γυνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν 10 λεβαστήσουν, ἐλ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἐσούτο, διαπέμποντος εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Δακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φιουρων καὶ τῶν ἰππέων δύο φυλάσ. οὕτω δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίω 5 ἐφιλαττοῦν. ὁ δὲ Θερασύβουλος, ἡδὴ συνελεγμένων εἰς τὴν 15 Φυλῆν περὶ ἐπτασίσιν, λαβῶν αὐτοὺς καταβαινεῖ τῆς νυκτὸς. θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον τρία ἡ τέταρα στάδια ἐπὶ τῶν 6 ὄπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχουντες τοὺς ἰπποὺς ψόφον 20 ἐποίουν, εὐ τοῦτο ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θερασύβουλον τὰ ὄπλα δρόμῳ προσέπτουσιν καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὕς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεφάμενοι έδίωξαν εὗ ἡ ἐπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πλέον ἡ ἐκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἰππέων Νικόστρατον τε τῶν καλῶν ἐπικαλούμενοι, 25 7 καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ὧν, ἐτὶ καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπι- ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στηράμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀστεως ἰππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐτὶ ἔδω, προσμείναντες δὲ ἐως τους νεκροὺς ἀνεί- 30 λυντο οἱ προσήκουντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἀστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

3 προσέβαλλον B F: προσέβαλλον cet. 6 ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς C F
9 ὑπὸ Wyttenbach: ἀπὸ codd. 16 φυλὴν F, V corr.: βουλὴν cet.
19 post ἐκαστὸς lacunam stat. Laves 27 καὶ alterum B: om. cet.
οὶ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζουσι ἀσφαλῆ σφῶς τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἑλευσίνα ἐξειδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἰναι σφῶς καταφυγῆ, εἰ δεύσει. καὶ παραγγέλαντες τοῖς ἱππεύσων ἥλθον εἰς Ἑλευσίνα Κρίτης τε καὶ οἱ άλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· 5 ἐξέτασαν τε ποιήσαντες εν τοῖς ἱππεύσι, φάσκοντες εἶδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσι καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσωστο, ἐκέλευσεν ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν ὅτε ἀπογραφάμενον ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξείναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθὲν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' 10 ἐξόντα ἅει οὐ περίτεται συνεδρῴου. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τοῦ ἱππαρχοῦ ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὕστερᾳ εἰς τὸ 9 Ὀμδείου παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστάς δὲ Κρίτας ἔλεξεν Ἡμεῖς, 15 ἐφθ', ὁ ἀνδρεί, οὐδὲν ἤτων ὑμῖν κατασκεύασμεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἤμων αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὅσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κυνδύων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἑλευσίνων καταψυχήσετέν ἐστίν, ὡς ταῦτα ἦμιν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβήσθε. δείξας δὲ τι χωρίων, εἰς 20 τούτο ἐκέλευεν φανερών φέρεων τὴν ψήφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ 10 φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἠμέσει τοῦ Ὀμδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἥν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτέων μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Ὄρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλής 25 περὶ χιλίους ὑδὴ συνειλημμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τῶν Πειραιῶν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὖθυς ἐξιόθησαν σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἐπείτη ἐχώρους κατὰ τὴν εἰς τῶν Πειραιῶν ἀμαξίτων ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχεί- 11 30 ρησαν μὴ ἀνείναι αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὑπὸ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδύκει δεῖσθαι οὕτω πολλοῖς οὕτω, συνε-
σπευράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἄγοραν ἑλθόντες πρὸτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὡστε ἐμπλήσας τὴν ὀδόν ἣ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βεινδίδειον καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἑλάττων ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἄσπιδων. οὕτω δὲ 5

ουτεπεταγμένοι ἐχόρους ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὀδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλάς ἐγένοντο. ἑταξίθησαν μέντοι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψυλοὶ ἀκούσατα, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὕτωι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν 10 ὃ δὲ προσήγαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Ἡρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσαμε κελεύσας τὰς ἄσπιδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τα δ' ἄλλα

οὐτα εἴχων, κατὰ μέσου στὰς ἐλέεξεν. Ἄνδρες πολίται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμμῆναι υμιν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶν τῶν προσιώνων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξίων ἑχοντες οὖν ύμεῖς ἥμεραν 15 πέμπτην τρεφάμενοι ἑδιόξατε, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ευωνύμου ἕσχατοι, οὕτωι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσαν υδάεων ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξῆλανων καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοις παραγεγένηται οὐ οὕτως ύμις δὲ ἀεὶ 20 ἡμῖν ὁμέθηκα. ἑχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέστασεν, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦστε συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἄδικοῦντες, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἐπιθημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμώνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν 25 ἡμῶν συμφέρη, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν εὐτών ἐναντίοι οἷοι οὕτω προσπεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθῶν

ΕΔΗΝΙΚΩΝ Β

ιέναι δύναντι ἢν, ἤμεις δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκοίντα καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθα τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς καταπράσωμεν. καὶ ἔσετο μὲν ἢν τὸν ἴσου μάχεσθαι νῦν δὲ, ἢν ἤμεις, 5 ὀσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὔδείς ὄν γε μεστή ἡ ὄδος, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ὀραπετευσοῦσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὦστε ἐξεσταί ὀσπερ τυφλοῖς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἢν βουλόμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπεις. ἀλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρῆ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἐκαστὸς τις ἐαυτῷ 17 

συνείσται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώσατος ὅν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡμῶν, ἂν ἅθος θέλη, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἶκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τίμας καὶ παῖδας, ὁδις εἰσὶ· καὶ γνώσακε. ὃ μακάριοι δῆτα, ὃ ἢν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσοι τὴν πασῶν ἥδιστῃ ἡμέρᾳν. εὐδαίμονες δὲ καὶ ἢν τὸς ἀπόθανος. μυνημείου 15 γὰρ οὔδείς οὕτω πλοῦσιοι ὅν καλὸ τεῦξαται. ἔξαρξι μὲν οὖν ἤγου ἡμῖν ἢν καιρὸς ἡ παῖνα: ὅταν δὲ τὸν 'Εννάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀν' ὃν ὑπρίσηθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τους ἄνδρας.

Ταῦτα δ' εἶπον καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναυτῶν, 18 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντες παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἔπιτιθεσθαι, πρῶς [ἀν] τῶν σφετέρων ἡ πέσοι τις ἡ τρωθεί· ἐπειδὰν μὲντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἐφ', ἤμεις, νίκη ὃ ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένους, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὃς γε μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐγεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 19 

ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὀσπερ ὑπὸ μοῖρας τῶν ἀγόμενοι ἐκπετήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποθητήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκου καὶ κατεδώξεσαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, 25 τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιᾷ δέκα ἄρχοντων Ἀρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα ἔλαβον,

1 ιέναι Madvig 2 ἀφιέντες FV: ἐφιέντες cet. 13 ὅμων F 20 παρήγγειλεν F corr. D pr. 21 ὅν del. 21 Dind.
II. iv ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

tous de χιτώνας οὐδενός τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἔπει δὲ τούτῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν,
20 προσιόντες ἀλλήλους πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ
tῶν μυστῶν κηρὺς, μαλ' εὐφώνως ὄν, κατασκηνοκόλομος ἐξέβγα
'Ανδρες πολίται, τί ήμασ ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι 5
βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ήμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποίη-
σαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ἰδίῳ τῶν σεμνοτάτων
καὶ θυσίων καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχροευταί
καὶ συμφοιτηταί γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατίωται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ἰδίων κεκυνδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ ἀναταται 10
ὕπερ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἰδίων σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἑλευθε-
21 ρίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρὸφοι καὶ μητρόφοι καὶ συγγενειάς καὶ
κηδεστίας καὶ έταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τοὺτων πολλοὶ κοινω-
νούμεν ἀλλήλους, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους
παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείδοθε 15
τοῖς ἀνοσιώτατοι τριάκοντα, οἱ ἱδίων κερδέων ἐνεκα διέγον
δειν πλείον ἀπεκτόνας : 'Αθηναίων ἐν ὁκτω μησών ἡ πάντες
22 Πελοποινήσιοι δέκα ἐτή πολεμοῦντες. ἐξῶν δ' ἰδίων ἐν
eἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὕτω τῶν πάντων αἰδούμενοι καὶ
cαλεστάτων καὶ ἀνοσίωτατοι καὶ ἔθεσιν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ 20
ἀνθρώπους πόλεμον ἰδίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' ἐν
γε μέντοι ἐπίπτασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ ἰδίων ἀποδα-
nυόντων οὐ μόνον ἰδεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖς ἐστιν οὕς πολλὰ
kαταδκρύσαμεν.
'Ο μὲν τοιαύτα ἐλεγεν' οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ 25
τὸ τοιαύτα προσακοῦεν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ
23 ἀστυν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνω δὴ ταπεινῷ
cαὶ ἔρημοι συνεκαθηνυ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν δὲ τρισυχλίων
ὦπον ἐκαστοὶ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, παυταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς
ἀλλήλους. οὕς μὲν γὰρ ἐπεπούκεσθαν τι βιωότερον καὶ 30
ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἐλεγον ὅς οὐ χρείᾳ καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς

10 prior καὶ om. omnes praeter B 13 κηδεστίας Nauck
26 ’étairolas C 26 ἐαντών CF 31 χρείᾳ B; χρή(η) cet.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ B

ἐν Πειραιεῖ: ὄσοι δὲ ἐπιστευον μηδὲν ἧδικηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζουτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν ἔδωκτο τοῦτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρήμα πεῖθεσθαι οὑδ’ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύσαι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ 5 τελευταίου ἐφησισταύτο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαύσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἑλέσθαι. καὶ εἴλουτο δέκα, ἔνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἑλευσίναδε ἀπῆλθον οἱ δὲ δέκα 24 τῶν ἐν ἀστει καὶ μᾶλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἄλληλοις σὺν τοῖς ἵππαρχοις ἑπεμέλειτο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ 10 καὶ οἱ ἑπείες ἐν τῷ Ὀμιδεῷ, τοὺς τε ἱππους καὶ τὰς ἁσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι’ ἀπιστιάν ἐφώδενον τὸ μὲν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν κατὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὀρθρὸν σὺν τοῖς ἱπποις, αἱ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ἐπεισεπέσειον tines αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε τῇ ὅθη ὀφθεῖ καὶ παντο- 25 δαιπ., ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἐξίλων, οἱ δὲ υἱόνια, καὶ ταῦτα ἑλευκώνων. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οὕτως συμπολεμήσεως, καὶ εἰ ξένῳ εἶει, ἱσο- τελειαν ἐσεθαί, ἐξήσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὄπλαται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆται: ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑπείες ὡσεὶ ἐξομήκουται: 20 προνομᾶς δὲ ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ἔξω καὶ ὁπώραν, ἐκαθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεί. τῶν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως ἄλλους 26 μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆς, οἱ δὲ ἑπείες ἔστων ὅτε καὶ ἀρσᾶς ἐχειροῦν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουσ. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἴξωνέων τισῶν 25 εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄγροις ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτιθεὶα πορευεμένοις· καὶ τούτος Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἱππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύον· τα καὶ πολλών χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππεῶν. ἀνταπέκτεναι 27 δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπ’ ἂγροι λαβώντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γαρ ἦδη μέγα ἐφρό- 30 νουν, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ ἀστεος προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεί εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀστει,
II. iv

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τῶν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμου μέλλονεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἁμαξιάιοις λίθοις ἁγεω καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἐκαστὸς βούλιοτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὅσ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἐκαστὸς τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς 5 Λακεδαιμόνα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα εἷς Ἑλευσίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ εἷς ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύωντων, ὡς ἀφετηρίος τοῦ θήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι σιῶν τε εἰς ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκήσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ κατὰ τέ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 10 ἀποκλεισθεῖσαι, συνεπράξεν ἐκατὸν τε τάλαμα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἄρμοστήν, Λύβων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσίναδε συνελεγεν ὅπλας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐφιλατταν ὅπως 15 μηδὲν εἰσπλεόν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦντων Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατεργάσμενος ταῦτα ἀμα μὲν εὐδοκιμῆσαι, ἀμα δὲ ίδιας ποιήσειτο 20 τὰς Ἀθηναίας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἔξαγεν φρούραν.

30 συνείσπευσε δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βουιντών καὶ Κορυνθίων· οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐφορκεῖν ἂν στρατεύματο ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων μηδὲν παράστος ποιῶν· ἐπραττὼν δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίων 25 βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλομείνῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεὶ δεξίῳ ἑξὼν κέρας, 31 Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐκέλευεν 30 ἀπείναι ἐπὶ τὰ εἰαυτῶν ἐπεὶ δ' ὅπικ ἐπέθυνον, προσέβαλλεν

1 εἰκ] ἐν B: εἰς C pr. 9 τῶ B: om. cet. 20 ποιήσεως B: ποιήσειος cet. 29 post εὐώνυμον add. Ἑλευσίνι Herwerden 31 προσέβαλλεν Leonclavius in marg.: προσέβαλεν V: προσέβαλλον aut προσέβαλον cet.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ B

II. iv

...οςον ἀπὸ βοής ἐνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἰη ἐπιμενής αὐτοῖς ὅν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραὶ λαβών τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλᾶς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν 5 λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαπτεῖχιστοτάτος εἰη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπόντως αὐτοῦ προσέθεν των καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ 32 παρέίχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρῆγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλάν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ [τοὺς] τὰ δέκα ἁφ' ἡβῆς συνέπσεθαι· σὺν δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἐπικολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς 10 τριάκοντα τῶν ψυλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδώξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοὶ θέατρον. ἔκει δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε 33 πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὅπλιται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψυλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἥκοντιζον, ἐβαλλοῦν, ἔτοξενον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπει αὐτῶν πολλοὶ 15 ἐπιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχόρων ἐπὶ πόδα: οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μάλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐντάθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει . Χαῖρον τε καὶ Θύβραχος, ἀμφοὶ πολεμάρχοι, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος 34 20 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅπλιται, ἐβοῆθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν' ὄκτῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας μᾶλλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρῆσας οὕσον στάδια τέτταρα ἤ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρῆγγελε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς. ἔκει δὲ συνταξάμενος παυτελῶς 25 βαθείαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χείρας μὲν ἐξέβανατο, ἐπεὶτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεωθησάν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς 'Αλαίσ πηλῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλων· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκάτον. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τροπαῖον 35 στηρίσας ἀνεχόρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὃς ὅργιζε τοῦτος, ἄλλα 30 λάθρᾳ πέμπτων ἐξίδαςκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὧη χρῆ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπτεν πρὸς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἑφόρους.

οἱ δὲ ἐπείθουντο. διώστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ, καὶ ἐκέλευν πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν ἰδοῦν τοίς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινὴ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίωις χίλιοι
36 εἶναι. ἦδεως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλέδας ἐφοροῖ δὲ σεννή-5 κοινὲν ὄσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὕτως τε καὶ ἀλλος, ἀμφό-
tεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προβῆμος ἐπεμποῦ τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς 10 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ
37 ἀστεῖ διώστας, [καὶ] Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἐπεμποῦ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεῖος λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παρα-
dιόδασι καὶ τὰ τεῖχα ἄ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαι-
15 μονίους χρῆσθαι δ᾽ ἐπὶ βούλουσιν. ἄξιον δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασών εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίωις, παρα-
38 διδόναι τόν τε Πειραιά καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ, ἐξεπεμψαν πεντεκαὶδέκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν 20 Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διάλ-
λαξαν ἐφ᾽ ὦτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλόλους, ἀπίειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστῶν πλῆθ ἄνω τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδέκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δὲ τῶν
39 φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἀστεως, ἐδοξὲν αὐτοῖς Ἑλεουσία κατοικεῖν. 25 τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν δφεκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἐπεί δὲ κατέβησαν† οἱ
40 στρατηγοὶ, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν 'Τμῶν, ἐφη,
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ B

II. iv

ω ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεῶς ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνώναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ’ ἂν γνοίτε, εἰ ἀναλογίσασθε ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμῶν μέγα φροντεύου ἑστίν, ὡστε ὑμῶν ἀρχεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροι ἐστε; ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν δήμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὄντως ἐπὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἑνὲκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἥδικηκεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιότεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ ἄισχρα ἑνὲκα κερδῶν πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκε, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπὶ ἄνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φροντεύον. καὶ τῆς ἄν καλλίων κρίσις τοῦτον γένοιτο ἦ ὡς 41 ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίνει’ ἂν προέχει, οὐ ἐχοντες καὶ τείχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίων ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἑχοντων περείληψεν; ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίων δὴ οἶδες μέγα φροντεύον εἶναι; πῶς, οὔτε ὅσπερ τοὺς δάκνουτας κύνας κλοιόφ

15 ὁδηγοὺς παραδοῦσαι, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδούντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δῆμῳ οἴχουται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε 42 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, αὔξω ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμοιόκατε παραβηναι οὑδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καλοῖς ἐπιδεῖξαί, ὦτι καὶ ἐφορκοὶ καὶ ὅσιοι ἐστε. ἐπὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, 20 καὶ ὦτι οὐδὲν δεός ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαῖος χρησία, ἀνέστησε τῷ ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν 43 ἀρχαῖα καταστησάμενοι ἐπολειτεύοντο· ὑστέρω δὲ χρῶν ἀκούσας εἴνονι μισθοῦσατο τοὺς Ἔλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι παντείμε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγον

25 ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰστηκαίντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαῖος ἐπεισαν συναλλαγήναι. καὶ ὁμοσαντο ὀρκοὺς ἡ μὴ μὴ μνησικάκησεν, ἤτ’ καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολείτευονται καὶ τοῖς ὀρκοὺς ἐμμένει ο ὅδημος.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ

'Ἡ μὲν ὅτι Ἀθηναίοις στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἥζιον, οὗσπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαίμονιος ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαίμονιοὺς αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ 5 οὗ ἔφοροι δύκαια νομίζοντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμῦ τῷ τότε μανάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κῦρῳ, εἰ τι δέοιτο. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἔδειξθῇ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κῦρον περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κυλικᾶ, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κυλικᾶς ἀρχοντα Συνένεσιν μὴ δύνα-10 σθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κῦρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα. ὃς μὲν οὗν Κῦρος στράτευσά τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων 2 ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τῶν ἄδελφον, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

15 Ἕπειρ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ αἴγιος βασιλεῖ δόξας 3 γεγενήσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῶν ἄδελφον πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμψα ὄν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἤρχε καὶ ὄν Κῦρος, εὖθυς ἥζιον τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἰ δὲ ἀμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἀμα δὲ φοβοῦμεναι 20 τοῦ Τισσαφέρνης, ὅτι Κῦρον, δὴ ἢ, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἠρμῆνεν ἤσταν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχομαι αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαι-μονα δὲ ἐπεμπῶν πρὸς βείς, καὶ ἥζιον, ἐπεῖ πάσης τῆς Ἑλ- λάδος προστάται εἰςώ, ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ

9 ἐποίησεν Β 11 συνέλεξεν Β 16 τῶν ομ. Μ
XEN. HELL.
'Ἄσια Ἐλληνῶν, ὡποὺς ἦ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῦτο αὐτῶν καὶ 4 αὐτοὶ ἑλευθεροὶ εἰεν. οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐ- τοῖς Θῖβρωνα ἀρμοστῆν, δῶντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδα- μώδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἀλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἦττοστο δ' ὁ Θῖβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων 5 τριακοσίων ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες 5 κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἑναπόλοικον. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰσιαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε [μὲν] στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἤπειρᾳ Ἐλληνῶν πόλεων τάσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ 10 πόλεις ἐπέθεον τῷ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνήρ ἐπιτάττων. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιῷ ὅρῳ Θῖβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ 6 πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάτα δὲ εἰ ὁποιον τυγχάνοι ὡν, δύνατο 6 ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδήμωτον διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθεῖται ὡς αὐταῖστες μὲν Κύρου κυνείμεθα αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἦδη 15 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκοῦσαν προσελάβης καὶ Τευθρανίων καὶ Ἀλι- σαρων, ἄνεν Εὔρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἳ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιον ἐκεῖνος δ' αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα ὄρουν ἐκ βασιλέως ἑδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα συστρα- 20 τεῖας προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγυλοῦ, ἀδελφοὶ δ' ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὃ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλατιγάμβριον, 5 ὁ δὲ Μύριῳ καὶ Γρύνεωι δῷδωρον καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἢσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλου, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας ἐφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ἂς ἀσθενείς οὕτας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θῖβρων 25 ἐλάμβανε. Λάρισαν γε μὴ τὴν Ἀλιγπτιάν καλομένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοποδεσμάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλωσ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὀρνύτευν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ 9 μὲν del. Cobet 12 ὄρων] ὄρρωδῶν Palmerius τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπος add. ante τὸ ἱππικὸν Herwerden: τῶν πολεμίων add. ante ἱππικοὺν Otto 15 συνεμίξαν pap. frag. P: συνεμίξαν cet. 17 προσεκα- βεν P ἀλισαρνίαν codd. [P]: corr. Schneider 29 ὑφαίρησόμενος
τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνεβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ἕξιλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὐ τοι νελώνην ἔπεστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαίοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν, δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὔδεν 5 ποιεῖν, πέμποντας οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη οὗτος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικὸς· καὶ ἐπεκαλείτο δὲ Σίσυφος. 10 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἐβερων ἀπήλθεν οὐκαδεὶς καὶ ξημωθεὶς ἑφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐφείῃ ἀρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ 9 στρατεύμα, γνὸν ὑπόπτους οὕτας ἀλλῆλους τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, κοινολογήσαμεν τῷ Τισσαφέρνει 15 ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβαζίον χώραν τὸ στρατεύμα, ἔλομενος θατέρῳ μάλλον ἢ ἄμα ἁμφοτέρους πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ· ἀρμοστής γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Δυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦτος, διαβληθεῖς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη τῇ ἀσπίδᾳ ἔχων, δ 20 δοκεῖ κηλίς εἶναι τοὺς σπουδαίους Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀσάξιας γὰρ ξημωμάτω ἔστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ὤδουν ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἰεί. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσοῦτῳ διεφερεν εἰς τὸ 10 ἄρχεων τοῦ Ἐβερωνος ὡστε παρῆγαγε τὸ στρατεύμα διὰ τῆς φυλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβαζίου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας 25 τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολίς αὐτὴ ἦν μὲν Φαρναβαζίον, ἐσατράπηεν δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἐως μὲν ἐξί, Ζήμιος Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνοις νόσῳ ἀπέθανεν, παρασκευάζομεν τοῦ Φαρναβαζίου ἀλλὰ δοῦναι τὴν στρατεύειν, Μανία ἡ τοῦ 30 Ζήμιος γυνὴ, Δαρδανεύς καὶ αὐτὴ, ἀναξεύσας στόλον καὶ ὅρα λαβοῦσα ὡστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβαζίῳ δοῦναι καὶ παλ-

1 ἐνεβαλον [P] B V: ἐνεβάλλον cet. Photius ἐπεκαλείτο C 13 τισσαφέρην B 9 μηχανικὸς C F V pr. 27 ταύτης om. C F V 5 *
λακίσων αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ
11 Φαρναβάζῳ, ἔπορεύετο. ἐλθοῦσα δὲ εἶς λόγους εἶπεν Ὅ
Φαρνάβαζε, ὅ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τᾶλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς
φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὡστε σὺ ἐπαυὼν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἂν οὖν
ἐγὼ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνων ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεὶ ἄλλοις 5
σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δὲ τί σοι μὴ ἄρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοι
12 δὴ πον ἐσται ἄφελομένῳ ἐμὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἄρχην. ἀκού-
σας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρναβάζος ἔγνω δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα σατράπεων.
ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρίᾳ τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τε φόρους οὐδὲν
ήττου τῶν ὀρθῶν ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅποτε ἀφικνοῦτο 10
πρὸς Φαρναβάζου, ἀεὶ ἤγε δῶρα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅποτε ἐκείνως εἰς
tὴν χώραν καταβαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα
13 καὶ ἤδηστα ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἂς τε παρέδαξε πόλεις διεφύ-
λατεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ὧν ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαστι-
δίας Λάρισᾶν τε καὶ Ἀρμαδία καὶ Κολωνᾶς, ἐγεῖκὸ μὲν 15
'Ελληνικῷ προσβαλόντα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἀρμα-
μάζης θεωμένη· ὅν δ' ἐπανέσεες, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως
ἐδίδου, ὡστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ἐξεικόν κατεσκευάσατο. συνε-
πρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὅποτε εἰς Μυσόν ἡ
Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν, 20
ὡστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρναβάζος καὶ
14 σύμβουλον ἐστών οτε παρεκάλει. ἤδη δ' οὖν ἴσα δ' ἐτών,
πλέον ἢ τετπάρακτα, Μειδίας, δυνατρὸς ἀνήρ ἴσα δ' ἐτών,
ἀναπτροφεῖς ὑπὸ τινῶν ὃς αἰσχρὸν εἰπὶ γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν,
αὐτῶν δ' ἴδιότητι ἐστί, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαπομείνης 25
αὐτής, ὢσπερ ἐν τυραννικί προσήκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευοῦσι
καὶ ἀπαξιομενής ὢσπερ ἄν γυνὴ γαμβρον ἀσπάζοντο, εἰσελ-
θηθῶν ἄποπυρζαι αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπεκτενέες δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ
αὐτής, τὸ τε εἴδος ὅντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὅντα ὃς ἐπτα-
15 καὶδέκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργυθα ἔχυρᾶς 30
πόλεις κατέσχεν, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ χρῆματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μαύλα.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ

α) δ' ἀλλ' πόλεις οὐκ ἔδεχοντο αυτῶν, ἀλλ' Φαρναβάζῳ ἔσωσαν αυτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δόρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἥξιον ἔχεω τὴν χώραν ὡσπέρ ἡ Μανία. δ' ἀπεκρίσατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἐστ' ἄν αὐτὸς 5 ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῷ ἑκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δώρα· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐφη θην βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανία. δ' ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ 16 τῷ καιρῷ ἀφίκνεταί, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαζόναν καὶ Κωλώνας τὰς ἐπιθαλασσίας πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβες· τέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις 10 ἥξιον ἐλευθεροῦσα τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τεῖχα δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίγνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλίτης ἐπειθόντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἑλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἔπει η Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάντως περείπουντο· δ' ἐν Κεβρήνη, μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχουν, 17 15 νομίσας, οἱ διαφωλάζει Φαρναβάζῳ τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθήραι ἂν ὑπ' ἑκείνου, οὐκ ἔδεχετο τοῦ Δερκυλίδαν. δ' δὲ ὄργιζόι· μενος παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἔπει δὲ θυμομένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγένετο τὸ ἱερὰ τῇ πρωτῇ, τῇ υπεραλή πάλιν ἐθύετο. ὡς δὲ οὖδε ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ μέχρι 20 τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων· ἐσπευδάς γὰρ πρὶν Φαρναβάζῳ βοηθῆσαι ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. Ἀθηνάδας δὲ τις Σικυωνίων λοχαγός, 18 νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φυλαρεῖν διατρίβουτα, αὐτὸς δ' ἰκανὸς εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα ἀφελεῖται τοὺς Κεβρήνους, προσφέρα. 25 μῶν σὺν τῷ ἐαυτὸν τάξει ἐπειράτο τὴν κρήνην συγχών. οἱ δὲ ἐνδοθεν ἐπεξελύσατε αὐτῶν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἄπεκτεναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παῖοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπῆλασαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἄθυμοτέραν καὶ τὴν προσβολήν ἐσεθεῖ έκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ 30 τῶν Ἐλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἴπον ὅτι ἂ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοῦ, οὐκ ἄρεσκοι σφίες, αὐτὸλ δὲ βούλουστο σὺν τοῖς Ἑλλησπον...
III.1 ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

19 μάλλον ἦ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἐτι δὲ διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχοντος αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὃ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὠσπέρ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκώς ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὧπλα ἱγείτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δὲ 5 ἀναπετάσαντες ἔδεξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα φρον- 
20 ροὺς εὐθὺς ἦς ἐπὶ τὴν Ζκῆψυ καὶ τὴν Γέργιδα. ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὅκυρον δ’ ἦδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἄν 
εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πό- 
λεως ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἔνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων ὅπόσους τε καὶ ὅποιος βοῦλοιτο. ὁ δὲ λαβοῦν δέκα ἔξηλθε, 
καὶ συμμείξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἡρώτα ἐπὶ τίς ἄν σὺμμαχος 
γένοιτο. ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ’ ὃτε τοὺς πολίτας ἔλευθερον 
τε καὶ αὐτοῦμοις ἐὰν. καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦς πρὸς τὴν 15 
21 Ζκῆψυ. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἄν δύνατο κωλύει 
βία τῶν πολιτῶν, εἶασεν αὐτῶν εἰσίνειαν. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας 
θύμας τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ζκῆψων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς μὲν 
τοῦ Μειδίου φρονουρόσ εξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις 
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος, ὠσπέρ Ἐλλήνας καὶ ἔλευ- 
20 θέρους χρή, οὐτω πολιτευόμενο, ἐξελθών ἱγείτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέρ- 
γιδα. συμπροϋπερμον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Ζκῆψων, 
22 τιμῶντες τε καὶ ἡδομενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. ὁ δὲ Μειδίας 
παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἥξιον τὴν τῶν Γεργυλίων πόλιν παρα- 
δοὺναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν 25 
δικαίων οὐδενός ἀτυχήσοι· ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦς πρὸς τὰς 
πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδία, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἱκολούθει αὐτῷ 
εἰρήνικῶς εἰς δύο. οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ψηλῶν 
ὄντων ὀρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος 
δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα· Κέλευσον, ὁ Μειδία, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας, 30 
ἔνα ἡγή μὲν σὺ, ἐγώ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ιερὸν ἐλθο κανταῦθα.
ΕΛΑΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ ΙΙΙ.1

θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, οἱ Μειδίας ὄκνει μὲν ἀνοίγεις ὑπὸ πῦλας, φοβοῦμεν δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα συλληφθῆναι, ἐκέλευς ἀνοίξαι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὐτὸν τῶν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν 23 ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιῶτας ἐκέλευς θέσθαι· περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθεν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέθυντο, ἀνείπτε καὶ τοὺς Μειδιοὺς δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόμαι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· Μειδία γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινόν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν τοῦ Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοῖς, ἐπεν· 'Εγὼ 24 μὲν τοῖς ἄπειμι, ἐφη, ἔνιμα σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δὲ, Οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἐφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μη ξενίζεις σέ. μὲν εὖν παρ' ἥμων· ἐν ὧ δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευαζότα, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διασκεψάμεθα καὶ πούσωμεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, 25 ἦροτα δ' Ἑρκυλίδας. Ἐπεὶ μοι, ὧ Μειδία, ὧ πατὴρ σε ἀρχοντα τοῦ οὐκου κατέλυπε; Μάλιστα, ἐφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἤσαν; πόσοι δὲ χωροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαι; ἀπογράφοντο καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηνίων ἐπον. Ψευδεταί σε ὑστος, ὧ Ἑρκυλίδα. Ὡμείς δὲ γ', ἐφη, μὴ λίαν μικρολογεῖσθε. 26 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέρατο τὰ πατρία: Ἐπεὶ μοι, ἐφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἤν; οἱ πάντες ἐπον ὅτι Φαρβαβάζου. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἐφη, Φαρβαβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἐφασάν. Ἡμετέρ' ἄν εἴη, ἐφη, ἐπεὶ κρατούμεν πολέμιος γὰρ ἥμων Φαρβαβάζους. ἀλλ' ἡγεῖσθος τις, ἐφη, ὅπου κεῖται τὰ Μανίας καὶ 25 τὰ Φαρβαβάζου. ήγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας 27 οἰκήσων, ἦν παρειλήφθη ὁ Μειδίας, ἥκολοθεὶ κάκεινος. ἐπεῖ δ' εἰσῆλθεν, ἐκάλεσε ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, ἐφασάσας δὲ τοῖς ύπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτούς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὅσα εἰ τὰ κλέπτοντες ἁλώσουσι τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγῆς 30 σοὐς. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεί εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσκήμυματο καὶ φυλακας κατέστησεν. ἐξίων δὲ 28

3 αὖ τοῦ] αὐτῶν C F 4 ἐκέλευε B : ἐκέλευσε cet. 5 αὑτῶν Dind. 10 μὲν τοῖνον D : μέντοι νῦν cet. 14 διασκεψάμεθα ... πούσωμεν V pr. D corr. 18 ψευδεταί B
οὐς ἔπει ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰργαστεῖ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοὶ ὁκτακισχίλιοι ἀνδρᾶσιν· ἂν δὲ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ’ εἶπε γιγνώσκοιν ότι ἀκούσατε πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικότεροι ἐσωτερ. ἐρωμένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου. Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρῆ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, δὲ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτῷ Σκῆψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ.

II

‘Ο μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραζάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὑν ὥκτῳ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύσετο ὅπως ἂν μῇ ἐν τῇ θυλία χειμάζων βαρὺς εἴη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὡσπερ Θίβρων, μηδ’ αὐτοὶ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ Ἰππῷ κακουργῆ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλειται εἰρήμην ἡ πόλεμον ἐχεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὗτοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίζασι τὴν Ἀιολίδα ἐπιτετείχωσασι τῇ ἐαυτῷ ὑοῖσει Φρυγία, σπουδὰς εἶλετο.

2. ὂς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἔλθων δ’ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίδα Θράκην εἰκεί διεχείμαζεν, οὔδ’ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πάνυ τι ἀχομένου πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δ’ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἅγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτίθεια διετέλευτ’ ἐπείδη δὲ ἡλιθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεῦθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀδρυσσοῦ ἱππεῖς τε ὅς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταῖ ὅς τριακίσιοι, οὕτω προστασειύσαμεν καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὅς εἰκοσι στάδια, αἰτούντες φύλακας 25 τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Δερκυλίδων τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐξήσαν ἐπὶ λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἑλάμβανον ἀνδράποδα τε καὶ χρήματα.

3. ἦδη δ’ ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτῶν πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ’ ἐξήσαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἑλληνισμός φύλακας, συλλεγόντες παμπλήθεις 30 πελτασταὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἃ μ’ ἡμέρα προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὀπλίταις

3 εἰ... προσεργασώμεθα C 6 ἐσονται ΒV 12 κακουργοῖν
Dind.: κακουργεῖ B 18 οὐδὲ Naber: οὐδὲν codd. 22 ἐπείδη
dὲ] ἐπεί δ’ C: ἐπεί δὲ F₂ V: ἐπεί δὴ F₁
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ

νς διακοσίους οὖσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡγήσεις ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐβαλλον, οἱ δ' ἥκοντιζον εἰς αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ' ἐπεί ἐτυτυρώσκουσιν μὲν καὶ ἀπεθηκοσκόμετον ἐποίου ὁ οὐδέν κατευρμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ σταυρώσατο ὃς ἀνδρομήκει ὧντι, διαστασάτοτε τοῦ αὐτῶν ὅχυρῳμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ ὃ μὲν ἐκθέοιευν ὑπέχρουσιν, καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον πελταστά ὑπόλοισα, ἐφέθαν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεσθαν ἥκοντιζον, καὶ πολλοὶς αὐτῶν ἔθη ἐκκάστη ἐκδρομήν κατέβαλλον τέλος δὲ ὃσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκουστῶσαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα 10 εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπειδὴ ἐνδέχοντο τὸ πράγμα, ἀπωχρήσαντας, ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσούντες ἀμέλησάντως τῶν Βιθυνῶν. ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοί καὶ τοὺς 5 σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θρακῶν ἀποκτέαντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον᾽ ἀστεροὶ οἱ "Ελληνες ἐπεὶ 15 ἡρθοῦσι, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἀλλο ήτορον ἢ νεκρῶν γυμνῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανηλθοῦσι οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἐσάτων καὶ πολὺν οἶνον ἐκπίεντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὁμοίως ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς Ὁλλησὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἦγον καὶ ἔκασιν τὴν Βιθυνίαν.

20 ᾰμα δὲ τῷ ἰρὶ ἀποστροφοῦμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν ἂτρατῶν Ἀρακάς τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης. οὐτοὶ δὲ ἠλθοῦν ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς ὀχυρὰ τά ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδα ἐρώντες μένουσι 25 ἀρχεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐπιώντων ἐνιαυτοῦ· ἐπιστεύλαι δὲ σφίζουν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπείν ὅς ὅν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποίου μέμφουντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ τῶν οὐδέν ἑδίκουν, ἐπισοιεύειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐπείν ὅτι ἄν μὲν ἀδικώσων, ὅν ἐπιτρέψωσιν, ἄν δὲ ὄκαία περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσι τῇ ἐπιστεύλαι αὐτοῖς. ἐπεὶ 7 μέντοι συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον, ὃ τῶν

II ἀπωχρήσαντες del. Keller: ἀπεχθησαν vulg. post máχη add καὶ Morus 26 καὶ quod ante συγκαλέσαντας exhibit codd. ante ἐπιστεύλαι transp. Simon
Κυρείων προεστηκώς ἀπεκρίνατο. 'Αλλ', δ' ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν ἀρχῶν δὲ ἀλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἰτίων τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δὲ, αὐτοὶ ἡδὴ ἰκανοί ἔστε 8 γυνώσκειν. συσκηνοῦντων δὲ τῶν τε οἶκοθεν πρέσβεων 5 καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περί τῶν ποιοῦν Αρακοῦ ὁτι καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερονησίων ἐν Λακεδαιμονίῳ. τούτων δὲ λέγειν ἐφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὗ δύναντο τὴν Χερ- ρονησίαν ἐργαζεσθαι φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἀγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ὁρακῶν· εἰ δ' ἀποτελείσθηε ἐκ βαλάττης εἰς βάλατταν, καὶ 10 σφίσων ἂν γῆν πολλήν καὶ ἀγαθήν εἶναι ἐργαζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλως ὁπόσοι βούλουστοι Λακεδαιμονίων· ὡς ἐφασαν οὐκ ἂν βαμμαζεω, εἰ καὶ πεμβοθεὶ τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς 9 μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ ἐίπεν ἢν ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἄκούσας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμψεν αὐτοῦς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἐλληνίδων πόλεως, ἡδόμενος δ' ὅτι ἔμελλον ὀψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαι- μονικῶς διαγοῦσαν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπερεύνατο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετέον ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρναβάζον ἐπιήρετο πότερα βούλουστε σπουδᾶς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ 20 χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἐλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπουδᾶς, οὔτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνου πόλεις φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἐλληνιστούπον σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Ἐυρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Ὁράκης πορευθέει καὶ ἐξεισθείς ὑπὸ Σεῦθου ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερ- 25 ρόνησον. ἦν καταμαθῶν πόλεις μὲν ἐνδεκά ἡ δώδεκα ἔχουσαν, χόραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἁρίστην οὐσίν, κεκα- κωμένην δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Ὁρακῶν, ἐπεὶ μετρῶν ηὔρε τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐπείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελῶν τοῖς στρατιῶταις 30

Τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἀθλά ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτευχῆσαι, καὶ τοῖς άλλοις ὡς ἐκαστοί ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τείχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἣμινον χρόνου πρὸ ὀπάρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ 5 λυμένας, πολλῆς δὲ κἀγαθῆν σπόριμον, πολλῆς δὲ πεφυτευμένην, παμπλήθεις δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομᾶς παντοδαποῖς κτήμεσι. ταῦτα δὲ πράξες διέβαυε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. 11

'Επισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἔφρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχουσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἦδην Ὄραμέα ἔχουτας χωρίον 10 ἱσχυρῶν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὅρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας τὴν Ἰώνιαν, καὶ ζωνταν οὖν τοῦτον. πυθόμενοι δὲ ὅτι πολὺς οἵτως ἐνὶν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκειν καὶ ἐν ὁκτὼ μησὶ παραστησάμενοι αὐτούς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελλινέα ἐπιμελήτην, καὶ κατασκευάζας 15 ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκπλευρί πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἕνα εἰς αὐτῷ καταγωγή, ὅποτε ἄφθονον, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ὁφεσον, ἢ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τρωιῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν.

Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διήγην Τισσαφέρνης 12 τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι. 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄφθονομενο πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαιόμονα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίων πόλεων ἐδόθακον ὅτι εἰς ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλωσίτοι, ἀφιέναι αὐτοῦμοι τὰς Ἑλληνιδὰς πόλεις· εἰ οὖν κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἐνθαπερ ο Τισσαφέρνους οἴκοις, οὕτως ἀν ἐφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτῶν συγχωρήσῃ αὐτοῦμοι 25 σφαῖρα ἀφείωσαν· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτῶν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλέειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐποίουσαν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ 13 τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην 30 ἀφιγμένοι, ἀμα μὲν ὁτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο

Τισσαφέρνης, ἀμα δὲ διαμαρτυρόμενος ὅτι ἐστί σου κοινή πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τὸν Ἐλλήνας ἐκ τῆς Βασιλέως: ἀλλως τε γὰρ ὑπερβοῦν τής στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνηι καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστηρμένος. ὦ δ' ἀκούων: Πρῶτον μὲν τούς, ἔφη, διάβηθι 5 σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρλίαν, ἑπετα δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βουλευ-14 σόμεθα. ἔπει δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἑδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἢκαὶς φυλακαὶ εἰς τὰ ἐρήματα καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν. ὡς δ' ἦκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερακότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαλανδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὃς ὁκνοὶ μὴ ὁ 10 Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἐρήμην ὦσαν καταθέουτες φέρωσι καὶ ἁγώσι τὴν χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτὸς. πορευό-μενοι δὲ οὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τι συντεταγμένω τῷ στρατεύματι, ὡς προεληφθῶτων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν, ἐξαίφνης 15 ὁρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοπούς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων καὶ 15 ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ παρ' ἐαυτοὺς μνημεία καὶ τύρσεις των καθόρωσι παρατεταγμένους ὡς αὐτοῖς ἢ ἡ ὁδὸς Κάρας τε λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἐτύγχανε παρὸς στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὅσον εἰχεν ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ 20 16 δεξίῳ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρναβάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ. ὃς δὲ ταῦτα ἠσθενο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς εἰπὲ παρατάπτεσθαι τὴν ταχύστην ἐς ὁκτώ, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιπέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἶους ἐτύγχανεν ἔχουν αὐτῶς 25 17 δὲ ἐθύτεο. ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποινήσου στράτευμα, ἤσυχαν εἰς καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς μαχοῦμενον· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πρήμης τε καὶ Ἀχιλλείων καὶ ἀπὸ νῆσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πόλεων, οἱ μὲν τινες καταλιπότεν ἐν τῷ σῖτῳ τὰ ὁπλα ἀπεδιδρασκοῦ καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῷ 30

3 τῆς στρατηγίας Leonclavius: τῆς στρατηγία D corr. V corr.: τῆς(i) στρατιά(i) cet. 10 ὁς Castalio: ὃς οτι codd. 13 δὲ D pr.: δὲ καὶ cet. αὐτοί C 15 skopous Palmerius: skopov codd. 22 τα- 

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

3 τῆς στρατηγίας Leonclavius: τῆς στρατηγία D corr. V corr.: τῆς(i) στρατιά(i) cet. 10 ὁς Castalio: ὃς οτι codd. 13 δὲ D pr.: δὲ καὶ cet. αὐτοί C 15 skopous Palmerius: skopov codd. 22 τα- 

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
Μαίανδρον πεδίων ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐμευνοῦν, δὴ λοι ἢσαν οὐ μενοῦντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἔξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι 18 κελεύεις ὃς μέντοι Τισσαφέρης τὸ τε Κύρειον στράτευμα καταλογιζόμενος ὃς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτῳ πάντας 5 νομίζον ὁμοίως εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, οὔκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὡς εἰς λόγους βουλοῦτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἴδη τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευάσμην μὲν ἔγγυς 10 μάχεσθαι, ὡς ὅρατε ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα ἰἠ ποιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ἱππεῖον. δοξάσαντα δὲ ταῦτα 19 καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπήλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρῶν εἰς Τράλλεας τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ’ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς 15 Λεύκοφρων, ἔνθα ἤν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἄγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἢ σταδίον ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναιος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὑδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράξῃς τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι ἄλληλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἃν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαντο. ὁ μὲν δ’ ἂν 20 Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτοῦν ὄρῃ βασιλεῖς τὰς Ἑλληνιδὰς πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι, εἰ ἑξέλθοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Δακεδαμονίων ἀρμοσταί ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἄλληλοις σπονδάς ἐποίησαντο, ἐως ἀπαγγελθεῖ γὰ τὰ λεγέντα 25 Δερκυλίδα μὲν εἰς Δακεδαμῶνα, Τισσαφέρης δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

Τούτων δὲ πραττόμενων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα, 21 Δακεδαμονίων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τάλαι ὄργυμον τοῖς Ἡλείοις καὶ ὡς ἐποίησαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαυτνέας, καὶ ὡς δικήν φάσκοντες κατα-30 δεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυθαι καὶ τὸν ἱππικὸ καὶ τὸν γαμμικὸν

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ἀγώνοις, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταύτ’ ἦρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Ἐθήβαιοι τὸ ἄρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττουτο νικῶτες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἤνδοχον, μαστιγόυτε αὐτὸν, ἀνδρὰ 22 γέρωντα, ἔξηλασαν τούτων ὁ ὠστερον καὶ Ἀγιός περιφθέι- 
κός θύσαι τῷ Δίῳ κατὰ μαντείαιν τινα ἐκώλυν τὰ Ἡλεῖοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντε ὡς καὶ τῷ ἄρχαῖον εἰ ὦτῳ νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐφ’ 23 Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ ὡστε ἄθυτος ἄπήλθεν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν 
πάντων ὁργιζομένοι ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 
σωφρόνησαν αὐτούς. πέμψατε οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἡλίων 10 
εἰπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιων δοκοῖ 
εἶναι ἀφίέναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. 
ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα, 
ἐπιλήσας γὰρ ἐχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρονμαν ἐφήναν οἱ ἐφόροι. 
ἀγωνὶ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἀγις ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν 15 
Ἡλεῖαν κατὰ Λάρισον. ἀρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν 
τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοππομένης τῆς χώρας, σευμφος ἐπιγίγνεται: 
ὁ δ’ Ἡλίων θείων ἡγησάμενου ἔξελθων πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας 
διαφήκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἡλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύ- 
τεροὶ ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύσαντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡσα ἤδεσαν 20 
δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὖνσας. περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ 
φαῖνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἐφόροι φρονμαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλίων, καὶ συν- 
εστρατεύσαντο τῷ Ἁγίῳ πλήν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε 
ἀλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἳ Ἄθηναιοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ 
tοῦ Ἁγίου δὲ Ἀυλώνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπερᾶται ἀποστάντες 25 
tῶν Ἡλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, 
ἐχόμενοι δ’ Ἐπιταλείες. διαβάλοντι δὲ τοὺς πολταμόν προσ- 
26 εχώρων Λετρίου καὶ Ἀμφιδολοῦ καὶ Μαργανείς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 
ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὄλυμπιαν ἔθνου τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Ὅλυμπιῷ κωλύειν δὲ 

1 παραδόντες B M C F 2 ὦτι B D 10 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς B 
13 ποιήσωσις Schäfer: ποιήσωσιν F: ποιήσωσιν cet. 16 Λάρισον Portus: λάρισαν codd. 20 εἰς] τρὸς C 21 περιόντι B: 
περιόντι cet. 24 πάντες B: om. cet. 27 δ’ Ἐπιταλείες Portus: 
δὲ πεταλείες codd.
οὐδεὶς ἐτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ύπέρπολλα μὲν κτήμη, ύπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὡστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν 5 ἐκώντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετείχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὴ ἡ στρατεία ὡσπερ ἐπιστιχισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια 27 καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὠντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτελχιστος γάρ ἤ), ἐνόμισαν αὐτῶν μὴ βουλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μή 10 δύνασθαι ἔλειν. δημομένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὀνύσης τῆς στρατιάς περὶ Κυλλῆνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ζενίαν τῶν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι (τὸ) παρά τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον ἔοι ἄυτῶν ἐπορεύχεται τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκπεσοῦτες εἶς οἰκίαις ἔξις ἐχοῦσε σφαγάς ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους 15 τε τωσ ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ ομοίων των Θρασυδαίων ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτη φοντο Θρασυδαίων ἀπεκτούνειν, ὡστε ὁ μὲν δήμος παυτελῶς καταθύμησε καὶ ἄνυχιαν εἴχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ᾽ φοντο πετραγμένα εἶναι, 28 καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὴν 20 ἄγοραν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν ὑπὲρ ἐμεθύσης. ὅσ δὲ ἦσθετο ὁ δήμος ὅτι οὐ πέθηκεν ὁ Θρασυδαῖος, περιπλῆσθη ἡ οἰκία ἐνθεὶ καὶ ἐνθεὶ, ὡστε ὑπὸ ἐσμοῦ μελιττῶν οἱ ἡγεμών. ἑπειδὴ δὲ ἠγεῖτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος 29 ἀναλαβὼν τῶν δήμων, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δήμος, 25 ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγάς. ἐπελ ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀπιῶν διέβη πάλιν τῶν Ἀλφείων, φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἑπιταλίῳ πλησίον τού Ἀλφείων καὶ Λύσιππου ἀρμοστῆν καὶ τοὺς ἔξ Ἡλίδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτῶς δὲ οἰκάδε ἀπηλθε. καὶ τὸ μὲν 30 λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμώνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀυσίππου

καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο καὶ ἥγετο ἦ τῶν Ἡλεῖων χώρα.
tοῦ ὀ ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Ὑπατούδαιος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
συνεχόρησε Φέας τε τὸ τείχος περιελεῖ τι καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ
τῶς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φιόξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ
Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδολοὺς καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας 5
καὶ Ἀκρωπείους καὶ Λασίωνα τὸν ὑπ’ Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγό-
μενον. Ἡπειρο ἡμέρα τὴν μεταξὺ πόλεων Ἡραίας καὶ
Μακίστου ἡξίους οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἔχειν πρίασθαι γὰρ ἐφασαν
τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν παρά τῶν τὸτε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν
31 τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἐδεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ οἱ
Λακεδαιμονίων γυνότες μηδὲν δικαίωτον εἶναι βία πρια-
μένους ἢ βία ἀφελομένοις παρὰ τῶν ἠπτώνισ λαμβάνειν,
ἀφεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἡμάγκασαν τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ
Δίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ίεροῦ, καὶπερ όν ἄρχαίου Ἡλεῖοις
ἀντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοσ τοὺς ἀντιποιου-
15 μένους χωρίς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἰκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων
δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἡλεῖων
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ οὔτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων
καὶ Ἡλεῖων πόλεμος ἐλήξε.

III Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ἄγιος ἄφικομενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν 20
δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιών ἐκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων
ἥδη ὄν, καὶ ἀπηρέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐτὶ ζων, ἐκεῖ δὲ
ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἐτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον
ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα
καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, νῖός 25
2 φάσκων Ἄγιος εἶναι, Ἀγγειασας δὲ ἄδελφος. εἰπόντος
dὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου Ἀλλ’ ὁ νόμος, ὅ Ἀγγειασας, οὐκ
ἀδελφόν ἄλλ’ νῦν βασιλεῖς βασιλεῖεν κελεῦε: εἰ δὲ νῖός
ὡς τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἄδελφος καὶ ὡς βασιλεῦ. Ἐμὲ ᾠν

3 Φέας Dind.: σφέας codd. Κυλλήνης O. Müller: κυλλήνης codd.
4 post ἀφεῖναι add. καὶ Grote 24 ὁσιώθησαν Dind.: ὁσιώθησαν C:
ὡς εἰσέθησαν cett. ἡμέρα παρῆλθον C 25 ἀντέλεγεν F: ἀντέλεγε C
26 ὁ ἄδελφος F 29 ὃν om. C F κα Jacobs: καὶ codd. ὡς
Jacobs: ὁ(ι) codd. ἐμὲ ᾠν Cobet
δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοὶ γε ὄντος; "Ὅτι ὡς τοῦ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἐαυτοῦ. 'Αλλ' ἦ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν. 'Αλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδάν ὦς μάλα σεν ψευδομένων κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θωλάμου ἐξελάςασε σεισμῷ εἰς τὸ φαινεῖν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθεστάτος λεγόμενος χρώνος εἶναι: ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσε ἀπὸ καὶ ἔφαγε ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκατῷ μηνι ἔγενον. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διο-3 πείδης δὲ, μάλα χρησιμολόγος ἀνήρ, Λεωτυχίδη συναγορεύων εἴπεν ὡς καὶ 'Απόλλωνος χρησμός εἰς φυλάξασθαι τῇ χωλῇ βασιλείᾳ. Λόγοι τοῦ ὑπὲρ 'Αγησίλαον ἀντείπειν ὡς οὐκ οὕτω τὸν θεόν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπαθήσας τὸς χωλεύσαι, ἄλλα μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὁ τῶν γένους βασιλέυσει. παυτάπασι γὰρ ἄν 15 χωλῇ εἶναι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὅποτε μὴ οὐ ἄφ' 'Ἡρακλεώς τῆς πόλεως ἡγούμενο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφο-4 τέρων 'Αγησίλαον ἐλύνετο βασιλέα.

Οὔπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ 'Αγησίλαον, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ χυσὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς 20 πόλεως εἰπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν των τῶν δεινοτάτων φαινομεν οἱ θεοὶ. ἔπει δὲ πάλιν ἔθυνεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη ὁ θεός φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἰπεν ὁ 'Αγησίλαε, ὡσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις 25 καὶ τοῖς σωτηριστεῖ, καὶ μόλις καλλιεργήσαντες, ἐπαύγαστον. ληγοῦσι δὲ τὴς χυσίας εἰτός πένθ' ἰμερών καταγορέει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κώδώνω. οὕτως δ' ἡν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος 5

1 δ' τοῦ Dind.: ὅν τοι Μ D V: ὅν τοι F corr.: οὗ τοι B 3 ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδάν Valckenamer: ἀλλά(δ) ὅποτε δ' ἄν codd. 4 ἄστ] καὶ Nauck σως Valckenamer: σω codd. κατεμίσασαν Valckenamer τῷ θαλάμῳ Parisinus E 6 δὲ B: om. cet. 7 τοῖ τὸ (= σε) Keller ἐφύσε Β M D V: ἐφύσε C (F,?) : ἐφυγε F₂ se addidi 13 post χωλεύσαε τοὺς βασιλείαν Otto: χωλὸς βασιλεύσῃ Tell 21 ἔθυνε Morus: ἔθυσεν codd. 28 νεανίσκος Naber XEN. HELL.
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λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλέοντας τὰ ὅργανα ὑπὰ ἐχεῖν ἄρκοντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους. πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τῖνι χρώμα μέλλοι ταῦτα πράττεσθαι, ἐπειδ' ὦτι ἐπιδημεῖοι οἱ παραγγελμένοι εἰς, ἀκού- 8
5 σαντες ταῦτα οἱ έφοροι ἐσκεπμένα τε λέγειν ἡγήσατο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς μικρῆς καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερῶν τῶν ἄλλος ἀλλοθε ἐβουλεύσατο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεώτεροι καὶ κελέσαι ἥckein 10 ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλονιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλῶτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσαι καὶ τῆς γυναικῆς, ἡ καλλιστή μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυπαίνεσθαι δ' ἔσκειν τοὺς ἀφικνομένους λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. ὑπηρετήσει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ 9
15 Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις συναντα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τῇ σκυτάλῃ ἔκεισθαι, ἐν δὲ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὐς ἔδει συλλήψθηναι. ἐρωμένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τῶν νέων, τῷ, ἐφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτάτον τῶν ἑπαγρετῶν κέλευσαι σοι συμπέρναι εξ ἑ' ἐπτά οἰ νῦν χώσα παρόντες. ἔμε- 20 μελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἑπαγρετής ειδείς οὕς δέοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδείειν ἃτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἴπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψας ἁμάς ἠμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ πεζοῦσ ἄγοσ τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανισσόμενοι ὅς ἐσοντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἐνα ἐκεῖνον ἐπεμπόν. ἐν δὲ τῇ 10 25 πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ πράγμα οὐκ ἤδεσαν ὅποσον τὸ μέγεθος εἰς, καὶ ἀκούσαι πρῶτον ἐβουλοῦντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οὕτως εἶν οἱ συμπραττόντες, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμήνυται, ἵνα μὴ ἀποδρόσως. ἐμελλόν δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτῶν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνεδότας πυθό- 30 μενοι αὐτοῦ γράφαντες ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχύτητι τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἐφοροί πρὸς τὸ πράγμα, ὅταν

3 μέλλου B: μέλλεις cet. 8 άλλος] ἄλλοι Halbertsma 13 ἐφασαν] ἐφορεῖς Codd. 16 ἐκεῖνω B: αὐτῶ(ι) cet. 18 ἐφασαν Hertlein: ἐφη codd. 26 πρῶτον om. B
III. iii

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

11 καὶ μόραν ἵππεων ἔπεμψαν τοὺς ἐπὶ Αὐλώνος. ἐπεί δ’ εἰλημμένος του ἄνδρος ἤκεν ἰππεύς φέρων τα ὅνυματα ὅυν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τὸν τε μάντων Τισαμενῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὡς δ’ ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἥλεγχετο, καὶ ὠμολόγει πάντα 5 καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἔλεγε, τέλος αὐτῶν ἥρον τι καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, μηδενὸς ἦττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαιμονί. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἡδή δεδεμένος καὶ τῷ χείρα καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστίγούμενοι καὶ κεντοῦμενος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν 10 περιήγοντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δύσης ἔτυχον.

IV

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκη ὄν μετὰ ναυκλῆρου τινὸς, καὶ ἱδὼν τριήρεις Φωιόστασας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζόμενας, προσακούσας δὲ 15 καὶ τούτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὦς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τούτου παρασκευαζόμενον· ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἑφη 2 εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν 20 συμμάχων συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νυμίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέστεθαι τοῖς Ἐλλήνως καὶ τὸ πεξὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγνήσλαον ὑποστηρίζει, ἀν αὐτῷ ὁδῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἶς δισχυλίους δὲ τῶν 25 νεοδαμώδων, εἶς ἕξακισχυλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς ἐκαρχίες τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ’ ἐκείνου εἰν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπωκυίας δὲ διὰ τούτοις ἐφόροις, οἱ τὰς πατρίδας πολιτείας 30 παρῆγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσεις μετ’ Ἀγνήσλαον. ἔπαγ-

1 μόραν Leonclavius: μοίραν C corr.: μοίραν C pr. cet. 4 ἄλλους τοὺς B: om. cet. 21 συναγαγόντων C 29 ἐκείνου] αὐτοῦ C
'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Γ

15 ψας ἦρετο αυτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτοῦ ὄνομάς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὀσπέρ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἐλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης: Ἐλ τοῖνυν θέλεις σπειράσθαι ἐως ἃν ἐγώ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οὕτω ἂν σὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖς, εἰ βούλου. Ἀλλὰ 20 βουλοῦμαι ἃν, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἔξαπατάσσαί. Ἀλλὰ ἔξεστιν, ἐφη, σοι τούτων πίστων λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἄδολως... σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσεως ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς. εἶπε τοῦτοι ῥηθέων Τισ-6 σαφέρνης μὲν ὁμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδα 25 καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλλῳ ἢ μὴν πράξεων ἄδολως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἔκεινοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ 'Αγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνηι ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσεως τὰς σπουδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὁμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐξεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολύ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς

1 στρατεύων Leonclavius: στρατιάν codd. 2 ἐκμήνου Cobet 5 ὅπου Morus: δος codd. 9 εἶπαν B: εἶπον cet. 10 ἐπιμαρτυρομένους F M D V 15 εἶπε τοῦ Leonclavius 22 ad supplevendum sententiae hiatum Cobet inseruit ἐμε ταῦτα πράξεων. Καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ἐφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστων λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἄδολως 25 Μεγίλλῳ Dind.: μεγιάλω(ιω) codd. 27 πράττοντος C: προστάττοντος B al.
III. iv  ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ψ εἴχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταύτα, ὥμως ἑπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

7 Ὡς δὲ ἤσπερ τε καὶ σχόλιν ἑξων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἀτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἐτὶ οὖσας, 5 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Ἁθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἀτε γυγυνώσκοιτε πάντες τὸν Λυσάνδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιούντες διαπρᾶττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησίλαον ὃν ἐδέουντο· καὶ διὰ ταύτα ἄει παμπλήθης ὁχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἰδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, 10

8 ὁ δὲ Λυσάνδρος βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταύτα ἑδῆλωσεν ὑστερον· οὗ ἐγ γὰρ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὅσ παράνομα ποιοῦ Λυσάνδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἧρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς 15 τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ ὁ Λυσάνδρος, πάντας οἰς γνοὺ αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά τι ἡττομένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ’ ἄει τὰ ἐναντία ὅν ἐβούλευτο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἐγνὼ δὴ τὸ γυγυνόμενον καὶ οὔτε ἑπεσθαί ἐαυτῷ ἑτὶ εἰς ὦ χλοῦ τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεομένους σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐλαττον ἔξοιεν, εἰ 20

9 αὐτὸς παρείη. ἐπέπεμα δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθόμενος εἶπεν Ὄμοι Ἀγησίλαιε, μειούν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δι’, ἐφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἔμοι μείζους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς δὲ γε αὐξάνεστα εἰ μὴ ἐπισταῖμην ἀντιτιμῶ, αἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν. καὶ ὁ Λυσάνδρος εἶπεν Ἂλλ’ 25 ἵσως καὶ μάλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἡ ἐγὼ ἐπραττόν. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἄν μὴ τ’ αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μητ’ ἐμποδῶν σοι ὃ, ἀπόπεμψον ποί 10 me. ὅπως γὰρ ἄν ὃ, πειράσομαι ἐν καρφί σοι εἶναι. εἰ- πόντος δὲ ταύτα ἐδοξεί καὶ τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ οὕτω ποιήσαι, 30 καὶ πέμπει αὐτόν ἐφ’ Ἐλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λυσάνδρος

αἰσθόμενος Σπύριδάτη τῶν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενον τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πέλει άποστήματι ἔξοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν χρῆματα καὶ ἰππείς ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ,
5 αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν νίων ἀναβιβασάμενος ἥκεν ἁγιῶν πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἦδον δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη τῇ τῆ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

'Επεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσεως ὁ Τισσαφέρης ἐπὶ τῷ κατα-
10 βάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεύπεν Ἀγησίλαὼν πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μᾶλα ἀχθοῦσθεντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησίλαὼς τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα
15 φαινόθ' τῷ προσόπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλας Τισσαφέρης τοὺς πρόσ-
βεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιφραγμάτα αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. εἰκ δὲ τούτον εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατιω-
τας παρῆγγειλε συσκευάζεται ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ
20 πόλεσιν εἰς ἀς ἀνάγκη ἤν ἄφικεν συνεργόν ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρίαν προεύπεν ἄγοράν παρασκευάζει. ἐπέστηελε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσί καὶ Αἰολέτοι καὶ Ἕλλησποντῖοι πέμπει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσοῦ τοὺς συντρατευομένους. δ' ὁ Ἐπεί τις Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἀρπάσος
25 ἢν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν ὄργησοντας αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομισάς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκίων εἰς Καρίαν αὐτῶν ὄρμήσεις, τὸ μὲν πεζῷ ἄπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖστε, τὸ δ' ἰπ-
πικών εἰς τὸ Μαυάνδρου πεδίον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἰκανὸς εἶναι καταπατήσας τῇ ἱππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρῶς εἰς τὰ δύσιππα
30 ἄφικένσατα. δ' δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἴσχε εὐθὺς τὸναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς

3 αὐτών Schneider: αὐτῶν codd. 11 καὶ σύμμαχοι B 16 ἔχοι B: ἔχει cet. 26 αὐτῶν Hertlein: αὐτῶν codd. 27 ἰππικῶν]
[iππικῶν ἄταν C 28 ἰκανὸν C F]
τ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσ-κόκτοις παμπλήθη χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· όυ πόρρω δ' ὠντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντως αὐτοῦ οἱ ἵππεις ἦλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τωά, ὡς προϊόντι οὑ τῷ τάμπροσθεν εἰή. κατὰ τῦχην δὲ τῶν καὶ οἱ τοῦ 5 Ἐφραβάζου ἵππεις οἱ περὶ Ῥαθύνην καὶ Βαγαίων τῶν νόθων ἀδελφῶν, ὄντες παράμοιοι τοῖς Ἐλληνι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, πεμφθέντες ύπὸ Ἐφραβάζου ἦλαυνον καὶ οὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λόφων. ἱδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους ὀδὴ τέταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν 10 Ἐλληνες ἵππεις ὡσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρῶτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὄρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἐλληνων ἔπαισαν τινας, πάντες συνετρίησαν τὰ δόρατα, 15 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἵππεας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἄπεκτευναν. έκ δὲ τούτων ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ 4 Ἐλληνες ἵππεις. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἁγησιλάου τῶν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ [Περσῶν] εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποθυμήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταῦτης τῆς ἒπομαχίας, 20 θυμομένως τῷ Ἁγησιλάῳ τῇ ύπηρεταίῃ ἐπὶ προδόφο ἀλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ιερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντοι στρέψας ἐπο- ρεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γιγνώσκων δὲ ὡς εἰ μὴ ἵππικῶν ἰκανοῦ κτήσατο, οὐ δυνήσοντο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τούτῳ κατασκευαστέον εὑναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολέ- 25 μέν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιώτατοι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἤκει πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προεὶπόν δὲ, ὡς τις παρέ- χωτο ἤππον καὶ ὠπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὦτι ἐξέσται αὐτῶ- μη στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὖτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι ὡσπερ ἀν τις τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανοῦμενον προθύμως ξητοῖν. 30

'Εκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδή ἔαρ ὑπέφαυε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἂπαν 16 τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἂσκήσαι δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἀθλα προῦθηκε ταῖς τε ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἦτος ἀριστα σωμάτων ἕχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἰππικαῖς, ἦτος κράτιστα ἱππεῖον· 5 καὶ πελατάσταις δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἀθλα προὐδηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσῆκοντα ἐργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρὴν ὅραν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τῶν δ' ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκουστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. ἄξιαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην 17 τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἤ ἦν [τὴν Ἐφεσον] θέας ἐποίησεν· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἢν μεστὴν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων ὅψιν, οἱ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυντόροι καὶ οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατε- σκεύαζον, ὡστε τὴν πόλιν ὅντως οἴεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον 15 εἶναι. ἐπερρόσθη δ' ἂν τις κάκεινο ἱδῶν, Ἀγησίλαος μὲν 18 πρώτον, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανω- μένους ἄπο τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπίσταντα καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοῦς μὲν σέ- βουτο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῦεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶν, 20 τῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι; ἢγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρωσίν τῶν πολεμιῶν ῥώμην τινὰ 19 ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλυσκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πολεῖν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιώται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε 25 ἐκδύοὺσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀτόνους διὰ τὸ ἄει ἐπ' ὅχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὖν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἦδη ἂφ' οὐ 20 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὡστε οἱ μὲν περὶ 30 Λύσανδρῳ τριάκοντα οἰκαδε ἀπέπλευσαν, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἡρίππιδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ

άλλουν ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοδα-
μώδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἦριππιδάν ὁ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα
δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ προείπεν
αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἥγησοτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα
τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην
21 παρασκεύαζοντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης
ταύτα μὲν ἐνώμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπα-
τήσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὑπί ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸ τε
πεζῶν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ
ἵππικον εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρον πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγη-
22 σίλαος οὐκ ἐμφέσατο, ἀλλὰ ὁπερὶ προείπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν
Σαρδηναῦν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ὁ ἐρμηνεύ
πολεμίων πορεύομενοι πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε,
23 τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν
ἀρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπε διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν
ποταμόν στρατοπεδεύσεται, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδότες τοὺς τῶν
Ἐλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς
αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππεας. οἱ δὲ Αὐ Πέρσαι ὡς εἴδον τὴν
βοήθειαν, ἡθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπλήθεις
24 τῶν ἱππέων τάξεως. ἔνθα δὴ ἂν Ἀγησίλαος γιγαντι
οῖς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὐπο παρείπ τὸ πεζῶν, αὐτῷ δὲ
οὐδὲν ἀπει ὅ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καίρον ἥγησατο μάχην
συνάψαι, εἰ δύνατο. σφαγιασμένοι οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα
εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἵππεας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
25 ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀβ' ἡ βῆς θείων ὁμός αὐτοῖς,
τῶς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ύψηλον ἑλθαί. παρῆγγειλε
dὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππεύσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἵππεας ἐδέξαντο
οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ δ' ἄμα πάντα τὰ δεσώμαρα παρῆν, ἐνέκλυναν.
καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐφευγοῦν. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἵροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ, ὡσπερ ἐκός, εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀγνήσλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ 5 φίλω καὶ πολέμημα περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἀλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἔληφθη, ἡ γὰρ πλέον Ἡ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τοτε ἔληφθησαν, ὡς Ἀγνήσλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπῆγαγεν.

"Ὅτε δ’ αὐτή ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσι 25 ἔτυχεν ὁν· ὅστε ἤτιόντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. γνοῦσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσᾶς βασιλεύς Τισσαφέρνης αὐτίων εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τά ἐαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλῆν. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνήσλαον πρέσβεις λέ- 15 γοντας· Ὡ, Ἀγνήσλαε, δ’ μὲν αὐτίως τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἴμιν καὶ ἴμιν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεύς δὲ ἄξιοι σε μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οὐκαδε, τάς δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτοχώρων οὕτως τὸν ἀρχαίον δασμόν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριναμένου 26 δὲ τοῦ Ἀγνήσλαον ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσει ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκων τελῶν, Σὺ δ’ ἀλλά, ἔως ἂν πῦθη τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἐφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδή καὶ ἐγὼ τῶν σων ἑχθρόν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοῖς, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγνήσλαος, ἐκεῖσε πορεύσωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν δ’ ὁ Τιθραύστης διδόσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν 25 ἢ ἔπει τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὅντι δ’ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ 27 τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκει καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντων αὐτὸς βούλεσθαι. τούτῳ δ’ ἐποίησαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τούθε λογισμῷ, ὅσ, εἰ ὁ αὐτός ἀμφότεροι ἄρχοι, τὸ τε πεζῶν πολὺ 30 ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἴναι, καθ’ ἐν οὕσης τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφότερος, τὸ τε ναυτικῶν, ἐπιφανομένου τοῦ πεζῶν ἐνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας 28

5 ἀλλα τε] ἄλλα ἀττα C 11 δ ὁ Perσᾶς om. C 12 ἔαυτοῦ F

Ages.: αὐτοῦ cet. 29 ἀμφότερα C F
III. iv  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

de tauta o Ἄγησίλαος, πρωτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρῆγγειλε
taís ἐν ταῖς νήσοι καὶ ταῖς ἑπιβαλλαττίδιοι τρυπηρεῖς ποιεῖσθαι
ὀπότας ἐκάστη βουλήτου τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο κακαί,
ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο
29 χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν. Πείσανδρον 5
de τῶν τῆς γυναῖκὸς ἀδελφῶν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλότιμων
μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν ψυχήν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼ τὰ ναυτικὰ
ἐπράττεν· ὁ δ' Ἄγησίλαος, ὄσπερ ὁρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν
ἐπορεύετο.

V Ὁ μεντοὶ Τιθραύστης, καταμαθέων δοκῶν τῶν Ἄγησίλαων
καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλεῶς πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ δια-
νοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας
έχοντα μεγάλας αἰρήσεως βασιλεά, ἀπορῶν τι χρόνῳ τοῖς
πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, 15
δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πευτήκοντα τάλαντα ἄργυρον, καὶ κελεύει
πειράσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προ-
εστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὃτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσεων πρὸς
Λακεδαίμονίους. ἔκεινος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θῆβαις μὲν
'Ανδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξιδόρφ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ 20
dὲ Τιμολάφ τε καὶ Πολυάνθει, ἐν Ἀργεῖ δὲ Κύλωνι τε καὶ
2 τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τοῦτον
tοῦ χρυσίον ὄμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομί-
ζοντες τε αὐτῶν ἀρχεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα
eis tais oikeias politeis dieβαλλον tois lakedaimoniouς. ἐπεὶ 25
dὲ ταύτας εἰς μίσος αὐτῶν προῆγαγον, συνύστασαν καὶ τὰs
megistas politeis pros allaílas.

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θῆβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ
μή τις ἄρχει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι
λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείδουσι Λοκροὺς 30

3 τούτον om. MDV 22 τούτον om. MDV 23 νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι Laves: νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἄρχην ἔσσεθαι Liebhold: νομίζοντες γε αὖ τὴν ἄρχην κτήσεσθαι Simon 25 εἰς] pros Cobet
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Π

τοὺς Ὥπονυτίους, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφιβολτηθήσιμος χώρας Φωκεέιοι τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς, χρώματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τοῦτον γενομένου ἐμβαλείν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐγεύσθησαν, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρώματα ἐλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἐπέσαι αὐτοὺς Ὀθβαλύους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφιβολύσιμον, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ὁμολογομενήν φύλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἔπει δὲ οἱ Ὀθβαλύοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήμων τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἡξίων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἠρξαίτο πολέμου, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνόμενοι ἠλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκροῦς. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαίμονιοι άσμενοι ἐλαβον 5 πρόφασιν στρατεύεσθε ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀθβαλύους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι 15 αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν Πειραίῳ μὴ ἐθελήσαι ακολουθήσαι. ἦτεων δ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορυθοὺς πείσαι μὴ συντρατεύεσθε. ἀνεμομηνυκότο δὲ καὶ ὅσ θεύει τ’ ἐν Αιλίδι τῶν Ἀγνήσλαον οὐκ εἶχον καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἑρεῖ ὡς ἐρρυσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ 20 καὶ ὅτι οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγνήσλαφ συνεστράτευον. ἐλογιζότο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγεω στρατιῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ παύσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβρεῖσι τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλὸς σφῆτον ἐχεῖν, κρατουύντος Ἀγνήσλαον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδοῦν σφῆτον εἶναι. 25 οὐτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων 6 φρουράν μὲν οἱ ἑφοροὶ ἔφαυν, Λύσανδρον δ’ ἔξεπερμᾶν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰλτίους καὶ Ἡρακλέωτας καὶ Μηλεάς καὶ Αἰνιάνας εἰς Ἀλίαρτον. ἐκείστε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας, ὅσπερ 30 ἐμελλέν ἠγείροντο, συνετίθετο παρέστησθαι εἰς ῥήτην ἥμεραν, ἐχῖων Λακεδαίμονίων τε καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους Πελοποννησίους.

καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα ἐπραττε καὶ
προσέτε 'Ορχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας,
ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεξῆς εἰς Τεγέα
tοὺς τε ἐξαγοὺς διέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιουκίων
στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις
ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοίει οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν,
πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖες λέγοντας τοιάδε.

8 Ὡμέν ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ὁ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὅσ̄
ψηφισαμένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου,
οὰ̄ δραγὼς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ η ὁ πόλις ἐκείνα ἐψηφίζατο, ἀλλ' ἵ
eis ἀνήρ εἶπεν, οὐ ἐτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος.
ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλου τίμας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιᾶ,
tότε ἀπασά τί πόλις ἀπεψηφίζατο μὴ συντραπεῖν αὐτοῖς.
ὅτι ὑμᾶς οὐν οὐκ ἰκίστα ὀργιζομένοι τίμας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,

9 δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν υμᾶς τῇ πόλει ήμῶν. πολὺ
d' ἐτι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἀστεὶ ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως
tὸ τοῦς Λακεδαίμονίους λέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες
ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔθθον τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι
πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς υμῶν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει,
ὡστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοι εἶναι ἀπολῶλατε, ὅ δὲ δῆμος οὔτοι· 20

10 υμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς 'Αθηναίοι, βούλουσθ' ἄν
tὴν ἀρχὴν ἦν πρὸτερου ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπι-
στάμεθα: τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενεῖσθαι ή ἐι αὐτῷ
tοῖς ὑπ' ἐκεῖνων ἀδικουμένως βοηθοῦτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν
ἀρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρ- 25
ρεῖτε, ἐνθυμοῦμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε πλείστων ἡρχετε, τότε
πλείστους ἔχθρούς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἑως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι
ἀποσταίνει, ἐκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι προὔστησαν, τότε ἐφηναν οἱα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγώ-

11 ἔνοσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἃν φανεροὶ γενόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ 30
ὑμεῖς συναπιδοῦντες ἑναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε,
ἀναφανήσουνται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς. ὡς δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσθησθε, αὐτικά γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἦδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὑμενής; οὐκ ἄργειοι μὲν ἄεὶ ποτὲ δισμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἑλειοῖ γε μὴν γίνων 12 ἑστηρμένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεως ἐχθροῖ αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηται. Κομφιθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἱ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαροῦ- μενοι ὑπ’ ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πώνων καὶ κυνύων καὶ τῶν ὀπανημάτων μετείχον, ἔτει δ’ ἐπραξάν ἀ ἐβούλοντο οἱ 10 Ἀκαδαμόνιοι, πολλὰς ἡ ἀρχὴς ἡ τιμὴς ἡ πολὺς χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τούς μὲν εἰλωτας ἄρμοστὰς ἀξιοῦσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὑποτέ, ἔτει λυτίχθησαν, δεσπότα ταυτεπηφάνας. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ 13 οὐς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσῳ ἐξηπατήκατες· ἀντὶ γὰρ 15 ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλεῖαν παρεσχήκασιν· ὑπὸ τὲ γὰρ τῶν ἀρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὐς Λυσανδρὸς κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει. ὁ γε μὴν τῆς Ἡσίας βασιλεύς καὶ τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς συμβαλλόμενοι εἰς τὸ υἱῶν κρατήσας τίνι τί διάφορον τάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ’ υἱῶν 20 κατεπολέμησεν αὐτοὺς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν υἱείς αὐ 14 προστήτη τῶν οὕτω φανερῶς ἄδικομενῶν, νῦν υἱῶς πολὺ ἦδη μεγίστους τῶν πῶς τὸν γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἢρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλαττα μόνον ἡμῶν ἡμείς· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ υἱῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ διὸ πρόσθεν ἢρχετε καὶ 25 αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. κατοί ήμεν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι σύμμαχοι, ως υἱεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δὲ γε εἰκός τῷ παντὶ ἐρρομενε- στέρως υἱῶν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Ἀκαδαμόνιοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ νυσιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρῶν, 30 ὡσπερ τότε, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄδικομενῶν βοηθησο- μεν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲντοι χρὴ εὐ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Ἀκαδαμόνιοι 15

5 πολλῆς om. CF 18 συμβαλλόμενος V Morus 21 οὕτως B 23 μόνων δήπου] δὴ που μόνων C 31 τῶν Ἀκαδαμόνιων C
πλεονεξία πολύ ευκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχής. ύμεις μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσε ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχοντων ἤρχετε, οὕτω δὲ ὁλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίων ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὁπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν λέγομεν ὑμεῖς: εὖ γε μὲντοι ἐπάστασθε, ὥ ἀνδρεῖς Ἄθηναιοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ 5 πολὺ μεῖζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ύμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει ἡ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ.

16 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δὲ Ἄθηναιων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δὲ ἐφησίσαντο ὑθοῦντες αὐτοῖς. Ὁρασίβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὸ τούτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτείχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρακολούθουσοι χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἡ ἐλαβον. ύμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ὑμεῖς δὲ γε μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν μαχομεθα ἐκεῖνοι, ἃν ἦσον ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθὸντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς 15 ἀμμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Ἄθηναιοι ὅσοι βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμῶνιοι ὑνκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τὸ τε οἰκοθεν ἐχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορινθίων οὐκ ἡκολούθουσι αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων 20 καὶ Ὁρχομενοὶ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἐφθη τῶν Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενοι. ἦκὼς δὲ οὐκέτι ἤσχιζαν ἐχών ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἢ ἑπὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἁλιάρτων, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτο- 25 νόμους γλύγνυσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκόλυνον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τείχος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουσι οἱ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ ὑπείρεις. ὅποτερα μὲν οὖν, εἶτε λαθόντες τῶν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἶτε καὶ αὐσθομενοῖς προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων 30
III.

...
τείχει ἐκείντο, ὄστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὖσι διὰ τὸ βούργῳ ῥάδιον ἐφ’ ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἐδοξεν 24 αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἰπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ὑποδοίεν τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ’ ὅτε ἀπενέα ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἀσμενοὶ τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν 5 καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἅπασαν ἐκ τῆς Βουσπίας. τούτων δὲ πραξάντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδύμως ἅπασαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν τινῶν χωρίων του ἐπιβαίνη, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς. αὐτὴ 25 μὲν δὴ οὖτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ 10 μέντοι Πανσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀρικετο ποικιλεῖ, ἐκρίνετο περὶ ὑπάτου. κατηγορομένου δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ύπερήθησεν εἰς Ἀλλαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἄλλον μᾶχη ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν 15 τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἄνηκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ καταγωγῶσθαι· καὶ ἐφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταύτ’ ἐπράξθη.

1 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ Schneider 4 ὑποδοίεν B: ἀποδοίεν cet. 15 τῶν] τὸν Cobet 18 οὖν B: om. cet.
'Ο δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπελ ἀφίκετο ἀμα μετοπόρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ι Φαρναβάζου Φρηγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαη καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βία, τὰς δὲ ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν 5 αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξου καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτῳ ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.

'Επεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν ὁ Ὀτος καὶ 3 συμμαχίαν ἐπουήσατο καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ἕπο βασιλέως ὁ οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλυτε τῷ 'Αγησίλαῳ ὁ Ὀτος χιλίων μὲν ἵππεας, δυσχιλίως δὲ πελταστῶς. χάριν δὲ τούτων εἶδος ἦ 'Αγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθρι- 4 δάτῃ, ἔπει μου, ἔφη, ὁ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δούσι ὁ Ὀτό τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολὺ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβῃ φυγάδος 15 ἀνδρός βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ὀτός 5 ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀσπασόμενος· ἦρξατο δὲ λόγῳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μετασηπτάμενος τοῦ Σπιθριδάτην. Λέξου μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Ὀτό, 6 20 ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστίν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ φίλον, ἔφη, ἐόρακας αὐτὸν ὡς καλός ἐστι; Τί δὲ οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας


7*
συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τοὺτον μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ 7 καλλίσταν εἶναι. Ἦν Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ὁτυς, καλὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἐφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῶν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύωμι ἂν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἀγεσθαι γυναῖκα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὐ τι ἀνδρὶ ἡδίων; πατρὸς δ' εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοιτος 5 τοσαῦτην, ὅσ ὑπὸ Φαραβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτῶν ὦστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὅρᾳς, πεποίηκεν.
8 εἰς ἰσθι μὲντοι, ἐφη, ὅτι ὀσπερ ἐκείνων ἕχθρον ἥτα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον ἀνδρὰ εὐεργετεῖν ἄν ἄνευτο. νομιζε δὲ τούτων πραχθέντων μὴ ἐκείνων ἃν σοι μόνον 10 κηδεσθῆν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλην 9 Ἑλλάδα. καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοσέρως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἂν ποτὲ γῆμεε; ποιῶν γὰρ ψῆφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἱππεῖς καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται προπρεμβαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν 15 γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σῶν οὐκον προπέμψεαν ἂν; καὶ ὁ Ὁτυς ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ', ἐφη, ὁ Ἀγησίλας, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκείνως μὲν ἐμὲ γε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρόν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ 20 ἦδεσθαι, ὅταν ταῦτα φίλους ἁγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκο. Τί οὖν, ἐφη, οὐ πυ νυτὴν εἰ καὶ ἐκείνως βουλομένω ταῦτ' ἔστι; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἰτ', ἐφη, ὑμεῖς, ὁ Ὁρπίππιδα, καὶ διδάσκετε 12 αὐτῶν βουληθήναι ἀπερ ὑμεῖς. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες ἐδίδασκαν. ἐπεί δὲ διέτριβον, Βούλει, ἐφη, ὁ Ὁτυ, καὶ 25 ὑμεῖσι δεδρο καλέσωμεν αὐτῶν; Πολὺ γ' ἂν οἴμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθήναι αὐτῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντητων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτῃ τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. 13 προσιότων δ' εἴθης εἰπεν ὁ Ὁρπίππιδας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὁ 20 Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἂν τις μακρολογοι; τέλος δὲ λέγει 30
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

Σπιθριδάτης πάν ποιεῖν ἃν ἥδεως ὁ τι σοι δοκοίη. Ἕμοι μὲν τοῖνυν, ἐφή, δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὁ Σπιθριδάτα, τοῦχ ἀγαθῆ διδόναι "Οτι τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμβάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἓρως οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα πεξῇ ἀγαγείν.

5 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δῖ', ἐφή ὁ Ὁτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἥδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ βούλου. ἐκ τούτου δεξιᾶς δόντες καὶ 15 λαβόντες ἔπὶ τούτους ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὁτυν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος, ἔπει ἔγγοι αὐτῶν σπεύδοντα, τρυφηρὰ πληρώσεις καὶ Καλλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπα-

10 γαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείῶν ἀπεπορεύετο, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρνάβαζος, καὶ κώμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἀφθονα ἔχουσα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιεργμένους παραδείσους, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἔν ἀναπεπταμένους τόπους, πάγκαλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς 16

15 παυτοῦσιν Ἰχθύων πλῆρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνα ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρυνθέσσαν δυναμένους. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. καταφρονητικῶς δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ 17 μηδέν πρῶτον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιώτων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ πέδιον ἐσπαρμένους, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχων δῦο δρεπανηφόρα, ἱπέας δὲ ὁ στρατιώτων. οἱ δʹ Ἑλληνες ως ἐδοὺ αὐτῶν προσελαύ-

20 νουτα, συνέδραμον ως εἰς ἐπτακοσίους· οἱ δʹ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἄρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσω 25 ὁπισθῆς γενόμενος, ἠλαύνεις εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκελεύσεν. ως δὲ 19 τὰ ἄρματα ἐμβαλόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἄθροόν, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατέβαλον ως ἔκατον ἄνθρωπος, οἱ δʹ ἄλλοι κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγνησίλαον. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτηχε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτη ἡ τεταρτῆ ἡμέρα αἰσθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης 20

30 τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Καυῆ κόμη μεγάλη στρατοπεδεύομενον,

ἀπέχοντα στάδια ὡς ἔξηκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ εὕθες λέγει
21 πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν
ti ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ τὸν Ἀγνήσιλαον ὀπλάτας τε εἰς δισχι-
lίους καὶ πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἵππεας τοὺς
tε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγώνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 5
22 ὁπότοις πείσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπεσχετο αὐτῷ, ἑθύτοι καὶ
ἀμα δείξῃ καλλιεργησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ
tούτου δειπνήσαστας παρῆγγελε παρέθεν τούτῳ
σκότους δὲ γενομένον οὐδ’ ὦν ἡμίσεις ἐκάστων
23 εὖ δεδομ. ὃπως δὲ μη, εἰ ἀποτρέπωτο, καταγελάθην αὐτοῦ 10
24 οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἐπορεύετο σὺν ἡ εἰς ὑπνάμευ. ἀμα δὲ
tῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπεσοῦν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν
προφυλακὴς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄστων πολλοὶ ἐπέσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ
διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν
ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δῆ οία Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ 15
25 τούτοις σκεύη πολλά καὶ ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γάρ τὸ
φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἰ που κατασταῇ, κυκλωθεῖσ πολιορκοῖτο,
ἀλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας ἔτη, ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα
26 ἀφανίζων τὰς στρατοπεδέωσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρή-
ματα ἀπήγαγον οἱ τε Παφλαγώνες καὶ οἱ Σπιθριδάτης, 20
ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο
ἄπαντα τοῦ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγώνας, ἵνα δῆ
27 πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαισ. ἐκείνοι
μέντοι ταῦτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤγεγκαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄδικηθέντες καὶ
ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι οὖν ἄποντες εἰς 25
Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριάδνος
28 ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμησεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγνήσιλαῷ μὲν δῆ
tῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ
tῶν Παφλαγώνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.
29 Ἡν δὲ τὸς Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζίκην, ὃς καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ 30
ἐτύγχανεν εκ παλαιοῦ ἕνον ὡς καὶ Ἀγνήσιλαῷ κατ’ ἐκείνον

8 πρόθεθ B § 25 post § 17 transp, Laves 21 ὑποστή-
ρας] ἐπιστήσας Leonclavius 22 ὧν] ὃπως C 23 ἀπαγάγη-
DV: ἀπάγη C τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους B 26 πιστεύσαντες C F
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ
IV. i

tον χρόνον ἔξευρόθη. οὐτὸς οὖν εἴπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον ὡς οἴκοτο συναγαγεὶν αὐτῷ ἄν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας Φαρνάβαζου. ὡς δὲ ἦκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπουδᾶς λαβὼν καὶ 30 δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον, 5 ἑνθα ἤ Ἀγνησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαί ἐν πότι τινι κατακείμενι άνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤκεν ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑποστηθεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτά, ἐφ᾽ ὦν καθίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ἀγχύσθη ἐντρυφῆσαι, ὃρὼν τῷ Ἀγνησίλαῳ τὴν φαιλότητα:
10 κατεκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὠσπερ εἴχε χαμαί. καὶ πρώτα μὲν 31 ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἐπείτα τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντο τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπροσεῖπε καὶ ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἦρξατο λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος· Ὅ Ἀγνησίλαος καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγὼ 32 15 οὐμᾶ, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἵσχυρὸν ἐποίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτός ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ μαχόμενος μεθὸς ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατεδώκον τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ διπλῶν ὠσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πῶστέ μοι οὗτε 20 ποιήσαντος οὖν' εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐχοῦτ' ἀν κατηγορήσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὖτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὐδὲ 33 δεύπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτῷ χώρᾳ, εἰ μὴ τι ὀν ἀν ύμεῖς λαπτεῖ συλλέξομαι, ὠσπερ τὰ θηρία. ὡ δὲ μοί ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἰκῆματα καλά καὶ παράδεισους καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων 25 μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἦν θρησκεύομην, ταύτα πάντα ὅρῳ τὰ μὲν κατακεκομένα, τὰ δὲ κατακεκαμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γυνώσκω μῆτε τὰ ὁσία μῆτε τὰ δίκαια, ύμεῖς δὲ διδάξατε μὲ ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστίν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐπισχύνθησαν 34 30 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγνησίλαος χρώμω ποτὲ εἴπει· Ἀλλ' οὐμαι μὲν σε, ὁ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς

7 αὐτῷ B: om. cet. 10 κατεκλίθη Cobet 11 ἀλλήλους Schneider: ἀλλήλους codd. 13 ἦρξατο] ήρξε τοῦ Dind. 23 συλ-
λέξωμαι B 25 μεστὰ B 27 δὲ] δὴ Morus διδαξέτε B F,
'Ελληνικαίς πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίγνονται ἀνθρώποι. οὐτοὶ δὲ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιαι γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἔξωνοι πολεμοῦνται, ἀν οὖν τοὺς χωσί, ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἤμεις οὖν τὸν βασιλέα τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες πάντα ἡμαγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου 5 πολέμια νομίζειν· σοὶ γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιησάμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάζοσθαι σὲ οἴει ἄντι δεσπότου βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότας, οὐκ ἂν ἐγγυγεῖ σοι συνε- βούλευντι νῦν δὲ ἔχεστι σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένως ῥημάδα προσκυνοῦν τις δεσπότης ἔχουσα ζησμοὶ καρποῦμεν τὰ 10 σαιτίν. κατὶ οἴειθερον εἶναι ἦγο μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο σὲ κελεύσμει, πένητα μὲν, ἔλευθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν συμμάχους χρώ- μενον αὐξεῖν μὴ τῆς βασιλείας ἀλλὰ τήν σαιτίν ἀρχῆν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σου καταστρεφόμεθιν, ἃστε σοὺς υπηκόους 15 εἶναι. κατὶ οἴει ἅμα ἔλευθερος τ' εἶναι καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τῶν ἄν δεός μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι; Οὐκοῦν, ἐφ' ὁ Πορνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνομαι ἀπερ ποίησω; Πρέπει γονιν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἐφ' ἔαν βασιλεύς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ υπήρκον ἐκείνου τάττη, βουλή- 20 σομαί ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμοχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τήν ἀρχήν προστάτη (τουοῦτον τι, ὥς οἰκε, φιλοτιμία ἐστιν), εὐ χρῆ εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμίζω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνουμαι ἀρίστα. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἔλαβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐιδ', ὅ λῶστε σύ, τουοῦτος ὃν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοι. ἐν 25 δ' οὖν, ἐφ' ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἄπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, καὶ πόλεμος γ', ἡς ἂν ἐν ἐπί 38 ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν ἀφεξόμεθα. τοῦτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τῆν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν

Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου ἀπῆκε, ὃ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπίτας νῦν αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἐτύ ω, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ προσδραμὼν, Ξένου σε, ἐφη, ὡ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι. Ἡγὼ δὲ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησό νυν, ἐφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτὸν 5 (εἰς δὲ καλὸν) ἐδώκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὃ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἐχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιέλω ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν ὦν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηρήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου μετεδώκε τὸν πατέρα. ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ 40 Φαρνάβαζου ἀποδημίᾳ ἀποστέρων ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ψυγάδα 10 ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας νῦν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ὃ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκους νῦος 'Αθηναίοι, πάντες ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἀν δ' ἐκείνου ἐγκριθείη τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὁλυμπία, μέγιστος ὦν τῶν παῖδων.

Καὶ τότε δή, ὁσπερ εἴπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, εὐθὺς 41 15 ἀπεπορεύετο ὑμὶ τῆς χώρας. σχεδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἔμε λῇ ὕπεφαυε, ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θῆβαις πεδίον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυρνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ὃ εἶχε συνέλεγεν πανταχόθεν πάμπληθες στράτευμα. παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευόμενος ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτᾶτο, νομίζον ὑποτάσια 20 ὁπίσθεν τοιχίσατο ἔθην πάντα ἀποστερήσεις βασιλέως.

Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δῇ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι II ἐπεί σαφῶς ἦσθοντο τὰ τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν κυνώνῃ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρα- 25 τεῖεν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἴναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα 2 παρεσκεύαζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυνδώνα. ὃ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τὰ τε ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὃς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἑπιστέλλοι αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν 30 ἤμεγέκεν, ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ οὐν τιμῶν καὶ οὕτων ἐλπίδων ἀπεστείρως, ὁμοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

tά ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἰὴ βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι: εᾶν μέντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπιστάσθη, ἢ, ὃ ἀνδρεὶς σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσωμι πρᾶξεν δὲν ὑμεῖς ἔδεισθε.

4 ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δὲ ἐψηφί-5 σαντο βοηθεῖν μετ’ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι: εἶ δὲ καλῶς τάκει γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἤκειν εἰς τήν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκεύαζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσουντες.

5 ὃ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέληπεν Ἑβέξουν ἀρμοστὴν καὶ φρουρὸς παρ’ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετράκισχιλίων, ἵνα 10 οὕνειτο διασφάζει τάς πόλεις: αὐτὸς δὲ ὤρων ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἔφ’ Ἑλλήνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενοι ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγεις μὲθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀθλα προοίκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἠτις ἀριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μυσθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὡστὶς 15 εὐπλοῦσαν λόχου ἔχον συστρατεύοικαν καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προείπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὡστὶς εὐπατοτάτην καὶ εὐπλοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ 6 τούτους νικητήριον ὕσσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἐφ’ ἀποικίσαν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Ἑὐρώπην, ἐν Χερ-20 ρονήσῳ, ὅπος εὗ ἐδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ 7 εὐκρινεῖν. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἅθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπον-μένα εἰς κόσμου καὶ ὀπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικά: ἡσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι χρυσοῦ: τὰ δὲ πάντα ἅθλα οὐκ ἔλαται ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ τετάρων ταλάντων. τοσοῦτον μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων, 25 παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιάν κατεσκεύασθη.

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τῶν Ἑλλήσποντων, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακε-δαίμονιν μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡρμιπίδας καὶ Ὀρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο 30

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. ii
tὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν ἦπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑστράτευεν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρονμένων ἐφημαν. ἦ δὲ πόλις, 9 ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἦτε ἡ, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ γένους ὅπως καὶ πρὸδικόν τοῦ παίδος, ἦγείσθαι τῇ στρατῇ ἑκέλευον. ἐπεὶ ὃ ἐξήστασεν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δὲ ἦςαν 10 οἱ ἐναυτοί, συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο πῶς ἄν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσω αὐτοῖς ποιήσασίτο. Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ 11 Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν. 'Αλλὰ ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὁμοίως ἔκανε τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πράγμα οὐδὲντερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. οὐ τε γὰρ ποταμῷ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσίν ἀλλ' εὐνάβατοι, ὅσοι δ' ἂν παρροτέρῳ γίγνονται, ἐπεμβάλλουντες ἔτεροι ποταμὸν ἵσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ῥέμα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁσαίτως, ἔνθεν μὲν 12 ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσί, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ ὅσμαχωτέρας γίγνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἐγωγε, ἐφη, καὶ ὁπόσοι σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκείνοτας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρώνται θηρὰν, ἐπὶ πολλῶν τυπτομένων. ἐὰν δ' ἐτε ἐνδοῦν ὅτων τὸ πύρ προσφέρομεν, 15 πάρχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένοις δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμομένοις ἡγούμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἔγγυτα τῆς Λακεδαιμονίως τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. δοξάστος δ' εὖ λέγεις αὐτοῦ ἐπιθύμησαντο ταύτα. 13 ἐν δ' ὅ, τι περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττομο καὶ διωμολογοῦμο τοὺς δὲ ξένους δέων τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στρατεύμα, ὅπως μὴ λαῖν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιοῦμεναι αἳ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοὺς πολεμίους παρέχοιες, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέος ἐξήσαν τὴν ἄμφιαλον. καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδὸν τι ἡμαὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορω- 14

θίουσ ἐν τῇ Νεμέα ἦσαν, οί δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μᾶλα κακῶς ἔποιον οἱ γυμνῆς τῶν ἄντιπάλων. ὃς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῆσαν 5 διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάνοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδέωσαντο, ἐμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπείχον τῶν πολεμίων, κάκεινοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύσαμεν ήσυχίαν ἐξοίχωσαν.

10 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρω. συνελέγησαν γὰρ ὁπλίται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἔξακιςχίλιους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ Λασιώνων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἕπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἐρμονέων καὶ Ἀλεών ἐγένοντο οὐκ 15 ἐλάττους τρισχίλιοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἤπειροι μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἔξακισχίλιον, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξότα τὴν ἥκολοθονών ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδούντα Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρήων καὶ Ἀμφίδωλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακόσια. Φλειάστιοι μὲντοι οὐκ ἥκολοθονων ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐξειν. αὐτὴ μὲν 20 ἐς τῶν πολεμίων ἡθολογθὴ Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἔξακιςχίλιους ὁπλίτας, Ἀργείων δὲ ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἐπτακισχίλιοι, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὁρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν, περὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, Κορυθών γε μὴν εἰς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ μὴν ἐς Εὔβοιας ἀπόφησι οὐκ 25 ἐλάττους τρισχίλιοι. ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἤπειροι δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ Ὁρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν] εἰς ὀκτακοσίως, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἔξακισχίλιοι, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐς Εὔβοιας εἰς ἐκατόν, Δοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀσποντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψυλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορυθωνίων πλέον ἦν 30

καὶ γάρ Λοκρὸς οἱ 'Οζόλαι καὶ Μηλείς καὶ 'Ακαρνάνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς.

Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοωτοὶ 18 ἐὼς μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἴχον, οὐδὲν τι κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην 5 συνάπτευσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξίον ἔσχον καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρῆγ- 

gειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἐκκαίδεκα βαθείαν παντελῶς ἐποίη- 
10 σαντὸ τῇ πάλαγγα, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ἢγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιει τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὃν μὴ διασπασθείσαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίτερ γενιόσκουτε ὅτι κύδωνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι. 

tέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι 19 οὐκ ἤσθάνοντο προσιότατον τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον 15 τὸ χωρίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαινίσαν, τότε δὴ ἐγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπανταν διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ἔναγοι ἔταξαν, παρηγ- 

gύσαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἢγομένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε- 
dαιμονίοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ὑπερέχουν τὸ κέρας, 20 ὡστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἳ μὲν ἐξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαι- 

μονίους ἐγένοντο, αἳ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ 20 στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὡστε νομίζεται, τῆν χύμαιραν, ἦγουντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναυτάς, τὸ υπερέχου ἐπικάρμαστε εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 25 συνεμείσαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαι- 

μονίων ἐκρατήσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναυτῶν, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπίας γενόμενοι ἔμαχοντο τε καὶ ἐν χώρα ἐπιτυγχόν ἐκα- 

tέρων. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι ὄσον τε κατέσχον τῶν 21 Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ υπερέχοντι 30 πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἄτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντα- 

tαμονέοι ἐπιρεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὸν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρήσατε παρῆλθον,

1 'Ακαρνάνες] Αλιάνες Wachsmuth 12 διασπασθέσαν B C
Τεγεατών τοίς δ’ Ἄργελοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ἀναχωροῦσιν, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρῶτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἑναυτῶν συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοηθεῖ παρεῖναι τοὺς πρῶτους. ὅσα δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο, παραθένοντας 5 ὅπειρα παλαιότερα εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἔπελαβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωροῦτων. ἐτί δ’ ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ τῶν Ὥββαίων τισιν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τοῦτον δὲ γενομένοις, οἱ ἤττωμεν τοῦ μέν πρῶτον ἐφευγὼν πρὸς τὰ 10 τείχη ἐπείτα δ’ εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαίμονιοι δ’ αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἐνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοὺς πολεμίους συνεμείζαν, ἐστησάτο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

III Ὅ τ’ Ἀγγείλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθηεν 15 ὅπερ δ’ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικήθη θέτι οὐκ Λακεδαίμονιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὁκτὼ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παρπλήθεις ἐδῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἡλικοί πεπτωκότες εἶνεν. ἐξομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγγιαλάου ὁ Αρ’ ἀν, ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ἐν καιρῷ γένευτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπτονται 20 πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν υἱὸν ὡς τάχιστα πῦθουστο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας: Ἐνθυμοτέρους γονὺς εἰκός ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένους, κάλλιστα ἄν ἀπαγγέλλας; ὁ δὲ ἀσμένος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰει φιλιαπόδημος ἦν, εἰπεν: Ἕλ σῦ τάττους. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἐφη, καὶ 25 προσπαγγέλλεις γε κελεύω ὅτι εἰς καὶ τάδε εἰς γένευτα, πάλιν παρεσμέμεθα, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ’ Ἐλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο· ὁ δ’ Ἀγγείλαος διαλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἄφικε. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κρατινῶνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσαίοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμ- 30
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ  Δ

μαχαί οὖνες Βοωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ, πλὴν ὁσοὶ αὐτῶν φυγάδες τὸ τ’ ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακοῦργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακο-
λουθοῦντες. δ’ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλασίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, 4
τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἐμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ’ ἐπὶ οὐρά ἔχον
5 τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκόλυνον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπε-
λάυνοντες τοὺς ὁπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπὶ οὐράν καὶ τὸ ἄπο
5 τοῦ στόματος ἱππικῶν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. ὦς δὲ παρε-
5 τάξαντο ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ
εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην
10 ἀπεχώρων. οἱ δὲ μᾶλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ 6
ὁ Ἀγνήσιας δ’ ἐκατέρου ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν
μᾶλα εὐρώττους ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγ-
γέλλει καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκει ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκὲς δοῦνα
αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφῆν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν 7
15 ἔλαυνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ’ ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ
dὲ πειρόμενοι τούτο ποιεῖν, πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς
 fullfiled.
ναυμαχία καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ
καὶ δ' τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κυίδου
τῶν ἔπιπλουν ἄλληλοι, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα σὺν
ταῖς Φωιόςσαις εἶναι, Κώνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ἔχοντα
tetάξθαι ἐξαποσθέν αὐτοῦ. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πεί-
sάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττώνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεὼν φανερῶν τῶν
αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κώνωνος [τοῦ] Ἐλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὑθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτῶν δὲ συμμελ-
ξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολᾶς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρῃ πρὸς τὴν
γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἱο
ἐξεσώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σφέζεσαι ὅπῃ δύναντο
eis τὴν Κυίδου, αὐτῶν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ υἱῇ μαχόμενον ἀπο-
θανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
χαλεπῶς ἤγεγκεν. ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἐνεβημήθη ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύ-
ματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς αὐτῷ ὄνων ἀγαθῶν μὲν γιγνομένων 15
ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δὲ τὸ χαλεπὸν ὄργην, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι
κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλ-
λοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς, νικότο ὃ καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθήτη ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοὶ
dιέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὡστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς 20
tοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὃς
Λακεδαίμονιὼν νικώτων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

'Ἡσαύ δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεσαγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βωστοῖ,
Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰγίνα, Ἑβδομῆς, Λοκροὶ
ἁμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιὼν μὲν μόρα ἡ 25
ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσα, ἦμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχωμοῦνος,
ἐτὶ δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονιος νεοδαμώδεις συστρατευσάμενοι
αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτους οὔ 'Ηριππίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικὸν, ἐτὶ
dὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεως Ἐλληνιδῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ ὅσα διών παρέλαβεν· αὐτοθεν δὲ προσεγέ- 30
νοτό ὀπλῖται Ὀρχωμενίοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταῖ γε μὴν

ηεωφωντος

7 αὐτοῦ codd. τοῦ del. edd.: αὐτοῦ C 11 ἐξωσθησαν codd.: 8η[ δ] ὅποι F M D V 18 νικότον] νικῶν Hartman

corr. Schneider
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

πολύ πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγγειλάου. ἵππεῖς δ' αὐτῷ παραπλήσιου ἀμφότεροι τὸ πλῆθος. ἥ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὐτῇ ἀμφότεροι 16 δυνηθόμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἷα οὐκ ἀλλὰ τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνήσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν 5 πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγγειλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Ῥηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἰκε δ' Ἀγγειλάς μὲν δεξίων τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιον δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὐτῷ Ῥηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργείοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνιότων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ 17 10 πολλῆ ἀπ' ἀμφότερον ἴν' ἴκαι δ' ἀπείχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ῥηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὡμός ἐφερόμενο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἐτὶ πλέθρων εἰς μέσῳ ὄντων, ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγγειλάου φάλαγγος δ' Ἰωππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰώνες καὶ Ἀδόλεκς καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες 15 οὕτω τῶν συνεκδραμόμενων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρῳ ἄφικο- 

μενον ἐτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς. Ἀργείοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο 

τοὺς περὶ Ἀγγειλάου, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικώνα. καὶ 18 ταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνων ἵνα τῶν Ἀγγει-

λαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Ῥηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους 

διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶχαν. καὶ δ' μὲν εὐθὺς 

ἐξελέξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς' οἱ δ' αὐτῷ Ῥηβαῖοι 

ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι πεθευγότας, δια-

πεσείν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπεφράζετες ἔξω 

ροὺν ἑρρῳμένως. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγγειλάον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν 19 25 ἔξεσσω εἰπέναι ἀναμφίσβητος· οὐ μέντοι εἰλέτο γε τὰ 

ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξὼν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπεπέτατο 

ἀκολουθοῦντι χειρούργα τοὺς ὁπισθε, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, 

ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνεφραξε τοῖς Ῥηβαῖοι· καὶ συμβαλόντες 

τὰς ἀπτίδας ἐρωτότοι, ἐμάχωτο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. 

30 τέλος δὲ τῶν Ῥηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τῶν Ἑλικῶνα,
20 πολλοὶ δ’ ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάος ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένος δ’ αὐτὸς προσερχήνετο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαστι τινες τῶν ἱππεῶν λέγον- σιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὑγιόκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεφελεῖ, καὶ ἱρώτων τῷ χρῆ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ, καίπερ πολλὰ 5 τραύματα ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ’ εἶν τε ἀπιέναι ἢ βούλουντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἄδικεις οὐκ ἔνα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἢδη ὅψῃ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκομμὴθησαν.

21 πρὸ δὲ Γούλιν τῶν πολέμαρχων παρατάξας τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαίον ἱστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας 10 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτ’ ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεμψαν κύρικας, ὑποστούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπουδαῖ γίγνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δέλφους ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυνεν οὐκ ἑλαττὼ ἐκατόν ταλάντ- 15 τῶν. Γούλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν

22 εἰς Φωκέαν, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἕμεραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεῦῃ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σύτων ἡρπαζον’ ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἔσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωρούντων τῶν Δακεδαμούνων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ 20 Δοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες. ὥσ’ δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ Δακε- δαμόνοι ὑποστρέφονται καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλον τινας, ἐκ τούτων ὁπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερ-

23 δεξιῶν ἐβαλλον. οἱ δ’ ἐπεχεϊρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν’ ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν 25 διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐπιτυγγοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προορῶν τὰ ἐμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἄποθησάκουσιν Γούλις τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς δικτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν καταλευ- σθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυμασθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν 30

7 ἐκέλευε Β. Ages. : ἐκέλευσε(n) cet. 19 τελευταίων Schneider :
teleutaión codd. 22 κατέβαλλον BC 24 τὸ Castalio: τὸν
cod. 25 τὸ B : om. cet. 26 καὶ del. Hartman τὰ] τοὺς
C F 29 Σπαρτιατῶν] στρατιωτῶν C F
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. iii

αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκυμνοῦνσαν ἀν ἀπαντεῖς ἀπολέσθαι.

Μετὰ τούτῳ γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο IV στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀργησίαος ἐπὶ οἴκου. ἐκ 5 δὲ τούτων ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορώνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυώνος. ὀρῶντες δὲ οἱ Κορώνθιοι ἐναυῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν ὁρμοῦμεν καὶ ἀποθηκεύσκοντας διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τῶν πολιμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τόσο δὲ ἄλλους 10 συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὕτας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὕτας, οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπέθυμσαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἔδιδασκον ταύτα ἀλλήλους.

γυναίκες δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορώνθίων οἱ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ 15 οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτίσκατοι γεγενημένοι ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκποιῶν ποιήσωσιν τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κυνωπεύσει πάλιν ἡ τόλμη λακωνίας, οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἀν νόμῳ τις καταγνωσθη, οὐκ 20 ἀποκτυνύσωμεν ἐν εὐρή: ἐκεῖνοι δὲ Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προελάντο, ὅτι πλεῖσσος ἂν φοντο λαβέων ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὡςτε ἀποκτείναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσμεύσατο οἷς εἴρητο οὓς ἔδει ἀποκτεῖναι, 3 σπασάμενοι τὰ ἕξις ἐπαινοῦ τὸν μὲν τινα συνεστήκοτα ἐν κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἑστὶ δὲ ὃν 25 καὶ κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὡς δὲ ἐγνώσθη τὸ πράγμα, εὔθεια ἐφευγοῦν οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἁγάματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαμβώς· ἔθα δὴ ὁ ἀνοσιώτατος καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νομίμω φρονούντες, οἱ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἑσφαττόν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροῖς, ὡστ' 30 ἐνίοτον καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δὲ ἀνθρώπων, ἀδημονοῦσι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἀποθηκεύσοντι δὲ 4

1 οἱ ἐκ Weiske 4 δ' om. C 8 πολλοὺς ἀποθηκεύσοντας Breitenbach 24 τὸν δὲ καθήμενον del. Laves 28 κελεύοντες] μέλλοντες B
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

οὗτῳ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοὶ μάλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὦτει, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύοντος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεθαί, ἵστυχαν ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὡσ δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἤσθοιτο, καὶ φεύγουσιν τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐκ τούτοις ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν 5 Ἀκροκόρωνον, προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 5 ἀπεκρούσαντο: βουλευομένων δὲ τὶ χρὴ ποιεῖν, πέπτει τὸ κιόκραινον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίνους οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου. καὶ θυμόμενοι δὲ τοιαύτα ἦν τὰ ἑρᾶ ὡστε οἱ μάντεις ἐφασαν ἁμενοὶ ἐναὶ καταβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ ἐν μὲν πρῶτον ὡς φευξόμενοι ἐξοὶ τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτούς ἐπευθὺν καὶ μητέρες λούσαν καὶ ἀδελφοί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει οὕτως ἦσαν οἱ ὁμώνυμαι ὑπευχοῦντο μηδὲν χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς πελάτεσαν, 6 οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθον τινες οἶκαδε αὐτῶν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς 15 τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανομένοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένη τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅρους ἀναστάθαι καὶ Ἅργος ἀντὶ Κορινθίου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ὁμομάζοντας καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τὴς ἐν Ἁργείω μετέχειν, ἦς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἐλαττὸν δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντο τινες αὐτῶν οἱ 20 ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἅβλωτον εἰναι περιομένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἁρχῆς, Κόρινθῳ πούςκαι καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαφώνων καθαρῶν, εὐνομία δὲ χρομένην, ἄξιον εἰναι, εἰ μὲν δύναυτο καταπράξαι ταύτα, σωτηρίας γενέσθαι τής πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναυτο, 25 τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὁργομένων ἀξι- 7 επαινοτάτης τελευτής τυχείων. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτο ἄνδρε οὔν, Πασιμήλος τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύνυτε διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτη τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχρῳ, ὅσ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. iv

ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυώνι, καὶ εἴπον ὅτι δύναντ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἰσόδουν εἰς τὰ κατα-
τεύνοντα ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τεῖχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γυμνόσκοιν
τῷ ἄνδρε ἀξιοπίστω ὤντε, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραζόμενος
5 ὡςτε καὶ τὴν ἀπίεναι μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυώνοι μόραν κατα-
μεύναι, ἔπραπτε τὴν εἰσόδουν. ἔπει δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε καὶ κατὰ 8
τύχην καὶ κατ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακεν κατὰ τὰς
πύλας ταῦτας ἐνθαπερ τὸ τροπαίον ἐστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων
ὁ Πραξίτας ἐρχεται τὴν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυώνιος καὶ Κορυ-
10 θών ὅσοι φυγάδες ὤντες ἐτύγχανοι. ἔπει δ' ἦν πρὸς ταῖς
πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν εἰσόδουν, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν
ἀνδρα εἰσπέμψαι σκεψομένου τὰ ἔνδον. τῷ δὲ εἰσηγαγέ-
την καὶ οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὡςτε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἔξηγ-
γειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οὐάπερ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ τούτου δ' 9
15 εἰσέρχεται. ὡς δὲ πολὺ διεχόντων τῶν τεῖχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλους
παραταττόμενοι ὅλγες ἑαυτοῖς ἐδοξαν εἶναι, σταὐρωμα τ' ἐπούσαντο καὶ τάφρον οίαν ἐδύναυτο πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἐως ὧν ἦν
σύμμαχοι βοηθησοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν
τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακῇ. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἔπι τῇ νυκτὶ ἦ
20 εἰσήλθον ἡμέραν ἄμαχοι διήγαγον· τῇ δ' υπεραίη ἦκον οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι πασσοῦνθη βοηθήντες' καὶ εὐρύντες τεταγμένους
Λακεδαμινίους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυώνιους δὲ
ἐχωμένους, Κορυθών δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἐκατὸν πρὸς τῷ ἐφώ τεῖχε, ἀντιτάπτονται ἐχόμενοι [δὲ] τοῦ
25 ἔφοι τεῖχους ὧν ἐπὶ Ἰφικράτην μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τού-
τοις 'Ἀργεῖον εὐώνυμον δ' εἴχον αὐτοῖς Κορυθοῖοί οἱ ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὖθὺς ἐχώρουνν
καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυώνιους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες τὸ
σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ ὀλατταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν
30 ἀπεκτεναν. Πασίμαχοι δὲ ὁ ἰππαρμοστῆς, ἔχων ἰππέας

3 πρόσθε B 16 σταύρωμα τ'] σταυράματ' DCF 17 αὐτῶν
Μ: αὐτῶν cet. 18 βοηθήσοιεν B: βοηθήσαυεν cet. fort. recte
21 πασσοῦντι DV 24 δὲ del. Morus 25 Ἰφικράτην Schneider: ἐς φί(ν)λοκράτη(ει) codd. 26 ὃι add. Leonclavius
οὐ πολλοὺς, ὃς ἔόρα τοὺς Σικυώνιους πιεζομένους, κατα-
δήσας ἀπὸ δεύδρων τοὺς ἱπποὺς, καὶ ἀφελομένους τὰς ἀσπίδας
αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἔθελόντων ἦσεν ἐναυτὸν τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ
δὲ Ἀργείοι ὄρωντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς Σικυ-
ώνιους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπῶν ὁ Πασί- 5
μαχος. Ναὶ τὸ σιῶ, ὃ Ἀργείοι, ψευστὶ ὑμὲ τὰ σίγμα
tαῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὐτω μαχομένους έμε δῆλον πρὸς
πολλοὺς ἀποτιθήκηκε καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. οἱ μέντοι
φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ’ αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν
ἄνω, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἔγγοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἀστυ κύκλου· οἱ δ’ αὐθ ίο
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ἦσθοντο κρατοῦμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικυ-
ώνιους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀριστερά ἔχοντες τὸ σταῦ-
ρωμα. οἱ γε μήν Ἀργείοι ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν ὅπως ἔντας τοὺς
Λακεδαιμόνιους, στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος
ἐξεπηπττό. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσχατοὶ αὐτῶν παιόμενοι 15
eis τὰ γυμνα ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέθηκαν, οἱ δὲ
πρὸς τῷ τείχῃ ἀθρόοι σὺν πολλῷ ὀχλῷ πρὸς τὴν τόλμη
ἀπεχώρουν. ὡς δ’ ἐνέτυχοι τοῖς φυγάσαι τῶν Κορινθίων,
καὶ ἐγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλων πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα
μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες ἠλλοῦντο 20
κατὰ τῶν τείχων καὶ διεφεύροντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας
ὡσόμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι ἀπέθηκαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατού-
μενοι ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνύγοντο. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ
ήτορον τῖνα ἀποκτενοῦσιν. ἐξωκε γὰρ τὸτε γε ὁ θεὸς
αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἶον οὐδ’ ἠξαίτω τοτ’ ἄν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχείρι- 25
σθήναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος περοβημένου, ἐκπεπληγη-
μένου, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπό-
μενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλυσαι πάντα πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας,
πῶς οὐκ ἄν τῷ θείῳ ἡγήσατο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ
πολλοὶ ἐπέσουν ὡστε εἰθυσμένοι ὄραν οἱ ἀνθρώποι σωροὺς 30

3 ἔθελοντων C M D V
6 ψευστὶ Cobet: ψεύσει codd. ὅμε Dind.: ὅμε M: ὅμε B σίγμα
Porson: σίγματα codd. 8 post αὐτῶν lac. statuit Campe 12 ἔξελ-
thόντες ... σταύρωμα del. Kurz 14 στραφέντας B 20 ἡλιοῦν B
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ  

σίτου, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἔθεσαντο σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσολκῶν ἀναβάντες. μετὰ μὲν τούτων τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορώθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς 13 νεκροὺς ὑποστόυσαν ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακε- 

daιμονῶν ἐβοήθουσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡθολοσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας 

πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὡστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἰκανὴν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναλαβόν τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε τὴν ἐπὶ 

Μέγαρα, καὶ αἱρεῖ προσβαλλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδώνητα, ἔπειτα 

10 δὲ Κρομμώνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας 

φρουροὺς τοῦμπαλων ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τείχος τὸ 'Επιεῖκειαν, ἦν 

φρουρίον εἰς τῆς φυλίας τοῦς συμμάχους, οὕτω διαφῆκε 

τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπεχώρει. 

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρως διεστέπαντο, 14 

15 φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρωνθον, αἱ 

15 δὲ Σικυώνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη· μισθοφόρους γε μὴ 

ἐκατεροὶ ἔχοντες δἰα τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν. 

Ἐνθά δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειούντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ 15 

ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλύνου δὲ λεπταξίων, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ 

20 τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεου τοις εἰς τοῦτο ὡστε καὶ τοὺς 

Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τείχος οἱ 

Φλειάστιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκουσαν ἐπὶ λακωνισμὸς 

φεύγειν κατάγονει, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κο-

ρώθου ὡστε μετεπέμψαντο τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν 

25 πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μὲν 

Λακεδαιμονίοι, καὶ περὶ εὐνοίκως ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον 

χρόνον ἔχουν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐμβησθησαν παντάπασι 

περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθάρρησα ἔδοκεν ἢ 

πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες 

30 οὖν ἀναπτέρ καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὐτ' περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην 16 

πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς 'Αρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε 

καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἦξε γὰρ οἱ τῶν ὧ Ἀρκαδίων 

12 πρὸς vulg.: πρὸς codd. 29 fort. καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πόλιν
ὅπλίται παντάπασιν οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτως τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβητο. τοὺς μὲντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίσεαν ὡς ἐντὸς ἀκουστάματος οὐ προσῆσαν τοὺς ὑπόλίτας· ήδη γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσοῦτον διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλόντες ἀπέκτειναν τινας αὐτῶν. 5

καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἐτὶ μάλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαυρίνεις βοηθήσαντες ποτε, ἐπεκδραμόντες πελτασταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τέωντος τείχους, ἀκουστάμενοι ἐνέκλυναν τε καὶ ἀπέδανον τίνας αὐτῶν τείγοντες· ὡστε οἱ μὲν 10 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκόπτεαν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῦντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὡσπερ μορμόνοι παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λέχαιον ὁρμόμενοι σὺν μορᾷ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύωντο·

οἱ δὲ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι φοβοῦμενοι τὴν ῥόμην τῶν Λακεδαιμόνων, μὴ ἔτει τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων διήρητο, ἐλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφάς, ἡγησαντο κράτιστου εἶναι ἀνατείχισαν τὰ δυνημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεῖ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυώνας καὶ πρὸς ἐστέρας ἐν ὀλγαίς ἡμέραις πάνω καλῶν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ 20 ἐφον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἕσυχαν ἐτείχιζον.

Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς 'Αργείους τὰ μὲν οἶκοι καρπουμένους, ήδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἡγεῖτο, καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὑρὼς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ 25 Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριφεῖς περὶ ὄδηκα· ὡστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὃν

5 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσατε τῶν φευγόντων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεις πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκῆματα ἔχοντες καὶ σφόζοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτοὶ δὲν, στρατεύοντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τότε ἤγομενόν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰσθμὸν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
10 ὁ μὴν ἐν φ" Ἰσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐτύχας τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἀργοὺς τῆς Κορινθίως ὅπως ὁ Ἰσθμόντου προσώπα τῶν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπτόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουσα εἰς τὸ ἀστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ
15 Κεγκρέειας ὁδόν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκεῖνος μὲν καίπερ ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνώσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτοῦ τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθηκεν καὶ περιέμενεν, ἐκεῖ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορυνθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἁγῶνα. ἐποίη
10 σαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησίλαον ἔξ ἀρχὴς πάλιν Ἰσθμία. καὶ ἐκεῖνῷ τῷ ἠτεὶ ἐστὶ μὲν ὁ τῶν ἄθλων διὸ ἐκακοῦστο ἑυκήθη, ἔστι δὲ ὁ δής οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.
20 τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πειραιὸν τὸ 3 στράτευμα. ἦδων δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλασσόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἀριστοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, ὡς προδιομένης τῆς πόλεως·
25 ὥστε οἱ Κορυνθιοὶ δεισάντες μὴ προδιοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ή 

πόλις, μεταπέμπασιν τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις 

tῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς 

παρελθόντος αὐτοὺς, ὑποστρέψας ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς 

τὸ Πειραιὸν ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θέρμα προῆε, μόρα

30 δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε, καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν 

νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ὡς 

μόρα

5 ἀκούσατες C F D V ὑπὸ τῶν C F τῶν codd. 6 οἱ add. 

Leonclavius 7 αὐτόθεν Weiske: αὐτόθι codd. 11 τῆς C: τοῦ 

cet. 16 κατασκηνώσας B pr. 29 παρηγεί C F
IV. v  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

4 τὰ ἀκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγγιγίαος μικρῷ καιρῷ δὲ ἐνυθυμήματι ἡδοκήμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδενός πῦρ ἐλευεγκύντος, ψύχους δὲ ὡντος διὰ τὲ τὸ πάνυ ἐφ’ ύψηλον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὦδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἔσπεραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ 5 ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ριγούτων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἀγγιγίαος οὐκ ἐλαττὸν δέκα φέροντα πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπείδη δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἅλλος ἅλλη, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἄτε πολλής υλῆς παροῦσης, πάντες μὲν ἡλείφοντο, πολλοί 10 δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὑφ’ ὅτου δ’

5 ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἴδειν. ἔπει δὲ ἰδοὺντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραῖῳ τὰ ἀκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τῷ Ἡραίων κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναίκες καὶ 15 δούλου καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλέιστα. καὶ ὁ Ἀγγιγίαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· ἦ δὲ μόρᾳ ἀμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Ὀλυνήν τὸ ἐντεκεισμένου τεῖχος αἱρεῖ, καὶ τὰ ἐνώτα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 20 πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέψουσετε Ἀγγιγίλαῷ γυνάω τι βούλοντο περὶ σφῶν. δ’ ἐγὼ, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυγάσι, τα δ’ ἅλλα 6 πάντα πραθήναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῆει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡραίου 25 πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἀλλοθέν τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιώτῶν ἤκον ἐρησόμενοι τῇ ἁν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τὐχοειν. δ’ ὁ Ἀγγιγίαος μᾶλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ’ ὴραν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὁπως προσαγάγαρ καθήμενος δ’ ἐπὶ 30 τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτερὸς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει

6 σελία Dind. ῥιγώτων Cobet 8 ἐπείδη Β: ἐπελ cet. 12 καθήμενος hic codd. 20 δὲ Simon: ἐδ codd. 22 ἐπιτρέψουστε F 26 πολλαὶ om. C F 31 τὴν λίμνην] τὸν λιμένα Leonclavius
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Δακεδαμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων σὺν τοῖς ὄρασι παρηκολούθουσι φίλακες τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰὲ πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἐτὶ δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ οἰκότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις προσήλυσκα καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρὸς ἱδρώτι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτῶμενον ὁ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίματο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἤππου καὶ προσδράμων αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθροτός ὄν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Δεικαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὃς ἦκουσεν, εὐθὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐδρος ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας καὶ ἔξεγος καλειν τῶν κήρυκα ἔκελευν. ὃς δὲ συνεδράμων ὁ οὕτω, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ τω ἤστοποίντω, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὁ τι δύνατο ἥκειν τὴν παχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαιν ψηλεύτῳ ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὄπλα ἔχουσε παρηκολούθουσιν σπουδῆ, τοῦ μὲν ὑψηγούμενον, τῶν δὲ μεταίωτων. ἤδη τ' ἐκπεπερακότοι αὐτῶν τὰ θερμά εἰς τὸ πλατύ τοῦ Δεικαίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεις τρεῖς ἀγγέλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρμένου εἶσαν ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦκουσέν, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ὅλιγον χρόνου ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραίον τῇ δ' ὀστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διεστίθετο.

Οἱ δὲ πρέττεισ τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτῶ- μενοι τ' ἦκουσεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύοι βούλουτο εἰς ἀστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθειν. ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας: 'Αλλ' οἶδα μὲν, ἐφ' ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤδειν βούλεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγενήται. περιμεύσατε οὖν, ἐφ' ἐγώ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς

XENOFOΝΤΟΣ

άξω, καὶ μάλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὅντες γυνώσεσθε ποιῶν τι τὸ 10 γεγενημένον ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἕστερᾳ ἥμισὺς ἵνα πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δὲ τῇ ἤτοι διένδυκν, κάτω τοῦ καὶ κάων ἐπεδέκκυνεν ὃς οὖν ἔεντεξε. ταῦτα δὲ πούσας 5 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἄνηκε, κατὰ δὰλαταν δὲ εἰς Κρέσσων ἀπέπεμψεν. ἀτε δὲ ἀθήνοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνίκου στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἔπεθνασαν 10 ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ νοί ἤ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί ὃποιοὶ οὗτοι δ' ὡσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροί καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τὸν οἰκείῳ πάθει περίῆγαν. 11 ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τού δρότηρ. οἱ 'Αμυκλαιοὶ άεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ 'Υακίνθια ἐπὶ τῶν παῖδα, εὰν τε στρατοπεδεύσαν μοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιάς 'Αμυκλαιοὺς κατέλιπε μὲν 'Αγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαιῷ. δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουρῶν παρέταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τείχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἰππεῶν μόρα παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορυθηών 20 τοὺς 'Αμυκλαιεῖς παρῆγεν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπείχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἠ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυόνος, δ' μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς ἐξακοσίοις ἀπῆκα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τῶν δ' ἰππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἰππεῶν μόρα, ἔπει προπέμψειαν τοὺς 'Αμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὀπάσον 25 αὐτοὶ κελεύοντες, μεταδίωκεις. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἠσαν ἐν τῇ Κορυθῇ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὖδέν ἡγοῦντο κατεχόμενοι δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐμπροσθεν τοχαὶ μηδένα ἄν ἐπὶ- 13 χειρῆσαι σφίσσαι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορυθηών ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὃ 'Ιππονίκου, τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ 30 Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ

5 κάων Lennep: κλαυν codd. 7 ἀνήκε Schneider: ἀνήκε codd. 15 στρατευόμενοι Cobet 19 παρέταξε έταξε Schneider 22 σταδίουs B: στάδια cet. 29 ἁστεως] ἁστεος B: τοῦ ἁστεος cet.
όποιος ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἵππεών, ἐνόμισαν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκουστομένους ἀν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλυσαν· εἰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦσαν διώκειν, ῥαδίως ἀν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τοὺς ὅπλιτας. γνώντες δὲ ταύτα ἔξαγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε 14 τοὺς ὅπλιτας οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως, οὐ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονοι ἐπελ ἴκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸς ἐτέρωτο, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπώκει, 10 τοῦτος μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπαστιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Ἀέανον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀλήθεια ἐσώθησαν· ῇ δὲ πολεμαρχὸς ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ᾽ ἤμης ἀποδιώκει τοὺς προειρημένους. ὄς δὲ ἐδιώκον, ἠρον τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου 15 βολῆς ὅπλιται ὄντες πελταστᾶς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὅπλιτας ὅμοι γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεγώ- ρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἀτε διωξαίτες ὃς τάχους ἐκαστος εἰχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην, οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ πάλιν ἴκοντιζον καὶ ἀλλοι ἐκ πλαγίον παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκούτιζον 20 ἐνεύα ἡ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὦς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἦδη θρασύ- τερον ἐπέκειστο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν 16 ὁ πολεμαρχὸς διώκει τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ᾽ ἤμης. ἀναχω- ροῦτες δὲ ἐτὶ πλείους αὐτῶν ἡ τὸ πρώτον ἐπεσον. ἦδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἵππεις αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται 25 καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἀδίσι διώξει ἐπούσαντο. ὦς δὲ ἐνεκλιναν οἱ πελτασταῖ, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἵππεις ἐπέθεστο· οἱ γὰρ ἐως ἀπέκτειναν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδιώξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρό- μοις ἵσομεντοι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεψον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὁμοια τούτοις καὶ ἀδίσι, ἀυτοὶ μὲν ἄει 30 ἠλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγένετο, οἱ δὲ πολέμουι θρασύτεροι τε καὶ άει πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες 17

δὴ συνιστανται ἐπὶ βραχών των γύλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς ὅποι στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Δέχαλον ὡς ἢ ἡ ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ’ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δεχαλοῦ, εἰσ-βάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεουν, ἔως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τῶν γύλοφον. οἱ δ’ ἀπορούντες ἤδη, ὅτι ἐπασχοῦ μὲν κακῶς 5 καὶ ἀπέθησαν, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὀρώντες καὶ τοὺς ὄπλιτας ἐπιώντας, ἐγκληματικοί. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπὶτουσών αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλαταν, ὄλγοι δὲ τωσ μετὰ τῶν ἵππεων εἰς Δέχαλον ἐσώθησαν. εἰν πᾶσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. 10 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ὃ Ἀγνίλαος τῆς μὲν σφαλείσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπῆλε, ἀλλὰ δὲ κατέλυπεν ἐν τῷ Δέχαλῳ. διώκων δὲ ἐπ’ οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὑψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς δ’ ἐδύνατο πρωτάτατα ἐξωρμάτω. παρὰ δὲ Μαυτύνειαν 15 έξ ὁρχομενοῦ ὀρθροῦ ἀναστάς ἐτί σκοταιος παρῆλθεν. οὐτω χαλεπῶς ἢν ἐδόκοιν οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς Μαυτύνεας τρόφονοις τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσασθαι. ἐκ τοῦτον δὲ μάλα καὶ τάλλα ἑπτυγχανεν Ἰφυκράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρονοῦν ἐν Σιδώντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶν ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, 20 ὡστε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἰνόῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγνίσιλαος, ὅτεπερ τὸ Περίαυον ἔκλει, πανθ’ εἰλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Δέχαλον ἐφροῦσιν οἱ Λακεδαμόνοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορωνίων, οὐκετέ πεζὶ παριώντες ἐκ Σικυώνοις διὰ τῆς τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ 25 πλέοντες καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὃρμῳ μενοὶ πράγματα εἰχόν τε καὶ παρείχον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

VI Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδώνα, ἦ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυ-δώνιους, φρονεῖν ἡμαγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ, οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρπάνες 30
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. vi

ἐπεστράτευον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βουωτῶν συμπαρῆσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι όμως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὦ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δικαία πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαίμονων. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφασάν, ὑµῖν, ὑπὲρ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ἡ μὲν παραγγέλλετε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἐπόμεθα ὅποι ἡ γῆς: ὡς μὲν δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἡµῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βουωτῶν οὐδεμιᾶν ἐπιμελείαν ποιεῖσθε, οὐκ ἂν οὖν ὅνοµαίσθα 10 ὑμεῖς τούτων οὐτοὶ γυνομένων ἀντέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐσάντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμός συμεῖν Ἀκαρνανίτες τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἢ εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα ὅποιαν ἂν τινα δυνάμεθα. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγον ὑπαπείλοντες τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαίων ἐναι στρατευόσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τό μέρος. οἱ μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πανιδημεῖ πυγευστα- 15 ἔκτοτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ διεβή ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ΕΚ 4 τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνάνας ἐφογοῦν εἰς τὰ ἀστή, πάντα δὲ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπεχθρώσα τόρρῳ, ὅπως μὴ ἀλάσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὡς τ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐπείδη ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς πολεμίας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν 25 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἐπεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ πανομένου τῆς πρὸς Βουωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἐαυτοῦς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχοις αἵρησονται, δησώσει πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφέξης καὶ παραλάβεις οὐδέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν ἐπείδοντο, οὕτως ἔποιες, καὶ 5 κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προῆρε πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἡ δέκα ἡ δώδεκα στάδιον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνάνες, ἔγι- 7 ἡ C γείσθε codd. 13-15 ταῦτα ... ἀντεπικουρήσοντες del. Kruse 15 ἀντεπικουρήσωσι B 16 ἀναγκαίων εἶναι om. C 26 post τοὺς add. Ἀχαιός Simon 27 δησώσει Dind.: δη(ἡ) ὦς C codd. 30 μὲν om. B
σάμενοι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὰ τε βοσκῆματα κατεβίβασον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων καὶ τῆς χώρας
6 τὰ πλείστα εἰργάζοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἑδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάνω ἤδη θαρρείν, ἦμερά πέμπτη ἢ ἐκτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἀδ'[ἡς εἰςεβάλε, θυσάμενος πρὸ διεπορεύθη πρὸ δὲλης ἐξήκοντα 5 καὶ ἐκατόν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἦν τὰ βοσκῆματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἐλαβὲ παμπλήθη καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ἰπποφόρβια καὶ ἀλλὰ παντοδαπὰ βοσκῆματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
7 οὔταν ἤμεραν διεπάλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρ-ιο νάσων πολλοὶ πελτασταῖ ἠλθόν, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὅρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλλοντες καὶ σφενδοὺνωντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας τοῦ ὄρους ἐπασχοῦν μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄμαλες τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ περὶ ἦδη περὶ δείπνου παρα-
σκευαζόμενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνάνες ἀπῆλθον, 15
8 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον. τῇ δ' ὀστεραῖᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησιλαὸς τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἢ ἔξοδοι ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λεωδών τε καὶ πεδίου στενῇ διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχουτα ὄρη' καταλαβώντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἐβαλλόν τε καὶ ἕκόντιζον, 20 καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὄρων προσέκεντο καὶ πράγματα παρεῖχον, ὡστε οὐκέτι ἔδυνατο τὸ στράτευμα
9 πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἵππεις τοὺς ἐπιτυθεμένους οὐδὲν ἐβλαπτοῦν· ταχὺ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὅποτε ἀποχωροῦσαν, πρὸς τοῖς ἱσχυροῖς οἱ Ἀκαρ- 25 νάσες. χαλεπῶν δ' ἡγήσαμενος ὁ Ἀγησιλαὸς διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας, ἐγὼ διόκειμαι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκεμένους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὠστα- εὔβατότερον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ὅρος καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις.
10 καὶ ἐν ὁ μὲν ἐσφαγάζετο, μάλα κατείχον βάλλοντες καὶ 30

σχοντας vulg.: πάσχοντα codd. 30 prius καὶ om. B.
ελληνικών Δ IV. vi

άκουτίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες, καὶ ἔγγυς προσιόντες πολλοὺς ἐτιτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὶγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἄφ᾿ ἡβης, ἡλικιων δὲ οἱ ἵππεις, αὐτῶς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἠκολούθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες 11 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλωναι καὶ ἀπέθηκον διεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἀναντες᾿ ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὄπλιται ἤσαν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα βέλη ἠφίσεσαν καὶ τοῖς δύορασι ἐξακουτίζοντες ἤππεις 10 τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ Ἰπποὺς τυνὰς ἀπέκτεναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον ἡθὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὄπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλωναι, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἑκείη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τριακσίων. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαίον 12 ἐπιθήσατο, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο περιου κατὰ τὴν χώραν 15 ἐκοπτε καὶ ἔκαεν πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλ- λεν, ὅπο τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, ὃς μὴν εἶλε γε ὀνθε- μίαν. ἡνίκα δὲ ἦθη ἐπεγγένετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀφήει ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποικέναι τε ὀδὴν ἐνομίζον αὐτὸν, 13 ὅτι πόλιν ὀνθεμίαν προσεβλήφηοι οὔτε ἐκοῦσαν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαν, 20 ἐδέουτο τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἄλλα τοσοῦτοι γε χρόνων καταμε- ναι αὐτῶν, ἔως ἀν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύῃ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιως. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρώσατο ὅτι τὰ ἀναντία λέγουν τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἐφή, στρατεύομαι πάλιν δεύρο εἰς τὸ ἐπὶδοθέρος· οὔτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἀν πλείον σπείρωσι, τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης 25 ἐπιθυμήσουσι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀπήει πεζῇ δι᾿ Ἀιτωλίας τοι- 14 αὐτας ὅθονς ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὁλίγοι δύναντ᾿ ἀν ἄκόινων Ἀιτωλῶν περεύσθαι· ἐκείνον μέντοι ἔιασαν διελθεῖν ἡλ- πιὼν γὰρ Ναυπακτίου αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὡστ᾿ ἀπολαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ρίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἰκαὶ ἀπῆλθε· 30 καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδώνων ἐκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόνησον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐκόλυνον τριήρεσιν ὅρμωμενοι εὗς Οἰνιάδῶν.

12 ἐνέκλωνον B 15 ἔκαε B 23 στρατεύομαι Stephanus
24 τοσοῦτο B 30 καὶ Leonclavious in marg. : κατὰ codd.

XEN. HELL.
VII Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὃσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἱρός πάλιν φρουρᾶν ἔφαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ σφῶσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἀν πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν οὐτὸν φθειρώτων ὃσπερ εἰ 5 περιεστρατοπεδευμένου πολιορκοῦτο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ ἡ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνάνας οὕτω διεισέπρακτο.

2 'Εκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ 'Αθηναίους ἦ 10 ἐπὶ Βοωτοὺς στρατεύειν οὐκ ἔδοκεί ἀσφαλές εἶναι ὁποιεῖσθεν καταλιπόντας ὁμορού τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλις, εἷς δὲ τὸ 'Αργος φρουρᾶν φαίνουσιν. ὅ δὲ Ἀγγείπολις ἐπει ἐγγύω ὅτι εἰ ἄυτῷ ἡγησένει τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατηρία υθομένω γέγεντο, ἐλθὼν εἰς 15 Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χειροπηριαζόμενος ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεόν εἰ ὅσιως ἂν ἔχωι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένως τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὕτω ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλεις μέλλοιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὅ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεισήμανεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένως σπονδὰς ἀδίκως 20 ὑποφερομένας. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν τὸ 'Απόλλων εἰ κάκειν δοκοῖ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα κατὰ 3 ταύτα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγγείπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φελειώτων τὸ στρατεύμα, ἐκείστε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἐως πρὸς τὰ 25 ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμη, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργειοὶ ἐπει ἐγνωσαν οὐ δωσοῦμενοι κωλύειν, ἐπεμψαν, ὃσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδᾶς. ὅ δὲ Ἀγγείπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδὰς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλῶν 30 ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐκπληξών κατὰ τε τοὺς ἄγρους καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ IV. vii

ἐποίησε. διεπυποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ 4 ἐσπέρα, καὶ σπουδῶν τῶν μετὰ δείπνου ἤδη γενομένων, ἐσεισέν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξάμενοι τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὑμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶν παίαν. 5 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιώται φοντο ἀπίεναι, ὅτι καὶ Ἀγις σεισμοῦ ποτὲ γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν ἐξ Ἡλίδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἰπὼν ὅτι εἴ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σεῖσει, κωλύσεν ἀν αὐτὸν ἥγειτο ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐρμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν νομίζοι. καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἥγειτο οὗ 5 πόρρω εἰς τὴν χώραν. ὁτε δὲ νεωτέρ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ Ἀργος, πυθαμαίνεσον ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποί πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἥγαγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποί τὴν χώραν ἐδήμωσεν, ὡσπερ πέντεθ' ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἑπιμαρατένοι, καὶ ἤδη 6 μὲν ποτὲ βαλλόμενου ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τείχος τάφρους πάλιν διέβη. ἢν δ' ὅτε οἰχομένων τῶν πλεῖστων Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Δακωνίκην ὑπότες ἔγγυσ πυλῶν προσῆλθεν ὡστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις οὔτε τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας ἑσθελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες 20 μὴ συνεισπέσοιες κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ὡστ' ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὡσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοὺς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐτυχόν τότε οἱ Κρήτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδραμκότες, πολλοὶ ἄν καὶ ἀνδρεῖς καὶ ἱπποὶ κατεξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς 25 εἰρκτὰς στρατοπεδουμένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ οἱ μὲν τινίς πληγέειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμ- βρουνθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τειχίσαι


9*
φρούριον τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἑθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀλοβα. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μᾶλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἀτε ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλὼν.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὗτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν 5 ὁ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράπτησε, τὰ κατὰ θάλασσαν αὐτὰ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάσση πόλεις γενόμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἄξιομημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἄξιας λόγου παρῆσον. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέουσε τὸ καὶ τὰς υἱὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαπτίδια πόλεις τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς ἀρμοστὰς ἐξήλαλων καὶ παρεμβοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς ὀφεῖν ἄκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσσοιεν ἐάσοιεν τε αὐτονόμους. 3 οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἤδουτό τε καὶ ἐφήμων καὶ ξένων προσόμως ἐπεμπὸν τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν 5 Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὗτοι μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φιλιαὶ ἐσοντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενοι φανερὸς ἐσοντο, ἐλέγεν ὡς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανή ἐξὶ παρέχει καὶ κύδωνος εἰν ὡς καὶ οἱ Ἐλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα 10 αἰσθοῦντο, συνσταίεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρναβάζος. 20 ἀποβας δ᾽ εἰς Ἔφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοῦσ τεταράκοντα τριήμερες εἰς Σηστόν ἐσπεν ἄπανταν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζὶ παρῆι ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὸ τρηχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὁπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἄβυδῳ ὦν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐκ ὀπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξ—25 ἐλεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἄβυδον καὶ διέσωζε φίλην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἐλεῖξε 30 τοιάδε. ὡς ἀνδρεῖ, νῦν ἐξαναίρῃ ὑμῖν καὶ προσθεῖν φίλους οὔτι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργετὰς φανῆναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν 35 θεωρατών· ὅταν δὲ τιμῶν ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων

13 ἐντειχίσσεν Dind. ἐντειχίσσειν ἐδάσαεν MDVC 17 ἐσονται VC 23 αὐτοῦ B al. 31 φίλων] φίλωι Cobet: φίλων φίλωι Nauck
βέβαιοι φανώσε, τούτ', εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται. 
εἴστι δὲ οὐχ οὖτως ἔχου <ὁς>, εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, 
οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐτί ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπον, 'Αθηναίων 
ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ίκανὴ ἢν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ 
5 φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἔχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὦσφ δὲ μάλλον αἰ ἄλλα 
πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτο ὄντως 
ἡ ἡμετέρα πιστότης μεῖζων φανείη ἂν. εἰ δὲ τὰ τοῦτο 
φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐνθάδε 
pολιορκώμεθα, ἐπιπεδῶ ὦτι 'Ελληνικῶν μὲν οὔτω ναυτικόν 
10 ἐστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἰ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς 
θαλάττης ἀρχεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἢ Ἐλλᾶς· ὡσθ' ἐαυτῇ 
ἐπικυροῦσα καὶ ύμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα 
5 ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπεισθήσαν· καὶ τοὺς 
μὲν ἱόντας ἀρμοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετε-
15 πέμποντο. ὦ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ 
χρήσμοι άνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβάζασ καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, 
καταυτικρά ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχουτα οὐ πλέον ὀκτὼ 
σταδίων, ὥσις τε διὰ Λάκεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρο-
νήσῳ, ἥπροιξε, καὶ ὥσις αὐ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑὐρώπῃ πόλεων 
20 ἀρμοστὰλ ἐξέσπετον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὦτι οὖν' 
ἐκεῖνους αἰθυμεῖν δεὶ, ἐμνοούμενοι ὦτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἄσίᾳ, 
ἡ εἴς ἀρχής βασιλέως ἐστι, καὶ Τήμιος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, 
καὶ Ἀγαμεῖς καὶ ἂλλα γε χωρία δύνανται οίκεων οὐχ ὑπῆκοι 
όντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, ἐφη, ποίων μὲν ἵν ἐν ἐσχιστερον 
25 Σηστοῦ λάβοιται χωρίων, ποίων δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὦ 
καὶ νεῶν καὶ πετῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσεσθαι. 
τοῦτοις αὐ τοι ἱέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήξθαι. ὦ δὲ 6 
Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ήπ'ρε τῆν τε Ἀβύδου καὶ τὸν Σηστόν 
οὔτως ἐχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὦσ εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψεις 

2 ὡς add. Weiske: ὦτι V: om. cet. 3 πρόσθε B 6 τουσώτω 
C: τουσώτων cet. 7 τις ... φοβεῖται Dind.: τις ... φανείται codd. 
8 prius καὶ om. C F 12 καὶ ἐπικυροῦσα B 14 ἱόντας] παρώνταs 
Dobree 22 οὐ μεγάλη πόλις del. Nauck 23 αἰσθα(eis) codd. : 
Aigal εἰς Valckenair γε] δὲ Simo post χωρία add. & Dind. 
24 ἵν add. Schäfer 26 μέλλει V
τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἔπει 
δὲ οὐκ ἐπείδοντο, Κόνων μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς 
τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήμον τὴν τῶν Ἀβδηνῶν 
χώραν. ἔπει δὲ οὔδὲν ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι, 
αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ’ οἶκον ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνων ἐκέλευεν εὐ-
τρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ’ Ἑλλησποντοῦ πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ 
ὅτι πλεῖστον ναυτικὸν ἄδροισθεί. ὁργιζόμενος γὰρ τοὺς 
Λακεδαιμόνιους ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐπεπῶθει περὶ παυτὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλ-
θεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρῆσασθαι ὁ τι δύνατο.
7 καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμώνα ὑπὲρ τοιούτους ὄντες διῆγον· ἀμα ἃ ὑπ’ 
ἔαρι νὰὺς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ἔνειδος προσημισθω-
ζόμενος ἐπελευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ’ αὐτοῦ 
διὰ νῆσον εἰς Μήλουν, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακε-
δαίμονα. καταπλεῦσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φαράς ἐδήμοσ 
ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς πάρα-
θαλασσίας ἐκακοῦργει ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. 
φοβοῦμενος δὲ τὴν τε 
ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπα-
νοσίαν, ταχὺ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὄρμισθη τῆς
8 Κυθηρίας εἰς Φωνικοῦντα. ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἑκοῦτες τὴν πόλιν 
τῶν Κυθηριῶν φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοῖεν ἐξελίπον 
τὰ τεῖχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποστόλους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Δακ-
νικὴν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουροῦ 
te καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναίων ἄρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθηρίοις 
κατέλιπε. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας 
καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελεύσαμεν τοῖς συμμάχοις προ-
θύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστῶς φαύνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, 
καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα ἔχεν, ἄχρον ἐπ’ οἶκον 
ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἧς εἰ ἐφ’ αὐτῶν 
ἐχειν τὸ ναυτικὸν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νῆσων, καταπλεύσας 
ὁ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσει τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη τοῖς 30 
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν τεῖχος, οὐ εἶδεναι ἐφη

14 μὲν B: om. cet. 18 ὄρμηθεν B 23 νικόφημον codd.: 
corr. Schneider κυθηρίος Dind.: κυθηρίοις codd. 28 ὡς add. 
Castalio
δια Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἄν ὑπήρθον γένοιτο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὦν, ἐφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετμωρημένον· ἐφ' ὃ γὰρ πλείονα ἐπονήσαν, ἀτέλες αὐτοὺς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταύτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῶν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ κρῆματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατειχισμὸν. ὁ δὲ ἅρπικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὄρθωσε, τὰ τε αὐτῶν πληρωματὰ παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγους μισθὸν διδοὺς, καὶ ἀλλὰ εἰ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μὲν τούτῳ τοῦ 10 τείχους ἀ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βοωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐθελοῦσι συνετείχισαι. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθου ἄφυ ὡς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατελίπτε χρημάτων ναὸς πληρώσατε καὶ Ἀγαθίων ναυαρχὸν ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλασσοράτους ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ 15 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναὸς, ὡς Ποδάνεμος ἤρχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ 11 σύν τοῦ προσβολῆς τινυ γενομένη ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις αὐτὸ ἐπιτολεῖς ὡς τρωθεῖς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἡριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναούς. Πρόσων μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς παρ' Ἀγαθίων παραλαβὼν ναοὺς ἐξέλιπτε τὸ Ἡλεον. Λακε- 20 δαμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ηριππίδου ναοὺς ἠλθε, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει. 25

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τείχος 12 τοῦ Ἀθηναίοι εἰκὼν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοῖ καὶ 25 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τὸν ἐκείνου τρέφων τὰς τε υψόσι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑπέρῳ παρὰ θάλασσα πόλεις Ἀθηναίος ἑυτρεπίζει, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταύτα διδάσκοιευ Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὡντα στρατηγὸν, ἦ καὶ ἀποστῆσαι ἂν πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἦ παίσαι γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γυναῖκες 30 δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προσ- τάξαντες αὐτῷ ταύτα διδάσκει καὶ πειράζοντας ἑιρήνην τῇ

2 μὲν ομ. B ἐσεὶ Dind. ἐσεὶ(ι) codd. 7 αὐτῶν codd. 16 γενομένη(ι) M al. γενομένους B 27 ἐνόμιζον D VC 28 ἀποστῆσαι Dind. ἀποστῆσαι codd.
13 πόλει ποιεῖται πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἐρμογείνη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλιστένη καὶ Καλλιμέδουτα. συμπαρεκά-
λεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις καὶ παρεγένοντο
14 ἀπὸ τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορώνου καὶ Ἀργοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ 5
ήσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι
eἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης
οἱ στρατεύοντες ἔπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἐλλη-
nιδῶν πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι,
tάσ τε νήσους ἀπάσαι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἄρκεις σφιῶν 10
αὐτονόμους εἶναι. καίτοι, ἐφη, τοιαύτα ἠθέλοντον ἡμῶν,
tίνος ἄν ἑνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς [οἱ "Ελληνες ἡ] βασιλεὺς πολεμοῦν
ἡ χρήματα δαπανῆ; καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύοντες
δυνατὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ ἡγουμένου ἡμῶν οὐδ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτο-
nόμους οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων. τῷ μὲν δὲ Τιρίβαζῳ ἀκούοντι 15
ἰσχυρὸς ἠρεσκὼν οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις
λόγοι ταῦτ᾽ ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσεας
αὐτονόμους εἶναι τᾶς νήσους, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβροὺ καὶ
Σκύρου στερθεῖσιν, οἱ τε Ὀρθαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖσιν
ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἱ τ᾽ Ἀργεῖοι, οὗ 20
ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἃν τὴν Κόρυθον δύνασθαι ὥς Ἀργος
ἐχειν τοιοῦτον συνθηκῶν καὶ σπουδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν
ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οὕκαδε ἐκαστος.
16 Ὁ μὲν τε Τιρίβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως μετὰ Λακε-
dαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἄσφαλες αὐτῷ ἡγεῖτο εἶναι· λάθρᾳ 25
γε μὲν τοῖς ἐδώκε χρήματα Ἄνταλκίδα, ὅπως ἂν πληροθέντος
ναυτικῷ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ συμμαχοὶ
αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδιούντο, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὡς
ἀδικοῦντά τε βασιλεά καὶ ἄληθη λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων

8 πάλαι ἐπεθύμει B 12 οἱ "Ελληνες ἡ del. Morus 13 οὐδ᾽
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ IV. viii

eἰρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαυεν πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ἃ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁτι Κόνωνα συνειληφὼς εἶν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσαν τὰ χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων. καὶ βασιλέας μὲν, ὡς Τιρίβαζος ἀνο ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ 17 ἢν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ὑπεμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλαταιν. ὁ μέντοι Στρούθας ἱσχυρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τὴν γνώμην προσέχει, μεμνημένος ὡς κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλείας χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἑώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολέμικὸς ἔχοντα, 10 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμποντον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ διαβάζοι τε καὶ ὑμμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαίανδρῳ πεδίῳ πόλεων Πρᾶμης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυς καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἐφερε καὶ ἤγε τὴν βασιλείας. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρῶνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας 18 ὁτι Θίβρων βοηθοῦ ἑκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἐπεμψεν ἵππεας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδρομότας ἐκέλευσεν περιβαλλόμενος ἐλαύνειν ὃ τι δύναυτο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων ἐτύχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου διασκηνῶν μετὰ Θερσανδροῦ τοῦ αὐτήτου. ἔσῃ γὰρ ὁ Θερσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἀγαθός, 20 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλκης [ἰσχύος], ἀτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιητο. ὁ δὲ 19 Στρούθας, ἱδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὅλγους τους πρώτους, ἐπιφανεῖται πολλοὺς τε ἐξών καὶ συντεταγμένοις ἰππεῖαις. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θερσανδροῦ πρῶτους ἀπ-ἐκτενών· ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτω ἐπέσων, ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο 25 στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπλήθεις κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φυλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλεῖον διὰ τὸ ὑπὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας. πολλάκις γὰρ, καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγεῖλας τὴν βοηθείαν ἐπούσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγένητο.

20 Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες 'Ροδών ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἰς περιδεῖν Ἀθηναίοις 'Ρόδον καταστρεφαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συν-θεμένους. γνώτες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαίμονις οὐ εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίοις ἔσται 'Ρόδος ἀπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσίωτεροι, ἐαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς ὁκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ 21 Ἐκδίκοιον ἑπέστησαν. συνεξεπεμψαν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν. ἐκέλευσαν δ’ αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τάς τε Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασφέξειν, καὶ στράτευμα τοῦ περισσῶθεν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἰ ποθεὶν 10 δύνατο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὃ μὲν ὁ Διφρίδας ταῦτ’ ἐποίει, καὶ τά τ’ ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε καὶ Τεγράνην τὸν τὴν Στρούθα ἐξοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἄπέλυσεν. ὡστ’ εὐθὺς ἐνετεύχθη ἐξε μισθοδοτεῖν. 15

22 ὃν δ’ οὕτως ἀνήρ εὐχαρίς τε οὐχ ἤττον τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγχειρητικῶτερος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτός αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἥδονα, ἀλλὰ ἂεὶ πρὸς ὁ εὐθὺς ἔργο, τοῦτο ἐπράπτεν. ὃ δ’ Ἐκδίκοιος ἑπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κυίδον ἐπέλευσε καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ρόδῳ δήμου 20 πάντα κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦσα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν [διέπλεον] δυτικαίς τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς εἶχεν,

23 ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ. οἱ δ’ αὖ Λακεδαίμονιοι ἑπεὶ ἥσσοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἐξοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὡστε τοὺς φίλους ὅφελεν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δόδεκα ναυοῖς 25 αἰς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλείων πρὸς τὸν Ἐνδίκοιον, κάκεων μὲν ἀποπέμψας, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε θυρωμένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι δύνατο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὃ δὲ Τελευτίας ἑπιείδη ἀφίκετο

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. viii

eis tην Σάμον, προσλαβών ἐκείθεν ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κυδών,
ο δ' Ἐκδίκος οἴκαδε. αὐτὸς δ' ἔπλει εἰς την Ῥόδον, ἦδη 24
ἐχὼν ναῦς ἐπτὰ καὶ εἶκοσὶ πλέων δὲ περιτυχάνει Φιλο-
κράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτον πλέουτι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν
5 εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχία τῇ Ευαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας,
ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι ἕαυτοι πράττοντες· οἳ
τε γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι φίλων χρώμενοι βασιλεῖς συμμαχίαν ἐπεμ-
πον Ευαγόρα τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς βασιλέα, οὐ τε Τελευτί
Λακεδαίμων πολεμοῦντων βασιλεῖ τούς πλέουτας ἐπὶ τῷ
10 ἐκείνων πολέμῳ διέθειρεν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κυδών
καὶ διαθέμενος ὁ Ἐλαβζεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὐδά τινος εἶναι
τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι νομίζοντες τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους πάλιν 25
dύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι
15 Ὀρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρίεα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. ὁ δ' 20
ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζοισιν
οὕτ' ἄν αὐτός ῥαδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακε-
δαίμονίων τείχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίον σὺν ναυτὶ παρόντος
συμμάχων αὐτοῖς, οὗτ' ἄν τῶν σφετέρων φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς
20 πολέμοις γενέσθαι, τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους
ὁντας καὶ μάχῃ κεκρατηκότας· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλληστούντων 25
πλεύσας καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνύμισε κατα-
πράξει ἄν τῇ πόλει ἀγαθῶν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρώτον μὲν
καταμαθῶν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκον τε τῶν Ὀδυσσῶν βασιλέα
25 καὶ Σεῦθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἀρχοντα ἀλλήλως μὲν διήλλαξεν 30
αὐτοὺς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζον
καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Ὀράκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλου
ὁντων τούτων μᾶλλον προσέχειν ἄν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν
νοῦν· ἔχοντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ 27
30 πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλεὰ φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας

1 post ναῦς add. ἐπτὰ Hartman 2 δ' Ἐκδίκος om. BM DV
αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δὲ τελευτιὰς C F 5 τῇ B: τοῦ cet. 12 αὐτῶν edd.
17 τιμωρήσεσθαι B 21 μάχη γε C 27 Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις B:
pόλεις Ἑλληνίδας cet.
εἰς Βυζάντιων ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ εἰς ὁλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατείον τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὡστε οὐκ ἄχθεινως ἔφορα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων δήμος Ἀθηναίοις ὧτι πλείστους παρότας ἐν τῇ 28 πόλει. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιήσας 5 σάμενος ἀπέπλει εξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχώς δ' ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνο-ζώοσασ, ἐπ' οὕδεμιαν αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸ ἐν Μυτιλήνη συντάξας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεών τετρακοσίως ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνην κατεπεφύγεσαν, 10 καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους προσ- λαβῶν, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθέει τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις, ὡς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Λέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσων, ὡς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἕκαστην τῶν πόλεων ἥσσων, ἴκανον ἔσονται ἄπαντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασώκηναι, 15 τοῖς δ' ἄδε ἐπιβάταις ὡς φίλην Λέσβου προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλῆν εὐπορίας χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἤγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ 29 Μήθυμναν. Ὁθρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς ἀρμοστὴς ἐτύγχανεν δι' τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἦκουσε τὸν Ἐρασύβουλον προσιέναι, 20 τοὺς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν νεῶν λαβῶν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μήθυμναίοις καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτοῖς, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Ὁθρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποδεόμενες, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων 30 πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν 25 πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχώρουσιν ληπτατῶν χρήματα τοῖς στρατιῶταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον ἄφικεσθαι. ὅπως (8') ἄν καὶ ἐκεί ὡς ἐρρωμενεστάτων τὸ στρατεύμα ποιήσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἡγουμένως καὶ εἰς Ἀσπενδῶν ἀφικό-μενος ὀρμῶσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδουτα ποταμόν. ἣδη δ' 30 ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Δ

IV. viii

ti ek tov agroth tov stratwton, orhoutheutes oj 'Asthvdoi tis nuktos epipeseonastes katanuptousin ev tis skhj autov.

Kai Oraostboulos meu de mala dozkow anhip agathos einai 31 outhws eteleutheven. oj mevtoj 'Asthvaij elomevoi ant 'au-5 tov 'Agwrmwv ep' tais vados exepevpsan. aiosthmevoi de oj Lakedaimojn vtoj he dekati te tvn ek tov Poutov petramenhe ejh ev Bwzantio upj 'Asthvaij kai Kalxhdoj exounai kai aij allai 'Elliostontai polies filow oustos autous Farnav- baqou evv exoin, egwson etipmelenqen einai. tv mev owhn 32

10 Dercilida ouvdei emeufento. 'Anazibios mevtoj filow autou geumorovn tvn efioron dieipraxeato oste autos ekplevhsai armosfitis eis 'Abvdon. ei de laboi afornh kai vados, kai polemiqen upisxheito tois 'Asthvaij, oste mei exein ekeli- vnos kalow tov 'Elliostontyf. oj mev dei dovtes kai treis 33

15 truphresi kai afornh eis exevoi xilious exepevpsan tvn 'Anaziqion. o de ekpeidh afiketo, kata giw mou astrojasa qexikov tvn t' Aloliodon polwv parespato tinas tov Farnavbaqou kai epistratevmoas tais polwv ep twn 'Abvdon antestepstratueve kai epiporeueto kai edhjou tivn chora

20 autow kai vados de prois aij eixe synmplhrousas eix 'Abvdon treis allas katjgen, ei tiv ton lamvanoj 'Asthvaij plouj h tivn ekelwv sunmakasw. aiosthmevoi de taonta oj 'Asthvaij 34 kai deidouqs mei philarei sphiwv o katekseusas ev tiv 'Elliostontuq Oraostboulos, antektepmouvn 'Iphikratwv vados

25 okto exeouta kai pelastasais eis diakosinwv kai xilwv. oj plei stovei de autein ihatan wv en Korinvhj hatjvm. etoi gar oj 'Argeiow tivn Kornwvhn 'Arqm iso epipoiwtvo, oudeon efasaun autwv deisouv kai gar aptktoine tinas tvn arxolvontwn kai outhos apelevwv 'Asthvaze oikoi etvchj wv. etoi de 35

ἐνοφόντος

αφίκετο εἰς Χερρώνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ἔρχομεν διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλους· πρὸ-όντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης αἰσθήμενος καὶ Ἀναξίβιοιν οἰκόμενον εἰς Ἀνταῦδρον σύν τε τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν Λακωνικοίς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοίς διακοσίαι ὀπλί- 

taις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἀνταῦδρον φιλίαν προσελήφθης εἰ, ὑπονοοῦν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐτῇ τὴν ἑκεί φρονεῖν ἀποπορεύ- 
souto πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξιοι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοῦς οἶκας, διαβας τῆς 

νυκτὸς ὥς ἐρημόσατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς 
tὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐπονήσατο. ἄτας δὲ τρυπεῖς αἰ δυνάγον 

το αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρώνησον 
tῆς ἀνω, ὅπως δοκοῖ, ὅσπερ εἰώθης, ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν 

ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ὦκ ἐγενέσθη, ἀλλ' ὁ 

Ἀναξίβιος ἀποπορεύτεσι, ὡς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὕδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν 

γεγενημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι 15 

diā filías τε ἐπορεύθετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἦκον 
tῶν ἀπαντών τῶν Ἰφικρατῆς ἀπαναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ 

36 Προκοσμήσισ, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύτεσι. ὁμος δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, 

ἐὼς μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἐναξίβιον ἦν, ὦκ 

ἐξανίστατο· ἐπειδῆ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ὡς ἐν 20 
tῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστῆν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἐνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεα 

αὐτῶς, τοῦ ἀλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν, 

ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν 
tούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ ὅρμῳ 

ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γενοῦς μὴ εἶναι ἐσπίδα 25 

σωτηρίας, ὅρων ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενῶν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ 

στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἀναντείς ὦκ ἄν δύνασθαι 

σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι εαυτῷ τοὺς προεληλυθότας, ὅρων δὲ καὶ 

ἐκπεπληγμένους ἀπαντάς, ὡς ἐδοὺ τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς 
tοὺς παρόντας· Ἀνδρέα, ἔμοι μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποδανεῖν· 30

2 Ἰφικράτης F pr.: ὁ Ἰφικράτης F corr. cet. 3 καὶ del. Cobet 

4 τούς B: σὺν τοῖς cet. 7 τὴν] καὶ Hartman 9 ἐπανελθὼν] 

ἐστιν ἀπελθῶν Hertlein 12 τῆς] τὴν Leonclavius: τοῖς F 15 αὐτῷ 

ἐμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τού ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβῶν 39 τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐν χώρῃ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθυήσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ 5 τῶν συγγεληθοῦτων ἐκ τῶν πάλεων ἀρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον· οἱ δ' άλλοι φεύγουσαν ἐπιπτοῦν. οἱ δ' ἔδωκον μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεώς. καὶ τῶν τε άλλων ὡς διακόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς 10 Χερρόνησον.

7 ἀστεώς codd.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλησποντοῦ Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ι Λακεδαιμονίους τοιούτα ἦν. δὲν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἐπεόνικος ἐν τῇ Ἁλυνη, καὶ ἐπιμελεία χρωμένων τῶν πρόσθεν χρόνων τῶν Ἀλυνητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἔτει φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἔπολεμεῖτο, συνδόκας καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφήσι λήξεσθαι τοὺς βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι 2 πολιορκοῦμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Ἀλύνων καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχεσαν Ἀλυνηταῖς καὶ ἐπολιορκὸν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα 10 τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχῶν ἐπὶ τῶν νῆσων ποι ἀφιγμένοι κατὰ χρημάτων πόροιν, ἀκούσας ταύτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμοῦ, ἐβοήθει τοῖς Ἀλυνηταῖς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπῆλασε, τὸ δ’ ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναυαρχὸς ἀφ- 3 15 εκείται. κάκεινος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικὸν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπεπλευσεν οὐκαδε. ἤρικα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαυνεν ἐπ’ οἰκον ὀρμώμενοι, οὕτως ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσον ἐκδιώκοντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἑταυώσεν, οἱ δ’ ὑπερήφανες ὀμοί καὶ ἀναγομένου 20 ἔρρυπταν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ἡγομένοι αὐτῷ πολλά καὶ ἀγαθά. γιγαντιῶς μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτους οὕτε 4 ὀπάσωμα οὕτε κυδώνου τις ἡμών τῆς ἀξιόλογον οὖδὲν

3 ἀγανήτας codd.: corr. Wesseling 10 ἐπὶ del. Cobet 11 ταῦτα | τὰ Büchsenschütz  ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμου del. Hertlein

XEN. HELL.
δυνατόν: ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶ Δία τόθε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτὲ ποιών ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κυνῆσεων ἄξιολογότατον ἀνθός ἐργον ἐστώ.

5 Ὁ δ’ αὐ Ἰέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλεε 5 εἰς Ὁρὸν, ἐν Αἰγύπῃ δὲ τρυψίει δῶδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώταν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιστολέα ἀρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἦν οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὡστε ὑπὸ ψηφίσματο Ἀθηναίοι πληρωσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγύπης πέμπτῳ μὴν 10 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρούριον. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πάλιν αὐτά πράγματα εἶχον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώτας καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναὐς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ ἀἱροῦνται.

6 Εὐνόμου ναύαρχον ἐπ’ αὐτός. ὤντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ὁρῶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, 15 νομίζοντες καὶ Τιριβάζῷ τούτο ποιῶντες μᾶλιστ’ ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἰγύπην, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώτα ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώταν πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἰγύπην σὺν ταῖς δῶδεκα ναυῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχου ἐπέστησε τοῦ ἐπι-20 στολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοήθων Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλευ έκείστε παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τέμεδου ἐδίην τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἄρθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Ὁλικαὶ καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τέμεδίοις. 25 ὅσ’ ὁ ἡγοῦντο εἰς Ἀβυδον καταπελευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὀρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερουνίσου ἐπολιορκόντα αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μὲθ’ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ μέντοι Γοργώτας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφεσοῦ περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἰγύπην μικρὸν πρὸ ἥλιον δυσμῶν. 30
εκβιβάσας ὃ εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς σπατατάς. ὁ δ’ Εὐνομος ὃ
ἐλγὼν χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλευ. νυκτὸς δ’ ἐπιγενομένης,
φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζετα, ἀφηγεῖτο, ὡπως μή πλανῶνται
αἱ ἐπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολύθει
κατὰ τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὡπως μή φανερὸς εἰς
μηδ’ αἰσθήσιν παρέχω, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντλ
φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν 9
αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῆ περὶ Ζωστῆρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς,
ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλέον. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἐνώπιον μὲν
τῶν νεῶν ἀρτὶ ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον νεομένῳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ἔτει κατέπλευσιν. νυκτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένην,
τέταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδημάνευον
φχετο ἀγων εἰς Αἴγους· αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι νῆς αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
εἰς τὸν Πειραιά κατέφυγον.

15 Ἔτερα δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλευ εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν
Εὐαγγέλα, πελατσάτας τ’ ἐχὼν ὀκτακοσίων καὶ δέκα τριήρεις,
προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνηθέν ἄλλας τε νάυς καὶ ὄπλατας.
αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβάς εἰς τὴν Αἴγους πορρωτέρω τοῦ
Ἡρακλείου ἐν κολῷ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελατσάτας.

20 ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἄσπερ συνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ὀπλαί, Δημοκρέτου αὐτῶν ἠγοιμένον, καὶ ἀνέβαιναν τοῦ
Ὡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἐνθα ἡ Τριπύργια
καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθη μετὰ τε ἃ
τῶν Ἀἰγιστῶν καὶ σὺν τοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρ-

25 ταύτων οἱ ἐνυχὶν αὐτοῦ παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεών ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσιο
ἐλευθεροῦ ἔχειν ὅστ’ ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὃ τι
ἐνυφάστη ἐκατός ὅπλον ἐχὼν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλλαζαν οἱ πρῶτοι 12
τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τῶν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς

10 prius καὶ del. Hartman: prius καὶ ἐτι del. Nauck
συμμαχίαν D 17 αὐτός οἱ om. B M D V Pal. cum lac. 18 αὐτός δὲ
τῇς αὐτοῦ μὲν τῇς Schneider: om. B M D V Pal. cum lac. (item συρρωτέρω
τοῦ ἐκ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν ἔχων καὶ ἦμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
καὶ αὐτῶν ἠγοιμένον) 20 ξυνέκειτο codd.

10*
ἐκ τῶν νεών ἀποβεβηκότες ὑπλίται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἀτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὅν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπελ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Ἀλγυντών μὲν ὡς πενθύκοντα καὶ 5 ἑκατῶν, ἔνοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμύκτει

13 οὐκ ἔλαττους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι, ὡσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐπλεον τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεο- νίκῳ ἡθελον οἱ ναῦται καὶ πέτρον ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἔδιδον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὥσ δὲ εἴδων αὐτὸν ἰκονιστα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήψθησαν. ὦ δ' αὐτοὶς συγκα- 14 λέσας ἐπε τοιάδε. Ἡ ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὖν ἔχων ἦκω. ἐὰν μὲν τοι θεὸς ἑθέλη καὶ ύμεῖς συμπροθυ- μῆσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλείστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἦστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὔχομαι τε οὐδὲν ἦττον ὅτιν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τὰ τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσατε μὲν ἄν ἵσωσ, εἰ φαίνῃ βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἔμε ἔχειν' ἐγὼ δὲ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δῦν ἡμέρας ἄσιτος 20 ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι' η γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέφικτο μὲν ὁὴ τοῦ καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσίναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεφέται.

15 δὲ καὶ νῦν. ὡστε ὅταν ύμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἔμε ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον' ἂν δὲ ἀνεχό- μενον μὲ ὀράτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴσθοε 25 καὶ ύμεῖς ταύτα πάντα καρπείν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἢν αἰνᾶσθε, ἀλλ' ἢν ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθῶν 16 τι λαμβάνατε. καὶ η πόλις δὲ τοῦ, ἐφη, ὡς ἀνδρεὶς στρατιώται,
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ε

η ἡμετέρα, ἦ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἵστε ὦτι τἀγαθὰ καὶ
tὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο ὦ ῥᾳδυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν
cαὶ κῳδωνεύειν, ὡπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς ὦν ἦτε μὲν καὶ
πρότερον, ὡς ἔγω οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι
χρῆ ἄτι ἀμέσως γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα ἰδέως μὲν συμπονώμενε,
ὑδέως δὲ συνενδαιμονώμενε. τὶ γὰρ ἦδιον ἡ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων
κολακεύειν μήτε Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἐνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ’
ἐαυτοὺς ἰκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα
δεντρὸς κάλλιστον; ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμών
ἀφθονία εὖ ἵστε ὦτι ἀμα τρόφην τε καὶ εὐκλειαν εὖ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν
ὁ τι ἄν δεῖ, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύχα
χανεῖν εἶπεν δὲ Ἁγετε, ὁ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἄπερ καὶ
δέ εoffsetof. προπαράσχεσθε δὲ μοι μᾶς ἧμερας σῶτον.
ἐπείτα δὲ ἦκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς αὐτίκα μᾶλα, ὅποιος πλεῦσωμεν
ἐνθὰ θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφίξομενοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἴλθον, 19
ἐμβασάμενοι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναύς ἐπλεί τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν
λιμένα τῶν ’Αθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων
ἐποκομᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κόπας προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ δὲ τὸς
ὑπολαμβάνει ως ἀφρόνως ἐπλεί δῶδεκα τρυῆρες ἐχὼν ἐπὶ
πολλὰς ναύς κεκτημένους, ἐνυνησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ.
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἐχεῖν τοὺς ’Αθηναίους
περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώστα ἀπολωλότος· εἰ δὲ
καὶ εἶνε τρυῆρες ὅρμοῦσι, ἀσφαλέστερον ἠγήσατο ἐπ’ ἐκοσὶ
ναύς ’Αθηναὶσον οὐσάς πλεῦσαι ἣ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ
ἐξω ἦδει ὦτι κατὰ ναύν ἐμελλον οὐ ναῦται σκηνήσεων, τῶν δὲ
’Αθηναῖσον ἐγλυκωσκέσκεν ὦτι οἱ μὲν τρυῆραρχοι οὐκοι καθενότη-
σειν, οὐ δὲ ναῦται ἀλλος ἅλλη σκηνήσειν· ἐπείλε μὲν δὴ
ταῦτα διανοηθέλεις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπείχε πέντε ἦ ἐξ στάδια τοῦ

5 ξυμπονώμεν B M C F 6 ξυνενδαιμονώμεν codd. 14 ἄπερ καὶ ἄς
Stephanus: ἄπερ καὶ ἄς codd.: ἄσπερ καὶ Dind.: locum corruptum putat
Hartman 17 ἐθήλη B V 18 αὐτοὺς B: om. cet. τῆς B:
om. cet. 21 ὑπολαμβάνωι M 29 δὴ B: om. cet.
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

λιμένος, ἰσυχίαν εἰχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέ-
φαινεν, ἤγειτο: οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύεις μὲν οὖδὲν
εἰς στρογγύλου πλοίων οὖδε λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ναυσίν:
εἰ δὲ την τρύμην ὑδαίνει ὄρμουσαν, ταύτην πειράσαρι ἀπλουν
ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτηγικά πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναμομένους 5
ἀγεῖν ἔξο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειξώνων ἐμβαίνουτας ὅπου δύναυτο
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδη-
σαντες εἰς τὸ Δεύγμα ἐμπόρους τὲ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους
22 συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήμεγκαν. ὁ μὲν ὅταν ἐπετούχηκεν
τῶν δὲ 'Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν 10
ἐθανεν ἔξω, σκεψόμενοι τὸς ἢ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἐξωθεν οἴκαδε
ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ' Ἐ
Ἀθηναίοι τότε ἔβοηθησαν καὶ ὀπλιάται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὡς τοῦ
23 Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
Αἴγουνα, καὶ τῶν τρύμων τρεῖς ἡ τέταρας συναπαγαγεῖν 15
ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρά τὴν Ἀττικὴν,
ἀτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλευρικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ
πορθεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νῆσων. ἔπὶ
δὲ Σούνιου ἐλθὼν καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμοῦσας τὰς μὲν τινας σύτων,
24 τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν 20
εἰς Αἴγινων. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηρὸς μισθὸν
προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων
ἔλαμβανεν τὸ ἐδώνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιών πλήρεις τε τὰς
ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιῶτας εἶχεν ἤδεως καὶ ταχέως
ὑπηρετούντας.

25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τυριβάζου δια-
περαγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλουσώ 'Ἀθηναῖοι
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἢ αὐτῶς ἐλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἦκουσε
Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβυδῷ
ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῆς ὄχετο εἰς Ἀβυδόν. 30
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβών τὸ ναυτικόν νυκτὸς ἀνῆγετο, διασπείρας

1 ἀνέπαυσεν Β 2 οὖδὲν] οὐκ C F 5 φορτηγὰ M 6 ἐκ
Morus: εἰς vel Æ codd. 9 ταῦτα] τοιαύτα C 11 σκεπτόμενοι
codd.: corr. Stephanus 27 συμμαχεῖν C F: σύμμαχον ΒΜV
λόγου δὲ μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδόνιων ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἴχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ 26 Δημαίνητον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεώντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδώκουν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκομόσησον· ὁ δὲ, ἔπει ἐκεῖνοι παρ-5 ἐπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἀβυδόν ἀφίκετο· ἦκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακούσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναὸς εἰκοσι, ὅτως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ὀρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτέων ἔχων ναὸς ὅκτω ἔπλει ἀπὸ Ὀράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικᾶς ναοῦ σὺμ-10 μείζαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἔπει αὐτῷ οἱ σκοτοὶ ἐσήμην 27 ὅτι προσπλέουεσ τριήρεις ὅκτω, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναῦτας εἰς δῶδεκα ναὸς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσας ταῖς κελεύσας, εἰ τις ἐνεδείτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ώς ἐδώκατο ἀφαιρέσθητα. ἔπει δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδώκεκεν· οἱ 15 δὲ ἑδύνετε ἐφευγοῦν. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατελήφης· παραγγέλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλου τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδώκεκε τὰς προεχοῦσας. ἔπει δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἑδύνετε οἱ ὑστεροὶ ἀλησκόμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' 20 ἄθυμις καὶ τῶν βραδυτέρων ἡλίσκοντο· ἢσθ' ἠλλος ταῦτα ἀπασαι. ἔπει δ' ἢλθον αὐτῷ αἱ τε ἐκ Συρακούσων νῆσες 28 εἰκοσι, ἢλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκατέτη ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἔξων ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνου, ὁ δὲ Φαρ-23 νάβαζος ἦδη ἀνακεκλήμενος ἄφετο ἀνώ, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγγέμε τὴν βασιλεῖας θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναοὶ πλεώσαν ἡ ὄμολοκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς βαλάττης· ἔστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πῶντου ναὸς Ἀθηναῖες μὲν ἐκάλυψε καταπλευέν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατήγεν. οἱ μὲν 30 οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐρώτετε μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῶς,
ζενοφώντος

φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὄσ πρότερον καταπολεμηθείσαι, συμ-
μάχον Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκού-
μενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Αλγήνης ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν
ισχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὐ̄ Λακεδαιμονίου,
φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δ' ἐν Ὠρχομενῷ, 5
φυλάττουσι δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἰς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπὸ-
λουσα, αἰς δὲ ἡπίστου, μὴ ἀποσταίειν, πράγματα δ' ἔχουτε
καὶ παρέχουσε περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ
πολέμῳ. οὐσ' ἐπεὶ παρῆγγελεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖνα
τῶν βουλομένων ὑπακούσαι ἢ βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην κατα-
pέμπτοι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένουτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον,
ἐπιδεῖξαν ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὸ βασιλεῖς σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ 15
γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὡδε.

30 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δύκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ
Ἄσιᾷ πόλεις ἐαυτοῦ ἐνίαυ καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαξομενᾶς καὶ
Κύπρου, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας 'Ελληνιδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ
μεγάλας αὐτοῦμοι ἀφείναν πλὴν Δήμου καὶ 'Ιμβρου 20
καὶ Σκύρου' ταῦτας δὲ ὄσπερ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ εἶναι Ἀθηναιῶν.
ὁπότεροι δὲ ταῦτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ
πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων καὶ πεζῷ καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν καὶ ναυτί καὶ χρήμασιν.

31 Ἀκούσεις οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις ἀπῆγ-25
gελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστὸι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
ἀπαντοὺς ὀμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ηξίων
ὑπὲρ πάντων Βουωτῶν ὄμνυαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγγείλαος οὐκ ἔφη
δέξασθαι τοὺς ὄρκους, εάν μὴ ὄμνυσον, ὦσπερ τὰ βασιλέως
γράμματα ἐπέγευ, αὐτοῦμοι εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην 30
πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαῖων πρέσβεις ἐλεγον ὅτι οὐκ

29 δέξασθαι D
ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ’ εἰπ. Ἡτε νῦν, ἐφη ὁ Ἀγνήσλαος, καὶ ἐρωτάτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε ὦ αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἐκπονδοῦ ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄχοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀγνήσλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὑηβαῖον ἐξῆραν οὐκ ἔμελ· 33 λευ, ἀλλὰ πεῖσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατηρία, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέσεμπτε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσωντας, διέ- πεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐκεναγοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρῆσαν οἱ Ὑηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι 10 ἀφιάσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτούμοις. καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὐκαδὲ ἀπῆλθον, Ὑηβαῖοι δ’ εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθέων ἡμαγκάσθησαν, αὐτούμοις ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ’ αὐτὸν Κορίνθιον οὐκ ἔξεπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. 34 ἀλλ’ ὁ Ἀγνήσλαος καὶ τοὺς προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ 15 ἐκπέμψατο τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθεῖσθαι ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργείες καὶ αὐτή ἐφ’ αὐτής ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλεων ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἐργοῦ αὐτοὶ γνώντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου. 20 οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πολίται ἐκόντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φέουντας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπράξθη καὶ ὁμομόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμε- 35 νεῖσ εἰς τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεῦ, ἐκ τοῦτον διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικά στρατεύματα. 25 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαίρεσεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων τειχῶν αὐτή πρώτη εἰρήνῃ ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ 36 πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρότος τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐτ’

'Ανταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως κατατημφείσεις εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθου, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ὃηβαίων τὰς Βουωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὔπερ πάλαὶ ἐπεθύμοιν, ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ 5 Ἄργειος Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φροῦραν φήματε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

II  
Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐξούλοιτο, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ᾳσαν ἡ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, τούτους 10 κολάσαν καὶ κατασκεύασαν ὡς μὴ δύναντο ἀπίστευν. πρῶτον μὲν ὅνων πέμψατε πρὸς τοὺς Μαυτωνέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τείχος περιαρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἦν πιστεύσειν ἀλλὰς αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἐφασαν καὶ ὡς σίτων ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἄργειοισ σφῶν 15 αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιες ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἀκόλουθοίν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιες. ἐτὶ δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἐφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τι σφήσω ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ’, εἰ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπουδαὶ 20 ἐξεληλυθέναι τοῖς Μαυτωνεῖκοι τοῦτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν
3 Μαυτωνεία μάχην τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι. ἔπει δ’ οὐκ ἥθελον καθαρεῖν τὰ τείχη, φροῦραν φαίνοντος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν ὅσῳ ἐνδείξῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀφείναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τῶν 25 Μαυτωνέων πόλεσ πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκαι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμους. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φροῦραν καὶ μάλα Παυσανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς έχοντος πρὸς τούς ἐν
4 Μαυτωνεία τοῦ ὄμην προστάται. ὁς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔδωκαν. ἔπει δὲ οὐδ’ οὕτω καθήρουν τὰ τείχη, 30 τάφρον ὄρυτε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς μὲν ἡμῖσιν τῶν

1 γνώμενοι B M D  
2 πρὸς B: ὡς cet.  
3 καθαρεῖν] καθελεῖν C1 V  
9 ἐπέκειτο Schneider: ἐνέκειτο codd.  
12 πρὸς B: ὡς cet.  
23 καθαρεῖν] καθελεῖν C1 V  
26 ὑπηρετήκει
στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένους σών τοὺς ὁπλοῖς τῶν ταφρενῶν

των, τοῖς δ᾽ ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένους. ἔπει δὲ ἐξειργαστὸ ἡ

tάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ὤν κύκλῳ τείχως περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄκοδο-

μησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἑνείη,

5 εὐνορίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπῶν

ἐσσεθαι, εἰ δεῖσθε πολὺν χρόνον τρόχεων στρατείαις τήν τε

πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τῶν ῥέοντα ποταμῶν

διὰ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλ' ὡτα εὑμεγέθη. ἐμφραχθεῖσης δὲ τῆς 5

ἀπορροίας ἦρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ὁικίαις καὶ

10 ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχῃ θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κἀτω

πλύσων καὶ προδιδοῦσών τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρή-

γυνοῦ τὸ τείχος, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλύνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν

τῶν ἐξώλα ἀντήρειον καὶ ἐμπραχυντὸ ὁς μή πίπτοι τὸ πύργος·

ἔπει δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πη τοῦ

15 κύκλῳ τείχων δομᾶλωτοι γένοντο, ὄμολόγους περιαρήσεων.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν στείςσεθαι, εἰ καὶ διοικοῦντο κατὰ κόμας. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ νομίσαστες ἀπάνῃν

εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσεων. οὐομένων δὲ ἀπο- 6

θανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστάτων,

20 διεπράζατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιτόλιδος ἀσφαλείαν

αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα

οὗτοι. καὶ ἀμφότερωθεν μὲν τῆς οὖν ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν

πυλῶν ἐχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστασαν, θεώ-

μενοι τοὺς ἐξίσοντας. καὶ μισοῦστες αὐτῶς ὅμως ἀπείροντο

25 αὐτῶν ῥᾶν ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τούτῳ

μὲν εἰρήνην μέγα τεκμηρίων πειθαρχίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 7

καθῆθεν μὲν τὸ τείχος, διακάθεθη δ᾽ ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῆ,

καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄκον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢθυντο, ὅτι τὰς

μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἐδει καθαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰς δὲ 30

οἰκοδομεῖν· ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἐχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν

ζενοφωντος

οἱ κοινὶ τῶν χωρίων ὠντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κόμας, ἀριστοκρατίας δὲ ἐχθρῶν, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δὲ ἤσαν τῶν βαρέων ὕμμαγωγῶν, ἦδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἐπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι οὐ καθ' ἐν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κόμην ἐκάστην ἔξεναγον, συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ ἐκ τῶν κομῶν πολὺ 5 προθυμότερον ἡ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντωνείας ὠντω διεπέρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτη γε τῶν ανθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλεισίωτος φεύγουσι αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὁποίοι τινες ἠκατονὶοι 10 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένησε, καὶ ὡς ἦγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔδιδασκον ὡς ἐκεῖ μὲν σφεῖς οἶκοι ἤσαν, ἐδέχετο τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους εἰς τὸ τείχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅτι ἠγούντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφαίρας αὐτούς ἐξέβαλον, ὡς ἔπεσθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνοις 15 δὲ πάντως ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαίμονίους οὐ δέχοντο εἰσὶν τῶν πυλῶν. ἀκούσαν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιοι ἐδοξεῖν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλεισίωτος πόλιν ἔλεγον ὡς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαίμονιοι πόλει εἴεν, ἀδικούντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγουσιν. ἄξιοι γάρ ἐφασαν 20 μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξαισθαι καταλεῖν αὐτοὺς. ἦ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλεισίωτοι ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαστω ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν ἐνδοθεν παρεῖσχαν τινες αὐτούς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἐνδοθέν ἦσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εἴμενείς, καὶ οίᾳ δὴ ἐν ταῖς 25 πλείσταις πόλεισι νεωτέρων τινες ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων κατάγεω ἐβούλουστο τὴν φυγὴν. τουαντα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐφηφίσαντο καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνως μὲν ἀποδοῦνα τὰ ἐμφανὶ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πριαμένους ἐκ ἐκμοσίον ἡ τιμὴ ἀπολαβέωι· εἰ δὲ τι 30 ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοσθα, δίκη διακριθήναι. καὶ

9 αἰσθανομένοι C F 10 τοὺς συμμάχους C 14 ὅπη Μ C σφᾶς αὐτοὶ B M: σφᾶς Bisschop 15 οὐδαμοὶ Dind. 22 ἀκούσαντες C 29 τοὺς ... πριαμένους Stephanus: τοῖς ... πριαμένουs codd.
τάτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

'Εξ 'Ακάθθου δὲ καὶ 'Απολλωνίας, αὕτερ μέγισται τῶν Περὶ 'Ολυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα.

5 ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι δὲν ἑνύχα ἢκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὲν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἦνθα δὴ 12 Κλειγένης 'Ακάθθος ἔλεξεν: Ὡ άνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὲ καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὡμᾶς πράγμα μέγα φύσει μενον εἰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη

10 πόλεως 'Ολυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὕτω τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ὅτε νόμοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἐπείπτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβον τωσ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ 'Αμύντου τοῦ Μακεδώνων βασιλέως.

15 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἰ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς 13 πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορέυντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχον
tας ἡδῆ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἡπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίας πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθανόμεθα ἀπο-

20 χρωμυντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτοκότα ἡδῆ

ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς 'Απολλωνιάτας οἱ 'Ολυνθοί προείπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συντραπευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι εὐφ' ἡμᾶς ιοίει. ἡμεῖς 14 δὲ, δὲ άνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρήσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι: εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοη-

25 θήσεις τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίνεσθαι. καίτοι

νῦν γ' ἡδῆ αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν ὅπλίται μὲν ὁνὶ ξάνθους ἀκτακο-

σίων, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ λείους ἡ τοσοῦτον ἢ ἐπείπε γε 

20 μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείου 

ἡ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ 'Αθηναίων καὶ Βωστῶν 15

30 πρέσβεις ἡδῆ αὐτόδι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ 'Ολυν-

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

θίοις ἐψηφισμένων εἰς συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς τάτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσ-
γενήσεται τῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἡθαίων ἰσχύν, ὀρᾶτε, ἐφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὠμέν. ἔπει δὲ
kαὶ Ποτείδαιον ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὐςαν, 5
νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἑυτός ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι
αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἐστώ ὡμέν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἱσχυρῶς
αὐταὶ ἢ πόλεις πεφάβηται μάλιστα γὰρ μοσοῦσα τοὺς
"Ολυμψίους ὁμος οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμ-
πειν διδαξόουσα ταῦτα. ἐνυπόστατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς 10
ὡς τῆς μὲν Βοωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὡπως μὴ καθ' ἐν εἰς,
πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἄθροισμομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελήσαι, καὶ
tαύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ἀθάλαται ἱσχυρὰς
γεγονομένης. τὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὡποὺ ἐξεῖλα μὲν λατπη-
γήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστὶ, χρυσάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ 15
πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυναυτρισία

16

gε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυστίτιαν ἱπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές
γ' εἰσίν αὐτοῖς Ἐρήμικες οἱ ἀβασιλευτοί, οἱ θεραπεύουσι μὲν
καὶ νῦν ἣδη τοὺς Ὀλυμβίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἐσονται,
pολλὴ καὶ αὐτὴ δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἀν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε 20
μὴν ἀκολουθοῦσιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα
ἀν αὐτοῖς ἥδη ὄρεγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν δ' τι
18

ὀν καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυμβίων δήμῳ μωροδεκτὸν ἐστι. τὸ γε

μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τὰ ἄν τις λέγοι; καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅσος
ἐποίησεν ἀμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὐξεσθαι τῶν 25
ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, δ' ἄνδρες Δακεδαμώνοι τε καὶ
σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τακεῖ ἕχειν ἡμεῖς δὲ

βουλεύσεθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἀξία ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεὶ γε μὴν
ὡς ἡμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέται, ὡς ἐν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην

οὕσαν, οὕτω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστίν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν 30

16 ἔκ om. C F 18 γ' om. DC 19 ἐκείνως Cobet: ἐκεί
νοις codd. 20 γε μήν V C F: om. cet. 30 δυσπάλαιστός

τις C F
ELAIHNIKON

πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὐταί, ἀν τι ὅσων ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ ἀποστῆσονται: εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται 19 ταῖς τῇ ἑπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσει παρ’ ἄλληλοι, ἡς ἐψήφισμένοι εἰσί, καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων 5 ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέων ἑστιν, ὦσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἱωσί, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σῴζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἄρπάζουσιν, ἵσως οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως εὐλυτα ἑστι.

Δεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι τοῖς 20 συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευσαν συμβουλευέσθων ὁ τι γιγνώσκει 10 τις ἀριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευσαν στρατιῶν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαίμονοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργυρῶν τε ἀντ’ ἄνδρῶν ἔξειναι 21 15 διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριῶμβολον Αἰγυπτίου κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἵπτεα τε εἰ τις παρέχῃ, ἀντὶ τετάρων ὁπλίτων τοῦ μισθὸν τῷ ἵπτει δίδοσθαι· εἰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων 22 ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιὰν, ἔξειναι Λακεδαίμονοις ἑπίζημιον στρατηγοὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἱμέρας. ἑπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, 23 20 ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περαινθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν δ’ αὐτῇ ἡ παρασκεβὴ ἄθροιστο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἔξελθεῖν ἀρχοῦσα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος τε, ὡς ἄν ταχὺ ἔξελθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων 25 πόλεων· τοῦτον γὰρ γενομένου τάς τε ὁὐπώ προσκεχωρηκύνας πόλεις στῆναι ἄν καὶ τὰς βεβαιοσμένας ἃπτον ἄν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακε- 24 δαίμονοι Εὐθαμίδαι, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοικῶν καὶ τῶν Σκιρτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δυσχίλους. ὁ μέντοι 30 Εὐθαμίδαις ἔξωθ’ Φοιβίδαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐδείχθη τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίστατα

3 τε B: om. cet. 18 στρατιάν] στρατείαν Leonclavius τοῖς
λακεδαίμονοι C F 25 οὕτω] οὕτῳ M D C F 29 τῶν om. D C
μετέναι: αὐτός δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Ὑράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρονοῦσ ἐπεμπε, Ποτείδαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἧδη ἐκείνων οὖσαν, καὶ εὐπέθεθεν ὅρμομένους ἐπολέμει ὦσπερ εἰκὸς τῶν ἑλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

25 ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ θυροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ υπόλειψθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτόν ἐπορεύετο. ὅσ ὅ ἐγένοντο ἐν Θῆβαις, ἑστρατοπεδέσαν ὑπὲρ ἐξῳ τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θῆβαιών, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντίαδης, διάφοροι δὲ τὸ ὄντες ἀλληλοὺς καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος τῶν ἑταίρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μίσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπηρεασίας τῷ Φοιβίδα. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντίαδης ἄλλως τε ἐθέρα
26 πευν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσφεκεῖσθα, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἑξεστὶ σοι, ὁ Φοιβίδα, τήδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῷ σεαυτῷ πατρίδι 15 ὑπορρήσασι· εὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃ ἡμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, εἰςάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θῆβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ ἡμῶν 27 τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν, ὅσ δρᾶσ, ἀποκεκηρυκταί μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρατευέων Θῆβαιών ἐπ' 20 Ὀλυνθίους· εὰν δὲ γε σὺ ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξῃς, εὐθὺς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππεας συμπέρ- ψομεν· ὡστε πολλὴ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ὕ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθὸν καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμ- 28 μένος ἐσεὶ Ὀλυθας, πολὺ μεῖζῳ πόλιν Ὀλυνθοῦ. ἀκούσας 25 δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκομφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιήσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦ τοῦ ζῆν ἑραστῆς, οὐ μέντοι λογи- στικὸς γε οὐδὲ πάνω φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠμο- λόγησε ταῦτα, προορίσατο μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένοι ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπίεναι ἡρίκα δὴ ἀν ἴ καρφός, 30 πρὸς σὲ ἥξω ἐγών, ἔφη ὁ Λεοντίαδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. 29 ἐν ὕ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορὰ στοὰ διὰ τὸ

3 έν ταῖς C ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο B 25 ἔση(ι) codd.
τὰς γυναίκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἤν ἔρημα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ᾽ ὑπποῦ ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τῇ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἤγείται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. 5 καταστήσας δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδόν τὴν βαλανάγραφ αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἶπὼν μη-δένα παρίσταται εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὑπόνυμα μή αὐτὸς κελευόν, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπε τάδε: 30 "Οτι μὲν, ὡ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαίμονι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρό-πολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασὶ πολέμιοι ἤκειν, ὡστε μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος εξ-εἶναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τούτοις Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνί-15 στασίθε, καὶ λαβῶντες ἀπαγάγετε τούτοις εὖθα εἰρήται. οἱ 31 μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πράγμα παρῆσαν τε καὶ ἐπείδουντο καὶ συνελάμβανον· τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοὺς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἐφευγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείπναντες μὴ ἀποθάνονειν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐκαδε πρῶτον ἀπε-20 χρήσαιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργεῖτον τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ἦσθοντο [οἱ] ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τὸτε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες 'Ανδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία μά-λιστα τριακόσιοι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολεμαρχὸν 32 μὲν ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου ἄλλον εἶλουν, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς 25 εἰς Λακεδαίμονι ἐπορεύετο. ἣπερ δὲ ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν εφορούσαν καὶ τής πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδα, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράξει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀντικύρα ἐλευθέρα ἔτι τοῦ Λακεδαί-μονο πεπραχὼς εἴη, δύκαιος εἴη ξημιοῦνθαι, εἰ δὲ ἄγαθα, 30 ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἔξειναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζεων. αὐτὸ οὖν τούτ', ἐφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἄγαθὰ ἦ

4 τε om. DCF 
16 παρῆσαν τε καὶ συνελάμβανον Cobet 
18 ἐφευγον F 
20 οἱ del. Leonclavius 
26 ἐχον [ἔχον] B
κεκλητούς ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς πεπραγμένα ἐπείτα μέντοι οἱ Λεοντιάδης έλθὼν εἰς τούς ἐκκλητούς ἐλεγε τοιάδε· ὁ Ἀνδρέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς μὲν πολεμικὸς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἐωρᾶτε γὰρ ἄει τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέρους δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, 5 τοῖς δ' ὑμετέρους φίλους ἔχοντος ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Ἐν Πειραιεί δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἰθέλησαν συντραπεῖν, Φωκεύσι δὲ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἔφρων, ἐπεστράτευον; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὄλυνθοις εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐτὸς 10 μὲν ἂεὶ προσεῖχετε τὸν νῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τῆς Βουωτίαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ἐννυαν νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεὶ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι: ἀλλ' ἀρκε- σει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὡστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων ἄν δέσητε, ἐὰν ὅσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμεῖς 15 ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθητε. ἀκούσωσι ταύτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὅσπερ κατελήπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνία κρίσιν ποιήσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου σέμποσι δικαστάς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν ἕνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθῆ 20 ζῆτο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὅς βαρβαρίζει καὶ ὃς ἔνεσ τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδένι ἄγαθο πής Ἐλλάδος γεγενημένοι ἐη καὶ ὃς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεληψάων ἐη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλέιδας αὐτώτατοι ἔην. δὲ δὲ 25 ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταύτα, ὡς μέντοι ἐπειδῆ γε τὸ μὴ ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων ἐννυα. καὶ ἐκείνως μὲν κατεπράξεθη καὶ ἀποθυγάσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἰχον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐτι 30 πλεῖω ὑπηρέτουν ἢ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς· τούτων ὃς ἐπερα- 35 γενέων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίου πολὺ προσυμετροῦν τὴν ἔι τὴν

5 φιλικῶς B: φιλικός cct. 8 ὑμᾶς] ὑμῖν Cobet 15 οὕτως B 22 βαρβαρ[εῖ C: 26 ταύτα B: om. cct. 30 ὅ] ὃ C F 31 πολὺ M: πολὺ δὴ B F D: πολὺ ἐτὶ δὴ C εἰς διανομὴν C
"Ολυνθὸν στρατιῶν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευταῖον μὲν ἄρμοστῷν, τῆς δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανασυνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέσεμπον, κελεύοντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτία κατὰ 5 τὸ σῶμα τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ οἷς ἀλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτοιν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄχριστος ἔδοκε εἶναι τοῖς ὑπονοούσι τι, καὶ ἢ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ πόλεις, ἀτε κἂν Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ, προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὑπλίται καὶ ἰππέας. ὦ δὲ σπεῦδων μὲν οὐ μᾶλλα ἐπορεύετο, 38 επιμελομένος δὲ τοῦ δὲ τῆς ἄδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ὡς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀδροίζειν. προέπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἦξιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἔσορος μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις βασιλεῖσθι χρήματα διδόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι, ἄπερ βούλιοτο τὴν ἀρχήν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἐπεμπεῖ δὲ καὶ 15 πρὸς Δέρδαν τῶν Ἐλευθερίας ἀρχιστα, διδάσκον ὅτι οἱ Ὅλυνθοι κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζων δύναμιν Μακεδονίας εἶνεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσυχον τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὑβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μᾶλα πολλῆν ἔχων στρατιῶν 39 ἀφίκετε εἰς τὴν ἔαυτῶν συμμαχία. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν 20 Ποτείδαιαν, ἐκείθεν συνταξάμενον ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰδοὺ οὕτ' ἐκαεν οὕτ' ἐκοπτε, νομίζων, εἰ τι ποιῆσεί τούτων, ἐμποδῶν ἄν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προςωπίτι καὶ ἀπώλετι ὅποτε δὲ ἀναχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τότε ὅρθος ἔχεις κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδῶν κατα- 25 βάλλει, εἰ τις ὀπισθοὶς ἐπίοις. ὥς δὲ ἀπείχεν ἀπὸ τῆς 40 πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτῶς ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνεβαίνειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας λέναι ἢ ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμοι, ἢ δ' ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξίον. καὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν 30 Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδώνων παρῆ-

3 ἀπαντᾶς Weiske: ἀπαντεῖς codd. 8 αὐτῶ B: om. cet. συνέπεμψε B: συνέπεμπη σε ct. 17 παύσῃ B 22 ἐμποδῶν Schneider: ἐμποδίων codd. ταῦτα πάντα B 24 ἐμποδῶν seclus. Laves

11*
ζένοφωντος

σαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰχὲ Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἵππεις ὡς εἰς τετρακοσίους διὰ τε τὸ ἀγα-
σθαι τούτο τὸ ἱππικόν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύει τῶν Δέρδαν,
ὡς ἦδομενος παρεῖη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἑλθόντες
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συνπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ 5
ἵππεῖς ἐμβάλλοντο κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βουστόν, καὶ
Πολυχαρμόν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἵππαρχον καταβάλλοντον
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ κέιμενον πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ
ἀλλοις ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ
κέρατο ἱππικόν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐνέκλωκε καὶ τὸ 10
ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλων ὁ ἄν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἤτη-
θήναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἐχὼν τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν
εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἠλασεν. ἐπήκε δὲ καὶ
ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. ὡς δὲ ταύτα
ἐπείκεντο οἱ Ὀλυνθίου ἵππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν τῶν 15
πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλή σπουδὴ. ἐνθα δὴ
ὁ Δέρδας παρελύνοντας παμπόλλους ἱππεάς αὐτῶν ἀπε-
κτείνειν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς
τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέδανον, ἀτε ἐγγύς
τοῦ τείχους οὖντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαίῶν τε ἔστάθη καὶ ἡ νίκη 20
αὐτὴ τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπιῶν δὴ ἐκοπτε τὰ δένδρα.
καὶ τούτῳ μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος δήκε καὶ τὸ Μακε-
δονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ
οἱ Ὀλυνθίου καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμ-
μαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτον καὶ ἀνδράς ἀπεκτύννον. 25

III

"Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἵππο ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλυνθίου ἵππεῖς
ὄντες ὡς ἐξακούσιοι κατεδοξομήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν
ἀμα μεσθιμβία καὶ διεσπαρμόνει ἐλεηλάτον· ὃ δὲ Δέρδας
ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιμένους μετὰ τῶν ἱππεῶν τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δὲ εἶθε 30

1 αὖτῳ(ί) codd. 2 ἀγέσθαι codd.; corr. Stephanus 4 παρεῖη
V pr. C F: παρῆ(ί)ei cet. 11 ὤ'om. D C F : γ' V 12 ἑαυ-
tὸν B: αὐτὸν cet. 16 ἀνεχάφρου C F : 17 ἱππεάς del.
Dind.
τὴν καταδρομὴν, ἥσυχαν [τε] εἴχε, τούς θ' ὑποὺς ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἔπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὁλυνθοὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἕλαβον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων 5 ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ός εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ἀρμήσαν. ὁ δ' ός 2 ἀπάξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνήκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διάκων καὶ ἀποκτινύσ, ἐως πρὸς αὐτό κατεδώξε τῶν Ὁλυνθῶν τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτείνα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοῖκον ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχίσεις τε 10 μάλλον ἠσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην παυτέλως εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου 3 ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὁλυνθῶν πόλιν, ὡς εἰ τι δενδρον ὑπόλοιπον ἐβά, ἥ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίωσ, φθείροι, ἐξελthetaτες οἱ Ὁλυνθοὶ ἱππεῖς ἥσυχοι πορευόμενοι διέβησαν 15 τὸν παρὰ τῆν πόλιν πέροντα ποταμών, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἥσυχῆ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στράτευμα. ὡς δ' εἶδεν οἱ Τελευτάς, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Θλημονών ἐπὶ τῶν πελατστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὁλυνθοὶ ός εἶδον προβοῦντα τοὺς πελατστάς, ἀνα 20 στρέφαντες ἀπεχώρον ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τῶν ποταμών. οἱ δ' ἡκολούθουν μάλα θρασεῖς, καὶ ώς φεύγουσι διάζοντες ἐπιδιδαμον. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ὁλυνθοὶ ἱππεῖς, ἦνικα ἐτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοὺς ἐδόκοντο εἰναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέφαντες ἐμβάλλονσαι αὐτοίς, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ἀπέκτειναν 25 τῶν Θλημονών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἡ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ 5 Τελευτάς ός εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὁπλα ἤγε μὲν ταὐχ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διάκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελατστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας καὶ μὴ ἀνίηναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι του καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τείχους διώξαντες

1 te del. Bothe eiex] ἤγε C pr. ενεσκευασμένου Cobet
2 ἀμβάτας Dind.: ἀλαβάτας B: ἀναβάτας cet. 3 προϊόντον B: προάστιον cet. 6 διάκων] διάκες M 10 ὀλίγην Wytenbach:
ὁλίγην γῆν C: ὀλίγην τι (τι) B F M: ὀλίγον τι D 15 ἥσυχή del. Schneider 22 διάζοντες Leonclavius: διώξαντες B al.: διώκοντες F
κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐκείνοι δ᾿ ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πῦρων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἡναγκάζοντο τεθορυμβημένως καὶ ὁ ἐποφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ὦ Οὐλύνθοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελασταῖ τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται ἐπεξέθεσον, καὶ τεταραγμένη 5 τὴ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὥς μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποδηνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἵστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὡς δ᾿ 10 ἀλλος ἀλλή ἐφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀλλος ἄλλος διώκοντες παραλήθεις ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὠτιπερ ὀφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 Ἐκ μὲντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν [ὡς] ἐγὼ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὅσον ὃντι οἰκέται κρη 15 ὅργῃ κολάξεως. πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται ὁργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐπούμενα· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλους τὸ μετ᾽ ὅργῃς ἀλλὰ μὴ γυνάμη προσφέρεσθαι ὧλον ἀμάρτημα. μὴ γὰρ ὅργῃ ἀπρονότου, ἢ δὲ γυνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἴττον μὴ τί πάθη ἢ ὁποί βλάψῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.

8 Τοῖς δ᾿ οὖν Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν τὸ πράγμα, βουλευομένους ἐδόκει σὲ παρὰ διόνυσμον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τὸ τε φρόνημα τῶν νευκήκοτῶν κατασβεθείν καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γυνωτες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγγειόπολων τῶν βασιλέα ἐκπέμποντος, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ 25 ὀσπερ Ἀγγειλάων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν.

9 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἔθελονται καλοὶ κάγαθοι ἡκολούθους, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένως, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἀπειροι. συνεκπρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ έκ τῶν συμμαχίων 30 πόλεων ἔθελονται, καὶ Θεσπαλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ε

'Αγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ 'Αμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἐτὶ προθυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. 'Αγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ολυνθον.

'Η δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἑπαυνεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ 10 'Αγησιπόλιδος ὃτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν ἔδοσαν, νομίζουσα δὲ ἔξω ὅτι ἀν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ 'Αγησίλαον, οὐδὲν ἄν γενέσθαι ὡστε ἄμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίον τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 10 ὅτι φυγάδες ἢξιον τὰ ἀμφίλογα εὖ ὁσὶ δικαστηρὶφ κρίνεσθαι οἱ δὲ ἡμάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόμενοι δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθῶν καὶ τὰς αὐτὴ δίκη εἰς ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζομεν, οὐδὲν εἰσήκουν. ἐκ τούτου μὲντοι 11 ἐρχοῦται εἰς Λακεδαιμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσουσιν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολουθοῦν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῦν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτους τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐξημώσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ πεποιήσης τῆς πόλεως ἢλθον εἰς Λακεδαιμονα. οἱ δὲ ζημιοθέντες οἴκαδε μὲν ὡκνοὶ ἀπίουν, μένοντες 12 20 ὅτι ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐκέτι μὲν εἴησαν οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οὔπερ σφᾶς τε τῇ βεβαλεών καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὕτω νῦν ἡμῖν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιωθήναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα ἐλθόντας, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲὶς τολμήφι λέγαι 25 ὅτι πολεῖ γενόμεναι. τῷ δὲ οὕτι υἱόρει 13 δοκοῦντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνοντιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐφοροί. ἢν δὲ οὐ τῷ 'Αγησίλαῳ ἀρχιμένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ 'Αρχιδάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον, καὶ τότε τῶν κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν· αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα 30 τῶν Ἰππονίκου. ὅσ τὸ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομένων οὐκ 14 ἐμελλέν, ἀλλὰ ἐπορεύετο, πολλαὶ πρεσβεύειν ἀπήντων καὶ

6 στρατεύον Leonclavius 12 post tis add. ἀν Cobet 13 οὗτος
12 post τίς add. ἀν Cobet 13 οὗτος
19 C F: έαυτω(ι) cet.
χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλεω. ὦ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἦν ἀδικοίᾳ στρατεύοντο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις
βοηθήσεις. οἱ δὲ τελευτώτες πάντα ἐφασκὸν ποιήσεις, ἔδεοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλεω. ὦ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν
πιστεύσεις λόγοι, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ψεύσασθαί αὐτούς, 5
ἀλλ' ἔργον τῶν πιστῶν δεῖν ἐφή. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ
tοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· "Οπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἐφή,
pοιήσαντες οὐδὲν ύφ' ἡμῶν ἡδικήθητε. τούτῳ δὲ ἦν τήν
ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἔθελοντων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦτο
ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλε τε [καὶ] εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ περιτειχίσασι 10
ἐπολιορκεῖται αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων
ὡς ὅλων ἐνεκεν ἀνδρώπων πόλει ἀπεχθάνουστο πλέον
πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἦδη ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔνθιζεν εἰη,
οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φαινό τοῖς ἕξω ἐκκλησίαζον· οἱ μέντοι
Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμιχανήσατο. ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξιοευν 15
ἥ διὰ φιλίαν ἥ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε
συσσαίτια τε αὐτῶν κατασκεύάζει καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήθεαι ἱκανά
διδόναι, ὡςοσι γιμναξεθαι ἐθέλονεν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζει
ἀπασι τούτων διεκελεύτο, καὶ μὴ ὅκνει εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα
danείξεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπεδείξαν πλέον 20
χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐπόλιτους δὲ
καὶ εὐπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτώτες οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔλεγον
ὡς τοιούτων δέουντο συστρατιωτῶν.

Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἢν. ὦ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις
εὐθὺς [τε] ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσροῦν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει 25
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ ὅπλα. ἔπει δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆτε αὐτῷ, τότε
tῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἰ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἔδημου καὶ εἰς τᾶς συμμαχίδας
ἰῶν αὐτῶν ἐφθειρε τῶν σῖτων· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβαλὼν
ἐλέε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτω οὕτα κατὰ θέρους ἄκμην
καίμα περιφλεγές λαμβάνει αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν ἐρακότα 30
tὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρως αὐτῶν τὸτ' ἐσχε τῶν

10 καὶ om. Castalio 14 ἐξεκλησίαζον MDCF 17 αὐτῶν
Leonclavius 30 περιφλεγές vulg. πρόσθεν] πρώην CF
τε σκιερών σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὕδατων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκείσε ἔτι ζών, ὥμως μέντοι ἐβδομαίοι αὖρι ὦν ἐκαμεν ἐξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς καὶ κομισθεὶς οὐκαδὲ ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.

'Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τούτῳ ἀκούσας οὐχ ᾧ τις ἂν ὅτε ἐφήσοθη 20 ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τήν συνοισίαν. συσκηνώσας μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι ὤσι. ὁ δὲ 'Ἀγησίπολις τῷ 'Ἀγησιλάῳ ἰκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ 10 ἡθητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἐπιτικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπηδείτο αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακεδαμώνιοι ἀντι ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἀρμοστὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυσθῶν ἐκπέμ- ποσιν.

15 'Ο δὲ 'Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον 21 ἐλέγετο ἐν [τῇ] Φλειώντι σῶτος εἶναι τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρός διαφέρει ὡστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τῶν ἡμισών ἤπιεσαμένοι σῶτον τελεῖν ἦν πρόσθεν, καὶ ποιοῦντες τούτο τῶν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότου χρόνου πολυροκομεοῦν διήρκεσαν. καὶ τόλμα 22 δὲ ἀπολμίας ἐσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὡστε Δελφῶν τις, λαμπρὸς δοκὼν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους άνδρας Φλειασίων ἰκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύει τῶν βουλομένων εἰρήνην ποιεῖται, ἰκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἡπίστει εἰρής φυλάττει, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἰς τὸς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζει τὸ πλῆθος ἱέραι καὶ τούτους 25 ἐφοδεύσως πιστῶς παρέξεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ἂν εἰχὲ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκλέων ἀπέκρου ὕφαλκας ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ τοῦ περιτεχισμένῳ κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὕτω τοῦ πάντα τρόπου ζητοῦντες οὐχ ἡγοῦσκον σῶτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὲ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέσαντο σπει-

1 σκηνωμάτων M F 7 ἀλλὰ καὶ B : ἀλλὰ cet. 15 ὑπερέ-
βαλλε B C F 16 τῇ del. Keller 17 post γαστρός add. ἀκρα-
telas Nauck συμψηφισάμενοι codd.: corr. Dind. 21 αὐτῶν
Dind.: αὐτῶν C F : αὐτῶν cet. 26 αὐτῶν B F 28 ἐπίζη-
toûntes C
V. iii

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

σασθαι πρεσβείαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἱοῦν· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφήσων ἐφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
24 χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὦ τι βούλουστο. ὦ δὲ ὀργυσθεὶς ὧτι ἀκυρον αὐτὸν ἑπότων, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκους φίλους διεπράζατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειώντος, ἐσπεῖ-5 σατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτη ἑξαχροτέρα ἡ πρὸτερον ἐφύλαττεν, ὃν πολὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εξίοι. ὃμως μέντοι ὦ γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκοῦντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ 10 πόλις ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Αγησίλαῷ διαγρώνων τὰ ἐν Φλειώντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοῖ, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληφθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἰκοδεν πρώτων μὲν ἀνακρίνων οὐτών τε ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οὕτων ἀποθαυμαί οὐκαίνον εὖ πέπεπτα δὲ νόμους θείαν, καθ' οὖς 15 πολιτεύσωντο· ἔως δ' ἀν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἔξι μηνῶν κατέληπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἰκάδε ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειώντα ὅυτως αὐτ' ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὅκτῳ μησί καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.
26 Καὶ ὁ Πολυβίαδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἑχοῦσα λιμῷ τοὺς Ὁλυνθίους, διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰςἀγέσθαι σίτιν αὐτοῖς, ἤραγκασε περμαί eis Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες συνδήκας ἐποιήσαντο τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν 25 καὶ φίλου Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἄν ἡγούται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ταῦτα ἐμμενεὶν ὅυτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.
27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡστε Θηβαῖοις μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοις εἶναι, 30 Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενήθαι, Ἀργείους δὲ τετα-
5 Πολλά μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἔχω καὶ ἄλλα λέγει καὶ Ἑλληνικά καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὕτε τῶν ἀσεβεύτων οὕτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἁμελοῦσιν· νῦν γε μὴν λέξῳ τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτούμοιόν ἐσεῖν τὰς πόλεις τῆν εὺς Θῆβαίων ἀκρόπολις κατασχόντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν πρῶτον οὖθεν υφ’ ενός τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τούς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτούς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίους δουλεύεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπτὰ μόνων τῶν φυγόντων ἡρκεσαν καταλύσαν. ὡς δὲ τούτῳ ἐγένετο δυσγήσωμαι.

Ἡν τις Φιλίλλας, οὐ ἐγραμμᾶτεν τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχιαῖν πολεμάρχους, καὶ τὰλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀριστα. τούτῳ δ’ αφιγμένῳ Ἀθηναῖε κατὰ πράξεΐν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὄνει Μέλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων πεφευγότων Ἡβαίων συγνώμην, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχιαῖν τε τῶν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι νεκροί, πυτότα δεός καὶ λαβῶν συνεθετό ὅστις δὲι ἐκαστὰ γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 3 προσαλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τούς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ἑξειδίδα ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐδέν, ἐρχείται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτὸς· ἐπείτα δὲ ἥμερεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῦ ἐρήμου πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ἠλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἴνα κατείπαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ὑποίκοται. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενεκέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνῳ τὴν νύκτα παρὰ 30 Ἡμερῶν τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διήμερευσαν. ὁ μὲν 4 οὖν Φιλίλλας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὡς
"Αφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἑπ' έξωθ' τῆς ἄρχης, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικαὶ πάλαι ὑποσχυόμενοι ἄξεων αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θῆβαις, τὸτε ἐφῄ ἄξεων. οἱ δὲ, ἦσαν 5 γὰρ τοιοῦτοι, μάλα ἥδεως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμομένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμε-5θύσθησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἀγεώς τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποινας, 6 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. κακείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προταμεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν ἔπε 7 τοῖς περὶ 'Αρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν παῖς εἰσελθεῖν αἰ γυναικεῖς, εἰ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδου ἐσοιτο. ἐνθεὶ οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκε-λευον πάντας ἐξένειν, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δοὺς οὖν ἔνος ἔνδος τῶν διακόνων ἐξέσπευσεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δὴ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἐκάστῳ. ἤν δὲ σύνθεμα, ἐπεὶ 7 καθιζοῦστο, παίεω εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὐτω 15 λέγοντι αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελ-θόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτείνας τῶν πολεμάρχων. λαβὼς δὲ οἱ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεοντιάδον οἰκίαν κόψας δὲ τὴν θυραν ἐσεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγελλαί τι βούλουτο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν 20 χωρίς κατακείμενος ἑτὶ μετὰ δείπνου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐρωτρούσα παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστῶν νομίζων εἰσεναί. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τὴν δὲ γυναίκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ ἐποίου τὴν θυραν κεκλείσαν: εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεφεμένη, ἦπεὶ- 25 λησαν ἀποκτείναι ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέτρακτο, λαβὼν δὸς οἱ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργυμοφόλακι ὅτι ἀνδρὰ ἁγιον παρὰ πολεμάρχων ὄν ἐφέςα δέοι. ὃς δὲ ἀνέφεξε, τούτου μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμῶτας ἐλυσαν. καὶ τούτους 30
μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοάς ὀρλῶν καθελόντες ἀπλίσαν, καὶ ἀγαγώντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφείων θέασαί ἐκέλευν τὰ ὀπλα. ἐκ 9 δὲ τούτων εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξεῖναι πάντας Ὡμβαίους, ἵππεας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεῶτων. οἱ δὲ πολίται, 5 ἔως μὲν νῦ ἢ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἤρυχίαν εἴχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρᾳ τ' ἦν καὶ φανερῶν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένου, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἔξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέας οἱ κατελήμυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίων [τούς] δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πράγμα 10 ἐφ' ὁ ἀπεστάλκεσαν . . . ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἁρμοστὴς ἐπὶ ἡμέρα τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἐπεμψαν εἰς Πλαταίας καὶ Ἑσπηδάς ἐπὶ βοηθείαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιάς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντος οἱ τῶν Ὡμβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον ἢ ἐίκοσι· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰςήθον τ' 15 μαύτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἦσαν παρῆσαν, προσβῆσαν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ ἐγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ 11 ἀκροπόλει ὀλέγοι ὄντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντησιν ἔφρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων μεγάλων γιγαντιώτων τοῖς πρῶτοι ἀναβᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εὑροῦν ὃτι 20 ἀπόλου ἢ, εἰ σφῆσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπιστοὶ διδοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἁσμενοὶ τε ἔδοσαν ἡ ἡμέραν, καὶ σπευσάμενοι καὶ ὄρκους ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξεπεμπον. ἐξιώντων 12 μέντοι, ὀσοὺς ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συνλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. ἦςαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν 25 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσσώθησαν. οἱ μὲντοι Ὡμβαίοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοι ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.

'Επεὶ δὲ ταύτα ἐπύθουντο οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι, τὸν μὲν 13 ἁρμοστὴν τῶν ἐγκαταλεῖπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀνα-30 μέναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρᾶν δὲ φαίνοντον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὡμβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὃτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡμέρας εἶ, καὶ ὀπιστερὸς τοῖς ἅλλοις τοῖς 9 τοὺς del. Dobree 16 προσβάλλων C F
τηλικούτους οὐκέτι ἀνάγνη ἥη τὴς ἐαυτῶν ἐξο στρατεύεσθαι, οὐτώ δὴ καὶ βασιλεύσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον οὕτα ἀπεδείκνυε. κάκεινος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἔνεκεν κατέμενεν, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοῖ, λέξοιεν οἱ πολίται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσει τοῖς 5 τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἰά σὺν αὐτοῖς

14 Βουλεύσας ὑπούν τι βουλουμεν περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἐφοροὶ διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τᾶς ἐν Θῆβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπε- πτωκότων, Κλεόμβρουτον ἐκτέμπουσιν, πρῶτον τὸτε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χείμωνον ὄντος. τὴν μὲν ὅνεν δὲ Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν 10 Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβασε κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πλαταῖας φέρουσαν. προὶόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρω "φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείον λευμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἡκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὕτω. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπαντᾶσ, εἰ μή τις 15 ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέβαινεν πρὸς τὰς Πλαταῖας, ἐτὶ φυλίας ὄσσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπίας ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὁμοθείς εἰς Κινὸς κεφαλὰς ὄσσας Ῥηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μελώς δὲ ἐκεὶ περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπέχωρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπίας. κάκει μὲν ἄρμοστὴν κατέ- 20 λιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν

16 οὐκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμυσθοῦσαὶ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγαγέν ἐπ' οὐκον τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ στρατιῶτας καὶ 25 μάλα ἀποροῦντα πότερα ποτὲ πόλεμος πρὸς Ῥηβαίων ἢ εἰρήνη ἐη̂̃ γαγε μὲν γάρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥηβαίων τὸ ὀστρα- 

17 τευμα, ἀπήλθε δὲ ὡς εὐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας. ἀπι- ὄντι γε μὴν ἀνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιον ἐπεγένετο, ὁν καὶ οἰωνίζουτο τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γάρ καὶ 30

άλλα βλαία ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς ἢ τῆς Κρεσίσιος τὸ καθήκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὅρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνον κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκέυεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὅπλα ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξῆπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος 18 δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύεσθαι, ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέληπτον λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Ἁγιοσθένους ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑπεραιά ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐκάδε  ὑδὴ ἐκαστοι ἄπήσαν· ἀφήκε 10 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν 'Αθηναίοι ὅρωντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 19 ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἦδη παρώντες τὴν 'Αττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θῆβας εὐβαλλον, οὕτως ἐφοβοῦσθον ὡστε καὶ τὸ ὄνομα στρατηγῶν, 15 οἱ συνηπιστάσθη τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρύωντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ύπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.

Οἱ δ' αὕ τῆς θῆβαίοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἴ μηδένες 20 ἀλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιώνδε 20 εὐρίσκουσι μιχάλημα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν τοῖς Θεσπιάσις ἄρ- 
μοστὶν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὡς ἐκπολεμῶσειε τοὺς 'Αθηναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κάκεινοι πειθόμενοι αὐτοῖς, προσποιι- 
σάμενοι τὸν Πειραιά καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, 25 ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρὸ δειπνώσαντας τοὺς στρατιωτὰς, φάσκον πρὸ ἡμέρας καθαυσίες εἰς τὸν Πειραιά. Ὁράσι 21 δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὔδὲν ἐντεύθεν ἐποίησεν ὡστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἄπετράπετο, βοσκῆμα δυϊρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε, τῶν δ' ἐνυπόκτων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεῦ- 
30 γοντες εἰς τὸ ἀστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ὅτι στρά- 
τεμα πάμπολυ προσίω. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὁπλισάμενοι καὶ

4 ἐξῆπεσεν vulg. : ἐξῆπεν τούς codd. opt. : ἐξῆπεν Dind. 22 ἐκ- 
pολεμήσει(ν) codd. : corr. Dind. 27 οὔδὲν εντεύθεν Dind. : οὔδ' 
tαύτα codd. : οὔδὲν ἐνταύθα Voigtländer 28 ἀπετέραπτο C F
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

22 ἵππεις καὶ ὀπλῖται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἠτύχανον Ἀθήνηςων οὕτε παρὰ Καλλία τῷ προξείῳ Ἑτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὀκυλλος· οὐς οἱ Ὀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πράγμα ἠγγέλθη, συναλλαβοῦντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συναποθεοῦοντας. 5 οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τῇ ἱσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς εἰ ὑδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίουσι αὐτοὺς παρέθυε, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξείῳ, οὐ τάχιστ' ἂν ἕρπε·

θησαυ. ἔτι δ' ἐλεγον ὡς εὐδηλοι καὶ τοὺς Ὀθηναῖοις ἔσοιτο 10 ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἐφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοντο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κάκειοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνεδέναι ἀφεῖ-

θησαυ. οἱ δ' ἐφοροὶ ἀνεκάλεσαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτον. ἐκεῖνος μὲντοι φοβούμενοι οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν· 15 οἷς δὲ καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούσαν εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε, καὶ πολλοὶ ἔσοβεν αὐτῇ δὴ ἀδικότατα ἐν Λακεδαιμονίαν ὑπὸ κριθήναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αὐτόν.

25 Ἡν υῖος τοῦ Σφοδρία Κλεώνυμος, ἡλικίαν τε ἐξών τὴν ἀρτὶ ἐκ παιδὼν, καὶ ἀμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμῶτατος 20 τῶν ἠλικων. τοῦτον δὲ ἔρων ἠτύχανεν Ἀρχιδάμος ὦ Ἀγησιλάος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸν Κλεομβρότον φίλου, ἀπε ἐταίροι οὕτε τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δὲ ἀν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνους φίλους ἔφοβοδυτο, καὶ τοὺς 25 καὶ μέσου δὲ· δευτ' ἄμφ' ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ 25 ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἰπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον: Ἐξεστί σοι, ὦ νεί, σώσαι τὸν πατέρα, ἐξεθέντι Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενή Ἀγησί-

λαον ἐρω τις τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτολ-

μης εἶθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον, καὶ ἔδειτο σωτήρα αὐτῷ 27 τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρχιδάμος ἵδοι μὲν τὸν 30

Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυνε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· 'Αλλ', ὃ Κλεώνυμε, ὦσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὖδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι βουλώμαι διαπράξασθαι εὖ τῇ πόλει, πάντων μάλλον ἢ τοῦ 5 πατρὸς δέομαι· ὠμοὶ δ', ἔπει σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πάσαν με προσυμίαν ἔξειν ταύτα σοι πραξῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν ὅτι ἐκ 28 τοῦ φιλίτιον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὀρθῶς ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθὼν. ἔπει δὲ εἰδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξιόματα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν 10 παρῆν, παρέλαυσε διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἰ τις ἔξειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχώρει. τέλος δ', ἔπει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιῶν ὁ Ἀγγισίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οίκας, ἀπιῶν ἄχετο οὐδὲ προσελθὼν. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ ταῦτα ταύτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγγισίλαος ὑπόππησε μὲν ὃν 29 15 ἔνεκεν ἐφοίτη, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἡρώτα, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν. ὁ δ' αὖ' Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ὡστερ εἰκός, ὅραν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὁπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διελεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὃν ἐκείνος ἐδείηθη οὐκ ἐίχεν. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τῶν Σφοδρίαν οὖχ ὄρωτες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἱόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ 20 θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἠσπαζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀγγισίλαος ἐγ. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτολμήσε προσελθεῖν 30 καὶ εἰπεῖν· 'Ο Πάτερ, Κλεώνυμος με κελεύει σοι δειηθήναι σωσάι οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγώ ταύτα σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· 'Αλλα σοι μὲν ἔγγονε συγκοινωνίην ἔχω· 25 αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁπως ἁν' συγκοινωνίης τύχομι παρὰ τής πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγγυνώσκων ἀδικείν οἷς ἐξηρμητίζατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως οὖχ ὄρῳ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταύτα οὖδὲν 31 εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἠττήθησα τοῦ δικαίου ἀπήλθεν. ὑστερον δὲ ἂν αὐτὸς νοῆσαι ἡ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶπεν ἐλθὼν· 'Αλλ' ὅτι 30 μὲν, ὃ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἡδίκει Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν

6 συνεξειν C 7 φίλιτιον Leonclavius in marg. 8 λάθοι B: λάθη cet. 20 ὁπδ ἀγγισίλαον ἀπεληλαμένος B 23 ταῦτα MCF 25 ἀν add. Schäfer 26 ἄνδρα] ἄνδρος Cobet ἐχρήσατο B

XEN. HELL.
οἴδα· νῦν δέ, εἰ ἤδηκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἐνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σού τυχέτω. ὦ δὲ εἶπεν· Ὑδοκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλά ταῦτ' ἡμῶν εἰναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὥ μὲν ὅ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας μάλα 32 ὀψελπις ὄν ἀπῆει· τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφορδία φίλων τις διαλε- γόμενος Ἐτυμοκλῆς εἰπεν· Ἰμεῖς μὲν, οὕτως, ἐπὶ τάντας 5 οἱ Ἀγγισιάνου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτ τὸν Σφορδίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία ὦκ ἃρα ταῦτ', ἐφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγγι- σιάσιφ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνος γε πρὸς πάντας ὅσοις διεξελκεῖ ταῦτὰ λέγει, μὴ ἄδικεῖν μὲν Σφορδίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὡστὶς μέντοι παῖς τε ὧν καὶ παιδίσκους καὶ ἡμῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν 10 διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιούτων ἀνάλο παρακατυνώναι· τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δείσθαι στρατιωτῶν. ὦ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπῆγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὦ δὲ ἤσθεις, εἴδος ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν· ὃτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελὴ ἤδη ἵσμεν· εὑ δὲ ἐπίστοτα, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειθαρχοῦμεν 15 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῆς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψευσάτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δεύνων τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρὶς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ ἠρύσα μὲν εἰς τὰ ἐσχάτα 20 τῶν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡς δ᾽ ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήγχυνε, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκόσμησε· τοιοῦτο ἐν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφορδίας ἀπέφυγε. 34 Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδακσαν τὸν δήμουν ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανεύρεσαν τὸν Σφορδίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθη- 25 ναις. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτοι οἱ Λακεναῖωι ἐπιλύμοντα τῇ τὸν Πειραιά, ναῦς τῇ ἐναυτηγοῦντο, τοῖς τῇ Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ 35 ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ᾽ αὐτ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουρᾶν τῇ ἐφημναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγγιστάνων νομίσαντες φρουρώσωσιν ἀν σφίσι τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἡγείσθαι, ἐδεόντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν 30 1 post ei add. καὶ Cobet 2 οὐκούν B : om. cet. 3 ἐσταὶ] ἐστοι C F 7 ταῦτ(α) codd.: corr. Leoncl. ἐφη B : om. cet. 8 ταῦτα codd.: corr. Dind. 9 εἶναι B : ἐφη εἶναι cet. 15 post ἐπιστω add. & Cobet 21 τὸν M : om. cet.
κων ἐνα, Ἐὐδικοῦ, καὶ τῶν ᾿Οηβαίων τινὰς φυγάδας, οὕτω
ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἦππους. ὅσ' ἐδὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν
toῖς ὀπλίταις ἔβοηθήσεν ὁ ᾿Αγναιλαος, οἳ τε ἦππεῖς ἦλαυν
ἐναντίον τοῖς ἦππεύω καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἦβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλίτων
ἔδει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν ᾿Οηβαίων ἦππεῖς ἐφίκεσαν 5
ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς
ἐπελαύνουσιν ὁστ' ἐξακούσεις τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὖ.
41 ἀναστρέψωντες δὲ ἐκ τοσοῦτον ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα. ὅσ'
dὲ κατέγρω ὁ ᾿Αγναιλαος ὅτι ἄει μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέ-
μοι ἐφαύγωστο, θυσάμενοι ἁμὰ τῇ ὑμέρᾳ ἤγεν ὅσ' οὖν τε Ἰο
τάχιστα, καὶ παρῆλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἐσώ τῶν χαρακωμάτων.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἑτερνε καὶ ἐκαὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως.
τάντα δὲ ποίησας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς ᾿Οησπιᾶς,
ἐτείχες τὸ ἀστυ αὐτῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν
ἀρμοστὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς 15
μὲν συμμάχους δύηκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στρατεύμα ἐπ' οἴκου
ἀπήγαγεν.
42 Ἕκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκτέμπων μὲν ἀριστήρα ἐφέρε
καὶ ἤγε τοὺς ᾿Οηβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι ἐκακοῦργει
tὴν χώραν. οἵ δ' αὖ ᾿Οηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι 20
στρατεύοντοι πανθημεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ᾿Οησπιῶν χώραν. ἔπει
ὁ ἢσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταις προσ-
κείμενος οὐδαμοὶ εἰα αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάσυνες τῆς φάλαγ-
γος. ὅστε οἱ ᾿Οηβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῇ ἐμβολῇ βάττωνα
tῆν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπισύνετο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεικόμοι δὲ ἀπορρι-
25
πτούντες δὲ εἰληφέσαν καρπῶν ἀπήλαυνον οἰκάδε. οὕτω δεὼν
φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέπεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μεταθεόν
ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τὰξεὶ ἐπεσθάνε κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο
τροπῆν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιησάσαν αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως 30

1 ᾿Οηβαῖων Dind. : ἀσπαλων codd. 6 ὑπο(πε)τσωκόσι codd. : corr.
Camerarius 11 εἶσα C F 14 ἐνετείχεις C F 21 τῶν B : om. cett.
23 οὐδαμοὶ Cobet 24 τῆς ἐμβολῆς Jacob 27 τῶ στρατεύματι B :
toῖς στρατεύματι cett. 30 τροπὴν Leoncl. : πρὸς τὴν codd.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ε

 Blackhawks 1990 4
 δε ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Ἰησοῦν ἑπείς ἐπὶ νάπῃ ἀδιαβάτῳ ἐγένοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἦδροινθήσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνέστρεφον 5 διὰ τὸ ἀποφεί ὅπῃ διαβαίειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ἄλγοι ὤντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτούς ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτὸτοῦ ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν υπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁ Φοίβιδας καὶ ὁ ἢ τρεῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ 45 μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τοῦτον γενομένου
10 πάντες ἔφυγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγουτε ἄφικόντο πρὸς τοὺς ὅπλας τῶν Ἱσσαύων, κάκευοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπελέες τοῖς Ἰησαύοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδὲν τι πάνω διωκόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἤν ἤδη ὅψε. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ, ὃμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Ἱσσαύες, πρὶν ἐν
15 τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. ἕκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὐτὰ τῶν Ἰη- 46 βαίων ἀνεξωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰς Ἱσσαύες καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοκίδας πόλεις. ὁ μὲντοι ὥμοις έξ εἰς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Ἰηβαίας ἀπεχῶρεῖν εἰς πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεύειν καθεστήκεσαν, ὡσπερ εἰς Ἰηβαίας. ὡστε καὶ οἱ
20 εἰς τούταις ταῖς πόλεσιν φίλοι τῶν Ἀκαδαμοῦνιων θυσιείας ἐδέσωτο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίβιδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Ἀκαδαμοῦνοι κατὰ ὀλλατην πέμψαντες τὰς Ἱσσαύες ἐφύλαττον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρονεῖν οἱ ἐφόροι 47
25 εἰς τὰς Ἰηβαίας, καὶ τοῦ 'Αγγειλάου, ὕπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἤγειςθαι. ο δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταύτα γιγαντικοῖς, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱσσα- πιάς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευεν προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπέρ τῆς κατὰ τῶν Κιλαφρών δοῦν ἄκρων καὶ φυλαττεῖν, ἔως ἕν αὐτὸς
30 ἔλθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλῶν εἰς ταῖς Πλαταναῖς ἐγένετο, 48 πάλιν προσεπούσατο εἰς τὰς Ἱσσαύες πρῶτον λέναι, καὶ

πέμπτων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐκεί περιμένειν. ὡστε οἱ Ὁθβαῖοι ἵσχυρῶς τὴν πρὸς 49 Ὑθεσιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐμι τῇ ἤμερᾳ δυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἑπτερ βράσι καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι δυοὶ ἤμεραν ὅδον ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας 5 ἐφθασεν ὑπερβᾶς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλων σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐθείων τοὺς Ὁθβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν εἰσῆλθε. τότῳ δὲ ποιύσας τὰ πρὸς ἐσῳ τῶν Ὁθβαίων πόλεως ἑδήμου μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν ὦ τοίς Ὠπατόδωροι, φίλοι ὀντες τῶν Λακεδαιμιον μονίων, εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆξε ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἑξων 50 τὸ τείχος. οἱ δὲ Ὁθβαῖοι ὑπελόθυμεν ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ Γραῦος στήθει, ὡπισθὲ ἑκοῦσε τὰς τὰ τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταυρωμα, νομίζομεν καλὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐνακοῦσσον καὶ γὰρ στενῶν ἢ ταύτη ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ὕσβατον τὸ χωρίων. ὁ 15 ὦ Ἀγησίλαος ἴδων ταύτα πρὸς ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἐπὶ 51 συμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἤμε. οὶ δ' αὐθὶ Ὁθβαίοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἤμε, ἀπολυόμενες ἐνθα παρατηγμένοι ἴσαν ὀρόμω ὑπερν ἐις τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνίας ὃδον' ἤν γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν 20 γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνυθιμα τοῦ Ἀγησίλαο, ὅτι πόρῳ ἀπαγαγοῦν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν ὀρόμω ἀυτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὡμοὺς μέντοι ἐπὶ παραδεόμεναι αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τῶν ἐπε- 52 δραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Ὁθβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζου, ὡστε καὶ ἀπέδανεν 'Ἀλύπητος, εἰς 25 τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατο ὡμοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Ὁθβαῖοι· ὡστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρίται καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἐπιζον τοὺς τελευταῖονς 53 τῶν Ὁθβαίων παρελαιώνοντας (εἰς) τὴν πόλιν. ὃς μέντοι ἑγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφοντοι οἱ Ὁθβαῖοι· οἱ 30 δὲ Σκιρίται ἱδόντες αὐτοὺς θάπτων ἡ βάδην ἀπήλθον. καὶ

απέθανε μεν οὖν διδει αυτῶν ὁμοι δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαίον
[τε] ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἁναβάντες. οἱ μέντοι 54
Ἀγησίλαος, ἔπει ὄρα ἤν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐνθα-
περ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ύστεραία
5 ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθοῦντω
τῶν πελαστῶν, οἱ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τῶν
Χαβρίων ἀνακαλοῦντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες
οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἵππεῖς, ἣδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὀρκους συνε-
στρατεύοντο, ἐδωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἦκο-
λούθων, καὶ ἀκατέτων αὐτῶν μάλα πολλοὺς· ταχὺ γὰρ
πρὸς ἄνατες εὐθάλατο ἀλίσκονται πεζοὶ ύφ' ἵππεών. ἔπει
55 δ' ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιάς, εὐρών στασιά-
ζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκῶν λακω-
νίζεων ἀποκτείναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὅν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τούτο
15 μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀρκους
ὁμος ἀλλήλους ἀναγκᾶς, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ
Κιθαιρώνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμα-
χοὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οὐκαδε ἀπήγαγε.
Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σῖτον διὰ τὸ
20 οὖν ἔτοιμοι μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμποντων ἐπὶ
οὖν τρύπων ἄνδρας ἐλις Παγασᾶς ἐπὶ σίτου δέκα τάλαντα
δώντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεύων, ἐν
ὁ ἔκεινοι τὸν σίτου συνεωκύντο, ἐπιληφότατο τρεῖς τρύ-
πεις, ἐπιμελθεῖς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἔπει δὲ ἀπήγετο
25 ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σίτου καὶ τᾶς
τρύπεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττως ἡ τρια-
κοσίως. τούτους δὲ ἐφήσει ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὖντερ αὐτὸς
ἐσκήνων. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τίνος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, 57
ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς
30 ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τούτου ἦν. καταγρώντες δὲ οἱ ἀλχμα-
λωτοὶ τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ

2 τε del. Stephanus 15 οὖν om. D 17 ἐκεῖθε B 27 οἱ περὶ B
31 ἀμέλειαν] ἐπιμέλειαν B
ὅ πόλις ἀφιέρωται: ὡστ' εὐπόρως ἥδη οἱ Ὀθῆβαιοι σῶτον παρεκμοίζουσιν.

58 Ὄποψιάντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἱροῦ ὁ μὲν Ἀγασίλαος κλινοπετῆς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Ὀθῆβων, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἀναβαινόμενοι αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφρο-δίστου εἰς τὸ ἄρχειον ῥήγυνται ὅποια δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρυῃ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σῶματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ύγίεις σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κυνῆς ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυσσοὶ ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιος τις ιατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἀπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νῦκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ τὸ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ῥέμα πρὶν ἐλπιδοφύ-χησε: τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἴπρόστει τὸ τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμώνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν 15 τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεομβροτοῦ ἢγείσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ώσ προκαταληψάμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀδοῦ. Ὀθῆβαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντες τισὶ τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἶσιν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἤσαν, 20 ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεομβροτος ἀδύνατο νομίζασ τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὀθῆβαιων, ἀπῆγε τε καὶ δύκη τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συνλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα, λόγοι 25 ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακῶν κατατριβή-ςουτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξείναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώ-σαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ἑλείν λυμῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν. ἐξείναιδ᾽ ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Ὀθῆβας στρατεύμα διαβαβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βοῦλουτο, ἐπὶ Φοκέων, εἰ θ᾽ 61 βουλοῦτο, ἐπὶ Κρεσίδιος. ταύτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξῆκοντα

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ε

μὲν τρήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλης δὲ αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐγευσθήσαν οἱ ταῦτα γνώντες, ἀλλ’ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπολυορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ οὐκέτι ἤθελε παρα-
5 πλεῖον, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ δύντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τε Αἰγίναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἀνδρον. γνώντες δ’ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλην Χαβρίον ἤγομενον ἕκαστῷ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὔτω παρεκομίσθη. παρα-
62 10 σκευαζόμενοι δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοωτοὺς, ἐδείχθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίζοντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ὁ δὲ πλοίων ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἐπιτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνα τὰ
15 χωρία συμμαχίας πόλεις, ἀμα δὲ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἰκανὸν πρὸς ἐαυτούς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι μέντοι ὅργυξομενοι 63
tοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμοι εξε-
πεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξηκοντὰ πληρώ-
σαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεος ἐλόμενοι. ἄτε δὲ
20 εἰς τὰς Θῆβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ’ ἐν
φ’ Κλεόμβροτος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὔτ’ ἐν φ’ Τιμόθεος
περιπληύσει, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς
περιοχὰς πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτάς ἀνελάβαντον. ὁ μέντοι 64
Τιμόθεος περιπληύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὕφ’ ἐαυτῷ ἐποιή-
25 σατο’ οὐ μέντοι ἴμπραποδιστο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφιγάδευσεν
οὐδὲ νόμος μετέστησεν’ ἐξ δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις
πάσας εὑμενεστέρας ἐσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακε-
65 δαμοῦναι ναυτικοί, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μᾶλα θρασὺς
ἄνδρα, ἐξεπεμψαν δὲ ἐπιδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθεῶν ναῦς,
30 οὐκ ἔμελλεν, καίπερ ἐξ νεῶν αὐτῷ ἀπονοεῖν τῶν Ἀμβρακι-
ώτιδῶν, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντῆκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἐξῆκαντα

9 τοῦ B: om. cet. 13 ἐσεθαὶ Büchsenschütz: ἐσοιτο codd.
21 ἐτεῖ Schäfer: ἐτε codd.
οὖσαι ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν 66 ἡττήθη, καὶ τροπαίον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἐξ τριήρεις, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλυζείαν ἐπλευσεν, ἐνθα ἤν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ὡς ἀντανήγε, τροπαίον αὐτῷ κάκευνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτω νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἂς τε εἰχὲν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρῆ-ματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηδεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδείτο, ἵνα πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

9 πλέον ἢ D VF₂
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. Ἡ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὡς δ’ αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσουν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεομήροτόν τε τῶν βασιλέα καὶ μετὰ αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τούτων τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας 2 άφικνείτα πρὸς τὸ κοινὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδᾶμας Φαρσάλιος. οὕτως δὲ καὶ εἰς τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μᾶλλα ηὐδοκίμει, καὶ εἰς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τῇ κάγαθος εἶναι ὅστε καὶ στασιάζαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέβηντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν 15 λαμβάνοντι, δόσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἰς τὰ ἰερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κακεῖνος μέντοι 3 ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τὴν τε ἀκραν φυλάττων διέσωξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ’ ἱσαυρόν. καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐνδείησεις, παρ’ ἑαυτὸ προστίθει, ὅποτε δὲ περὶ 20 γένουτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἤν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενος τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τῶν Θετταλικῶν τρόπον. οὕτως οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.

4 βοηθήσεως β: βοηθήσεως cct. 19 ἐνδεήσεις Dind.: ἐνδεήσις εἰς codd. 5 δυνάσσονται DV pr. C post δὲ add. τι Κοβέτ
Εγώ, δό ἄνδρες Λακεδαίμονι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ἄν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὑμῖν μεμνημέθα προγόνων, ἀξιω, εάν τε τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέναι, εάν τε τι χαλέπων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνιστήται, σημαίνει. ἀκούστε μὲν ὅσῳ ἐν ὁδῷ ὁτι καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσωνος ὄνομα: ὁ γὰρ ἀνήρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει 5 μεγάλην καὶ ὄνομαστὸς ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπουδᾶς ποιησά-
μενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἴπε τάδε: "Οτι μὲν, δό Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἀκούσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν [Φάρσαλον] δυνάμην ἄν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστι σοι ἐκ τῶν δυνάμεων. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείοτας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις 10 συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἑνάντια ἐμοὶ στρατευμένων. καὶ μὴν οἰσθά γε ὅτι ἔξενοι ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἔξακισιλίους, οἶς, ὡς ἔγω ὀμαί, οὐ-
δεμιά πόλις δύναι 'ἀν ὥστε διάκρισι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλθοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ 15 τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προσελθόντος ἡδη ταῖς ἰλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὖν ἀκμάζουσα· συμμασκούσι γε μὴν μάλα ὀλγοὶ τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει: παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὖδεὶς 6 μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἰκανὸς ἐστιν ἐμοὶ ἵσα ποιεῖν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρη πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταληθῆ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα 20 μάλα εὐφρωστος καὶ ἀλλὰς φιλόπονος. καὶ τοῖς τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πείραις λαμβάνει καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· ἤγειται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πη στρατεύτα. καὶ οὐς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ἔξενων αἰσθάνεται, ἐκβάλλει, οὐς δ' ἂν ὀραίοι προς ἔρωτος καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχουσα πρὸς 25 τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίας, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίας, καὶ ἀλλοί δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε ἑραπελίαις καὶ περὶ ταφᾶς κόσμῳ· ἄστε πάντες ἰσασιν οἱ παρ' ἐκεῖνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοίς ἄρετη ἐντιμώτατον 7 τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονιστατον παρέχεται. ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι 30 εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκους ἡδη αὐτῷ εἶναι Μαρακοῖ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ

1 ἐγὼ μὲν CF 8 Φάρσαλον del. Schäfer 22 αὐτῷ Stephanus
23 τοι MD 27 primum καὶ om. M D 22 ἐγὼ μὲν C
Ἀλκέτας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἡσείρῳ ὑπαρχος· ὡστε, ἐφη, τί ἄν ἐγὼ φοβοῦμενοι οὐ ῥᾴδιως ἄν ύμας οἰούμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις ἐμοῦ ἀπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἥδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῦν Δία 5 τῷ παντὶ κρείττον μοι δοκεῖ ἐναι ἐκόντας ύμας μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ἤμεις τ’ ἄν βουλεύοισθε τ’ ἄν δύναις κακὸν ἐμοί, ἐγὼ τ’ ἄν ύμας ὡς ἀσθενεστάτους βουλούμην ἐναι’ εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ’ ἐμοὶ γένοισθε, δήλου ὅτι αὐξομεν ἄν τ’ ὑμαὶ δυναίμεθα ἅληλους.

10 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὁ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σή πατρὶς εἰς σ’ ἐντóτι ἀποβλέπει· ἕαν δὲ μοι φιλικὸς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσῃς, ύπισχυόμαι σοι, ἐφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστον σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετ’ ἐμὲ καταστήσεως. οὕνω δὲ πραγμάτων τά δεύτερα σοι δίδωμι ἁκονε, καὶ μηδὲν πίστευε μοι ὅ τ’ ἄν μὴ λογιζομένως
15 σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνεται. ὅν κυνό τούτο μὲν ἔδοξον ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλους προσγενομένης καὶ τῶν ἐν ύμῶν ἱρμημένων πόλεως εὑπετῶς ἄν ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἀπάντων κατασταίρην· ὅς γε μή, ὅταν ταγεύσῃ Θετταλία, εἰς ἔξακισχίλιοι μὲν εἰ ἰππεύουτες γίγνονται, ὀπλίται δὲ πλείους ἡ μύριοι καθίστανται.

20 δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὅρων σώματί ἄν αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελεῖτο, οὐκ εἰναι ἔθνους ὅποιῳ ἄν ἀξιοφαίοιν ὑπήκοοι εἰναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάθης γε μὴν γῆς ὅους Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλω ἕθη ὑπήκοα μὲν ἔστων, ὅταν ταγὸς ἑνώδε καταστή· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταῦτη
25 ἀκοντισταί εἰσιν· ὡστε καὶ πελταστικῷ εἰκὸς ὑπερέχει τῇ ἡμετέραιν δύναμιν. καὶ μὴν Βωυτοὶ γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες 10 ὁσοι Λακεδαιμονίους πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσι μοι σύμμαχοι· καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἄξιον ὑπήρχον ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐλευθερὸν αὐτός. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὐ ὁδί ὅτι πάντα 30 ποιήσαιεν ἄν ὡστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέσθαι· ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ

2 καταστρέψεσθαι B C F 7 δύναισθε Castalio: δύνασθε codd.
10 γιγνώσκω μὲν] γιγνώσκομεν B 26 ἡμετέραιν B M V F 27 δοι] of Cobet


VI.1 ἙΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

εἰς ῥᾴδιν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχήν παραλαβεῖν ἀν. εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἐφη, καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἐνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τὰ ἔλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δῆπον πλεῖον ἐκείνων ἰκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μην ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθηναίοι ἡ ἡμᾶς εἰκός μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστας, τούς γε μην ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον ἦμᾶς ἰκανωτέρους εἰκός εἶναι τοὺς δὲ ἄφθονων καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίοις τοὺς μηδέ αὐτοῖς ἰκανῶν ἔχοντας, ἀν μὴ πρώτονοι; καὶ χρήματι γε εἰκός δῆπον ἡμᾶς 10 ἀφθονωτέρους χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησώδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἡπειρωτικὰ ἐθνη καρποφόρους. πάντα γὰρ δῆπον τὰ κύκλω φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταχεύσῃ τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν. οὕτω δὲ δῆπον ὦτι καὶ βασιλέα οἱ Περσῶν οὐ νῆσος ἀλλ' ἡπειρον καρποφόρων πλοιοκτήτων ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν. δὲ ἐγὼ ὑπή-15 κοῦν ποιήσασθαι ἐτί εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγούμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τούς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἐνος μᾶλλον δουλεῖαν ἢ ἀλκῆν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ υφ' οίσας ὀνομάζεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσεως καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγη-13 σιλάνου εἰς πάν ἀφίκετο βασιλεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος 20 αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην ὦτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὡς τοὺς διαφωτίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μηδέν ἔχονται ἐγκαλεῖν, τούτ', ἐφη, ἄπορον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινεῖσθαι με καὶ εἰπὼν ὧτι μᾶλλον ἐκτέον μου εἶναι, ὦτι τοιοῦτος εἰναι, ἀφίκει μοι ἐλθοῦντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς 25 λέγει τὰληθῆ, ὦτι διανοοῦτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίαν, εἰ μὴ πεισομέθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειν παρ' ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν σοι, ἐφη, διδώσων ὡςτε σε πείθειν ἰκανὴν πέμπ-πειν συμμαχίαν ὃς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀγ', ἐφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα δ' τι ἀν ἀποβαίνῃ εκ τοῦ πολέμου ἂν δὲ σοι μὴ 30 δοκῶσιν ἰκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἦνον ἄνεγκλητος ἂν δικὰ ἤνων

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5 VI.1

εἰς εἰ τῇ πατρίδι ςε τιμᾷ καὶ ςον πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα; περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἦκω πρὸς ςυμαὶ καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα 14 ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς τε ὅρῳ καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω ὀὕτως ἑχειν, ὡς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς εἰ μὲν πέμψετε ἐκεῖσε 5 δύναμιν μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θεταλοῖς ἰκανὴν ἔδοκεν ἐως ἵνα Ἰάσσωνα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πάσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὃποι ποτὲ προβῆσται ἢ τοῦ ἄνδρος ὀὕτως· εἰ δὲ νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἱδώτην ὀφεῖσθε ἀρκέσεων, συμβουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἑχειν. εὗ 15 10 γὰρ ἵστε, πρὸς τε μεγάλην ἐσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα ὃς φράννοις μὲν ὀὔτως ἐστὶν ὣς ὁ πόλεμος ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ λαυνάνεως καὶ ὢσα φθάνειν καὶ ὡσα βιαζέσθαι ἐπεξερέει ὡς μάλα ἀφαιρετάνει. ἰκανὸς γὰρ ἵστε καὶ νυκτὶ ὀσαπερ ἡμέρα χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὡσαν σπεῦδῃ, ἀριστον καὶ δεῖπνον ποιήσεις ἁμα τοῖς ἀυτῶν ᾗς τε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασι 15 20 πάντες ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἓ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ γίγνεται. καὶ μήν ἐγκρατεῖστατόσ γ' ἐστὶν ὄν ἐγὼ ὑδά 16 τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ὑδωρίων. ὅστε οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἄσχολαι ἑξει τὸ μῆ [eis tο] πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ δεόμενον. ὢμείς οὖν σκεφάσθεις ἀνέπαι πρὸς ἔμε, ὀσαπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὑπολα 25 δυνηθεσθῇ τε καὶ μέλλετε ποιήσειν.

'Ο μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν ἄνε- 17 βάλοντο τῇ ἀπόκρισιν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραὶ καὶ τῇ τρίτη λογι- σάμενοι τὰς τε ἐξω μόρας ὅσα αὐτοῖς εἶν καὶ τὰς περὶ

1 eii Madvig: εν codd. συ] σοι Dind.: σον Keller πράττεις
VC Keller 4 ὥς ante μη transponit Keller 6 δοκεῖν] δοκοῦσαν
Stephanus 10 ἵστε B: ἵστε ὅτι cet. 13 νυκτὶ δοσαπερ Dind.: νυκτὶ ἀπερ V: νυκτὸς ἀπερ cet. 15 ποιεῖσθαι B M D V F, unde πορεύομενοι pro ποιημένοις Pantaizes 17 μετ' αὐτοῦ B: μετ' αὐτοῦ cet. 23 eis τὸ del. Dind. 26 ἀνεβάλλοντο B C F
Λακεδαίμονα προς τας [ἐξω] τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὄμορους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρώνατο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν δύναντο ἰκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμφαι ἑπικουρίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπίστα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσον ὅτι δύνατο ἀρίστα τά 18 τε ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως. κακείνως μεντοὶ ἐπανέσας 5 τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἔδειτο τὸν Ἰάσωνος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθέμενοις διασφάζῃ τοὺς δὲ ἐαυτῷ παῖδας ἐδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν πείσας ἐκούσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσει καὶ ταγὸν συν-10 καταστήσει αὐτῶν. ὥσ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωσαν ἄλληνοι, εὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἦγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων 19 ὀμολογούμενως ταγὸς τῶν Θεταλῶν καθεστήκει. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διετάζειν ἰππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατῇ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἰππεῖς μὲν 15 σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείον ἡ ὁπτακυσχίλιον, ὅπληται δὲ ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττουσ δυσμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἰκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθηκαί ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμήσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοὺς περιοίκους πᾶν καὶ τὸν φόρον ὀσπερ ἔτι Σκόπτα τεταγμένος 20 ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραινετον ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνεμοι, θευ εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσωνος πράξεις ἐξεβην. 21

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Ὁθβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσατε εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολές. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὔξανο- 25 μένους μὲν ὀράντες διὰ σφάς τοὺς Ὁθβαίους, χρήματα τε οὐ συμβαλλόμενους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκυκλομένου καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς καὶ ληστείαις ἐξ Αἰγύπτων καὶ φυλακαίς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο. 30

Εὐθὺς δ᾿ ἐκεῖθεν ὅποι τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ 2 δόγμα τῆς πόλεως ἔποιον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἷκαδε ὡς εἰρήνης οὕσης· δ᾿ ἡ ἀμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακύνθων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ 3 τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθων πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οὐκ ἐπευθύνοτες ἐξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθὺς οἱ Λακε- δαιμονίοι ἄδικεῖν τῇ ἡγούμεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικόν πάλιν κατασκεύαζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ 5 αὐτῆς τῇ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἄμβρακιας καὶ Ἡλίδου καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαίας καὶ Ἐπι- δαύρου καὶ Τροιζήνου καὶ Ἐρμύνος καὶ Ἀλίων. ἐπιστή- 4 σαντες δὲ ναυαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευσαν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελείσθαι τῶν κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἐπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες 5 ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ᾿ Ἀθηναίους εἶναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῶ τὸ 6 ναυτικὸν, ἐπέλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθο- φόροις σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίους μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ στρατευομένους οὐκ ἑλάττους χιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, 10 ἐκράτει τῇ γῆς καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐξειρασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκήσεις καὶ οἰνόνδες κατασκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρών· ὡστ’ ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τούτο τρυφής ἐξθέον ὡστ’ οὐκ ἔθελεν πίεω, εἰ μὴ ἄνθοςμια εἴη. καὶ ἀνδράπωδα δὲ καὶ βοσκῆμα 20 πάμπολλα ἠλισκέτο εκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἐπειτα δὲ κατεστρατο- 7 πεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχουσι τῆς πόλεως ὡς πέντε στάδια, πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ὅπως ἀποτέμνουτο ἐνείθεν, εἰ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κέρκυραίων ἔξοι. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τάπι θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνθεὺς δὲ τοῖς 25 τῷ προσπλέουντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ διακολύμει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι, ὅπως μὴ χειμῶν κωλύοι,
VI. ii  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

8 ἐφώρμει. ἐπολιάρκει μὲν ὃ δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσῆγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ναυκρατείσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν καὶ πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε ἐδέωντο καὶ ἐδιδασκόν ὃς μέγα 5 μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβάλοιεν ἃν, εἰ Κερκύρας στηριζθεῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολέμιοις μεγάλην ἃν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν· ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλὴν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὗτε ναῦς οὗτε χρήματα πλεῖω ἃν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Κερκυρὰν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κορυθηακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τούτον καθῆκονσι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τὴν τῆς Λακωνίκην χώραν βλάπτευεν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελο-

10 πόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσατε δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι εὐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμεληθείν εἰναι, καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κησικλέα εἰς ἔξακοσίους ἔχουσα πελταστάς, 15 Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεηθησάν συνδιαβιβάσας τούτους. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν νυκτὸς διακομισθέντες ποὺ τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναὸς πληροῦν,

12 Τιμόθεου δ᾽ αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἔχειροτύνησαν. δ᾽ ὅ οἱ δυνά-μενοι αὐτόθεν τὰς ναὰς πληρώσας, ἐπὶ νῆσου πλεῦσας 20 ἐκεῖθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν, οὐ ψαλλὼν ἤγοιμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναὰς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζοντες αὐτῶν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τῶν περίπλοις χρόνου, συγγυνῆς οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παύσατε αὐτῶν

13 τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην ἀνθαίρονται. δ᾽ ὅ ἐπεὶ κατέστη 25 στρατηγός, μάλα δὲ ὃς τὰς ναὰς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τῶς τριφ-ράχους ἤγαγακε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ ποῦ τῶν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίναν, λέγων ὡς εῶς τάκει καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναὸς ἀποτέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοτο αὐτῷ αἱ 30

Δαπασαν περὶ ἐξδομήκοντα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ 15 Κερκυραίοι οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὡστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀυτομολούντων ἐκήρυξέν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπρᾶσθαι ὅστις αὐτο-
μολούη. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἦττομόδουλον, τελευτῶν καὶ
5 μαστιγίων ἀπέπεμπε. οἱ μὲντοι ἐνδοθεὶ τοὺς γε δούλους
οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τείχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἐξω ἀπέ-
θηκον. ὁ δὲ Μνᾶσιππος ὅρων ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζε τε ὅσον 16
οὐκ ἦδη ἔχεων τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τούς μισθοφόρους ἐκα-
νύρχει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθουσε ἐπεποίκει,
10 τοῖς δὲ (μέν)ουσι καὶ δοὺν ἦδη μηνοὶ ἀφεὶλε τὸν μισθὸν,
οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ
πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπεμποῦν, ὅτε καὶ
διαποντά τῆς στρατείας ὀνῆς. κατεδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν 17
πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς τε φυλακὰς χείρον ἥ πρῶσθεν
15 φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
πους, ἑπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς
dὲ κατέκοψαν, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ὁ Μνᾶσιππος, αὐτός τε 18
ἐξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἴχεν ὁπλίται ἀπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ
tοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιαρχοὺς ἐξάγειν ἔκελευε τοὺς
20 μισθοφόρους. ἀποκρυμαμένων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ 19
ῥάδιον εἴῃ μὴ διδόντας τάπινθεία πειθομένους παρέχειν,
tοὺς μὲν τινὰς βακτρία, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω
μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτῶν συνεξῆλθον
πάντες· ὥσπερ ἦκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει. ὁ δὲ ἐπεί παρε-
20 25 τάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμιῶν τρεφά-
μενοι ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπει ἐγκός τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο,
ἀνεστρέφοντο τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μιμήματων εβαλλον καὶ
ηκόντυζον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκδραμόντες καθὸ ἐτέρας πύλας ἐπιτί-
θεντα ἄθροι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, 21
30 ἀσθενεῖς νομίζαντες τὸ ἄκρον τῆς φάλαιγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρε-

3 πεπρᾶσθαι Cobet 5 γε C: τε cet. 10 μένος Breiten-
bach: τιτι Bächenschütz: οὕτως codd. τόν om. B 19 alterum
tοὺς om. M D 21 διδόντα C 25 τὰs om. M 26 ἐπεδίωκεν
Stephanus: ἐπεδίωκεν codd. 27 ἀνεστρέφον V C fort. recte

18*
VI. ii  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

φευ ἐπειρώντο. ὡς δ' ἤρξατο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὡς φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν· καὶ οἱ ἑχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ἀρμαν· ὁ δὲ Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένωι οὐκ ἐδύνατο βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκεκεμένους, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλέειπτο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. 5 τέλος δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄθροι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἡδὲ μάλα ὅλοις οὐσι. καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὅρωντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξήγαγαν. ἐπει δ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἔδωκον ἡδὴ ἀπαντες· ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἀν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλείν σὺν τῷ χαρακόματι, εὶ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραίον 10 τε ὄχλου ἱδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραποῦτων καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνδρα- πόδων, οὐθένετες ὀφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀπεστρέφουτο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαίον τε ἱστασαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἑρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγένηστο, οἱ δ' ἐξω εἰς πάση δὴ ἀθμία 15 ἣσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἰφικράτης τε οὐσον όμως ἡδή

25 παρεῖ, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ οὖν ναύδ ἐπλήρωσαν. Ὅπερ- μένης δὲ, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστολισμός τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὡν, τὸ τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὄσον ἤν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ περι- πλέυσας πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα γεμίσας τῶν τε 20 ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς περισσωθεὶσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν

26 διεφύλαττο τὸ χαράκωμα· τέλος δὲ καὶ οὕτωι μάλα τεταραγ- μένοι ἀναβάςτες ἐπὶ τὰς τροχήρεις ἀπέπλευσαν, πολιν μὲν στίνου, πολιν δὲ οὖνος, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενώντας στρα- 25 τιώτας καταλιπώντες· δευτέρως γὰρ ἐπέφοβηντο μὴ καταληφ- θείνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς Ἀθικάδα ἀπεσώθησαν·

27 ὃ δὲ Ἰφικράτης ἐπει ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἀμα μὲν ἐπλειει, ἀμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο· 30

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5

εὖθυς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ κατέλυσεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων 5 καὶ τοὺς ἀκατίους δὲ, καὶ εἰ γιγαντώματα ἐπὶ, ὅλγα ἐχρῆτο τῇ δὲ κατῃ τῶν πλοῶν ποιούμενος ἁμεινὸν τε τὰ σῶματα ἐχειν τοὺς ἄνθρας καὶ ἁμεινὸν τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν

5 ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὁπῇ μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ 28 στράτευμα ἡ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἀν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατὰ ταύτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ἀν καὶ ἀντιπρόφοροι καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει ἀνθραμάλλασθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὲ νικητήριον ἢν τὸ πρῶ-10 τοὺς καὶ ὅδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἰ τὸν ἄλλον ἔδεοντο, καὶ πρώτους ἀριστήσας· τοὺς δ’ ὅστατοις ἀφικομένους μεγάλη θημά ἢν τὸ τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τοὺς καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἀμα ἐδει, ἐπεὶ σημάνησε συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρῶτοις ἀφικομου-15 μένους καθ’ ἰσχύταν ἀπαντα ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τελευταίους διὰ τὰ σπουδῆς. φυλακάς γε μὴν, εἰ τὸχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστο-20 ποιούμενον, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὡσπερ προσήκει, καθίστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ αὐρόμενοι αὖ τοὺς ἱστοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλέουν οὕτω καθεώρη* ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὅμαλον, ἀφ’ ὑψηλοτέρου καθορώντες. ὅπων δὲ δειπνοποιοῦτο 25 καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νῦκτο τῷ οὐκ ἔκαι, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἣν μηδεὶς λάθη προσιών. πολλάκις δὲ, εἰ εὐδία εἶν, εὐθὺς δειπνήσας ἀνή-20 γετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὖρα φέρου, θέοντες ἄμα ἀνεπαύνοτο· εἰ δὲ ἑλάσσετε δεό, κατὰ μέρος τοὺς ναῦτας ἀνέπαινεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς 30 μεθ’ ἡμέραι πλοῖοι ἀπὸ σημείων τοτε μὲν ἐπὶ κέρων ἤγε, τοτε δ’ ἐπὶ φαλαγγος· ὡστε ἄμα μὲν ἐπίλευν, ἄμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἰσχύτατος καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν ἑπ’ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς φῶνο, κατεχομένην βάλατταν ἀφικομοί. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἱρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν·

2 ἀκατέργασις cit. Sauppe 5 ὅπωι B V C F ὅπωι Cobet 6 ἐπανήγαγεν Schneider 7 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπειτ’ Bothe ἅρ] αὐχ Rehendantz: del. Breitenbach 8 ἀφεὶσ Hartman 13 σημαύνεις Leclerc: σημα- 


διὰ δὲ τὸ τάναγκαία μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας
31 ἐφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέραινε. περὶ δὲ τῶν
Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐπὶ ἄρχαναι ἄν τῆς Δακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς
Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἰλείαν δὲ ἀφικόμενον καὶ παραπλέουσας
τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰχθῶν καλούμενον ὕφρωσατο. 5
τῇ δ' ὑπεραλή ὑπεθύνειν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτως
καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τῶν πλοίων ποιούμενος ὡς, εἴ δέοι, πάντα
όστα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένοι ναυμαχοῖ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ
Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἥκηκοι, ὑπόπτευε δὲ μὴ
ἀπάτης ἑνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἑπεὶ μέντοι ἄφικετο 10
eis tēn Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταύθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπτύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυ
tὸ στράτευμα.

32 Ὁδὰ μὲν οὖν ὃτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσεων
ἀνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ,
ὅτι ἑτεί ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἑνθα τοὺς πολεμίους ναυμαχήσεως 15
φέτο, ἡμέρτο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀνεπιστήμονας εἰναι
tῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετῶν βραδύτερόν τι
ἀφικέσθαι.

33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνία πόλεις
ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεί δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὃτι 20
προσπλέοιν δέκα τρῆρες παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσουσα τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἔλθων καὶ σκεφάμενος τῆς χώρας
ἄθεν τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δύνατον ἰὼν ὄραν καὶ τοὺς σημαί
νούντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφαίνει εἰναι, ἐνταύθα κατέστησε
τοὺς σκόπους. κάκεωσις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλέωντων τε 25
καὶ ἀρμοῦντων ὡς δέοι σημαίνει· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριήραρχων
προσέταξεν ἐκκοσιν, ὡς δεήσει, ἑπεὶ κηρύξειν, ἀκολοθεῦν,
ei δὲ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσει, προείπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην.
ἐτεί δ' ἐσθημάνθησαν προσπλέουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύχθη, ἄξια
ἐγένετο θέος ἢ σπουδή· συνεῖς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ ὄρομοι τῶν 30
μελλόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς. πλεύσας δὲ ἐνθα

4 σφαγέας codd.; corr. Stephanus  5 ἰχθῶν codd.  10 ἑνεκα
B: ἐνεκερ ced.  14 ἀνθρωποι F pr.  16 ὅπως] ὅμωs Grosser:
ὡς Morus
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5

VI. ii

ήσαν αἱ πολέμιαι τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ 'Ρόδιος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκείνος 5 μὲν οὖν καὶ περ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἰφικράτους ναυσὶν ὅμως ἀπ᾿ ἐφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακούσων νῆες ἀπασάν ἐάλωσαν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας. ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἐλκὼν κατηγάγετο εἰς τῶν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν συνεβή ἐκάστῳ τάκτων ἄργυριον 10 ἀποτείσαν, πλὴν Κριώππου τοῦ ἄρχωτος τοῦτον δ᾿ ἐφυλάττειν, ὡς ἑ πραξόμενοι πᾶμπολλα χρήματα ἡ ὡς πωλήσουν. κάκεινος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαίρετο θανάτῳ ἀποβηθήσει, τοὺς δ᾿ ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους ἐγγυτάς δεξάμενοι τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας 15 τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ πλείστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὅπλάτας ἐξων διέβασεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλάις πόλεσιν ἐπεκούρει, εἰ τίς τι δέουσι, Θυρεύσῃ δὲ, μάλα καὶ ἄνδρας ἀλκίμων καὶ χώριν καρτερὸν ἐχοῦσιν, ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας 20 ναυτικῶν προσλαβόν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνεπίκουτα ναῦς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράζατο, τὰ μὲν παρ᾿ ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ᾿ ἄκονων ἐπείτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν τε τῶν Δακεδαμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ᾿ ἐκείνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὖσῶν τὰς μὲν 25 ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθόμενοι πολεμεῖν.

'Ἐγὼ μὲν ὃ ἡ ταύτη πρὸς τὰς στρατηγίας τῶν Ἰφικράτους οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐπαγωγή, ἐπείτα καὶ τὸ προστεθεῖσθαι κελεύσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλιστρατῆς τῶν δημηγόρων, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὡντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὴν νομούμενον. εἶτε γὰρ φρόνιμος μοῦ αὐτοῦς ἢγούμενοι εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, σὼφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴητε ἀντιπάλους νομίζειν,
οὔτω θρασέως μήτε καταραθημάτων μήτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν 
φαίνεσθαι, μεγαλοφρονοῦντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ 
ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κάκεινος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾿ ἔπραττεν.

III Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὅροιντες ἐκ τῆς 
Βουωτίας Πλαταιᾶς, φίλους ὤντας, καὶ καταπεθυγότας 5 
πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἱκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιμένων 
ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπήμων τοὺς Θηβαῖους, ἀλλὰ 
pολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἐσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως 
ἐχειν ἐλογίζοντο κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἔπραττον 
οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔπει ἐώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς 
φίλους ἄρχαιον τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ᾿ ἐν 
tῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανί-
2 ζοῦτα. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενοι ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην 
pοιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θῆβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρα-
καλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βουλοῦτο, εἰς Λακεδαιόμονα περὶ 15 
eἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξεπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ 
tῶν ἀιρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου, Αὐτόκλης Στρομβιχίδου, 
Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισοῦδοτος,
3 Μελάνωπος, Δυκαῖος. [ἔπει δὲ προσήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλη-
tους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους·] <καὶ> 20 
Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν ὕποσχόμενος γὰρ 
Ἰφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφεῖς, ἢ χρήματα πέμψει τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ 
eἰρήνην ποιῆσε, οὔτως Ἀθήνης τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ 
eἰρήνης· ἔπει δὲ κατέτησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν 
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν 25 
Καλλίας ὁ δαρδαύχος. ἦν δὲ οὕτως οἶος μηδὲν ἦττον ἤδεσθαι 
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπαινοῦμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἡ ἤρξατο ὡδὲ 
pως.

1 οὔτω θρασέως] οὔτως ἐθρασεὶ ὡς Hertlein: οὔτω θρασέως ἔπραττεν ὡς Keller 
kataraθumión: kataraθμόν μηδέν] μη 
δῆ B 2 μεγάλα φρονοῦστος BMDV: μέγα φρονοῦτος Cobet 
6 αὐτοὺς spir.eras.F: αὐτοὺς cet. 14 ποιείσθαι B: ποιήσασθαι cet. 
17 Στρομβιχίδου Leonid.: Στρομβιχίδος codd. 19-20 ἔπει ... 
syμμάχουs del. Cobet 20 τοὺς syμμάχουs B: τῶν syμμάχων cet. 
kal add. Köppen 22 ἀφίει B 27 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ B δῆ] δ’ Simon
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5
VI. iii

"Ω ἀνδρεὶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ύμῶν οὐκ 4 ἐγὼ μοῦνε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς πατήρ πατρίφαν ἔχων παρεδόθων τῷ γένει. Βουλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ύμῖν δηλώσαι, ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκεῖνη γὰρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλεις ἕτοι, στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀφεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἡγεῖται ἐπιθυμήσει, εἰρήνηποιοῦσι ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν δὲς ἦδη ἤλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφότεραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμεν καὶ ύμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν εἰρήνην νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἥκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν διαλλαγής 10 τυχεῖν. ὅρω γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλὰ μὲν ύμῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἀδικοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶι καὶ Θεσπίῳ ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἄλληλοις ἡ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνον μὲν ὃπον ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἰ 15 πολέμου αναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνώμονοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν πᾶν τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἰπή εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιοι μὲν 6 οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὁπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἄλληλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριστόλεμοι ὁ ἡμετερὸς πρόγονος τὰ Δήμιτρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἰερὰ πρώτους ξένους δεῖ Ηρακλεῖ τῇ τῷ 20 ὑμετέρῳ ἄρχηγετῇ καὶ Διοσκοῦρου τῶν ὑμετέρους πολίτων, καὶ τοῦ Δήμιτρος δὲ καρπὸν εἰς πρόθυμη τῇ Πελοπόννησος στέρμα δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιοι ἦν ύμαι, παρ' ὅν ἐλάβετε στέρματα, τοὺς τούτων πολεμικοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἡμῶν παραδόντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οὐς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὡς πλείστην 25 τοῦτοι ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ὁρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπραμένων ἐστὶ πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ χρῆ ἄρχεσθαι δὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σκολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύσεις ἢ δυνατῶν τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τούτων Ἀὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι 7 30 ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἐγώρευεν: "Ἀνδρεὶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἀ
VI. iii

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

μέλλω λέγειν ὦ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῶν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἄγνοιῶ·
 ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οὕτως βούλονται, ἢν ἂν ποιήσωνται φιλῶν,
 ταύτην ὡς πλείστων χρόνων διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλή-
 λοὺς τὰ αἰτία τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτο-
 νόμους τὰς πόλεις χρὴ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιστῶν ἂ
 τῆς αὐτονομίας. συνυπήθησθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας
 πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὦτοι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγήσθε.

8 καίτοι τί τούτο αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους
 ὅποι ἀνακωουόμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἡγεῖσθε·
 ὅστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρα-
 τεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἕτε δὲ τὸ πάντων
 ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας,
 ἕνθα δὲ τρικαυναρχίας καὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμε-
 λείσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἀρχωσίν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως δύνωνται βίω
 κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὅστ’ ἐοίκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἥ

9 πολίτειαι ἡδόμενοι. καὶ ἄτε μὲν βασιλεῖς προσέπτατεν
 αὐτονόμους τὸς πόλεως εἶναι, μάλα γυνώσκοντες ἔφαινεσθε
 ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐάσωσεν οἱ Ἡθβαῖοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεως ἀρχεῖν
 τε έαυτῆς καὶ ὦς ἂν βούλητα λόμοις χρησθαί, ὦ ποιή-
 σουιν κατὰ τὰ βασιλεός γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε 20
 τὴν Καρδελαν, οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς Ἡθβαίοις ἐπετρεπέτε αὐτο-
 νόμους εἶναι. δεὶ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι
 οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἄξιον τῶν ὅμαλῶν τυχανεῶν,
 αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἃν πλείστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας
 φαίνεσθαι.

10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδο-
 μένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε.
 μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· 'Ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὲν, ὡς
 ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἄμαρτήματα καὶ ἂς
 ὁμοῦ καὶ ἂς ὁμοῦ ἔγν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν 30
 οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γυνώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἄμαρτάνουσιν οὐδέποτε

4 φατε ὃς Σ 5 χρή εἶναι] χρὴναι Μ 7 ἡγήσθε M Dcorr.: ἡγεῖσθε cet. 16 ἡδομένους Cobet 18 ἐάσωσεν B V pr.: ἐάσωσεν cct. 21 αὐτοῖς] αὖ τοῖς C επετρέπετε F2: ἐπετρέπετε cct.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5
VI. iii

ἐτὶ χρηστεύον· ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελεύτα. ὁκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ εὐποροτεροὶ ἐνίστε γίγνεσθαι ἀνθρωποὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγγυε 11
5 ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγωνιῶν πραχθέντα ἐστὶν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γινόμενα· ὦν ἢ καὶ ἡ καταληφθείσα ἐν Θήβαιας Καδμείας νῦν γοῦν, ἥσοι ἐσπονδάσατε αὐτούμοις τὰς πόλεις γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδικήθησαν οἱ Θήβαιοι, ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνος γεγένηται. ὡστε πεπαιδευμένους ἦμας ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν
10 ἀκερδῆς ἐστὶ νῦν ἐπιτίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλία ἐστεθαῖ. ἡ δὲ βουλόμενοι τινες ἀποτρέπεις τὴν 12
eἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
φοβούμενοι μὴ 'Ανταλκίδας ἐλθῇ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως
χρῆματα, διὰ τοὺθ ἥκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦν.
15 βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δῆτον ἐγγαυεῖ πᾶσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
πόλεις αὐτούμοις εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνῳ λέγουντες τε καὶ πράττοντες τι ἄν φοβοίμεθα βασιλέα; ἡ τούτο οἴεται τοις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος βουλεῖται χρῆματα ἀναλώσας ἀλλούς μεγάλους ποίησαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἡ ἐγνω ἀριστα εἶναι,
20 ταῦτα ἐαυτῷ πεπράχθαι; εἰεν. τι μὴν ἥκομεν; ὅτι μὲν 13
οὖν οὐκ ἀποροῦντες, γνοίτε ἄν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τά
κατὰ θάλατταν ἱδώντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν
τῷ παρώντι. τι μὴν ἐστὶν; εὔδηλον ὅτι εἰ τῶν συμμάχων
τῶν οὐκ ἄρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἡ ὑμῖν ἄρεστὰ. ἦσος δὲ
25 καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ὅτι δὲν ἕνεκα περισσῶσατε ἠμᾶς ἡ ὀρθῶς
ἐγνωμεν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι. ἣν δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἐτι 14
ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δῆτον πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ
ὕμετερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμετέρα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει
οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν ἡμεῖς φίλοι
30 γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν ἐκκότως χαλεπῶν τι προσδοκήσαμεν;

καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τὸς δὲ ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἵκαιος γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπήσαι; κατὰ θάλαττάν γε μὴν τὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς
15 βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι ἀεὶ ποτε γίγνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύουται πάντες
ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὖθις ποτὲ 5
εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δὲι ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνων ἀνα-
μένειν, ἐως ἂν ὑπὸ πλῆθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἡ
οὐχ ὅσ τάχιστα πρῶ τι ἄνηκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην
16 ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔθ ἐκεῖνον ἔγγυε ἐπανῷ οὕτως
ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νεανικότατε ἦδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαι 10
ἐχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὡστε οὐ πρότερον πάουνται,
πρὶν ἂν ἦττηθέντες τῷ ἄσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδὲ γε τῶν
κυβερνῶν οὕτως αὐτ' ἐαν ἐν τι ἐπίτυχωσι, περὶ δυπλασίων
κυβερνουσιν ὀρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τῶν πλείους ἀπὸ-
17 ρους παντάπασι γυνομένους. ἃ χρῆ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὀρώντας 15
ἐὰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἁγώνα μηδέποτε καταστήματι, ὡστ' ἡ πάντα
λαβεῖν ἡ πάντ' ἀποβάλειν, ἐως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ ἐυτυ-
χοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι. οὕτῳ γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν
ὅτι ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὃτι ἡμᾶς ἐτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα
χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφομέθα.
20
18 Δοξάστων δὲ τοῦτων καλῶς εἶπειν, ἐγηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τῷ εἰρήνῃ, ἐφ' ὃ τοὺς τῇ ἀρμοστὰς
ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τά τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τά
ναυτικά καὶ τά πεζικά, τάς τέ πόλεις αὐτούμονοι ἐναν. εἶ
δὲ τις παρὰ ταύτα ποιοῦν, τοὺς μὲν βουλόμενου βοηθεῖν ταῖς
25 ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἰναὶ ἐνορκοῦ
19 συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. ἐπὶ τούτους ὁμοσαν Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι μὲν υπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ
οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἔκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δ' ἐν

1 post ὑμῶν add. ἡμῖν Hirschig 11 οὕτως B φιλονεικο-
σιν C 13 ἐπιτυχώσει Leoncl. marg.: ἀποτύχωσι codd. 16 ἄστη
ἡ Hirschig: ὡστε codd. 24 πεζικὰ] πεζᾶ Cobet 26 ἐνορκοῦ
Stephanus: ἄνθρωπον codd. 27 ὁμοσαν λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν B: ὁμοσα
μὲν λακεδαιμόνιοι cet.
ταῖς ὀμωμοκύιας πόλεσι καὶ Οἴθβαιοι, προσελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραῖᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσν μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Οἴθβαιον Βοωτοῦ ὀμωμοκύτας. ὅ δὲ Ἀγγείλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράφησε μὲν οὐδὲν δὲν τὸ πρῶτον ὦμοσάν 5 τε καὶ ἀπεγράφατο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλουτο ἐν ταῖς σπουσιάζεσθαι εἶναι, ἔξαλείφεσιν ἀν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύσιεν. οὕτω δὴ 20 ἐρήμην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ Οἴθβαιος μόνον ἀντιλογίας ὄφθη, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς νῦν Οἴθβαιος τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθύνα ἐλπίς εἶν, 10 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Οἴθβαιοι παντελῶς ἀδύμως ἔχοντες ἀπήλθον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τῇ φρουρᾶς ἐκ τῶν IV πόλεων ἀπῆγαν καὶ Ἰφυραῖν καὶ τὰς ναίς μετεπέμπτοντο, καὶ ὅσα ὑστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τῶν ὤρκους τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἡμάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι. Λακεδαιμόνι 2 15 μόνοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν τῇ ἀρμοστᾶς καὶ τῶν φρουρῶς ἀπῆγαγον, Κλεομμήδητον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκείδοι στρατεύμα καὶ ἑπερωτῶντα ἡν ὀίκου τῆς χρήματος, Προθόνῳ λέχαστος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοῦ διαλύσατας τὸ στρατεύμα κατὰ τῶν ὤρκους καὶ περιαγγείλατας ταῖς πόλεσι 20 συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπόσον βούλουσα ἐκάστη πόλις, ἐπείτα εἰ μὴ τῆς ἔφη αὐτονομίας τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσατος, ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλουσας βοηθεῖν, ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων μενομένους· οὔτω γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οὐδέσθαι τοὺς τῇ θεοῦς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι καὶ τὰς 25 πόλεις ἢκιστ᾽ ἄν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ’ ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκέλειν µὲν φιλαρεῖν ἔγνησατο· ἡδ’ γὰρ, ὡς οὐκε, τὸ δοιμόνον ἔγενε· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ µὴ διαλύει τὸ στρατεύμα, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Οἴθβαιον, εἰ µὴ αὐτονόμους ἄφιοιεν τὰς πόλεις. [ὁ δ’ Κλεομβρότου, ἐπειδὴ 30 ἐπύθετο τὴν ερήμην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τῇ χρήματος, οἱ δ’ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοῖς στρατευέων

VI. iv  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

έπι τοὺς Θηβαιοὺς, εἴ μὴ ἀφίσσει τὰς Βουωτίας πόλεις αὐτοῦ, ὁπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στρατεύμα διαλύστας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἀγεί τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν. καὶ ἦ μὲν οἱ Θηβαιοὶ ἐμβάλειν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσ- 5 εὐκρόων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τοῖς ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλειν διὰ Θαυμάων δὲ ὀρεινῶν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεῖς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσσιν, καὶ τὸ τείχος αἱρεῖ, καὶ τρίβεις τῶν Θηβαιῶν

4 δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ πούησας καὶ ἀναβᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. 10 οἱ δὲ Θηβαιοὶ ἐστατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρῷ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλέπουστε, οὐδένα ἔχουσες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἦ τοὺς Βουωτοὺς. ἐνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι

5 προσιόντες ἔλεγον Ὡ Κλεομβροτε, εἴ ἀφήησες τοὺς Θη- βαιοὺς ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἐσχάτα 15 παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσουται γὰρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλᾶς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαιῶν ἔδημασα, καὶ ὅτε ὅστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάον ἂε ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. εἴπερ οὖν ἡ σαυτοῦ κήδη ἡ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ 20 μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίον. Νῦν δὴ, ἐφασαν, ὑπῆρξε ὁ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ὁντὶ κηδεῖ τῶν Θηβαιῶν, ὡσπερ

6 λέγεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ Κλεομβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούσας παρωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαιῶν οἱ προστότες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἴ μὴ μαχοῦντο, ἀποστήσουσαν μὲν αὐτὶ περιο- 25 κίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσουσώ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαιῶν τάπιτηδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσου καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντίā γειέσαυ. ἀτε δὲ καὶ πεφυγοῦτε πρόαθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρείττων εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνη-

3 ὡς . . . αὐτῶς del. Dind. ἀντιτάττοντο . . . αὐτῶν Brodaeus
5 ἐμβάλειν Stephanus: ἐμβάλλειν F: ἐμβάλλειν cet. 11 ἐπαντικρῦ
Μ: ἐπ' ἀντικρῦ B 17 ὅτε Schäfer: ὅτα codd. 21 τοιαῦτ' F
23 λέγεται] λέγει Nauck ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα C F 25 μαχοῦντο
Dind.: μαχοῦτο codd. 27 ὅτι fort. spurium κινδυνεύσει C F1
28 δὲ Stephanus: δὴ codd.
σκεύη ἡ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτους παρεθάρρυνε μὲν 7
tι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χροσμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακε-
δαιμονίους ἦττηθήναι ἔθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἣν μνήμα,
αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθήναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων των ὅ
ἀποκτεῖναι ἕαυτᾶς. καὶ ἕκκρυμησαν δὴ τούτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ
Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς máχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
αὐτοῖς ὡς οἵ τε νεῖ ὑπὸ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνέφγοντο, αἱ τε
ἀρέσει τῶν λέγοντων ὡς νίκην ὁ βασιλεὺς φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
10 εἰς τὴν máχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δὴ των λέγουσι ὡς
tαύτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προστήκηκος. εἰσ δὲ 8
τὴν máχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναυτία ἐγγύτευ,
tοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
μετ’ ἄριστον τῷ Ἐλευθέρω ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς
15 máχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπυνόμους καὶ τὸν οἶνον
παράγων τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἔπει δὲ ὃπλίζοντο ἐκάτεροι 9
καὶ πρόδηλον ἤθη ἢν ὅτι máχη ἐσούτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπείρων
ἀρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρατεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν
παρεσκευακότος καὶ σκευοφόρων τιῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλο-
20 μένων máχεσθαι, περιώντες κύκλῳ οἱ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἡρώνος
μυσθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταί καὶ τῶν ἵππεϊν
'/>ηρακλέως καὶ Φλειάσιος ἔπιθεμενοι τοὺς ἀπιούσιν ἐπέ-
στρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδώξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον
tὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὅστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μείζον τε καὶ
25 ἄθροώτερον ἦ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα. ἔπειτα 10
dε, ὅτε καὶ πεδίον ὄντος τοῦ μεταξὺ, προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς
ἐναυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἅπεις, ἀντετάξαντο
ὁ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν
Θηβαίων ἵππικον μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν πρὸς Ὄρχομενίους
30 πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίως
κατ’ ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ποιημότατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικον. ἔτερον 11

6 καὶ om. C F 12 ἐναυτία Madvig: τάναυτία codd. 17 ἡ
μάχη C F 18 Βοιωτίου B: βοιωτείου cet.
μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἱπποὺς οἱ πλούσιωτατοὶ ἐπεὶ δὲ φρούρα φαν-
θεῖ, τότε ἦκεν ὁ σωτηταγμένος λαβῶν δ' ἀν τῶν ἱππῶν
καὶ ὅπλα ὅποια δοθεῖ αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἄν ἐστρα-
teύετο τῶν δ' ἀυ ὀπταυτῶν οἱ τοὺς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι

12 καὶ ἦκιστα πιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ἦσαν. τουῦτον μὲν 5
oú τοῦ ἵππου ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τοὺς μὲν
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἑνωμοσίαν ἄγεων τοῦτο
dὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλεόν ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ
dὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἐλαττοῦ ἦ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνε-
πραμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν 10
βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πάν εὐχελρωτον ἔσοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρξετο
ἀγεών ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν
καὶ αἰσθέσατι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὑπὶ ἡγοῦτο, καὶ δὴ
cαὶ οἱ ἵππεις συνεβεβήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἦττηντο οἱ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων. φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπτεύκεσαν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν 15
ὀπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνεβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὁμως
dὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ
μάχῃ σαφει τοῦτω τεκμηρίω γνοίτ τις ἀν' οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο
αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ἑώτην ἀπενεγεκέν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ

14 μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι 20
ἀπέθανε Δείων τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ
δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώμυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἤμεν ἵπποι καὶ
οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι ὑπὸ
tοῦ ὁχλον ὅθούμενοι ἀνεχόρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωμάμου οὕτε
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώρων τὸ δεξίων ὅθούμενον, ἐνεκλί

25 ὁμος δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεῶτων καὶ ἑττημένοι ἐπεὶ διεβησαν τὴν
tάφρων ἤ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐτυχευ οὕτα αὐτοῖς, ἐθεντο
tὰ ὀπλα κατὰ χόραν ἑνθεὶ ἀρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάντες ἐν
ἐπιτεῦξη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὅρθῳ μᾶλλον τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ

3 δοθεὶς Dobrec: δοῆς codd. 13 αἰσθεσθαι B καὶ δὴ καὶ]
καὶ δὴ CF 15 ἀνεπετάκεσαν B 17 τὸ om. DCF
18 τοῦτο] τοῦτο B C pr. τεκμηρίων C pr. 22 ἐκμοσιαν Dind.:
δημοσιαν codd. μένιπποι Madvig: μὲν ἵππεις Stephanus 23 συμ-
φορεῖς F
δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον
tὴν συμφορὰν ἢγούμενοι τὸ τε τροπαίον ἐφασαν χρὴναi
κωλύει ἵσταται τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ύπο-
σπόδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναμείθησαι. οἱ δὲ 15
πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων
tεθνεότας ἐγώς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν,
ὅπως τῶν ἑκέι ὡς ἐπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακο-
σίων, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως
ἐχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἐστὶ δὲ οὖς αὐτῶν οὔδὲ ἄχθομένους
τῷ γεγενημένῳ, συλλέγαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιρωτάτους ἐβουλεύ-
οντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπιεῖ δὲ πᾶσιν ἔδοκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς
νεκροὺς ἀναμείθησαι, οὕτω δὴ ἐπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπουδῶν.
οἱ μὲντοι Θηβαίοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαίον ἐστήσαντο καὶ
τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.

15 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα ἀγγελῶν
τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδίων τε οὐσῆς τῆς τελευταίας
καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χορὸν ἐνδοὺ οὗτος· οἱ δὲ ἐφοροὶ ἑπεὶ
ἡκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μὲν, ὡσπερ, οἴμαι, ἀνάγκης
tὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἰῶν.
20 καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅνυματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεότων
ἀπέδοσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ
συγῆ τὸ πάθος φέρεν. τῇ δ' ύστεραίᾳ ἡν ὅραν, οὐ μὲν
ἐπεθυμαν οἱ προσήκουτες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ
φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, οὖν δὲ ζώντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν,
25 ὄλιγος ἄν εἴδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρώπους καὶ ταπεινοὺς
περιμένατα.

Ἔκ δὲ τούτου φρουρῶν μὲν ἐφαυνοι οἱ ἐφοροὶ ταῦτ ὑπο-

17 λοίπων μόραν μέχρι τῶν τεταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης· ἐξεπερ-
πον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἥλικιας·
30 τὸ γάρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ

6 αὐτῶν C F: αὖ τῶν cet. 7 τῶν ante ἐκεῖ del. Hartman
15 ἀγγέλλων Cobet 16 γυμνοπαιδίων B οὐσῆς Gesner: οὐσῶν
codd. 21 προεῖπον Cobet 27 τῶν Cobet 29 ante ἀπὸ
add. τοὺς Tillmanns

XEN. HELL. 14
VI. iv

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

tριάκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης ἐστρατεύωντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς ἔδε
18 τὸτε καταλειφθέντας ἀκόλουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγη-
σίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὔτω ἂσχυνε· ἤ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν ἐν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῦ ἥγεσθαι. προθύμως οὗτος ἐστρατεύοντο Τεγέαταί. ἔτι γὰρ ἔξων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, 5
λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐρρῳμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύ-
οντο· ἀριστοκρατοῦμενοι γὰρ ἔτυγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ
καὶ Σικυόνιοι καὶ Φλείσσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀλλὰ δὲ πόλεις ἐξεπεμπον στρατιῶτας. 10
ἐπιλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι καὶ
Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέωντο καὶ Σικυονίων συμπληρῶν, ἕφρ.
δὲν διενορθύτο τὸ στρατεύμα διαβιβάζειν· καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ
Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς 15
'Αθηναίον ἀγγελον ἐστεφανωμένου, καὶ ἀμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ
μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἀμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν
ἐξεύθεν Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων δὲν ἐπεποίηκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμω-
ρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλή ἔτυγχανεν ἐν ἀκρο-
πόλει καθημενή. ἐπεὶ δὲ ήκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν 20
σφόδρα ἤμισθησαν πάσι δήλου ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένα
τῶν κύρικα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὔδεν ἀπεκρίνατο.
καὶ Ἀθηνηθεῖν μὲν οὔτως ἀπήλθεν ὁ κύρις. πρὸς μέντοι
Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον οὕτα, ἐπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύ̄-
οντες βοηθείν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τῷ μέλλον ἀποβήσουσιν. 25
δὲ δὲ εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπιλήρουν, ὡς βοηθῆσων κατὰ θάλατ-
ταν, συναλβάζουσ' δὲ τὸ τέ ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν ἵππεας,
καίτερ ἄκηρκτῳ πολέμῳ τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πετέ̄
διεπορευθῇ εἰς τὴν Βουσιάν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων προ-
τερον ὁφθεὶς ἡ ἀγγελθεῖς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλ-

1 ἐστρατεύειν το Dind. 4 ante αὐτοῦ add. ἀντ' Grosser: αὐτοῦ ἐκ-
λευειν F 12 καὶ ante ἐδέωντο om. BM D 13 τὸ B: om. cet.
δή om. VCF 15 μὲν om. CF 18 αὐτοῖς B: αὐτοῖς cet.
27 αὐτῶν BCF 30 γοῦν] oūn C
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5

λέγεσθαί τι πανταχόθεν ἐφθανε πόρρω γεγομένου, δήλον ποιῶν ὃτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βουσίαν, λεγόντων 22 τῶν Ὑπαίών ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, 5 ἀνώθεν μὲν ἐκείνων σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτούς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἐργον γεγομένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἴη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὅστε ἢ ἐτί μείζως καταπράξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγομημένης νίκης. οὐδὲ ὅρατε, ἐφὶ, ὅτι καὶ ύμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, 23 10 ἐκρατήσατε; οἴεσθαι οὖν χρῆ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἃν, εἰ ἀναγκάζωτο ἡγεμόνισαι τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχη-

θαί. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δὲ, ὡς ἐοίκε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν 24 οὖν Ὑπαίῳς τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύσεων' 15 τοὺς δὲ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐδίδασκεν οἷον μὲν εἰς ἢμτημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ νεικηγός. εἰ δὲ ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἐφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγομένου πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσασται καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενοι καὶ μείζονες γεγομένους τοῖς ἀητήτοις οὔτως εἰς μάχην λέναι. τοῦ δὲ, ἐφη, εὗ ἱστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν

20 συμμάχων ὑμῶν εἰσὶν οἱ διαλέγονται περὶ ψυλλίας τοῖς πολε-

μίοις. ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πειράσθη σπονδᾶς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ἐφη, ἐγὼ προδυμοῦμαι, σωστὰ ὑμᾶς βουλόμενοι διὰ τε τῆν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλιὰν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξένειν ὑμῶν. ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἐπραττε δ' ἵσως ὅπως διά-

25 φοροῖ καὶ οὕτοι ἀλλήλοις ὁντες ἄμφοτεροι ἐκείνων δέοντο. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀκούσατε αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι εἰςαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρῆγευσαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δεσπότης συνε-

σκευάσθαι πάντας, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς ποιευμένους, ὅπως ἀμα


14*
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κυθαιρώνα ἀναβαίνονεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐδεί-
πνήσαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγελλάντες ἀκολουθεῖν, ἥγοντο
εὐθὺς ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρενσίος, τῷ λαθείν πιστεύοντες
26 μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς σπονδαῖς. μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορεύομενοι,
οὐδ’ ἐν νυκτὶ τε καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπῇ ὁδόν, 5
eis Αιγόσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνούντα. ἐκεῖ δὲ περι-
τυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιάμονο στρατεύματι. ἐνθα δὴ
ἀναμείνας, ἐως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε
πάν ὁμοῦ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου. ἐκέεθεν δὲ τους μὲν
συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε ἀπῆγαγεν. 10

27 Ὁ μέντοι Ἰάσων ἀπίων διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἰαμπολιτῶν
μὲν τὸ τε προάστιον εἰλὲ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπορθήσε καὶ
ἀπέκτενεν πολλοὺς. τὴν δ’ ἄλλην Φωκίδα διήλθεν ἀπραγ-
μόνως. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἑράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρα-
κλεωτῶν τεῖχος, δήλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβοῦμενοι, μή τινες
15 ἀναπεταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσοντο ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐκείνου ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμοῦμενοι μή τινες τὴν
Ἑράκλειεν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὕτων καταλαβόντες ἔφροιν αὐτῶν,
28 εἰ ποι βουλοῦτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε
πάλιν εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἢν καὶ διὰ τὸ, τῷ νόμῳ 20
Θεσσαλῶν ταγός καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς
tréfev περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπε-
ποιημένους ὡς ἀν κράτιστοι εἶεν. ἦτι δὲ μεῖζων καὶ διὰ τὸ
συμμάχους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἢδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι
βούλεσθαι γέγνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ’ ἢν τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸν τῷ μηδ’ 25

29 ύψ’ ἐνός εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι. ἐπιώντων δὲ Πυθίων παρῆ-
γειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῶς καὶ οἰς καὶ αἰγας καὶ ὑς παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἐφασαν πάνω μετρίως
ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένων γενέσθαι βοῶς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους
χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκώματα πλεῖω η μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ 30

14 κατέλαβε B 16 πορεύοντο Madvig 19 τοι D: του cet.
20 τὸ del. Cobet 22 αὐτὸν B C 27 ὅς τρέφειν C ὅς καὶ C
29 ἐπαγγελλομένων Schneider μὲν om. C
καὶ νικητήριων χρυσοῖν στέφανον ἐσεσθαι, ἢτις τῶν πόλεων βοῶν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ ὑβρίσκει. παρήγγειλε δὲ 30 καὶ ὃς στρατευομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθεια χρόνον Θεω-
tαλοῖς παρασκευάσχεθαν διεισεῖτο γάρ, ὡς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν 5 πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας αὐτῶς διατίθεναι. περὶ 
μέντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διεισεῖτο ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἄδηλον λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τῷ χρή ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τὸ θεοῦ χρημάτων, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν 
θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὁ δ' ὁυν ἅνηρ τηλικοῦτος ὁυ καὶ 31 
tοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαύτα διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκός καὶ 
δοκιμασίαν τοῦ Φεραίου ἱππικοῦ, καὶ ἦδη καθήμενος καὶ ἀπο-
κρινόμενος, εἶ τις δεδόμενον τοῦ προσίου, ὅτῳ νεαισκικῶν ἐπτὰ 
προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τῷ ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ 
κατακόπτεται. βοηθησάντων δὲ ἐρωμένως τῶν παρα-
15 γενομένων δορυφόρων εἰς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ 
πληγεῖς ἀποθνήσκει· ἔτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἔφ' ὕππων ἐγκατα-
lηφθεὶς καὶ πολλά τραύματα λαβὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀναποθή
sάντες ἐτὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ὕππους ἀπέφυγον· ὁποί 
δὲ ἀφίκοιντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις 
20 ἐτυμώντο. ὃ καὶ ὅθελον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἵσχυρός ἐδεισαν οἱ 
"Ἑλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.
33 Ἀποβανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολυδώρος ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ καὶ 
Πολυφρὼν ταγω κατέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολυδώρος, πορευομένων ἄμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νῦκτορ καθεύδων ἀπο-
25 θησκέει ὕπο Πολυφρώνος τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ, ὡς ἔδοκεν· ὁ γὰρ 
θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔξαπτυαίος τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανερῶν πρό-
φασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὐ Πολυφρῶν ἦρε μὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ, κατε-
34 σκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι ὁμοίαν. ἐν τε γὰρ 
Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὅκτω 
30 τοὺς κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας 
ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει ὑπ' Ἀλεξ-
35

1 ἢτις Weiskel: εἶτις codd. 2 θρέψειεν B 11 ἀποκρινάμενος B 
12 προσήθη B 28 τάγειαν B
VI. iv

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

άνδρον, ὡς τιμωροῦντος τὸ Πολυδώρῳ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύοντος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλεπῶς μὲν Ἡσταλόνες ταγός ἐγένετο, χαλεπῶς δὲ Ἡθαίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμοις, ἀδικος δὲ ληστής καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιοῦτος δ' ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ ἀποθύγγει, 5 αὐτοχειρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλὴ δὲ 36 ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείσης. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοὺς ἔξηγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκρυφεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ὡς τὰ ὤλη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ δεξαμενὴ μεθύουτα τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεὶ κατεκομένεν, ὦ μὲν λύχνοις ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἱπτὸ αὐτοῦ ἐξήγδηκεν. ὡς δ' ἤλθεν ὁ κυνοῦτας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ἐπεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἤδη πράξοιεν, ἔξεγερε αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσατα τὴν θύραν 37 εἰχετο τοῦ ἄπτερου, ἐως ἀπέθανεν ὁ αὐτή. ἢ δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ὠς 15 ἐπεὶ ἔδησε τὸ ἐατοῦ παιδικὸ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεαρίσκον ὡς καλῶν, δειθέλεσθαι αὐτῆς λύσαι ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπεσφαξέν: οἱ δὲ τινὲς ὡς ἐπεὶ παιδές αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγένυντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὅτι πεμπὼν εἰς Ἡθαίας ἐμνήστευε τῇ Ἰάσονος γυναῖκα [ἀνα]βεῖν. τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτία τῆς ἐπιβουλής ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς 20 ὡτῶν λέγεται· τῶν δὲ ταύτα πραξάμων ἄχρι οὐ ὄδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο Τισιφόνου προσβύτατος ὡν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἀρχήν εἰχε.

V

Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἡσταλικὰ, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονος ἐπράξθη καὶ μετά τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχῆς, δεδή- 25 λωταὶ νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἐνθεν ἐπὶ ταὐτα ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λεύκτρα βοηθείας ἀπήγαγε το στράτευμα, ἐνυμηθεῖτες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι οἴονται χρήναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ ὡτῶ διακέοιτο οἱ Λακεδαι-

5 αὖ B: om. cet. 8 ἐπιβουλεύει F 12 πράξεις B: πράξαις cet. 14 ἄπτερον F₂: ἄπτερον cet. 15 αὐτὴ B C F 18 ὑπὶ del. Cobet 19 ἀναλαβεῖν del. Cobet: λαβεῖν Stephanus 21 ἀχρὶ B: ἀξρὶς cet. 25 τῆς τοῦ C F 29 ὡτῶ C F
μόνοι δ’ ὠσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλουντο τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἣν βασιλεὺς κατέσπημψεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν 2 κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὁμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἑμμενῶ 5 ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἢ βασιλεὺς κατέσπημψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δὲ τῆς στρατεύης ἐπὶ των πόλεων ὁμοσασθῶν τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαρον τῷ ὅρκῳ. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὅσον δέοι αὐτόνομοι ποιεῖν οὕτε 10 Μαργανέας οὐτε Σκιλλουντίους οὐτε Τρυφυλίους σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ άλλοι 3 ψηφίσαμεν, ὁσπερ βασιλεὺς ἔγγραψεν, αὐτόνομοι εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὅρκωτας, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη εὖ ἐκάστῃ πόλει 15 ὅρκώσαι. καὶ ὁμοσαν πάντες πλὴν Ἡλείων.

Εἷς δὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαυτινεῖς, ὃς ἦδη αὐτόνομοι παντά- πασιν οὖντες, συνήλθον τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν τὴν Μαυτινεῖαν ποιεῖν καὶ τεῖχες τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ’ 4 αὐτὸν ἡλεῖος ἡγούμενος, εἰ τούτῳ ἀνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώ- 20 μης ἐσοτερική, χαλεπών ἐσεθαί. πέμποντον οὖν Ἀγησίλαοι προβιβασθήν πρὸς τοὺς Μαυτινεῖας, ὃτι ἐδόκει πατρικός φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν δήμον 25 τῶν Μαυτινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἴθελον συνλέξαι αὐτὸ, πρὸς δὲ σφάς ἐκέλευσαν λέγειν ὅτιν ἐδοτο. ὃ δὲ ὑποσχείτο 42 αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπισχωσθῇ τῆς τεῖχεσσάς, ποιῆσει ὅστε μετὰ τῆς Ἀδρεάδομοις γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τείχισθηναι τὸ τείχος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἰπὶ ἐπισχεῖν, 5 δόγματος γεγενημένου πάση τῇ πόλει ήδη τείχης, ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀρπῆται ὀργιζόμενος στρατεύειν γε 30 μέντοι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνάτον ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ’ αὐτονομίᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαυτινεῖοιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ

2 βούλουντο B: βούλουνταί cec. 6 τοῖς B: τῶν cec. 18 πόλιν] πάλιν Madvig 20 πέμποντοι γοὺς C
τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεων τινες συντεχνοῦτας, οί δὲ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ἄργυρίου τριὰ τάλαντα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τείχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαυτινεῖς περὶ ταύτα ἦσαν.

6 Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενου ἐνήγγον ἔπι τὸ συνιέναι τε πάν τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν, καὶ ὁ τι 5 νικότι ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἐπραττὸν ἦν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι. ἤπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον εῖν τοῖς θεαρίσι, νομισάντες, εἰ συνέλθω δὴ δῆμος, πολὺ ἀν τῷ πλήθει κρατήσαι, 10 ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὀπλα. ἴδοντες δὲ τούτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλᾶσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμὸ μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττουν ἐγένοντο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὁμηροῦσαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ὀλύγους ἐπετοῦ ἀποκτείνοντοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδόκω καὶ γὰρ τοιούτῳ ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἶος μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνων τῶν πολιτῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαυτινείας τείχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρον, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἡδροσμένους. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεσάμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαυτινέας βοηθείως κελεύ- 20 ούτες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαυτινεῖς προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἐκέλευσαν βοηθεῖς τὴν ταχύστηρ, καὶ βοώτες σπεύδεων διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ 9 ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὡς 25 ὑσθοντο τὸ γνυόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλ- λάντιον φεροῦσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνοντο πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν καταφυ- γόντες, καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώ- εις ἐῤθοὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ὅροφην 30

2 συνεβάλλοντο Β C F 4 δὲ B: δὲ γε cet. 5 ενήγγον Φ: συνήγγον cet. te om. M C F 9 θεάτροι codd.: corr. Dobree 12 οὐκ del. Dobree 18 μαυτινείας Β: μαυτινείαν cet. 28 νεῶν B C: ναῦν cet. καταφαίγοντας Β
Διελόντες ἐπαίον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἴ δὲ ἐπεῖ ἐγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύσατοι τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξίναι ἐφασαν. οἵ δὲ ἐναντίοι ὡς ὑποχειρίους ἐλαβοὺς αυτοὺς, ὁσμαντὲς καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμάμαζαν ἀπήγαγον εἰς Τεγέαν. ἔκει δὲ 5 μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγγώντες ἀπέκτειναν.

Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν περὶ 10 Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίω έδόκει βοηθητέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τοῖς τεθνεώσι τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι. καὶ οὕτω στρα- 10 τεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους σὺν ὁπλοῖς ἐκληρότως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. καὶ φροιρὰν μὲν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐφαυνοῦ, Ἀγγέλαον δὲ ἐκέλευον ἡ πόλις ἥγεισθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνε- 11 λέγοντο. Ὀρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἐθελοῦτον κοινωνεῖν τοῦ 15 Ἀρκαδικοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδε- γμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ἔσκις, οὗ Πολύτροτος ἤρχετο, ἐμευκόν οἶκοι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τοῦτον ἐπιμελόμενοι. Ἦραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο 12 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας. δὲ ἦν Ἀγγέλαος, 12 20 ἐπεῖ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὕθως ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβῶν πόλιν ὅμορον οὕσαν Εὔταιαν, καὶ εὐρών ἐκεῖ τούς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τῶν παῖδων οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ στρατευ- σίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἤδηκε 25 τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ ἔδει τοὺς οἰκεῖς, καὶ ὠνομοῦν ἐλάμ- βανον ὄσον δέουτο: εἶ δὲ τῇ καὶ ἤρπασθη, ὅτε εἰσῆκε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἔξευρεν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπικοινώνει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεί, ἐσωπερ αὐτοῦ διετριβεῖν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μυσθοφόρους.

1 κεραμίσι F 2 ἐκέλευσαν C 3 ἀναβαλόντες Dind.: ἀνα- λαβόντες codd. 4 εἰ B 8 εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην C 9 οὕ- τως B 12 ἐκέλευον D: ἐκέλευον cct. 18 ἐπιμελοῦμενοι C F 21 Εὔταιαν Stephanus: εὔγαιαν codd. 23 τῇ στρατευσίμῳ del. Cobet 27 τὸ om. C F
Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύοντον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὄρχο-
μενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον,
καὶ ἀπέθανον τινες αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ
'Ελυμία ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὄρχομενίου ὀπλῖται οὐκέτι
ηκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα 5
θρασσῶς, ἐνταῦθα γνώντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἀποκρού-
σονται αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακυντεῖσθονται, ὑπο-

σρέψαντες ὡμόσε ἐχορήσαν τοῖς ἐπικεμένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν
Πολύτροπος μαχόμενοι αὐτῷ ἀποθυμήσκει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
фευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἄν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι 10
ὑπείραν παραγενόμενου καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν περιελάσαντες
τῶν Μαντινεῶν ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν
Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οὐκαδε ἀπῆλθον.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἄκουσας ταῦτα, καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἄν ἐνί
συμμείζαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὄρχομενίου μισθοφόρους, οὕτω 15
προῆς. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ Τεγεάτιδι χώρᾳ ἐδειπνο-
ποίησατο, τῇ δ' ύστεραῖς διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντινικήν, καὶ
ἔστρατοπεδεύσατο ὕπο τοὺς πρὸς ἐστέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντι-
νείας: καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀμα ἔδην τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπάρθη τοὺς
ἀγροὺς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγέντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσία 20

νυκτὸς παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. τῇ δ' ύστεραῖς ὁ μὲν
Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινεῖας ὡσον εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐστρα-
τοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχώμενοι τῶν
μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὀρῶν, παρῆσαν μάλα πολλοὶ
ὀπλῖται, συμμείζαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεῖσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ 25
Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεῖι ηκολούθουν αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἤσαν μὲν τινες
ὁ τῶν Ἀγησίλαον ἐπείδου χωρίς τοὺς ἐπιθέσαν· ὁ δὲ
φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους πορεύοστο, ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελίθουν κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
ὄπισθεν ἐπιπέσον εὐτῷ. ἐγὼν κράτιστον εἶναι ἔσασι συνελ-
θείν αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰ βουλοῦστο μᾶχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ

7 ὥτι del. Cobet 11 τὸ B: τὰ cet. 12 μὲν om. B V
25 μάλα βουλόμενοι F1 M V 29 τοῦ B: τῶν cet.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5             VI. v

φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὄμοι ἴδῃ ἐγεγένητο. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πέλτασταί καὶ οἱ 17 τῶν Φλειασίων ἰππεῖσ μετὰ αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Μαντινείαν θυμοῦν τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ πρὸ τοῦ στρατο- 

5 πέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἀλλούς εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον δὲ ἐπαναχωρήσαι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἔξι ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στρα-

tεμα. ἔπερας δὲ ἐπιγεγομένης ἐλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος 

10 εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινῆς, μᾶλα σύνεγγυς καὶ 
kύκλῳ ὅρι ἔχοντα. τῇ δὲ ὑπεραί ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔθυτο 18 
mὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς 
tῶν Μαντινεῶν πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρείς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀὐρᾶς 
tοῦ ἐαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἐγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην 

15 ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν ὅνω αὐτὸς ἄφηγοῦτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μη 
tῇ ὀυρᾶ ἐπίθουτο ὁι πολέμιον· ἴστυλαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ 

ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέφαντο ἐκέλευ 
tους ἀπ’ ὀυρᾶς εἰς δούρο ὄπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεῖσθαι 
pρὸς αὐτῶν· καὶ οὔτως ἀμα ἐκ τοῦ στενοῦ ἔξηγε καὶ 

20 ἰσχυροτέραι ἄει τὴν φάλαγγα ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδι- 

πλωτὸ ἡ φάλαγξ, οὔτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλετικῷ προελθὼν εἰς 
tὸ πεδίον ἐξετεινὲ πᾶλον ἐπʼ ἐννέα ἡ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα 

ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ 

Ἡλεῖοι συναστρεφόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἐπειθοῦν μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, 

25 πρὶν ὁ Θηβαῖοι παραγένοντο· εὗ δὲ έιδέναι ἐφάσαν ὅτι 

παρέσωτο· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ 

σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκού- 

20 σάντας ἴστυλαν ἐχόχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ· δὲ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ 

μᾶλα βουλόμενος ἀπάγει τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μέσος 

30 χειμῶν, ὁμοις ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων 
tῆς Μαντινεῶν πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοῦν φοβοῦμενοι σπεῦδει 

1 τὴν om. B δὴ om. C F 9 ἐπηγεγομένης C F 10 ὄπισθε B 

16 ἐπίθετον M C F 22 τὸ στράτευμα del. Cobet 

31 μαντινεῶν B : τῶν μαντινεῶν cet.
τὴν ἁφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρὶ `αριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν ὡς στρατοπεδευσόμενος ἐνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑυταίας ἐξώρρητο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἦγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Ἑυταίαν, καίπερ μᾶλα ὡψίζων, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων 5 ἱδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις εἶποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγω. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἄθυμίας ἔδοκε πιν ἀνειληφθέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβεβλήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ ἤρων τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἢδελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λακωνίκῃ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οὐκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἀφῆκεν 10 ἐπὶ τὰς έαυτῶν πόλεις.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδαις, ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀγγείλαιος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ ἤσθοντο διαλευκόμενον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτὸ δὲ ἡθοποιομένου ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραίας, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἤθελον τοὺς Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισέβεβλήκεσαν 15 εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἐκοπτὼν τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἐθῖβαιοι βεβοθηκότες παρεῖναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ συμμυγνώσουσι τοὺς Ἐθῖβαιοι. ὡς δὲ ὅμοι ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν 20 Ἐθῖβαιοι καλῶς σφίσων φιόντο ἐχεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμου δὲ οὐδενὼ ἐτί ἐώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπέναι παρεσκευάζοντο ὃι δὲ Ἀρκάδαις καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι ἐπειθοῦν αὐτούς ἴσχεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνίκην, ἐπιδεικνύστε μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος, ύπερεπανώντες δὲ τὸ 25 τῶν Ἐθῖβαιων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λευκτροῖς νίκην ἦκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπῆκοον γεγενημένου καὶ Ἐυβοῖος ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Δοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι

1 ἁφοδον C F: ἁφοδον cet. 3 ἐξώρρητο Dind.: ἐξωρρήσατο codd. 4 εὐγάλαν vel εὐγάλαν M D V C F 6 εἶπη(ι) M V F 8 ἐνεβεβλήκει Dind.: ἐμβεβλήκου D pr. V: ἐμβεβλήκει cet. 15 συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν codd. 17 ἐνεπίμπρασαν Cobet 27 περὶ C F: παρὰ cet. ἀγγελλόμενοι B
καὶ Ἀκαριάνης καὶ Ἡρακλεώται καὶ Μηλείης ἱκολούθων δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θησαλίας ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πελταστοί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίας λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδαμώς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλέω εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-5 δαμνών χώραν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἱκὸνον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντε- 24 λογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρᾶς δὲ καθεστάναι ἑνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσδο- τάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν εἰς Οἰλό τῆς Σκηρίτδος, ἔχων νεοδαμώδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων 10 τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ πετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἀν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακε-δαμνών δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἄν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἁμεῖν 15 ἄν τῇ ἐαυτῶν. ἡ δὲ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάντα προπετείς εἴσ τὸ ἱέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦκον 25 ἐκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ύπισχυοῦμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελέουντες, ἂν τι ἐξαιτοῦντες φαίνουνται, ἀποσφάττει σφάς, παρῆσαν δὲ τνικε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἑπι- καλοῦμενοι καὶ φασκοῦντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλοῦμενοι οἱ περιοίκοι ἕπε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἔθελον βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκοῦσσαν καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεισθήσανται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρυάς ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Οἰλόν τῆς Σκηρίτδος. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ 26 Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἄν ταύτη γ’ ἐφασαν ἀναβηναι- νῦν δὲ βοιλόμενοι τοῖς Ολάταις συμμάχους χρήσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κόμη· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπλήθεις Ἀρκάδες. ἐντάθα ἡ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περί τῶν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπε- κράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

οἰκίων ἀναβαίνοντες ἐπαινοῦ καὶ ἐβαλλον αὐτοὺς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἦσαν Ἰσχολάσως ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις ἀμφιγροφεῖς διέφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤσθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, 5 πολὺ δὴ θρασύτερον κατέβαινον καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκασον καὶ ἐπὸρθον ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἑγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπε- χείρων διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς 'Αλέας 10 ἱερὸ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλίται· ἐν δὲ γὰρ δ' ἐξουσίων τῶν Ἐυρώταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ πορθοῦνες πολλών κάγαθων 28 μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἰ μὲν γυναίκες οὐδὲ τὸν κατιόν φόβοις ἤγειχοντο, ἀτε οδηγητε ἱδοῦσαι πολε- μίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρταῖαι ἀτείχοστοι ἐξουσίων τῆς πόλεις, ἄλλος 15 ἀλῆ διαταχθεῖσα, μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ οὐντες καὶ φανοῦμεν εὐφυ- λαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοὺς τέλειοι καὶ προειπέων τοὺς Εἰλωσιν, εἰ τις βουλοῦτο ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολε- 29 μήσαιεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλέον ἢ 20 ἐξακισμεῖσιν, ὡστε φόβον αὐ οὐτοι παρεῖχον συνταταγμένοι καὶ λίγων ἐδόκοιν πολλοὶ ἐίναι· ἐπεὶ μέν τοι ἐμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ Ὁρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐξοθήκησαν δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις Φιλείσασι τε καὶ Κορώνηκι καὶ 'Επιδαύριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς 30 καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ των τῶν πόλεως, ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογέγραφα- 35 μένους ἤττον ὄρρῳδουν. ὡς δὲ πρῶτον τὸ στρατεύμα ἔγενετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταῦτα διεβαίνον τῶν Ἐυρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοντο, εὐθὺς δὲν ἐκκοπτον δενδρῶν κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τοῦτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, κατα- 30
λειπόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐτρέποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη προήλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαμαῖχον κατὰ τάξεις, οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἥλειοι καὶ ὁσοὶ Φωκέων ἢ Θεσσαλῶν ἢ
5 Δοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς, 31 μᾶλλα οἰκεῖοι φαινόμενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐν- ἐδραν δὲ ποίησαντες ὁπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαρίδων, ἀμα οὕτων μὲν ἐξέθεοι, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ἡλικιώτεροι. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδεξαμοίρατο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλυναν.
10 ἴδοντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγήν ὁρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ τὸ 32 μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλείν ἄν ἔτι αὐτούς ἦδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπάραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τῇ ἑβ' Ἑλος καὶ Γυθεῖον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἑπιτίμησαν, Γυθεῖῳ δὲ, ἐνθα τὰ νεώρια τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἦν, καὶ προσβάλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δὲ τινὲς τῶν περιόκων οἱ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύουσαν τοὺς μετὰ Θηβαίων.
20 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φρουτίδι ἦσαν ὅτι 33 χρή ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακε- δαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτῶν. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀρακος καὶ Ὀκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ
25 Ἐπιμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλυνθεύδ σχέδου πάντες παραπλῆσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμόμυρσκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἄει ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καρυόης παρίστατο ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεύν Ἀθήνην, καὶ Ἀθη- ναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως
30 βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅσ’ ἄγαθα εἴη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφό-
34

τεροι ἐπραττον, ὑπομιμήσκοντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον
cουβὶ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμήσκοντες δὲ ὡς 'Αθηναίοι τε
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἢρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ
tῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμιοῦν ταῦτα
συμβουλευόμενων, αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὤμολογομένως ύφ' 5
ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἡγεμόνες προκριθέσαν, συμβουλο-
μένων αὐ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἃδε τως
ἐπευν Ἑαν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, ὰμονήσωμεν,
νῦν ἔλπις το πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθήναι Ὠθβαίους. οἱ
μέντοι Ἀθηναίοι οὐ πάνω ἐδέχαντο, ἀλλὰ θρόσος τοιοῦτος 10
δυνάθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεων, ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ ἐπραττον, ἐπέκειστο
ἡμῶν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμιοῦν
ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἥμικα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων
βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποίησαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐσφίσων ἐμ-
ποδῶν γένουτο. ὁ δὲ πλείστος ὠν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς 15
ὄρκους ἴσβηθεν δέοι οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρα-
tεύσαι τοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμιοῦν,
ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντωεῖς παρὰ
tοὺς ὄρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθετο οὖν καὶ κατὰ
tούτοις τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ μὲν γὰρ 20
dικαιοὶ τοὺς Μαντωεῖας ἐφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον
ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι
ὅπλα ἑπίηγεναι Τεγεάταις.

37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη
Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε: Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς 25
ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς ἀντιλεγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἀρξαντε
ἀδικείν ἡμῶν δὲ, ἔπει εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἐξεῖ τούς καταγροῆσαι
ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἡ ὡς χρημάτα τινῶν
ἐλάβομεν ἡ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίων ἐδημόσαμεν; ἄλλη ὄμως οἱ
Θηβαίοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκό

1 ὑπομιμήσκοντες] ἀναμιμήσκοντες Schwidop 5 συμβουλο-
μένων D: συμβουλευομένων cet. 6 συμβουλευομένων Dind.: συμ-
βουλευομένων codd. 14 σφίσων] σφίσων B: σφέσις Dobree 18 τοῖς
om. C 26 τίνες . . . ἀδικεῖν del. Cobet
καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πράβατα διηρτάκασι. τῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήτε οὔτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὀρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ ταύτα ἄν αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὅρκων ὅταν πᾶσιν ύμῖν πάντες ἢμεῖς 5 ὁμόσαιμοι; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθερόβησαν ὡς ὅρθως τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρήκτος τοῦ Κλειτέλους. ἔπει δὲ τοῦτῳ 38 ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν τό ὅτι μὲν, ὅ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἔκποδων γένοιτο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρῶτος ἄν ύμαι στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πάσιν ύμαι τοῦτο ὤν ἄν 10 εἶναι τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνοις ἄν ύμαι οὐσιαὶ ἐμποδών γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀρξεί αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ’ οὗτος 39 ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄν ύμαι ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσωμαι βοηθήσαι ἢ καὶ ύμίν αὐτοὶς. τὸ γὰρ ὅσο- μενεις οὕτως ύμῖν Θηβαῖοις καὶ ὀμόροις οἰκούντας ἱγμονάς 15 γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἴμαι χαλεπώτερον ἄν ὑμῖν φανήμαι ἢ ὅποτε πόρρῳ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἶχετε. συμφορώ- τερον γε μενταν ύμῖν αὐτοὶς βοηθήσατε ἐν ὃ ἐτὶ εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἄν ἢ ἐὰν ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαῖους. εἰ δὲ τως φοβοῦνται 40 20 μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐτὶ ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ύμῖν, ἐνθυμηθῆτε ὅτι οὕς ὅς ἄν εἰ ἀλλ’ ὅς ἄν κακῶς τις τούτῳ φοβεῖσθαι δεὶ μὴ ποτὲ μέγα δυσανθώσιν. εὐθυμεῖσατε δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτάσθαι μὲν τι ἄγαθον καὶ ἰδιώται καὶ πόλει προσήκει, ἦταν ἐρρωμενεύσητοι δόσιν, 25 ὃν ἑξάσωσιν, εὰν ποτ’ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικούριαν τῶν προπεπομημένων. ύμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καὶ παρα- 41 γεγεννηταί, εὰν δεομένους βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτή- σασθαι τούτοις εἰς τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασιστούς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ’ ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσί μαρτύρων νῦν ἄν εἰς 30 παθεῖν ὑφ’ ύμῶν· ἀλλ’ εἴσονται μὲν ταύτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα


XEN. HELL. 15
ορώντες καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντήσαταί δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα
οὐ τε συμμαχοῦ καὶ οὐ πολέμου, πρὸς δὲ τούτους καὶ ἀπαντεῖς
42 Ἐλληνεῖς τε καὶ βάρβαροι· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὡστε
εἰ κακοὶ φανεῖσαι περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος εἰς
αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρῆ ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον 5
ἡ κακοῖς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τινὲς ἄλλοι, καὶ οὕτω
δοκοῦσι διατελεκέναι ἑπαίνοι μὲν ὁρεγόμενοι, αἰσχρῶν δὲ
43 ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε.
εἰ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθων τῇ Ἐλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων,
πίσω ἄν μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε ἡ Δακεδαμιονίους; τίνας δὲ ἂν ἰο
παραστάτας ἤδιον τούτων πουήσαις, ὡν γε καὶ οἱ ταχέντες
ἐν Θερμοπολίαις ἀπαντάς εἶλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλ-
λον ἡ ζωτες ἐπεισφέρεσθαι τοῖς βάρβαροι τῇ Ἐλλάδι; πῶς
οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὅτι τε ἔνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί μεθ’
ὑμῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐπίς καὶ αὐθὶς γενεσθαι πάσαν προθυμίαν εἰς 15
44 αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι; ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν
παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ἐνεκα προθυμίαιν ενδείξασθαι.
εὖ γὰρ ἢτο δι’ οὕτως τοῦτοι πιστοὶ διαμένονσιν ἐν ταῖς
συμφοραῖς, οὕτω καὶ ὑμῶν αἰσχύνοντ’ ἂν μὴ ἀποδιώκτε
χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικρά δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου 20
μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαί, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα
πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικρὰ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ βοηθοῦ-
σαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν
ἀκοῦσιν ἐξήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδι-
κομένους καὶ τοὺς φοβοῦμενος ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἔπι-
25 κουρίας ἢκουν τυχάνεις· νῦν ὃ οὐκέτι ἀκοῦσθα, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς
ἡδὴ παρὼν ὧν ὁ Δακεδαμιονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστότατους καὶ
μετ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε
46 ἢκοντας καὶ δεομένους αὐτὲς ὑμῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὅρω δὲ καὶ

3 oudevi Dobree: oude codd. 5 ws del. Cobet IO piste-
teswaste Schneider: pistestwaste B: pistestwaste cet. 13 epieisfer-
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ 5

Θηβαίους, οί τότε ούκ ἐπείσαν Λακεδαίμονίους ἐξανδραποδί-
σασθαι ύμᾶς, νῦν δεσμένους ύμῶν [μὴ] περιθεὶν ἀπολομένους
τοὺς σώσαντας ύμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ύμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν
λέγεται, ὦτε τοὺς 'Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ
5 ἔλασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ύμῶν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον αὖ γένοιτο,
etous ἐπὶ ζωῆς Λακεδαίμονίων μητέ χρυσῆνυι μήτε ἀπολέσθαι ἔσαστε.
καλοῦ γε μὴν κακέινον ὄντος, ὦτε 47
σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέων ύβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους
παῖδας, πῶς οὖ καὶ ἐκεῖνον τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς

10 ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισσώσατε· πάντων
de κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ύμᾶς τότε τῶν
Λακεδαίμονίων, νῦν ύμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων
ἐπικουρήσατε αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλιόμεθα οἱ 48
συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσων ἀγαθοῖς, ἦ ποὺ ύμῶν γε
15 τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναία ἂν ταῦτα φανεῖν, εἰ
πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαίμονίων
μὴ δὲν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἡ ὅσι εὐ ἐπάθετε μνησθεῖτε καὶ
χάριν ἀποδοθεῖτε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ύμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ὦτι ἀνδρὲς ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
20 ἔγενοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν 49
ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἤρείοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ βοη-
θεὶν πανδημεῖ, καὶ Ἰφικράτην στρατηγὸν ἐλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
τὰ ἰερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρῆγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖ-
25 σθαί, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἰφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν.
ἐκ δὲ τούτον ἤγειτο μὲν ὁ Ἰφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἤκολούθουν,
νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλὸν τὰ ἐργα ἤγισσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικό-
μενοι εἰς Κόρυνθον διετριβέ τις ἣμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ
tαύτῆ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἐφευγόν αὐτοῖς· ὃς δ' ἐξῆγαγε
30 ποτε, προθύμως μὲν ἢκολούθουν ὅποι ἢγοιτο, προθύμως δ',

2 μὴ del. F 4 ὄτε] ὄτι M 7 ἔσαστε B : ἔσαστε cet. :
corr. Schneider 9 οὐ καὶ] οὐκ B pr. (ut vid.) F 13 o(1) del.
24 ἐγένετο B : ἐγένοντο cet. 29 πρῶτον del. Nauck

15*
50 εἰ πρὸς τείχος προσάγω, προςέβαλλον. τῶν δ’ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμών Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἄτε ὁμοροί οἰκούντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὃ τι ἦρπακεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπίέναι ἐβούλοντο εκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι 5 ἑώρων ἐλάττωνα τὴν στρατήγαν καθ’ ἡμέραν γνωριμοῖνα, τὰ δὲ, ὃτι σπανιότερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὖν ὄνημο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἑξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ’ ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, ὅστ’ ἡδὴ πάντες ἀπίέναι ἐβούλουσιν.

51 ὡς δ’ ἐκείνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ 10 ὁ Ἰφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω: ἐκείνα μέντοι δ’ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκεῖνῷ ἐπραξέ, πάντα εὐρίσκοι τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρους πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἑπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ, 15 ὅπως μὴ δύναντο οἱ Βοωτοὶ ἀπελθέναι οὐκάδε, παρέλυσεν ἀφύλακτων τὴν καλλιστὴν παρὰ Κεγχρεῖας πάροδον. μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενοι εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἰεῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνείον ἑπεμψέ σκοπούς τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορωνθίων ἀπαντᾶς. καίτοι ἵδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ὅλυσι τῶν 20 πολλῶν ἰκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾴδον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἤ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὅθεν εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρήσασαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοῦ σε προσάγειν καὶ ἦττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ ἄτε ἑπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενου χωρίων οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ 25 ἐδεί ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὡστε ὅπκ ἐλάττους ἀπολογοῦν ἐκκοσίν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλουσιν ἀπήλθον.

51 ὡς δ’ ἐκείνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ 10 ὁ Ἰφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω: ἐκείνα μέντοι δ’ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκεῖνῷ ἐπραξέ, πάντα εὐρίσκοι τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρους πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἑπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ, 15 ὅπως μὴ δύναντο οἱ Βοωτοὶ ἀπελθέναι οὐκάδε, παρέλυσεν ἀφύλακτων τὴν καλλιστὴν παρὰ Κεγχρεῖας πάροδον. μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενοι εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἰεῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνείον ἑπεμψέ σκοπούς τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορωνθίων ἀπαντᾶς. καίτοι ἵδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ὅλυσι τῶν 20 πολλῶν ἰκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾴδον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἤ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὅθεν εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρήσασαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοῦ σε προσάγειν καὶ ἦττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ ἄτε ἑπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενου χωρίων οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ 25 ἐδεί ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὡστε ὅπκ ἐλάττους ἀπολογοῦν ἐκκοσίν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλουσιν ἀπήλθον.

1 τείχος B: τὸ τείχος cet. 3 ἀπεληλύθεσαν Dobree: ἀπεληλύθεσαν D corrig.: ἐπεληλύθεσαν vel ἐπεληλύθεσαν cet. (ἐπεληλύθεσαν V) 14 καὶ om. M 16 δύνανται VC 27 ἐλάττους B: ἐλασττον cet.
Τῷ ὁ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει Λακεδαίμονιών καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἤσσεσθει ὁ Αἰθηρᾶς, αὐτοκράτορες Ἄθηναῖες, βουλευόμενοι καθ' ὅ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαίμονιώς καὶ Ἄθηναίως ἔσοιτο. λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ἔνων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἄθηναίων, 5 ὃς δὲοὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱσοίς καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐίναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος ἔπει τόρθε τὸν λόγον.  

Ἐπείπερ, ὁ ἱσόροι Ἄθηναίοι, ἁγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαίμονιοι φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρὴν τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὡς τῇ διοίων χρόνον συμμενεῖ. εἶν 10 ὃ ὑ ἐκατέροις μᾶλιστα συνοίσει, ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ποιησόμεθα, οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ εἰκὸς μᾶλιστα συμμένοιμεν ἂν. τὰ μὲν ὅν παλά σχεδὸν τι συνωμολογηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἤγερον τῆς τῆς σκέψεως. τῇ μὲν ὅν βουλή προβεβούλευται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλαττα, Λακεδαίμονιοι 15 δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἄμοι δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ὃ δοκεῖ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀνθρώποι ἡμῖν ἡ θεία φύσει τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, Λακεδαίμονιοι πρὸτὸν 3 μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἔστω κάλλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς τοῦτο πλείον γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δειμένων τῆς θάλαττῆς περὶ τῆς ὑμετέραν πόλην ὁλοκοῦσι, καὶ ἂντα πᾶσαι ἀσθενεστέρας τῆς ὑμετέρας, πρὸς τοῦτο ὑμᾶν ἰμένας ἔχετε, διὸ ἂνευ ὑμῶν ὑμῶν ταυτική δυνάμεις ἀφησεῖ. ἕτε δὲ τριήμεροι κέκτησθε πολλὰς, καὶ πάτριον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ναυτικῶν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. ἄλλα 4  

VII.1 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

μην τάς γε τέχνας τάς περὶ ταύτα πάσας οικείας ἔχετε. καὶ μην ἐμπειρίᾳ γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά· ὃ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ἄστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελόμενοι ἁμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θαλάτταν ἀγώνων ἐμπειροὶ γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε· οὐδαμόθεν ἄν 5 τρύφεις πλείους ἀθρόαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἤγμονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον 5 ἱσχυρὸν γενόμενον ἥδιοτα πάντες συνήλεγονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄπο τῶν θεών δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐνυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ· πλείστους γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγώνας ἡγωνισμένοι κατὰ θαλάτταν ἐλά· 10 χίστα μὲν ἀποτευχῆκατε, πλείοντα δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεθ' ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιοτα τοῦτον τοῦ 6 κυνδύνου μετέχεων. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαία καὶ προσήκουσα ὑμῖν αὐτῇ ἡ ἐπιμελεία ἐκ τῶν ἐνυμήθητε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμῖν ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἐπὶ, καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας 15 οὐδὲν προὐκοπτον εἰς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἔπει δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐδωκέ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ θαλάτταν ἐπικρατήσας, εὐθὺς ὅπ' ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὐδηλον ἐν τούτοις ἐστιν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀπασα ὑμῖν ἠρτηται σωτηρία. 7 οὗτως οὖν περικότων πῶς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμίνιοι ἐπιτρέψα αὐτὰ ταθαλάτται ἥγεσθαι, ὁ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτον τὸ έργον εἴναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἵσων ὁ κύνδυνος ἔστω ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θαλάτταν ἀγῶνων, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τρύφεις ἑμὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ περὶ παῖδων καὶ 25 ἦγεσιν αὐτός τοῦ καθαρεύει τὴν πόλεως; τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμετέρα οὕτως έχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκούσιν ἐν μεσογαίαῖσιν ἡ πτε ωῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες καὶ ί θαλάττης εἰργοωτο, ὅτι σωτῆρ' ἂν καλὸς διάμην. ἐγνωριότερος οὖν καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παῖδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ 30
γὴν πόλεμον τὴν ἀσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἀξίον, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῦς ἀρχοντος, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι κατὰ γῆν, ύμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὡσπερ ύμεῖς ναυ-
τικῷ, οὗτος αὖ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ γῆν πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ᾧν
5 ἐξέλθουσιν ὡστε πρὸς τοὺς αὖ εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμάχους
εὐθαρσεστάτους προσείναι. ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν,
ὡσπερ ύμῶν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχείς, οὗτος ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ
gῆν πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὕτωι ἀγώνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἴγνωσμένοι
ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσὶ, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες.
10 ὁς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαία οὕτων ἦττοι τοὺς ή κατὰ γῆν ἐπι-
15 μέλεια ἡ ύμῶν ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐξεστὶ γι-
γνώσκειν. ύμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἐτή πολεμοῦντες καὶ
πολλάκις καταναμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προὔργου ἐποίειτε πρὸς
tὸ τοῦτου καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπαξ ἠττήθησαν ἐν τῇ
15 γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παῖδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὀλης
τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνοι αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτωι
20 αὖ δεινῶν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἴγνωσθαι, αὐτοῖς
dὲ ἀριστά τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡσπερ
tῇ βούλῃ προβεβούλευται, τάτα εὐρηκα τε καὶ συμφωρ-
25 τατα ἴγνομαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι ύμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοίτε τὰ κράτιστα
πᾶσιν ἴμιχοιουσάμενοι.
"Ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἶπεν. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ οἱ τῶν
28 Λακεδαμιονίων πάροντες ἐπήνευσαν ἀμφότεροι ἱσχυρῶς τὸν
λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθὼν. Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναίοι,
25 ἐφ’ οὖν αἰσθάνεσθε ἐξαπατῶμενοι; ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἀκούσητε μον,
ἐγὼ ύμῶν αὐτικά μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ηδὴ γὰρ ἴγνςεσθη κατὰ
θάλατταν. Λακεδαμιονίοι δὲ ύμῶν ἐν συμμαχώς, ὄηλον ὅτι
πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριφάργχοις Λακεδαμιούνοι καὶ ἵσως
tοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναύαυτι ὄηλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἐ Ἐιλωτες ἢ
30 μισθοφόροι. οὐκοῦν ύμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἴγνςεσθη. οἱ δὲ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅταν παραγγέλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατεύαν, ὅθεν οἱ πέμψετε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἵππες. οὐκοῦν οὖτως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμείς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστον ἄξιοι. ἀπόκρισιν δέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιε Τιμόκρατε, οὐκ ἄρτι ἐλεγες ὡς 5 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ὁμοίως ἦκοις τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιοῦμενος;

14 Εἰπον ταῦτα. Ἡστιν οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Κηφισόδωτος, ἵσαίτερον ἦ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἕκατέρους ἡγείσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἰ τι ἄγαθῶν ἄστω ἐν τῇ κατὰ ὅλαππαν ἄρχῃ, τοὺτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ το ἁγιά; ἀκούσατε ταῦτα οἱ Αθηναῖοι μετεπείσθησαν, καὶ ἐνεκύρωσαν κατὰ πενθῆμερον ἕκατέρους ἡγείσθαι.

15 Στρατευομένων δ᾿ ἄμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φιλάττειν τὸ Ὀνείου. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύουσαν ὁ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφύ- 15 λαττον ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώστατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπείχον τῶν φιλαττόντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστράτωσαν ἑν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡμῖκ οὐν φύτῳ ὄρμησάντες καθαυτᾶς ἀμα κνέφα, πρὸς τὴν 20 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φυλακήν ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐγείσθησαν τῆς ὁρᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεύσιν ἡμῖκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φιλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στρατίων ἀνώστατο ὁποι ἐδείτο ἐκαστος. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἔπαινον παρεσκευασμένοι 25 ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἀσυντάκτους. ὡς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἄπειρον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγγύτατα λόφων, ἐξὼν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὀπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὀπλίτας, ὀπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιστήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς 30 ἐκ Κεγχρείων κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα

ἀποροώντων τῶν Ῥηβαῖων πῶς χρῆ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυώνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδᾶς ποιησάμενος, ὡς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Ῥηβαῖων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.

5 Οἱ δὲ Ῥηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείεσάντες 18 τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, 'Αρκάσι τε καὶ 'Αργεῖοι καὶ 'Ηλεῖοι, εὗρον μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυώνα καὶ Πελλήνην στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαφον ἐδήσαν ἀυτῶν πάσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκείθεν μᾶλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς 10 τῶν ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγύς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἀστεως, ὀρμῶν ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλες τὰς ἐπὶ Φέλειόντα ἔντοι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεφημένων τίχους, εἰσπεσούμενοι. ἐκβοηθήσαντες 19 δὲ των χιλιῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τοῖς Ῥηβαῖοι τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέταρτα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ 15 ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ υπερέχουσα χωρία, βάλλουσα καὶ ἀκοντίζουσα ἀποκτείνουσί τῶν πρῶτων καὶ μᾶλα συχνοὺς, καὶ τρεφάμενοι ἐδώκων ὡς τρία ἡ τέταρτα στάδια. τοῦτο δὲ γενομένον οἱ Κορινθιοὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποστάνδους ἀποδόντες τροπαίον 20 ἔστησαν. καὶ ταὐτῇ μὲν ἀνεψιχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.

"Αμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίως 20 ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τρυπῆρεσ πλέον ἡ ἐκοσμοῦ ἤγον δὲ Κελτός τε καὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἱππας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ 25 δ' ὅστεραί οἱ Ηθβαιοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξαμένοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαμεν τὸ πεδίον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλάφων ἐφθειρον εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἢν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἄθηναιῶν καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὗ μᾶλα ἐπιληψίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι, 30 ὀρώντες ἱσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τάντιπαλα· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ 21

4 μεθ' αὐτοῦ vulg.: μετ' αὐτοῦ codd. 5 καὶ συμμείεσάντες om. B Pal. 6 τοίς ἑαυτῶν C: τοίς τε αὐ(ἐαυ-) (αὐ-) τῶν cet. 7 προσ- ἐβαλλον F 10 τού B: τοῦ τῶν cet. 11 ἵντι del. Bake 20 μὲν δή C 22 τε] δὲ V 28 οἱ τῶν om. F
Διονυσίου ἰππεῖς, ὅσοι περ ἦσαν, οὗτοι διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἀλλη παραδόντες ἱκώτιζον τε προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀρμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἀνεχόρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἱκώτιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἀμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν καὶ ἀνεπαύνοντο. εἰ δὲ καταβεβηκόστιν ἐπελαύνοινεν 5 τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδοῦντες ἀνεχόρουν. εἰ δ’ αὖ τινες διάδειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὅπότε ἀποχωροῦεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο, καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἤναγκαζὸν ἐαυτῶν ἑνεκα καὶ προϊέναι 22 καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι μείναντες τὸν πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἔκαστος οἴκαδε. ἔκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλοντοι οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Σικυώνα, καὶ μάχη μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυώνιους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἄπέκτειναν περὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα. Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος ἀὶροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτῃ βοήθεια 15 ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμάδων καὶ ἐπραττόντας καὶ ἐστρα- τεύοντο ἴγουμένων Θηβαίων. ἐγγενόμενοι δὲ τις Δυσκολῆς Μαυτωνεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδείης χρήμασί τε προῆκοι καὶ 20 ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὕτως ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὅσ μόνος μὲν αὐτοὺς πατρίς Πελοπόννησος εἶν, μόνον γὰρ αὐτοχθόνες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκίας, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδίου εἶν καὶ σῶμα ἐγκατέστατα ἔχου. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμηρία παρεχό- 25 μενος ὡς ἑπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεὶν τινες, οὐδένας ἱροῦντο ἀντ’ Ἀρκάδων. ἐτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους τῶποτε ἀνευ σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν Θηβαίων ἐλθείν 24 ἀνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαιμονία. ἔδων ὅνων σωφρονήτε, τοῦ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ζ

1 ἀκολούθειν ὅποι ἂν τις παρακαλῇ φεύσεσθε· ὡς πρῶτον τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκεῖνοις ἡνζήσατε, νῦν δὲ ἂν Ὡηβαίοις εἰκῇ ἀκολούθητε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεῖσθαι ἄξιότε, ὅσοι τάχα τούτοις ἄλλοις Λακεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε.

5 οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀνεφυσώτοι τε καὶ ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Δικομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγούντο· ὡστε ἀρχοιτι ἑτατον οὕστως ἐκεῖνος κελεύοι. καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ 'Ἀρκάδες' ἐμβα- 25 λότων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀπο- 10 κλεισθέντων τῆς ἔξοδον ὑπὸ τε τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ἔξων καὶ 'Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολιορκο- μένους ἐξελύσατο τοὺς 'Ἀργείους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμιῶς χρώμενον στρατευόμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Δακαίνης ἐνίκησαν τε τὴν τῶν 15 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ τὸν Γεράνορα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον γεγενημένον ἀπέκτειναι καὶ τὸ πρόστιον τῶν 'Ἀσιναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπως δὲ βουλήθησαν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νῦς, οὐ χείμων, οὐ μήκος ὄδοι, οὐκ ὠρθ' ὄσφατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτοὺς· ὡστε ἐν γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολὺ ὄντω κράτιστοι 20 εἶναι, οἱ μὲν δὴ Ὡηβαίοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνοις καὶ οὐκέτι 26 φιλίκοι εἰχον πρὸς τοὺς 'Ἀρκάδας. οὐ γε μὴν Ἡλεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἀπαστούντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς 'Ἀρκάδας ἅς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηρέθησαν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἔαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδεὶ λόγῳ ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους, ὅτι 'Ἀρκάδες ἐφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὐ καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι δυσμενῶς εἰχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

25 Οὐτώ δ' ἐκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν 27 συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδημός παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους

Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ 'Αθηναίων μὲν ὡς χρεῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς λέναι εἰς Θεσσαλίαν τὰναντία Θηβαίος, Λακεδαίμονις δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, τάστα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. εἶτε δὲ περιπέλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς 'Αρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρυὰς μὲν ἔξαιρει κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν· ἐκείθεν δὲ εὐθὺς στρατευσάμενος 15 εἰς Παρρασίου τῆς 'Αρκαδίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἐδόθην τὴν χώραν. εἶτε δὲ ἐβοηθήσαν οἱ 'Αρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργείοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὕπερ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὅποιος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὅσ εἰρημένος ἢ 20 παραμένειν. καὶ ἀμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπήγε τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης. 29 εἶτε δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐπέμπτες ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευεν· κάκεινος μέντοι ἐβοηθεῖ. ἢς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῆ, οἱ μὲν 'Αρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι 25 προσέβασων εἰς τὴν Λάκαωναν, καὶ οὕτω ὡς ἀποκλείσωντο ἀυτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἴκον ὁδοῦ. δὲ, οὔπερ εὗτοι χωρίον ἐπέπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ' Εὐτρησίων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας 30 ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα ἐκβᾶς παρετάξατο ὡς μαχοῦμενος. ἔφασαν δ'
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ζ

αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόχων παριόντα τοιάδε παρακελεύσασθαι ἂν ἄρξηθί τνν ἀναβλέψωμεν ὅρθος ὄμμασθι ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἷαντερ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν πανσώμεθα αἰσχυνόμενοι
5 καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναίκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς πρόσθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι ἦμεν. τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπᾶς τε καὶ βροντῶς 31 λέγοντων αἰσθῶς αὐτῷ φανήμαι συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενος τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἦρακλέους [οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀπόγονοι λέγεται] εἶναι. τοιγαροῦ ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὐτό πολὺ μένου καὶ θάρρους τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὡστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἤγεμοσιν ἀνείργεων τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑδουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἔπει μέντοι ἤγειτο ὁ Ἀρχιδαμός, ὅλοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρῳ αὐτῶν 15 ἀπέθανον οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἐπιττου, πολλοὶ μεῖν ὑπὸ ἰππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. ὡς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς 32 μάχης τροπαίον ἔτησσατο, εὐθὺς ἐπέμψει οὐκαδὲ ἀγγελούντα Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τὸ μέγεθος [καὶ] ὅτι Λακεδαίμωνίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἶς τεθναί, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμ- 20 πλῆθεις. τοὺς μεντοὺς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἕφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξα- μένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλαοῦ καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν οὔτω κοινῷ τί ἀρα χαρά καὶ λύπη δάκρυα ἐστὶν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὐχῇ οὐ πολὺ τῇ ἦττον Λακεδαιμονίων ἤσθησαν Ὑβαίοι τε καὶ Ἡλεῖοι οὔτως ἤδη 25 ἥχθουντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονὴματι αὐτῶν.

Συνεχῶς δέ βουλευόμενοι Ὑβαίοι ὅπως ἅν τὴν ἤγεμονίαν 33 λάβοιειν τῆς Ὑπέλαδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτῆσαι ἂν τί ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου παρακαλέσαντες ἦδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει 30 ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμώνιος εἰπα βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαί- νουσι Ὑβαίοι μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Ἀντῖοχος ὁ

παγκρατιαστής, 'Ἡλεών δὲ 'Αρχίδαμος· ἥκολούθει δὲ καὶ 'Αργεῖος. καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν

34 Τιμαγόραν τε καὶ Λέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπιλευκέτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἰχε γὰρ λέγει καὶ ὅτι μοῦνο τῶν 'Ελλήνων βασιλεῖς συνεμάχοντο 5 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ύστερον οὐδεπώποτε στρατεύσαντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς Λακεδαίμονιοι διὰ τούτο πολεμήσεισαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσανεν μετ' 'Αγνησιᾶν ἐλθεῖν ἔπ' αὐτῶν οὔδε ὑσταὶ ἐάσανεν αὐτόν ἐν Αἰλίδι τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι, ἐνθαπέρ ὅτε Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν εξέπλευς ὑσταὶ εἰλε Τροίαν. το μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενικήσαν οἱ Ὄθβαῖοι μάχη ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι πεπορθηκότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἐφαίνοντο. ἐλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδαις μάχη ἡττημένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Λακεδαίμονίων, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγέναν. συνε-15 μαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγειν ὁ Ὅθβαῖος

35 Τιμαγόρας, καὶ ἐτυμάτῳ δεύτερος μετὰ τῶν Πελοπίδαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρωτώμενοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελοπίδας τί βούλουτο ἐαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον εἰναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναύς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα 20 μῆ πείθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἰ τις δὲ πόλις μῆ

37 ἔθελοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἔπὶ ταῦτην πρῶτον λέναι. γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγωγόθεντων τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, εἶπεν ὁ Δέων ἀκούσας τοῦ βασιλέως· Νῦ Δία, ὁ Ὅθβαῖοι, ὁρα γε ύμῖν, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἄλλοι ταῦτα φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 25 ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεύς ἐκ παρὰ Ὅθβαῖοιο, πάλιν ἑξήθευκεν ἐνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δὲ τὶ δικαίοτερον τούτων γυγώ· σκουσιν οἱ Ὅθβαῖοι, ἑοῦτας πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκουτο οἱ πρέσβεις οἰκάδε ἐκαστοὶ, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ὅθβαῖοι, καθηγοροῦντο τοῦ Δέωτος 30

2 Ὅθβαῖοι δὲ C F ἀντέπεμψαν C F το Ἀγαμέμνων ὧτε Ἐπεὶ C o u e t τροίαν B: τὴν τροίαν c e t. 14 οἱ ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἄρκαδες C: οἱ ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄρκαδες V: ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄρκαδες C e t. 16 λέγει F 22 πρώτην V
ός οὖτε συσκηνοῦν ἢαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων ὁ μὲν Ἡλεῖος Ἀρχι-
δαμος, ὃτι προνύμησε τῆν Ἡλίων πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπήνει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὃτι ἠλπτοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν,
5 οὔτε τὰ δώρα ἐδέξατο ἀπῆγγελε τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὑψοποιοὺς καὶ ὄνοχοὺς καὶ
θυρωρῶς πεπλήθεις ἔχοι, ἀνδρας δὲ οἱ μάχοντ' ἀν "Ελλησι
πάνω ἤττων οὐκ [ἀν] ἐφ' ὠνασθαι ίδειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ
tο ὁ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀλαζονείαν οἰ γε δοκεῖν ἐφθ έιται,
10 ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆν ὑμνομένην ἀν χρυσῆν πλάτανον οὐ χ ἰ κανήν
ἐφ' εἶναι τέτυγεν σκιών παρείγω.

'Ως δὲ οἱ Ἡθαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν 39
ἀκουσμένοις τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρης
ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δεῖξες τῆν βασιλέως σφραγίδα ἀνέγνω
15 τὰ γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Ἡθαῖοι ὁμόνως ταῦτα ἐκέλευον
βασιλεῖ καὶ έαυτοῖς τῶν βουλομένων φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ
ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίμαντο ὡς οὐκ ὁμούμενοι ἀλλ' ἀκουσμένοι
μενοι πεμφθείςαν· εἰ δὲ τι ὄρκων δέωστο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις
πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρκάς Λυκομήδης καὶ τούτο
20 ἐλεγεν, ὃτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Ἡθαίοι δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ'
ἐνθά ἀν ή ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπανόρων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Ἡθαϊῶν
καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ
συνέδριον ἤθελε καθεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀπίων ἅχετο, καὶ μετ' αὐ-
tοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. ὃς δ' ἐν Ἡθαίοι 40
25 οὐκ ἴθελησαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὁμώσαι, ἑπεμπον οἱ Ἡθαῖοι
πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὁμώνια κελεύοντες ποιήσεις κατὰ
τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, νομίζοντες δ' ἐκάστην ἡμὲν ἀπεκρί
τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἀμα ἐαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ
μέντοι εἰς Κόρυνθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένους ὑπεστήσαν
30 οἱ Κόρυνθοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίμαντο ὡς οὐδὲν δέωστο πρὸς βασιλέα

1 πελοπίδα C F 4 δ ἀν] hic prorsus desinit B 8 ἀν del.
Dind. 10 ἀν del. Cobet 21 ἐνθά δ' ΣΤεφάνου: ἐνθά Σ'
ἀν C: cet. om. ἀν 22 διαφέρει M 25 συνελθοῦσε C F
26 ποιήσαι C F 27 τὰ om. F
κοινών ὁρκῶν, ἐπηκολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις κατὰ ταύτα ἀποκρυπτομέναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῶν Ὑπερβαίων τῆς ἄρχυς περιβολῆ οὕτω διελύθη.

41 Ἀθήνας ὑπὲρμίσθίους, βουλήθηκε τοὺς Ἀχαίους προσαγαγεῖσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίζαι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 5 σύμμαχοι προσέχουσαν τὸν νοῦν, ἦγουν ἑκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαίαν. Πεισάν ὁυν τὸν Ἀργείου στρατηγοῦντα ἐν τῷ Ἀργείς πελετεία προκαταλαβεῖν τῷ Ὑπερμίσθιον. καὶ ὁ Πεισάνιος μέντοι καταμαθῶν ἀμελουμένην τήν τοῦ Ὑπερμίσθιον φυλακὴν ὧπο τοῦ Ναυκλέους, ὅς ἦρχε τοῦ ἔξεικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νῦκτωρ μετὰ διυχελών ὀπλιτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρεῶν λόφον, ἔχων ἔπτα ἡμέρων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλθόντες οἱ Ὑπερβαίοι ὑπερβάφοι τῷ Ὑπερμίσθιον, καὶ στρατευοῦσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπὶ Ἀχαιαν, ἤγουμένου Εἴπαρμον ἐν τῇ Ὑπερμίσθιον. προσπεσοῦσιν ὁ αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαιας, ἐνδυναστεῖαι οἱ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὡστε μὴ φυγαδεύσαι τοὺς κράτιστους μηδὲ πολίτευος μεταστήσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβῶν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἡ μὴ σύμμαχος ἔσθεσαν καὶ ἀκουλουθήσων ὧποι ἄν Ὑπερβαίοι ἤγωνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν 20 Οὐκάδε. κατηγοροῦσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασίων ὡς Λακεδαιμονίως κατεσκευάσκων τὴν Ἀχαιαν ἀπέλθοι, ἐδοξεῖ Ὑπερβαίους χρυσότατοι εἰς τὰς Ἀχαιας πόλεις. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους ὃς τῷ πλῆθει ἔξωβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαια κατέστησαν. οἱ 25 μέντοι ἐκπεσοῦσι συντάγματι συχνῷ, ὡπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων πολεμοῦσαι, ὅτες οὐκ ὄλγοι, κατῆλθον τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσεσον, ἀλλὰ προβόμως συνεμάχοντο τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπιείξωσα

1 κοινών] καίνων Hertlein ἄλλαι πολλαὶ CF ταύτα] ταύτα V: ταύτα cet. 6 ἔγραφo ἑκστρατευτέον Hertlein: ἐγραφε στρατευτέον codd. 11 τοῦ τιμομάχου Ἡ 13 τὰ om. C 18 μηδὲ Dind.: μὴ τε vel μὴτε codd. 21 αὐτοῦ D (supersc. eadem manu) V: αὐτῶν cet. 25 ἐξεβαλλον Pal. CF 26 συντάγματος om. in fine versus Ἡ
οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαίμονίων, ἔθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυώνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τοῦτον κατὰ τοὺς 44 ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον βουλόμενος ὁ Εὐφρων, ὡσπέρ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν 5 πολιτῶν, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν προτειένω, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἰ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσοιντο τοῦ Σικυώνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν τύχῃ, πάλιν λακωνεῖ ἡ πόλις. ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται, εὐ ἔστε, ἐφη, ὅτι διαμενεῖ ύμω ἡ πόλις. ἐὰν οὖν μοι 10 παραρένησθαί, ἐγὼ ἐσοραί ὁ συγκαλὼ τὸν ὅμοιον, καὶ ἁμα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ταύτην πίστεν ἐμαυτοῦ δόσω καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταύτα δ', ἐφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὐ ἔστε ὅτι πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὡσπέρ ύμεις, τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων, ἀσμενός δ' ἄν τὴν δουλείαν 15 ἀποφυγὼν. οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργείοι ἡδέως ταύτ' 45 αἰκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. δ' εὖθυς εἰν τῇ ἁγορῇ παροῦντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν ὅμοιον, ὅς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵσοις καὶ ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆθος, στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλέσθαι οὕστως 20 αὐτοῖς δοκοί. οἱ δ' αἱροῦντα αὐτὸν τε τὸν Εὐφρωνα καὶ Ἰππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίδου καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς δ' ὅταν ἐπεπράκτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενίκον καθιστην Ἀδέαν τὸν αὐτοῦ νῷον, Δυσιμενήν τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα ἀποστήσατο. καὶ εὖθυς μὲν τοὺτον τῶν ἔναν τὸν Εὐφρων πιστοὺς των 46 25 ἐποιῶν ἐπουσίσατο, καὶ ἅλλους προσελάμβανεν, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων οὔτε τῶν λερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους δ' ἐξεβάλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρήμασιν ἔχρητο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξεβάλεν. ὡστε πάντα ύφ' ἐαυτῷ ἐπούσισατο καὶ 30 σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταύτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ

1 of F: μὲν γὰρ οἱ C: γὰρ οὶ cct. 9 ἐφη om. D 11 ταύτην τὴν C F 15 ταύτα D C 16 αἰκούσαντες C F 18 ἐπὶ Weiskie: ἐν codd. 21 κλ ἀνδρον H 23 αὐτοῦ M: αὐτοῦ cct. 27 ἐξεβάλλεν C F 29 ἐξεβάλλεν C F

XEN. HELL.
VII.ι ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καὶ, εἰ ποι ἱσταντο ἐξω τὸ ἕνεκον συνηκολούθει.

II Ὅδε τοῦτον προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχισάτων [ἐν] τῷ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπέρ τοῦ Ἡραῖου Τρικά-ρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυώνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρίους αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων 5 τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὄμμα δὲ διεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἰ τι καλὸν ἐπράζαν, ἀπαντεῖ οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνησται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ εἰ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὕτα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἐτὶ 10 μᾶλλον άξιον εἶναι ἁποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τοῖνυν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίους, ὃτε ἐκείνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν: σφαλέντων ὁ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτρως μάχῃ, καὶ ἀπο- στάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἰλώτων, ἑτὶ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνω ὀλίγων, 15 ἐπιστρατευόντων ὁ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ διέμεναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατώτατους τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργείους ὡμός ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταίοι λαχώνες εἰς Πρασιᾶς τῶν συμβοηθησάντων, ἢσαν δ' οὕτων Κορνήθου, Ἡπιδαύρου, 20 Ἑρμονείς, Ἀλείας, Σικυώνων καὶ Πελληνείς· οὐ γὰρ πο τότε ἀφέστασαν—ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἶπε δ' ἐξαγούς τοὺς προδιαβέβωτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἦκετο, οἷς ὡς ἀπε- στράφησαν, ἀλλ' ἤγομον μισθωτάχθην ἐκ Πρασιῶν, δότων τῶν πολεμίων περὶ Ἀμύκλας, ὅπως ἐδώσαντο διαδόθησαν εἰς 25 Σπάρτην ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄλλως τε 4 ἐτίμων αὐτοῖς καὶ βοῶν ξένων ἐπεμήναν. ἐπεί δ' ἀναχωρη- σάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίου οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὄργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμία ἐνέβαλον πανδημεῖ εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν 30

χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήσουν, οὔδ' ὡς ύφεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπε-χάρων φθείρατε ὅσα ἐδώματο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἵππεις ἐπικολούθουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῶν ἱππέων ἀπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν 5 μετ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἐξήκοντα ὅντες ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλακας· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὀλγοὺς αὐτῶν, τροπαίον μὲντοι ἐστήσαντο ὀράμτων τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ ἐλ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτοὺς.

10 Ἀδῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρων τὸ 5 Ὠνειοῦ, Ὄηβαιοι δὲ προσήκαν ὡς ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευόμενων δὲ διὰ Νερέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὅπως συμμείξανεν τοῖς Ὄηβαιοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδες ὡς εἰ ἐθελήσειν ἐπιφανήναι μόνον 15 σφίσι, λάβοιεν ἄν Ἡλείοντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα συνυμμολογήθη, τής νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἑχοῦντες οἱ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σκοποὶ ἐσήμανον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὡς πολεμίους ἐπιοῦτων, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ἐν δὴ 20 τούτῳ οἱ προδιόδοντες ἐσήμανον τοῖς ὑποκαθημένοις ἀναβάεις. οἱ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ 6 ὀπλα ἔρημα, ἔδωκον τοὺς ἑμεροφύλακας ὅντας δέκα· ἄφ' ἐκάστης δὲ τῆς πεπάδος εἰς ἑμεροφύλαξ κατελήπτο· καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἔτι καθεῦδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ καταφυγόντα 25 πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλλομένους κατὰ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀστὺ ὀρῶντος τῶν ἑμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν 7 πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθονοι οἱ πολίται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο εἰς τῷ πρῶτθεν 30 τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερούσων πυλῶν· ἐπείτα πολιορκούμενοι


tων codd. 27 δὲ om. H

16*
VII. ii

ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

υπὸ τῶν προσβοηθοῦντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρό-πολιν· οἱ δὲ πολῖται συνεσπιπτοῦσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν 
μέσον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐθὺς ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ 
τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς πῦργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπαίων καὶ 
ἐβαλλοῦν τοὺς ἐνδοὺν· οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἡμύνουτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς 

8 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος φεροῦσας κλῖμακας προσεμάχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ 
τῶν ἐνδοὺ καὶ ἐνθεῖ πῦργων ἐκράτησάν τινων οἱ πολῖται, 
ὁμόσε ὅτι ἐχώρουν ἀπονεομένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ 
δὲ ὀθούμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἔλασσ 
συνειλόντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καυρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἱ 
Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς τὸ 
τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυγον· τῶν δὲ ἐνδοθεὶ οἱ μὲν 
+ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας; ἐπὶ 
ταῖς κλίμαξας ὄντας, ἐπαινοῦ, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας 
αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πῦργους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πῦρ εὐρότετο ἐν ταῖς 
σκηναῖς ὑφῆπτον αὐτοὺς, προσφοροῦτες τῶν δραγμάτων ἡ 
ἐτυχεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθεραμένα. ἐντάθη δὴ 
οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων τὴν φλόγα φοβοῦμενοι ἐξῆλυσαν, 
οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τεῖχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιώμενοι ἐξέπαιπτον. 

9 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπαξ ἠρέαντο ὑπείκεω, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκρόπολις 20 
ἐρήμος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς 
ἐξῆλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, κατα-
λιπότες τὰς κλῖμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς; ἐνίους δὲ καὶ 
ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλεμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ 
τε ἐνδοὺ μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐξω ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἔλασσότων τῶν 
σγυδοίκοντα. ἐνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆ λῦ τῆς σωτηρίας 
τούς μὲν ἀνδρὰς δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας

19 ὑπὸ om. H
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εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικαράνου· ὥστε γὰρ
τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληνεάς ἀφικέσθαι ἢ πρὸ τοῦ
τείχους φάραγξ εἴργε. μικρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον
προπέμψατε οἱ Φελεάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι λεντο τὴν παρὰ
τὸ τείχος ἕπὶ τοὺς Πελληνεάς καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ 5
περὶ τὸν Ὑθβαίον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φελεάσιων
ἡμιλλόντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεὺσι βοηθῆσατε.
ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ Ἰππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς Πελλη-
νεύσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσατε πάλιν
σὺν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοι τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλαν καὶ ἐκ 10
χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι,
καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι τῶν τε Σικυωνίων τινές καὶ τῶν Πελλη-
νέων μᾶλλον πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων
οἱ μὲν Φελεάσιοι τροπαίον ἵσταντο λαμπρὸν παναπάντως,
ώσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὑθβαίον καὶ τὸν Εὐφρόνων 15
περεόρων τάντα, ἦσπερ ἔτι θέαν περιθερμηκότες. τού-
των δὲ πραξάντων, οἱ μὲν ἔτι Σικυώνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ εἰς
τὸ ἀστή ἀπεχώρησαν.

16 Καλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξατο οἱ Φελεάσιοι τὸν γὰρ
Πελληνέα πρόξενον ἄποντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανι-
20 ὡμένοι, ἀφήκαν ἀνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους
τῶν οὐκ ἄν τις φαίνει τοὺς τοιαύτα διαπραττόμενους;

17 Ἡμῖν γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστως τοῖς φίλοις
διέσφιξεν περιφανές· οἱ ἔπει εἰργοῦτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν,
ἔξων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορώνου 25
ὡνομένοι, διὰ πολλῶν κυνών ἔπει τὴν ἀγοράν ἱόντες,
χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς πορίζοντας
διαπραττόμενοι, γλαύρχρως δὲ ἐγγυητὰς καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξον-
18 τῶν ὑποζυγίων. ὑδὴ δὲ παντάπασι ἀποροῦντες Χάριτα

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Z  VII.ii
diēprάξαντο σφύσι παρατέμψαν τίν την παραπομηνίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειώντι ἐγένετο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀγρείους συνεκτέμψαν εἰς τήν Πελλήμην. κακεῖνους μὲν ἐκεὶ κατελίπου, ἀγοράζαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὑπόσα ἐδύναντο 5 ὑποψύχοι οὐκ ἀπῆσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσα τί ἐνεδρέσωσα τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι τοῦ μῆ ἔχειν τάπιτιθεία. καὶ προῆσαν μὲν οἱ 19 Φλειάυσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνετυχοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργον τε εἰχοῦτο καὶ παρακελεύσαμεν ἀλλήλους 10 ἐνέκεισαν, καὶ ἀμα Χάρητα ἐπιβομηθεῖν ἐξών. νικής δὲ γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὄδος τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἶκαδε καὶ ἐαυτοὺς καὶ ἂ ἤγον ἀπέσωσαν. ὡς δὲ τήν νυκτα ἡγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἳ τε ἱππεῖς καί οἱ 20 ἠρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· "Ὡ Χάρης, ἐξεστί σοι τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις ἦμων οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχιζόσαν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὀπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάντων πολλούς. ἡγησάμεθα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ἔρωμενέστατοι· 20 σὺ δὲ τὸ ἔσνικών ἔχων ἔκρη ἄκολουθης, ὅσως μὲν διαπεπραγµένα σοι καταλήψῃ, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανείς σὺ τροπῆ, ὡσπερ ἐν Πελλήμη, ποιῆσες. εἰ δὲ τι δυσχερές σοι ἔστων ἄν λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυώμενοι· οὐκ ὁμοθεὰ γὰρ ἔτι σε μᾶλλον ἦμων τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττεις κελεύσῃς. 25 τούτῳ δὲ χρῆ, ὁ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξης, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιστειχίκως ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν διασεσωκῶς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐσεὶ, ὄνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης 21 πεισθεῖς ἐθύτο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς

θάρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχαλώνυν, ὦ δὲ ὅπλιται ὡς αἰς πεζοὺς παρεσκευάζοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὁπλα ἐπορευόντο ἐνθα ὑθύτο, ἀπῆντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάωτις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὃτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξεμεν. ὦς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκή-5 ῥύχθη, θεία τινὶ προθυμία καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχῦ ἐξέδραμον.

22 ἔπει δὲ Χάρης ἡρξατο πορευέσθαι, προῆλθαν αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασῶν ἵππες καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως ἡγούντο, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον. τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἵππες κατὰ κράτος ἠλλον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθεον ὡς δυνατὸν 10 ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδὴ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουσμένους, τοὺς δὲ ὑψο-ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποιοῦ-23 μένους. ὦς δ’ εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὔβους 15 ἐκπλαγέντες ἐφυγον, καταλπόντες τοὺς ἄγαθοι ἀνδράσι πάντα τάπτηθεια. κακεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δεσπήσαντε καὶ οἰκοθέν ἄλλα ἠλθόντα, ὡς ἐπ’ εὐτυχία σπείσαντε καὶ παιανί-σαντε καὶ φυλακὰς κατασκευασάμενου, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορύθων, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, 20 μᾶλα φιλικὸς κηρύζαντε τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σῖτον γεμίσαντε εἰς τὸν Φλειούντα παρήγαγον καὶ ἐωσπέρ ἐτείχιζετο τὸ τείχος, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπαί ἐγίγνουτο.

III Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασῶν, ὦς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐγε-25 νυστὸ καὶ ἀλκυμοὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὡς πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἰρήται. σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένοι, νομίζασι οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἐχεῖν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι, ἀναβάς σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρό-30
πολὺν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἐνδοῦν ὄντων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμβη 
τετο. φοβηθεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐὐφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν 2 
λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ 
5 Κορίνθου, διὰ τοῦτον παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Λακεδαι 
μονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὐτῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων 
ὅς Λακεδαιμονίως διατελοῦσα πιστῶς ὤν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος 
ἐδίδοτο εἰς τῇ πόλει, ἐλθολὴ ἀφίστασθαι, μετ’ ὀλύγων 
ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἐφ’ ἐπείτα δὲ τοῦς προδότας ἑαυτὸν βους. 

3 10 λόμενος τμιορήσασθαι δήμον καταστήσας. καὶ νῦν, ἐφή, 
φεύγουσιν ὑπ’ ἔμοι πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδότατες. εἰ μὲν 
οὖν ἐδυσάθην ἐγὼ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς 
ἀπέστην νῦν ὃ ὦ ἐγκράτης ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παρα 
δέδωκα ὑμῖν. ἥκροώντο μὲν ὃ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα’ ὅποσοι 
15 δὲ ἐπεἶθοντο οὐ πάντων κατάδηλον.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἡρξάμην, διατελέσας βούλομαι τὰ περὶ 4 
Εὐφρόνον. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυών τῶν τε βελ 
τίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὐφρῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἐζευκὸν 
πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀστεώς ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ 
20 δήμῳ. Θηβαίοι δὲ ἄρμοστοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος, ἐπεὶ 
ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δύναμεν τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχοντων τὴν ἀκρόπολι 
τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συνσκευασάμενοι χρήματα ὁχέτο, ὡς 
τούτους πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους, 
παραδοῦναι δ’ αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ 
25 πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἀντ 
pορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Ἐθῆσας. ὡς δ’ ἔωρον αὐτὸν οἰκεῖος τοῖς 
ἀρχοντες συνόντα, φοβηθεῖντες μὴ διαπράξαν ὅ βουλεῖται, 
παρεκδοντες τινας καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι 
tὸν Εὐφρόνα, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθῖ 
30 μένων. οἱ μὲντοί ἀρχούσι τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς 
tὴν βουλῆν, καὶ ἔλεγον τάδε.

2 μετεπέμψατο D 4 ἐκ κορίνθου πασίμηλον H 11 πάντες 
om. C 13 παρεδώκα M 17 τε om. F 28 ἀποσφάττουσιν 
aυτὸν C, omissos τὸν Ἐυφρόνα
ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

6 Ὁ ἄνδρες πολίται, ἡμεῖς τουτούς τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας
Εὐφρονι διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὅρωντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώφρονες οὐδὲν ὅπτου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἄνδρον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μὲν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειράματα, οὕτω δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντας ἀνδρῶπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι τόλμη τε καὶ 5 μιαρὰ ὡστε παρ᾿ αὐτάς τε τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ παρ᾿ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους ὦστινα δεὶ ἀποθητότες καὶ ὦστινα μὴ, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὕτω μὴ δώσοντι τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην, τὸς ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν χαρὶν πορεύσεται; τὸ δὲ πείσεται ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἔξεσται τῷ βουλο-10 μένῳ ἀποκτείναν πρὶν δηλώσαι ὅτου ἐνεκεῖ ἐκαστός; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὡς ἀνοησιωτάτους καὶ ἄδικο-τάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλεῖστον δὴ ὑπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκούτες, ὅποιας τυπὸς ὑμῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀξίου εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθύμετε.

7 Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαύτα ἐπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ μὲν ἀλλοι ἢμοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενηθαῖν· εἰς δὲ ὤμο-λογήκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὢδε πώς ἢρχετο. Ἀλλ᾿ ὑπερορᾶν μὲν, ὁ Ὑπαλίκοι, οὐ δυνατον ὑμῶν ἄνδρι δὴ εἰδεῖν κυρίους μὲν ὡστε ὁ τι βουλεσθε αὐτῷ χρήσθαι· τῶν μὴν πιστεύων 20 ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὕ ὅστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἐπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνωσθεῖσθαι. ὡδεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχιαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὐς ἔλαβετε ἰμοια Εὐφρονι πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψήφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὅποτε πρῶτον ἔσπυρσθη καταμαρθύνασθε, νομίζομεν 25 τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερῶς προσθηκότος καὶ τυραννῶν ἐπιχειροῦντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνδρῶπων καὶ βάρβαρων 8 κατεγνώσθαι. οὐκοῦν καὶ Εὐφρονι πάσιν τούτοις ἔνοχος ᾗ. παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστᾶ καὶ ἄργυρων καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε 30

μὴν τὶς ἄν περιφανέστερος Ἐὐφρονος εἶη, δὲ φιλάτατος μὲν ὁν Ὀλκηδαμινοίος υμᾶς ἀντ’ ἐκεῖνων ἐξεταὶ πιστὰ δὲ δόνσ καὶ λαβῶν παρ’ ύμῶν πάλιν προῦδοκεν ύμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λαμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως 5 τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δούλους μὲν οὐ καὶ μόνον ἔλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτύνυε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρεῖτο οὐκ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλ’ οὐς αὐτῷ ἔδοκει; οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. αὕτις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ύμῶν 9 Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν εἶς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν έθετο τὰ 10 ὁπλα τῷ παρ’ ύμῶν ἀρμοστῇ ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεὶ, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα δεύρο ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁπλα ἠθροικώς ἐφάνη ἐφ’ ύμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἀν μοί ἐξετεῖ, ἀν ἀπέκτεινα αὐτῶν ὡς δὲ χρήματα ἴλθε παρασκευασάμενος, οὐ τούτοις ύμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων 15 πάλιν κύριον αὐτῶν ποίησαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεὶς πῶς ἂν ἰδιαίως ύπ’ ύμῶν ἀποθάνομι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὁπλοὶ βιασθέντες βλάπτονται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοι γε ἀναφαίωνται οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθερέντες ἀμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἀμα δὲ αἰσχύνη περιπττοῦσιν. εἰ μὲν 10 20 τούτων ἔμοι μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ύμῶν δὲ φίλος, καὶ ὁμολογω μὴ καλῶς ἂν μοί ἐχειν παρ’ ύμῖν τούτῳ ἀποκτεῖναι. ὡς ἂν ύμᾶς προδίδοομεν τί ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἴν ἂν ἴμω; ἀλλὰ νη Δία, εἴποι ἂν τις, ἐκὼν ἠλθε. κάτα εἰ μὲν ἀπεχομένων τῆς ἰμετέρας πόλεως ἀπέκτεινε τις αὐτῶν, ἑπαίνων ἂν ἐτύγχανε. 25 νῦν ὁτι πάλιν ἴλθεν ἀλλα πρὸς τοὺς πρόσθεν κάκα ποιή- σων, οὐ δικαίως φησί τις αὐτῶν τεθνάναι; τοῦ ἦχου “Ἐλλησι σπονδάς ἀποδεῖξα ἡ προδόταις ἡ παλιναταισθεῖ ἡ τυράνης; πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἀναμνῆσθητε ὡς καὶ ἐψηφίσασθη 11 ὁήσον τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμα- 30 κίδων. ὡστε δέ ἂνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος

1 φιλάτατος Cobet (φιλάτατος C pr. ut vid.) 4 ἀπροφασίστως Schneider 5 μὲν om. C F 24 ἰμετέρας V C 25 ὡς Schäfer 26 φῆςει V 29 πασῶν Cobet: τῶν πάντων M: πάντων cet. 30 συμμάχων] συμμαχίδων C
κατέρχεται φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχοι τις ἀν ἐπεὶ όπως οὐ δίκαιον ἐστιν ἀποθυμήσκειν; ἐγὼ φήμη, οὐ ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ύμᾶς ἐμὴ τετιμωρηκότας ἐσεσθαι ἄνδρι τῷ πάντων ύμῶν πολεμιστάτῳ, γνώτας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τετιμωρηκότας φανείσθαι ύπέρ τε ύμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ύπέρ τῶν συμμάχων 5 ἀπαντῶν.

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἑββαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἐγνώσαν δίκαια τὸν Ἐὐφρονα πεποιηθέναι· οἱ μὲντοι πολίται αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κοιμοῦμενοι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγήτην τῆς πόλεως σέβομαι. οὐτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλείστοι ὁρίζον- 10 τα τοὺς εὐφρένητας εὐαὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

IV Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἐὐφρονος ἑιρήτω· ἐγὼ δὲ ἑνδει εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμ. ἐτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τῆν Ὑμαίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάριτος ἔτι παρόντος Ὡρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη. στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων Ἀθη- 15 ναίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χάριτα μεταπεμψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Ὑμαίας, ὁ μὲν λυμὴν αὐ ὁ τῶν Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀλίσκεται· τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Ἑββαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὡρωπὸν μέχρι 20 δίκης.

2 Καταμαθῶν δὲ τὸν Ἰνκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχον δι' ἐκεῖνος, ἀντιβοήθησε δ' αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον 25 ἐνυσχέραυνος τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Ῥκεδαμονίους ὅταν φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχοις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ἡγίσκοιν οὗτοι μεῖον Ῥκεδαμονίους ἡ σφύσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδων μὴ προσδείχθαι Ἐββαίων, οὐτω δὴ προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Ἰνκομή- 30 δὴς ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθυπή-

1 δίκαιος Nauck 5 φανησθεῖαι H 8 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C 10 οὗ·
τως ... εἰναι del. Nauck 15 post κατελήφθη lac. stat. Hartman
22 τοὺς om. V 27 ἐπειδὴ δὲ M D V: ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ Pal.: δὴ om. H C F
σκελ. ὅντων γὰρ παρμόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὁ ἔβουλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τούνων ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, ἐπετέλεο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἐνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἔτυγχανον ὅντες. κάκεινοι μὲν ὅντως ἀποθνήσκει, ἡ μέντων συμμαχία 5 ὅντως ἐπέραντο.

Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοσίων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς 4 ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοθε πράττεσθαι, τοὺς μὲντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρυθος σφα ἡ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀκούσαστε δὲ 10 ταῦτα οἱ Κορώνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντε ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν πάντοτε ὅπου Ἀθηναίοι ἐφρούροντο ἐπιπαν αὐτοὺς ἀπενεία, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρών. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. ὡς δὲ συνήλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρουρῶν Ἀθηναίοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορώνθιοι, εἰ τις ἀδικοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι, ὡς 15 ληψαμένους τὰ δίκαια. ὅντω δὲ τούτων ἐχώντων Χάρης 5 ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγχρείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλευσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρείη. οἱ δ' ἐπαινεσάστας αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον. 20 καὶ τοὺς ὅπλας δὲ τὰ δίκαια πούστας ἀπέεμψαν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορώνθου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. τοὺς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμπει ἡμαγκάζοιτο τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπί 6 κούρους διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἰ τις στρατεύοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμων.

25 Τοὺς δὲ Κορωνίδους ἐνθυμομένους ὡς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν, προσγεγενημένους δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοι ἀνεπιτηδείως, ἔδοξεν ἀδροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἡγοῦμενοι δὲ τούτων, ἀμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφυλάττον, ἀμα δὲ πολλά 30 τοὺς πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίους εἰς μέντοι Θήβας

VII. iv

ΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

7 ἐπει δὲ οἱ Ὁθβαίοι λέγαι ἐκέλευν, ὡς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐάσαι σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ὡς μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἱρουμένους ἐσάσοντες πολεμεῖν. ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ 5 ταῦτα πράττεν τῶν Ὁθβαίων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ

8 Κορίνθιοι εἶπον Ἡμεῖς, ὁ ἄνδρες Λακεδαίμονι, πρὸς ὡμᾶς πάρεσμεν ὑμετέροι φίλοι, καὶ ἄξιοῦμεν, εἰ μὲν των ὅρατε σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν, εὰν διακαρτερώμεν πολεμοῦσες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς: εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως γυγνώσκετε ἔχουσα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν 10 καὶ ὑμῶν συμφέρει, ποιησόμαι μεθ’ ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς ὑπὲρ μετ’ ὑπερενόν ἂν ἦδοιν ἡ μεθ’ ὑμῶν σωθεῖμεν: εἰ μέντοι ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα ὑμῶν ἔσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιησόμαι. σωθεῖμεν μὲν γὰρ ἰσως ἂν αὕτης ἐτὶ ποτὲ ἐν καρφὶ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα: ἐὰν δὲ 15 νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι ὑπερετάτε χρῆσιμοι ἐτὶ ἐσόμεθα.

9 ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τοὺς τῇ Κορινθίους συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιησόμαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπέτρεψαν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους σύν ἐαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἀναπαύεσθαι: αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐφασαν πολεμοῦσέν πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν 20 τῇ θεῷ φίλον ἢ ὑφήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἵπ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στερηθῆναι. οἱ οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Ὁθβᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μὲν Θεοβαῖοι ήξίους αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ὄμνυμαι: οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ 25 εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον μεταλλαγὴ εἶναι ἐν δὲ βουλουτο, παρείναι ἐφανεν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγασθεῖν δὲ αὐτούς οἱ Θεοβαῖοι, ὅτι καίτερ ἐν κυνίινοι οὔτε οὐκ ἦδον τοὺς εὐεργέτας εἰς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ Φλεισσιώς καὶ τοὺς ἐλθοῦσι μετ’ αὐτῶν 30 εἰς Ὁθβᾶς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ’ ὅτε ἐξείν ἐναυτῶν ἔκαστους.

καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου ὁμόσθησαν οἱ ὕρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἦσαν ἐγένετο, εὑρός ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Ὀναμίας. οἱ δὲ Ἄργειοι ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους εἰρήμην ποιήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταπράξαι ὡστε 5 τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένευν ἐν τῷ Τρικάραν ως ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούριν, φάσκουντες σφητέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἢν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὡς πολεμάν οὕσαν ἐδήμουν, καὶ δίκας τῶν Φλειασίων προκαλομένων οὐκ ἐδόθοισαν.

10 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τούτου τῶν χρόνων τετελευτηκότος ἦδη τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ νῦν αὐτοῦ πέμπτε βοήθειαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους δώδεκα τρήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην. οὕτως οὖν ἄφικομένος συνεξαρπεῖ αὐτοῖς Σέλλασιαν καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἶκαδε.

15 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καταλαμβάνοντοι οἱ Ἡλειοὶ Λασίωνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦτα εἰς τὸ Ἁρκαδικόν. οἱ μέντοι Ἁρκάδες οὐ παρωλιγώρησαν, ἀλλὰ εὔθεια παραγγείλαντες ἐβοήθοισαν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπι-πεδεστέρᾳ χωρίᾳ τῶν Ἡλείων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἁρκάδες ἀναβαίνοντον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ύπέρ τῶν Ἡλεῖων ὅρους κορυφῆν ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους. οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες ἀμα μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδέξιον προσιόντας, ἀμα δὲ πολλα-25 πλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ἕσχυνθεσαν, ὡμός δ’ ἦλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἐφυγον καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνδράς, πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἀπόλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπο-χωροῦσεν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἁρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τάς 14
τῶν Ἀκρωπείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Ὀραυστοῦ ἄφικνονται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταύθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδύοντων τινῶν. οὕτω δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἡλείοι αὐτοῖς παντάπασιν ἑθύμησαν, 5 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἠλθοῦν ἐκεῖ μέντοι υποστάντες οἱ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπεκτενών τινας καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαντο. ἰὴν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἡλίδῃ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπτόν τε καὶ Ὀρασωνίδαν 10 καὶ Ἄργειον εἰς ὅμοιον άργον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ῥατίκακαν τε καὶ Ἰπίπλαι καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι τοὺς ὅμοιον ἀκροκρατείσθαι βουλομένους, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπτον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθεμενοὶ τοῖς 15 τροπαίοις εἰς Ἡλίδῃ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπτόν τε καὶ Ὀρασωνίδαν 10 καὶ Ἄργειον εἰς ὅμοιον άργον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ῥατίκακαν τε καὶ Ἰπίπλαι καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι τοὺς ὅμοιον ἀκροκρατείσθαι βουλομένους, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπτον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθεμενοὶ τοῖς 15 καταλαμβάνοντες τὴν ἄκροπολιν. οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι οὐκ ἔμελλησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐθύνου ἔχωρον ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούσαν αὐτοὺς· ὡστε ἐφυγον σύν τῷ Ἄργειῳ καὶ Ἑλυρίῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τριακόσιον. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον οὕτως παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινῶς 20 καταλαμβάνοντες Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἀτε χαρίων τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ρώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔξοικα. ἐνεβαλον δὲ καὶ ύστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ Ἁρκάδες, ύπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἀπανειθόμενοι ὡς ἡ πόλις 25 προσχωρήσατο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγενεμένοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὡστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὐδέν ἂλλο πράξαντες ἡ δημόσιατις αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μὲντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἡλείας ἔξοικα, αἰσθομενοὶ τοὺς Πελληνέας ἐν Ἡλίδῃ ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακρὸ- 30 τάτην ὤδην ἔδοντες καταλαμβάνονσιν αὐτῶν Ὀλυμπον.
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ Ζ  VII.iv

ἡδὴ γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχωρήκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαίμονιοι συμμαχίαν. ἔπει δ’ ἡγοῦμαι τὰ περὶ Ὁλούρον, περιελθοῦσε αὖ καὶ οὖτοι ὅτι ἐδώσατο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν Πελλῆνην εἰσῆλθαν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν 5 τοὺς ἐν Ὁλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἐαυτῶν παντὶ ὁμοίῳ μᾶλα ὅλγοι οὔτε ὅμοι δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἔξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὁλούρον.

Οἱ δ’ αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατεύαν εἰς 19 τὴν Ἡλικοῦ. μεταξὺ δὲ Κυλλῆνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπε- 10 δενομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν ὁ Ἡλεῖος ἑπαρχός, ὡσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἑναὶ τὴν μάχην συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὐτῶν ἀφεθείρες οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταυτῇ τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενος καὶ 15 Σωκλέως ο Σπαρτιάτης. ἡδὴ γὰρ τότε οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι σύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἤσαν. πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐν 20 τῇ ἐαυτῶν, ἡξίου καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιους πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἄν μᾶλιστα ἀπολαβένει τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῦντο. καὶ 20 ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρόμψων. καταλιπτόν τ’ ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρῶν τῶν δώδεκα λόχων τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀναχώρησεν. οἱ 21 μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὡσπερ ἐτυχοῦν ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἡλικοῦ στρατεύας συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθῆσαντες περιεστάρωσαν τὸν Κρόμψων 25 διπλὰ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἄσφαλεί οὔτε ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρόμψῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἡ τῶν Λακεδαίμονιοι πόλις φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῷ πολυκία τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν ἡγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδόχων καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὡς ἐδώσαι τῷ Σκιρτίδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει 30 ὅπως, εἰ δύνασται, ἀπαγάγοι τους πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρ- κάδες οὐδὲν τῷ μᾶλλον ἐκκινῶντο, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ πάντα παρε-
22 ὡρων. κατίδων δὲ τινα λόφους ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ὅτι οὔ τό ἔξω σταυρώμα περιβεβλημένοι οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἐνόμισεν ἔλειν ἀν τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τοῦτον κρατήσειν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μένειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦτο πολυρκοῦτας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὡς εἴδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ Ἀρχι- 5 δάμος πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίστους ἔξω τοῦ σταυρώματος, ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ ἱππεῖς συνεμβάλλει ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλων, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἠσυχίαι εἴχον. οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖδὲ τότε ἐνέκλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπήσαν, ἣδε οὕσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς, ἐβοήθει δὴ ἢ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρώμ- νον φέρουσαν ἀδαμαζότων, εἰς δῶ ϊς ἄγων, ὠσπερ ἐτύγχασεν
23 ἔχων. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἄλληλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχι- δάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἀτε καθ' ὄνδον πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασσίδωντες, εν τούτῳ οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο οἱ Λακε- 15 δαμώνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πληθείς, ἀλλὰ ταχῦ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπέτρωτο τῶν μηρῶν διαμπάξα, ταχύ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνησκον, Πολυαιώνος τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφῆν τοῦ Ἀρχιδαμοῦ ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν
24 τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἐλαστοί τῶν τριάκοντα. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὴν 20 ὡδὸν ἀναχωροῦστε εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαίμωνι ἀντιπαρετάξατο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὠσπερ εἴχον, συντεταγμένοι ἐστασαν, καὶ πληθεὶς μὲν ἐλεύθερον, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἴχον, ἐπελημυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἀνδρᾶς ἀπεκτοῦστε. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμωνι μάλα ἄθυμος 25 εἴχον, τετρωμένοι μὲν ὀρώντες τοῦ Ἀρχιδαμοῦ, ἀκηκόατε δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ
25 σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀνα- βοήσας τις τῶν προσβυτέρων εἶπε· Τί δει ἦμας, ὥς ἄνδρες,
ελληνικῶν

μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ σπεισομένους διαλυθήμει; ἃσμενοι δὴ ἀμφότεροι ἀκούσατες ἐσπείσατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ 'Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρή-

σατες ἐνθὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἥραντο ἐπενέα τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.

5 'Ως δὲ οἱ 'Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρομύον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς 26 πόλεως Ἡλείων πρῶτον μὲν ἱόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλου περιτυγ-

χάνοντι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοι ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν.

καὶ προσελαύνοντες οἱ ἰππεῖς τῶν Ἡλείων ὡς εἴδουν αὐτούς,

οὔκ ἐμέλλεσαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλοντι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπο-

κτυπώσωσιν, οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγοντο ἐπὶ γῆλοφον.

ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἠλθοίν οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ

λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζωντας

ἐλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἔχεσαν ἠστῶν,

ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφατον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα

15 τοὺς τε Πυλίους, ὡς οὔδεις αὐτῶν ἐβοήθηε, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ

χωρίῳ αἴροσαν, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας ἀναλαμβάνονσι. καὶ 27

μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡστερον αὐτὸς ἱστῶ τἄ τον

Κρομύον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος (τοῦ) κατὰ τοὺς

Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκομένους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ευ-

20 θύσ εξεκάλουσι. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγυῖτατα τε ἐτύχανον ἄντε

καὶ ὄζυλαβήσασιν, ἐξῆλθον ὅποσος ἕν οὖθας ἐφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν

Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσατε, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἐνδον καὶ λυ-

φέντες διενεμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μὲν μέρος ἐλαβον Ἀργείου, ἐν

ἐν ὅ Θηβαιοί, ἐν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμ-

25 παντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν

ἐκατόν ἐγένοντο.

Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρομύου, 28

πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἴχον, καὶ τὴν τε Ὄλυμπίαν

ἐρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπιώντος Ὅλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους

30 παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὅλυμπια σὺν Πισσάταις τοῖς πρό-

1 σπεισομένους Pal. 12 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν CF
18 τοῦ add. Schneider] κατὰ Palmerius: καὶ codd. 19 τῶν
23 μὲν om. CF μέρος ἀρκάδες
28 δὴ] δὲ H

17*
ζενοφωντος

tois φάσκουσι προστίημαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἔπει δὲ ὁ τε μὴν ἤκεν ἐν ὁ τὰ Ὀλυμπία γίνεται αἱ τε ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὦ ἴλειοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν πιακὴν ὄδον. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε φοντο 5 ἐλθεῖν ἔπι σφάς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵπποδρομίαν ἦδη ἐπεπούλκεσαν καὶ τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου. οἱ δ’ εἰς πάλιν ἀφικόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὅρμου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ ἴλειοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις παρῆσαν ἦδη εἰς 10 τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειών ἐμβάλλει. καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοὶς, ὁπλίται μὲν Ἰλειοὺς εἰς δισχυλίους, 15 τὰ πλῆθα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαιρισάμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἰλειούς, καταφρονούμενοι δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὁμοί ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὄσοι ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἤγοντο, 20 τοὺς δ’ Ἀρκάδας, τούτους γὰρ πρῶτοι συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαστο, καὶ ἐπιβοσθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἰλειοὺς δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. ἔπει μὲν δοὺς κατεδώξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἐστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμαχοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν ἤττων καὶ 25 ἐκδόουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τῶν στοιχείων τοῦ καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνησκοῦσιν ἄλλου τοις τῶν Ἰλειῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἱρών Ἱσταλέας. τούτων δὲ 30 πραξθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον. οἱ 31 2 prius ἐν V: om. cet. 4 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς C F 9 τῷ om. C
μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβητο τὴν ἑπιούσιαν ἤμεραν ὡστε οὖδ’ ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτός, ἐκκόπτοντες τὰ διαπεποιημένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυροῦντες. οἱ δ’ αὖ Ἡλείου ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ προσώποι εἶδον καρτέρον 5 τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οὖν τὴν ἄρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἀν ἐμπνεύσασθαι δύνατο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδείξαι, ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ οὖδ’ ἄν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ όντας ἀλκήμους ποιήσειαν.

Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιων 33 ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἑπαρίτους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι Μαντυνεῖσι ἀπεκφύσαντο μὴ χρήσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ γεγονόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἑπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοὺς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλοῦντο 15 εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκοον, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἑπαρίτους ἐκπέμπον ὡς ἄξονας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντυνεῖσι κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς ἕσω. ἐκ δὲ 34 τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τωῖς ἐλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὡς 20 οὐ χρή τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρήςθαι οὔθε καταλπεῖν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τοὺς πασίν ἐγκλήμα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηχεῖτι χρήσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δινάμενοι ἂνει μισθοῦ τῶν ἑπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ δινώμενοι παρακελουσάμενοι 25 αὐτοῖς καθόσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἑπαρίτους, ὡς μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοι ἐπὶ σφίσαν εἰσν. γυνόντες δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ δώσοιες εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύσοιες ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θηβαῖας, καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θῆβαίους ὡς εἰ μὴ στρατεύσειαν,

35 κυνδυνεύσαντες οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεσκευάζοντες ὡς στρατευόμενοι οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἐπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς Ῥώμαιοις μὴ ἱέναι σὺν ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μὴ τι καλὸς. καὶ ἁμα μὲν 5 ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥώμαιους ἐλεγον, ἀμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοντω. τὸ τε γὰρ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δίως προεστάναι οὐδὲν προσδείονται εὐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἀν καὶ ἰδιαιτέρα καὶ ὅσιότερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀν ὀφθω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων, 10 ἐδοξοῦν ἀμφοτέρους εἰρήνην ποιῆσασθαι καὶ ἐγένετο σπονδαλί. 36 Τευχομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων, καὶ ὁμοσάντων τῶν τε ἀλλων ἀπαντῶν καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ῥώμαιος, δὲ ἐτύχ- χανεν εἰς Τεγέα ἔχουν τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς τῇ Τεγέα αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείνατε 15 ἐδειπνοουόμοντο τε καὶ ἡθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδάς καὶ παι- ἀνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐπιούοιτο, δὲ Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβοῦμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σὺν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὄμογνωμοι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμπτους ἐπὶ τοὺς σκη- 20 νοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἀτε δὲ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεως παρῶντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι ὡστε ταχύ μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ὄν, 37 ταχύ δὲ ἡ δημοσία οἰκία. ώς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἧσαν, 25 πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφεύντο· οὐδὲς γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄργυζετο, ὡστες μὴ ἵπτε ἀπολείπθαι· ἀπορήσαντο δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τοῦ τε Ῥώμαιοι καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαυτινέας, οὗς μάλιστα ἐβουλύνοντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς πάνω εἰξον· 30 διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγγύς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σχεδόν πάντες ὄχυντο

1 κυνδυνεύσαντες codd.: corr. Schneider 7 τοιο. V 15 ἄλοι
om. D ἐν τῇ Τεγέα del. Cobet 16 τοιο. F 21 δ' Steph.: ἱδ' codd. 25 εἰργασμένοι H 26 ante κατὰ add. οἱ Kurz
οίκαδε. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο 38
ὁι Μαυτωνεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἰς τὸν ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικᾶς
πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς εἶναι καὶ φιλάττειν τὸς
παρόδους. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποίον, καὶ ἀμα ἐπέμψαντες
5 εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν ἀπήτων ὅσους ἔχοιν ἄνδρας Μαυτωνεῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἄξιον ἔφασαν ὦτε
δεδέσσαι οὕτε ἀποθυμήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες
ἐπαιτήφυτο, ἐλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαυτωνεῶν
πόλις ἐγνώριτο ἣ μὴν παρέξεις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
10 ὑπόσοις τις προσκαλοῦτο. ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος ἦπόρει 39
τε ὁ τι χρήσατο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἄφιησι πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας.
καὶ τῇ ύστερᾳ συγκαλέσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὑπόσοι γε δὴ
συνελθεῖν ἡδέλθησαν, ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθείη. ἀκούσα
γὰρ ἐφή ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε ἐεν σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς
15 όρλοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλους αὐτοὶ τῆν Τεγέαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
tinēs. οὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνον μὲν, καὶ περ γυγνώσκουντες
ὅτι ἐσεῦδετο περὶ σφῶν, ἀφίησαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Ὑπάσ
πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δὲν ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δ' 40
'Επαμεινόνδαν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τότε ἐτύχανε,
20 λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσειν, ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἡ ὅτε ἄφηκε. τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον
καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἀνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήμην ποιε-
σθαί πῶς οὐκ ἄν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατη-
γοροῖν; εὖ δ' ἤστε, ἐφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν
25 Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σύν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι πολεμήσομεν.
'Ως δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρὸς το τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων V
καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαυτωνεῖς καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδομένους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡςαὐ-

3 προηγόρευον] προεκέλευον Η V 4 παρόδους D: πόλεις cet,
ήμα H C F 7 εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες D: εἰ δὲ τινες Pal. H M: καὶ εἰ τινες
F₂: καὶ τινες V C F₁ 8 ἐλεγον τε V: καὶ ἐλεγον C ἐπαγγέλλοντες
(?] Pal.) Dind.: ἐπαγγέλλοντες codd. ἡ om. H: post μαυτωνεῶν
ponit V 17 ἄρθηκαν V: ἄφειον Cobet 18 δὲι Castalio
19 ἐτύχανεν Η 20 ποιήσειν et συνελάμβανον Η 21 ἄφηκεν H
22 καταστάντων F₂: καταστησάντων cet. 27 κατὰ] τὰς C
τως δὲ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὡς τι Θηβαῖοι δὴλοι εἶν 1 Βουλὸμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὡς 2 ὡς βάστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαντο. τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἢμᾶς 3 Βούλονται ἢ γὰρ ἢμεῖς μὲν ἄλληλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκεῖνων 4 ἀμφότεροι δεῦμεθα; ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεῦμεθα 5 6 αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ὃς ἐξίσοντες; οὐ δῆλον 7 ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακῶν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἢμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευά- 8 ζοῦνται; ἐπεμποῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖε βοηθεῖν κελεύουσε· ἐπο- 9 ρεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρτῶν, 10 παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ Βούλωντο κουῊ διακω- 11 λύειν, ἄν τινες ἦσιν καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 12 περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτῶν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἔν τῇ 13 ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστοὶ ἡγήσοντο.

4 Ἕνδος δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμειωνῶδας ἔξει, Βοω- 5 τοὺς ἐχόν τάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θεσπαλῶν πολλοὺς παρὰ 15 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ 6 ἦκολούθων, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθῆκαι σφίσῳ αὐτῶν εἶν, εἰ 7 τις ἐπὶ Θῆβας ίοι, βοηθεῖν ἐπ’ ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ 8 εἰσαι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ μέντοι Ἐπαμειωνῶδας ἐλογίζετο 9 καὶ ἐν Πελοπόννησῳ σφίσῳ ύπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ 20 Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦνται. 10 ἦσαν δ’ οὖν Τεγεάται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεάται 11 καὶ Παλλαντεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινες δὴ τόλμεις διὰ τὸ μικρὰ τε 12 εἰσαι καὶ ἐν μέσας ταύτας οἰκεῖος ἡμαγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε 13 μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμειωνῶδας διὰ ταχέων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν 25 Νεμέα, ἑμπάθθα διετρίβετο, ἐλπιζόν τοὺς Αθηναίους παριώντας 14 λήψεθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἄν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν 15 σφέτεροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρόωσαν αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναυ- 16 τίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἄθυμαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ συνελώντι ἐπείων, 17 πάν ἄγαθον εἰσαι Θηβαῖοι ποι ἐλαττώσω Ἀθηναίου. ἐν δὲ 30 18 τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτη συνήσαι πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντες

1 οἱ om. M C F 4 βούλονται; ἦ Madvig 17 αὐτοῖς del. 23 Ασεάται Steph. ἀνδρεῖται H ἀνθρεῖται cet. 23 Παλ- 4 ταν Palmerius: παλ(λ)αντεῖς codd.
εἰς τὴν Μαντώνειαν. ἔπει μέντοι ὁ Ἑπαμεινώνθας ἤκουσε
tοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι,
kατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος
βοηθήσουσα τοῖς Ἁρκάσιων, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμῆσα ἐκ τῆς
5 Νεμέας ἄφικνείται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. ἐνυχὶ μὲν οὐν οὐκ ἂν 8
ἐγγυεῖ φήσαμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ὅσα μέντοι
προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἔστώ, οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ ἄνὴρ
ἐλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐγγυεῖ ἐπαινῶ αὐτὸν ὅτι τὸ
στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἐνθ' ἐν
10 ἀσφαλεστήρῳ τῇ ἡ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοὺς πολέ-
μιας ἐν ἄδηλοτέρῳ ὃ τι πράγματο, καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δὲ,
εἰ τοῦ ἔδειτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὀντὶ εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἔξω στρατευομένων ἐξῆνα ὦραν, εἰτε τῷ ὀρθῶς ἑπάρτητο
εἰτε τῇ ἡμάρταιν. καὶ μὴν οἴόμενος κρείττῶν τῶν ἄντι-
15 πάλων εἶναι, ὅποτε ὀρφή χωρίως πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτοῦς,
οὐκ ἔξηγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὄρων δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσ-
χωρόσαν οὐδεμίαν τὸν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε
πρακτέον τι ἔναι: εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας
πολλῆς ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ
20 μὲν τὴν Μαντώνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μετα-
πεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαον τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους, καὶ Ἰσθετο ἐξεστρατευόμενον τῶν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ
ὀντα ἰδίᾳ ἐν τῷ Πελλῆνῃ, δειπνοποιηθέομενον καὶ παραγ-
γελλὰς ἤγετο τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνθὸς ἐπὶ Σπάρτῃν. καὶ εἶ
25 μὴ Κρῆς θεία τωλι μοῖρα προσελθὼν ἐξῆγιγειε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ
προσιό τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἄν τὴν πόλιν ὀσπερ νεοτίων
παντάπασιν ἔρμον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προ-
πυθόμενοι ταῦτα Ἀγησίλαος ἐφηθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθὼν,
диαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτάται ἐφώλατον, καὶ μάλα ὀλγοι

7 ἄνηρ Dind.: ἄνηρ codd. (Παλ.) 8 ἐλλείπειν codd.: corr. Morus
γάρ οἷς F ἔγγυε om. V 10 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο CF 13 στρα-
tευομένων Dind. 16 αὐτῶν codd. (αὐτῶν C) 23 δειπνο-
pοιήσασθαι Hirschig, omisso καῖ cum CF 27 ἀμυνομένων C
28 ἀγησίλαος DVF
VII. v  ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

οὗτες· οἱ τε γὰρ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν ᾿Αρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν
11 καὶ τὸ ἔεικον καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς. ἔπει
δ’ ἐγένετο Ῥπαμεινώδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιάτων, ὅπου
μὲν ἐμελλὼν ἐν τε ἱσοπέδῳ μαχαίρων καὶ ἄπο τῶν οἰκίων
βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν ταύτη, οὔτ’ ὅπου γε μηδὲν ἄπλεον;
5 μαχαίρια τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔμνων δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν
ἀν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβών τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀπε-
βαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ [τε] γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον
ἐξεστὶ μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἐξεστὶ δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς
ἀπονεομένοις οὔθεις ἀν ὑποστάθη. ἔπει γὰρ ἤγειτο ᾿Αρχί-
δαμος οὐδὲ ἐκατόν ἐχὼν ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβάς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι
ἐχεῖν κόλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὅρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους,
ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνεόντες, οἱ μενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξεια χωρία
ἐχούντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν ᾿Αρχίδαμον, ἀλλ’ ἐγκλε-

13 νουσί. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ῥπαμεινώδα ἀποθύμησκονων·
ἔπει μὲντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἐνδοθεν πορρω-
τέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀποθύμησκον· περιεγέραση γάρ,
ὡς ἐσοίκε, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὅσον νίκη ἐδέσθο τοὐτοῖς.
καὶ ο μὲν δὴ ᾿Αρχίδαμος τροπαῖον τε ἱστατο ἐνθα ἐπεκράτησε
καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπε-
δίδου. δ’ Ῥπαμεινώδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ
῾Αρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ
πάσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡμῶν γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλῶς
τε καὶ ἡμτυχκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτευχηκότων πάλιν δὲ
50 πορευθεῖς ὡς ἔδυνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν
ὅπλατα ἀνέπαυσεν, τοὺς δ’ ἵππεας ἐπεμέλειεν εἰς τὴν Μαυτί-
νειαν, δεθείς αὐτῶν προσκαρτηρήσας, καὶ διδασκὼν ὡς πάντα

1 ἀπήσαν Schneider: ἀπῆσαν codd. 4 ἐν τῇ (ἡ in ras.) H ἱσοπέδῳ] ἱσοπέδῳ θέσι H cum lac. durarum lit. 5 πλέ(ή)νοις codd.: πλέον Leconc. : πλέον ἔχοντes Voigtländer 6 post ολίγων add. ὀλίγων, cum compend. H 7 καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν del. E. Curtius 8 τε del. Schneider 16 ἐπαμεινώδους C 17 ἐνδον H 18 ἀποθύμη-
σκούσιν H 19 ἡ νίκη C 22 βοηθήσσοιεν Schneider: βοηθήσασιν codd. 25 τῶν] σφῶν Cobet
μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαυτινέων βοσκῆματα, πάντας
de τοὺς ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ στὸν συγκομιδὴς ὀυσις,
kai οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο. οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι ἵππεις ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ 15
'Ελευσίων ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν 'Ισδῆμῳ, διελθόντες δὲ
5 καὶ τὰς Κλεωνᾶς ἐτύγχανον προσώπτες εἰς τὴν Μαυτίνειαν
καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἑνὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις.
ἐπεῖ δὲ δὴλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμοι, ἐδέαυτοι οἱ
Μαυτίνεις τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἵππεων βοηθῆσαι, εἰ τι δόμαντο:
ἐξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκῆματα πάντα καὶ τὰς ἐργάτας,
10 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πάιδας καὶ γερατέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων', ἀκού-
σαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἐτί ὤντες ἀναρίστοι
καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐντάθα δὴ τούτων αὐ ἡ τὴν ἀρετὴν 16
τὸς οὐκ ἀν ἀγαθεὶς; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὑρώντες τοὺς
πολέμιους καὶ ἐν Κορώνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς
15 ἵππεσιν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπελογίσαντο, οὔτε ὃτι καὶ Θηβαῖους
καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἵππεοι εἶναι δοκοῦν ἔμελλον
μᾶχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀισχυνομενοι, εἰ παρὼντες μὴδὲν ὠφελήσειαν
tοὺς συμμάχοις, ὥς εἴην τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρ-
ραζαν, ἐρώντες ἀνασωκοσταὶ τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν. καὶ 17
20 μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐγένευτο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθήσαν τοῖς
Μαυτινέωις, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπ-
έκτεναν δὲ δήλον ὃτι τοὐτοὺς· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτω βραχὺ
ὀπλον ἐκάτεροι ἐξοφικ ὁ οὐκ ἐξικνιῶτο ἀλληλῶν. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προῆκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὕς
25 ύποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν. ὃ δ' αὐ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνυθμοῦ-
μενος ὃτι δἀρκής μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἐσοπτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ
ἐξῆκεν τῇ στρατείᾳ τῶν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλέιψει ἑρήμους
οἰς ἦλθοι σύμμαχοι, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσαντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντι-
πάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασαν
30 ἐσοπτο, ἠττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ

VII. v ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

υπ’ ὀλίγων, ἦττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαυτινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αἰτίος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατεύαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἑλέους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὡστε οὐκ ἐδοκεί αὐτῷ δυνατόν εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νική, πάντα 5 ταῦτα ἀναλύοντο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνου, καλλὶν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγή- σατο ἐσεσθαι πειρωμένος τῇ πατρίδι ἄρχῃ Πελοποννήσου

19 καταλιπεῖν· τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάντα μοι δοκεῖ θαναμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὡς 10 πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμιεν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνια τὰ τάπισθεία ἔχοντας ὡμος πείθεσθαι ἔθελεν, ταῦτα μοι δοκεῖ θυμα- 20 στότερα εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρῆγγειλεν αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομενής, προθύμους μὲν 15 ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύστωσ εκείνου, ἐπεγρα- φοντο δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρκάδων ὑπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὁιτες, πάντες δὲ ἠκούντο καὶ λόγχασ καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ 21 ἐλαμπρύννοι τάς ἀσπίδας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐτω παρεσκευα- σμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησε. πρῶτον 20 μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰκός, συνεστάττετο. τούτῳ δὲ πρᾶττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδοκεὶ ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέκτοκα αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομοτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὅρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἤγετο· ὡστε 25 δόξαν παρεῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσθησαι μάχην ἔκεινη

22 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὁρεί ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς υψηλοῖς ἐθετο τὰ ὁπλα, ὡστε εἰκάσθη στρατωπεδευμένως. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε 25 μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην 30

5 ἀπελθεῖν Pluygers 10 τὸ add. Dind. 12 τάπισθεία
Pal. Ἡ Μ: τὰ ἐπιτήδεια cet. 16 ἀνεγράφοντο C 17 οἰ add.
Dind. ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες C 20 ἐξήγαγον M 22 οἱ ὁ C
παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεί γε μὴν
παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρωσ πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον
ἰσχυρόν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλα-
βεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὀπλα ἥγειτο· οἱ δὲ ἱκολούθουν. οἱ
5 δὲ πολέμωι ώς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπώντας, οὔδείς αὐτῶν
ἡμεῖς ἔχειν ἔδωντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ
δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἱπποὺς ἐχαλῶνον, οἱ δὲ θώρακας
ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισμένοις τι μάλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν
ἐφέκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα ἀντιπροσώπον ῥήσθην τριήρι 23
10 προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλῶν διακόψειε, διαφθείρειν ὅλον
τὸ τῶν ἑαυτῶν στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἱσχυρο-
tάτῳ παρασκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενεστάτον πόρρω
ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἠπείρησαν ἀνυμὰν ἅν παράσχοι τοὺς μεθ᾽
ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τῶν πολεμίως. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἰππέας οἱ
15 μὲν πολέμου ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ῥήσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα
βάθος ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἐρήμως πεζῶν ἀμέππων. ὁ δὲ Ἐπαμει-
nώνας αὐ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἐμβολον ἱσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
ἀμέππων πεζῶν συνέσταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ
diakópsiœn, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νευκηκὼς ἐστεσθαὶ. μᾶλα γὰρ
20 χαλέπτων εὑρεῖν τοὺς ἑθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὰν τινας φεύ-
gontas τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοσθώσων ὅ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχάμενον, κατ-
έστησεν ἑπὶ γηλόφω τινῶν ἑαυτίως αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰππέας καὶ
ὀπλίταις, φόβον βουλόμενοι καὶ τούτος παρέχειν ὡς, εἰ
25 βοηθήσαειν, ὅπισθεν οὖντο ἐπικείεσθων αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὴ
συμβολὴν ὅπως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὅκ ἐφεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος·
κρατήσας γὰρ ἂν προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησεν φεύγει τὸ τῶν
ἑαυτίων. ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἐπέσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὖν τῇ 25
νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγοῦσιν μὲν
30 αὐτοῖς τῆς ἑαυτίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται

8 τί om. CF 14 αὐτοῦ Παλ. V 15 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο Dind.: αὐτοῦ παρετάξαντο codd. φάλαγξ Μ 16 ἐφεξῆς ἔφ' εξ Ράστω
ἀμέππων Morus: ἀνίππων codd. 18 ἀνίππως codd. 25 βοη-
θήσαντειν Dind.
οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἦ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὖν ὁ πολέμων ἤπειρος διὰ ἰππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἰππείς οὖθ’ ὀπλίτας, ὡσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι περιβηθημένοι διὰ τῶν φυγόντων πολεμίων δι’ ἔπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἀμιπποὶ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συνενικήκοτες 5 τοῖς ἰππεύσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦσιν, ἐκεῖ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26. Τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων τοιναντίων ἐγεγένητο οὐ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἐσεσθαί. συνελημνυθεὶς γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις ὁ μαχητὴς, οὗ οὔκ ἦσεν εἰ μάχη ἐσοῖτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἀρξεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἐσεσθαί. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὡστε ἀμφότεροι μὲν τροπαίος ὡς νεικηκότες ἐστησαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυσαν, νεκροὶ δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν ὡς νεικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφό- 15

27. τεροὶ δὲ ὡς ἡττημένου ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νεικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἐκάτεροι οὕτε χώρα οὕτε πόλει οὔτ’ ἀρχὴ οὐδέτεροι οὖθεν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι ἢ ἐκρίσια δὲ καὶ ταραχῇ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου 20 γραφέσθω: τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἵσως ἄλλῳ μελήσει.

I προσήλθον CF 4 ἡττημένοι Cobet 5 ἀνιπποί codd.
INDEX NOMINUM

Abarnis prom. II i 29.
Academia II ii 8. VI v 49.
Acanthus V ii 11; iii 6. Acanthii V ii 12, 23.
Acarnanies IV ii 17; vi i sq.; vii 1. VI v 23.
Acarnania VI ii 37.
Achaei I ii 18. III ii 26. IV ii 18; vi i sq. VI iv 18. VII i 41 sq.; iv 17, 28; v 1, 18.
Achaia III ii 23. IV viii 3, 10, 23. VI ii 3. VII i 41 sq.
Achaici Phthiae montes IV iii 9.
Achilleum III ii 17. IV viii 17.
Acrisius Sicyonius VII i 45.
Acrocorinthus IV iv 4.
Adeas Sicyonius VII i 45.
Adimantus Athen. I iv 21; vii 1. II i 30, 32.
Aegae IV viii 5.
Aegospatami II i 21, 23.
Aegyptia Larisa, v. Larisa.
Aeneas Stymphalius VII iii 1.
Aenesias Laced. II iii 9.
Aenianes III v 6. IV iii 15.
Aeoles III iv 11. IV iii 17.

Aeolius III i 10, 17; ii 1, 13. IV viii 33.
Aeschines Athen. II iii 2, 13.
Aexonenses II iv 26.
Agamemnon III iv 3. VII i 34.
Agathinus Corinthius IV viii 10.
Agesandridas Laced. I i 1; iii 17.
Agesilaus III iii 2 sq.; iv 2 sq. IV i 1 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iii 15; iv 19; v i sq.; vi 3 sq.; vii 5 sq. V ii 32 sq.; ii 3, 32; iii 8, 10, 13 sq.; iv 13, 25, 35, 55, 58. VI i 12; iii 19; iv 5; v 5, 12, 15 sq. VII v 9, 10.
Agesipolis IV ii 9; vii 2 sq. V ii 3; iii 9, 18, 20.
Agesistratus Laced. II iii 10.
Agis I i 33. II ii 7 sq.; iii 3. III ii 22 sq.; iii 1 sq.
Agyrrhius Athen. IV viii 31.
Alcetas Laced. V iv 56.
Alcetas Epiri rex VI i 7; ii 10.
Alcibiades I i 5, 9 sq.; iii 3, 10, 20; iv 8 sq., 13, 18; v 9 sq. II i 25; iii 42.
Alcibiades Alcibiadis consobrinus I ii 13.
Alcimenes Corinthius IV iv 7.
Alea Minerva VI v 27.
Alexander Thessalus VI iv 34 sq. VII v 4.
Alexias Athen. II i 10.
Alexippidas Laced. II iii 10.
Alpheus fl. III ii 29. VI ii 31.
VII iv 29.
INDEX NOMINUM

Altis VII iv 29.
Alypetus Laced. V iv 52.
Alyzia V iv 65, 66.
Amedocus Odrys. rex IV viii 26.
Amphidioli III ii 25, 39. IV ii 16.
Amphipolis IV iii 1.
Amyclaes VI v 30. VII ii 3.
Amyclaes IV v 11 sq.
Amyntas rex Maced. V ii 12, 38; iii 9.
Anactius Athen. II iii 2.
Anaxibius Laced. IV viii 32 sq.
Anaxicrates Byzant. I iii 18.
Anaxilaus Byzant. I iii 8.
Andrii I iv 22. II i 31 sq.
Androclidas Thebanus III v 1, 4.
V ii 31, 35.
Andromachus Eleus VII iv 19.
Anigenidas Laced. II iii 10.
Antalcidas Laced. IV viii 12 sq.
V i 6, 25, 28. VI iii 12.
Antandrus I i 25; iii 17. II i 10.
IV viii 35.
Antigones Athen. I iii 1.
Antiochus Arcas VII i 33, 38.
Antiochus Athen. I v 12 sq.
Antiphan Athen. II iii 40.
Antisthenes Laced. III ii 6.
Anytus Athen. II iii 42, 44.
Apataria I vii 8.
Aphrodias Megar. V iv 58.
Aphytis V iii 19.
Apollo III iii 3; v 5. IV vii 12.
VI iv 2, 39; v 27.
Apollonia VI i 1; iii 1 sq. Apolloniatae V ii 13.
Apollophanes Cyzicenus IV i 29.
Aracus Laced. II i 7; iii 10.
III ii 6, 8. VI v 33.
Arcades III ii 26; v 12. IV iv 16.
V ii 19. VI v 11, 15 sq. VII i 18, 23 sq., 28 sq.; ii 2 sq.; iv 1 sq., 13 sq.
Arcadia IV iv 16. VI v 12, 21, 51. VII i 28, 39; ii 21; iv 6, 35, 40; v 10.
Archedemus Athen. I vii 2.
Archestratus Athen. I v 16. II ii 15.
Archias Thebanus V iv 2, 6. VII iii 7.
Archidamus Agesilai paterViii 13.
Archidamus Agesilai filius V iv 25 sq. VI iv 18, 19, 26; v 1.
VII i 28 sq., 31; iv 20 sq.; v 12 sq.
Archidamus Eleus VII i 33, 38.
Archytas Laced. II i 10; iii 10.
Aresias Athen. II iii 2.
Argeus Eleus VII i 33; iv 15, 16.
Arginusae I vi 27, 28, 33, 38.
Argivi I iii 13. II ii 7. III ii 21; v 11. IV ii 17; iii 15 sq.; iv 1 sq., 9, 19; v 1; vii 2, 3 sq.; viii 15, 34. V i 29 sq. VI v 16, 23, 46. VII i 18, 25, 44; ii 1 sq.; iv 11, 27 sq.; v 5.
Ariaeus IV i 27.
Aristarchus Athen. I vii 28. II iii 46.
Aristocles Athen. VI iii 2.
Aristocrates Athen. I iv 21; v 16; vi 29; vii 2.
Aristodemus Laced. IV iv 9.
Aristogenes Athen. I v 16; vi 30; vii 1.
Aristogenes Siculus I ii 8.
Aristocholes Laced. V iv 22.
Ariston Byzant. I iii 18.
Aristophon Athen. VI iii 2.
Aristoteles Athen. II ii 18; iii 2, 13, 46.
Arnapes Persa I iii 12.
Artaxerxes V i 31.
Asea VI v 11. Aseatae VII v 5.
Asia II i 18. III i 3, 5; ii 6, 10, 21; iv 2, 5; v 5. IV ii 4, 5; iii 1, 15; viii 5 sq., 27. V i 31; iii 8. VII i 34.
Asine VII i 25.
Aspendus IV vii 30. Aspendii ib.
Astyochus Laced. I i 31.
Astyrene Diana IV i 41.
Atarneus III ii 11.
Athenadas Sicyonius III i 18.
Athenae I i 1 sq. II i 29 sq. IV vii 9. V ii 31; iv 34. VI iv 19; v 35. VII i 23.
INDEX NOMINUM

Athenienses I i 1 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iii 1 sq.; iv 4 sq.; v 13 sq.; vi 13 sq.; vii 9 sq. II i 16 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iii 1 sq.; iv 21. III i 1; v 2 sq., 16. IV iv 18; vii 12 sq. V i 1 sq.; iv 34 sq. VI i 1, 1c; ii 1 sq.; iii 1 sq.; iv 20; v 1 sq. VII i 1; iv 1 sq. Aulis III iv 3; v 5. VII i 34. Aulon III ii 25; iii 8, 10. Aulonitae III i 8. Autoboaceses Persa II i 8. Autocles Athen. VI iii 2, 7.


Callimachus Athen. IV vii 13. Callisthenes Athen. IV viii 13. Callistratus Athen. II iv 27. Alius VI ii 39; iii 3, 10 sq.


INDEX NOMINUM

Cinadon Laced. III iii 4 sq.
Cissidas Syrac. VII i 28.
Cithaeron V iv 36, 47, 55, 59. VI iv 5, 25.
Cius I iv 7.
Cladaus VII iv 29.
Clazomenae I i 10, 11. V i 31.
Clænder Sicyonius VII i 45.
Clearchus Laced. I i 35; iii 15 sq.
Cleocritus Athen. II iv 20.
Cleombrotus Laced. V iv 14, 16, 59, 63. VI i i; iv 2 sq., 13.
Cleomedes Athen. II iii 2.
Cleonae VII v 15.
Cleophon Athen. I v 35.
Cleosthenes Laced. II iii 10.
Cleostrobus Argivus I iii 13.
Clynes Acanthus V ii 12.
Clinomachus Laced. II iii 10.
Cliteles Corinthius VI v 37.
Clitorii V iv 36 sq.
Cnidus IV iii 11 sq.; viii 22 sq.
Cocylitae III i 16.
Coeratadas Boeotus I iii 15, 21, 22.
Colonea III i 13, 16.
Colophon I ii 4. Colophonii ib.
Collytensis, v. Thrasybulus.
Conon Athen. I iv 10; v 16, 18; vi 16 sq., 38; vii 1. II i 28 sq. IV iii 11; viii i sq.
Corcyra V iv 64. VI ii i 4 sq.
Corcyraei ib. 7 sq.
Coressus I ii 7 sq.
Corinthus III v 1. IV iv i sq., 14 sq; v i; viii 15, 34. V i 29, 34, 36. VI ii 3; iv 26; v ii, 49. VII iv 4 sq.; v 16. Corinthis II i 32 sq.; ii 19; iv 30. III ii 25; v 5, 12, 17, 23. IV ii 14, 17 sq.; iii 15; iv 1 sq.; v 2, 3, 11 sq.; V i 34; iii 27. VI iv 18; v 29, 52; VII i 18 sq., 25, 40; ii 2, 23; iv 4 sq.
Coronea IV iii 16.
Coryphasium I ii 18.
Cos I v 1.
Cranius IV iv 4.
Crannonii IV iii 3.
Cratesippidas Lac. I i 32; v 1.
Cremaste IV viii 37.
Cretenses IV ii 16; vii 6. VII v 10.
Crinippus Syrac. VI ii 36.
Crittas Athen. II iii 2, 15, 18, 24–56; iv 8, 19.
Crocinas Thessalus II iii 1.
Crommyon IV iv 13; v 19.
Cromnus VII iv 20 sq.
Cronium VII iv 14.
Cydon Byzant. I iii 18.
Cyllene III ii 27, 30. VII iv 19.
Cylon III v 1.
Cyme III iv 27.
Cynoscephalae V iv 15. VI iv 5.
Cyprus II i 29. IV viii 24. VI io, 31.
Cyprus minor I iv 3 sq.; vi 1 sq.; vi 6, 10, 18. II i 7, 8, 11, 13, 15. III i 1 sq.; iv 2. VI i 12.
Cyreis III ii 7, 18; iv 20.

Dascyleum III iv 13. IV v 15.
Decelea I i 33 sq.; ii 14; iii 22. II ii 7; iii 3; v 5.
Delphi III iii 1. IV iii 21; vii 2. VII i 27.
Delphi pop. VI iv 30.
Delphinium I v 15.
Delphion Phliasius V iii 22, 24.
Demaratus Laced. III i 6.
Demarchus Syrac. I i 29.
Demostratus Athen. VI iii 2.
Demoteles Laced. VII i 32.
Demotion VII iv 4.
Deras castellum VII i 22.
Dercylidas Laced. III i 8, 9, 16 sq.; ii 1 sq.; iv 6. IV iii i sq.; viii 3 sq.
Derdas V ii 38 sq.; iii i sq.
Diana IV ii 20. VI v 9. VII i 34. Astyrene IV i 41. Ephesia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>III ii 29, 30. Epitalienses III ii 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Erasinides Athen. I v 16; vi 16, 29; vii 2, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Erasistratus Athen. II iii 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eratosthenes Athen. II iii 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eretrienses III i 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Erythrae IV iv 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eteonicus Laced. I i 32; vi 26, 35 sq. II i 1 sq.; ii 5. V i 1, 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Etynocles Laced. IV iv 22, 32. VI v 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eualecs Athen. IV i 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eubotaes Cyren. I i 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euclea festum IV iv 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eucles Siculus I i 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euclides Athen. II iii 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eucemon Athen. I i 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eudamidas Laced. V ii 24 sq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eumachus Athen. I i 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eumathes Athen. II iii 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eunomus Athen. V i 5, 7, 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euphron Sicyon. VII i 44 sq.; ii 11 sq.; iii 2 sq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eurotas V iv 28. VI v 27, 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eurymedon fl IV viii 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euryptolemus Athen. I iii 12 sq.; iv 18; vii 12, 16, 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eurythemenes III i 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eurythysenus VI v 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eutacea VI v 12, 20 sq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euthycles Laced. VII i 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Eutresii VII i 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Euheus Laced. IV ii 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Exarchus Laced. II iii 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Galaxidorus Theb. III v 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Gambreum III i 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Gaureum I iv 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Epitalium</td>
<td>Gela II iii 5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX NOMINUM

Gergis III i 15, 19, 21.
Gnosis Syrac. I i 20.
Gongylus Eretr. III i 6.
Gordeum I iv 1.
Gorgion Eretr. III i 6.
Gorgopas Laced. V i 5 sq.
Gracci in exercitu Cyri minoris
III i 2. Cl. Cyrei.
Grimeum III i 6.
Gylis Laced. IV iii 21, 23.
Gytheum I iv 11. VI v 32.

Hagnon Athen. II iii 30.
Halae II iv 34.
Halartus III v 6, 17 sq.
Halipedium Athenarum II iv 30.
Halisarna III i 6.
Hamasitius III i 13, 16.
Hannibal I i 37.
Helicon mons IV iii 16 sq.
Helixus Megar. I iii 15, 17, 21.
Hellespontii III iv 11 sq. IV iii 17.
Hellespontus I i 2; ii 11; iii 8; v 11; vi 20; vii 2. II i 21. III ii 5 sq.; iv 10. IV ii 8; iii 3; viii 6, 26. V i 1.
Helos Lacon. VI v 32.
Heracles Syrac. I ii 8.
Hercules III iii 3. VI iii 6; iv 7; v 47. VII i 31.
Herippidias Laced. III iv 6, 20. IV i 11 sq., 20 sq.; ii 8; iii 15, 17; vii 11.
Hermocrates Syrac. I i 27 sq.; iii 13.

Hermogenes Athen. IV viii 13.
Hermon Megar. I vi 32.
Herodas Syrac. III iv 1.
Hieramenes Persa II i 9.
Hierax Laced. V i 3 sq.
Hieron Athen. II iii 2. Laced. VI iv 9.
Himera I i 37.
Hippes Samius I vi 29.
Hippias Eleus VII iv 15.
Hippocrates Laced. I i 23; iii 5 sq.
Hippodameum forum II iv 11.
Hippodamus Sicyon. VII i 45.
Hippolochus Athen. II iii 2.
Hippomachus Athen. II iii 2; iv 19.
Hippion Syrac. I ii 8.
Hippiconthus Athen. VI iii 2. Phliasius V iii 13.
Histiaeenses II ii 3.
Hyacinthia fest. IV v 11.
Hyampolitae VI iv 27.
Hypates Theb. VII iii 7.
Hypatodorus Tanagr. V iv 49.
Hypermenes Laced. VI ii 25.

Iason Pheraeus VI i 4, 14 sq.; iv 20 sq.; v 1.
Iberes VII i 20.
Ichthys prom. VI ii 31.
Ida I i 25.
Idaeus Laced. IV i 39.
Iarchus Laced. II iii 10.
Ilium I i 4.
Illenses III i 16.
Iones III iv 11. IV iii 17.
Ioniae urbes III i 3; ii 12, 17.
Iphicrates Athen. IV iv 9, 15; v 3, 13 sq.; viii 34 sq. V i 25.
VI ii 13 sq., 24, 33 sq.; iii 3; iv 1; v 49 sq.
Isanor Laced. II iii 10.
Isarchus Laced. II iii 10.
Ischora Laced. VI v 24 sq.
Isias II iii 10.
Isthmia IV v 1.
Isthmus Corinth. IV v 1; viii 8.
INDEX NOMINUM

VII v 15. Thracius III ii 10.  
Pallenes V ii 15.  
Iuppiter Olympus III ii 22. 26.  
Labotas Laced. I ii 18.  
Lacedaemon. v. Sparta.  
Lacedaemonii I i 31; ii 18 et passim.  
Laconica IV vii 6; viii 8. VI ii 9, 31; v 21, 24; VII i 28. Lacaena VII i 25, 29.  
Lacrates Laced. II iv 33.  
Lampsacus I ii 15. II i 18 sq.; ii i, 3. III ii 6.  
Larissus III ii 23.  
Lechaenum IV iv 7, 9, 17; v 7 sq.; viii 10, 23. I 29.  
Leontichus Athen. V i 26.  
Leontini II iii 5.  
Leontis tribus IV iv 27.  
Leontichus Athen. V i 26.  
Leotychides III iii 1 sq.  
Lepretae III ii 25. VI v 11.  
Lesbus I ii 11; vi 12, 16. 26. II ii 5; iii 32, 35. IV viii 28.  
LeTRINI III ii 25, 30. IV ii. 16.  
Leucas VI i 3. VI 26.  
Leucolophides Athen. I iv 21.  
Leucophrvs III ii 19. IV viii 17.  
Leuctra V iv 33. VI iv 4; v 1, 23. VII i 35; ii 2.  
Leuctrum VI v 24.  
Libys Laced. II iv 28.  
Lichas Laced. III ii 21.  
Locri Opuntii III v 3 sq. et Ozolae IV ii 17; iii 15, 22. VI v 23, 30.  
Locris III v 3. IV iii 21.  
Lycaethus Athen. VI iii 2.  
Lycarius Laced. II iii 10.  
Lyceum I i 33. II iv 27.  
Lycurgus Athen. I vii 13.  
Lycomedes Mantin. VII i 23 sq.; 39; iv 2 sq.  
Lycophron Phereaus II iii 4.  
Lycurgus Laced. I iii 18.  
Lysander Laced. I v 1 sq.; vi i sq. II i 7 sq.; ii 2 sq.; iii 3 sq.; iv 28 sq. III iii 3; iv 2, 7 sq.; v 6 sq.  
Lysander Sicyon. VII i 45.  
Lysias Athen. I vi 30; vii 2.  
Lysimachus Athen. II iv 8, 26.  
Lysimenes Sicyon. VII i 45.  
Lysippus Laced. III ii 29 sq.  
Macedones V ii 12, 40.  
Macedonia I i 12. IV iii 3. V ii 12, 13, 38; iii 18. VI i 11.  
Macedonicus exercitus V ii 43.  
Macistus III ii 30.  
Madytus I i 3.  
Maeander III ii 14, 17; iv 12, 21. IV vii 17.  
Mania Dardan. III i 10 sq.  
Mantinea IV v 18. V ii 2 sq. VI v 3 sq. VII v 7 sq.  
Mantinenses III ii 21. IV ii 13; iv 17; v 18. V i 1 sq. VI iv 18; v 3 sq. VII iv 33; v 1, 14 sq.  
Mantinice VI v 15, 17.  
Mantitheus Athen. I i 10; iii 13.  
Maraci VI i 7.  
Medi I i 19.  
Megabates Persa IV i 28.  
Megalopolitae VII v 5.  
Megarei I iii 15.  
Megillus Laced. III iv 6.  
Melanippus Rhodus VI i 35.  
Melanopus Athen. VI ii 2.
INDEX NOMINUM

Melanthius Athen. II iii 46.
Melea VII i 28, 29.
Meletus Athen. II iv 36.
Melienses III v 6. IV ii 17. VI v 23.
Melobius Athen. II iii 2.
Melon Theb. V iv 2 sq.
Melus IV vii 7.
Melii II ii 3, 9.
Menander Athen. I ii 16. II i 16, 26.
Menacus Laced. IV ii 8.
Menecles Athen. I vii 34.
Menecrates Syrac. I i 29.
Menon Thesp. V iv 55.
Messene V iii 3. VII i 27, 36; iv 9.
Messenni VI v 33. VII iv 27; v 5.
Methymna I ii 12; vi 12, 38. IV viii 29. Methymnae I vi 13 sq.
Midias Dardan. III i 14 sq.
Milesii I vi 8.
Miletus I i 31; ii 2; v i; vi 2, 7.
Mindarus Laced. I i 4, 11, 14 sq.
Minerva I i 4; iii i; vi i. III i 21, 22. v. Alea.
Misgolaidas Laced. II iii 10.
Mitraeus Persa II i 8.
Mitrobates Persa I iii i 12.
Mnasippus Laced. VI ii 4 sq., 15 sq.
Mnesilochus Athen. II iii 2.
Mnesithides Athen. II iii 2.
Munychia II iv 11, 37. Diana Munychia II iv 11.
Mygdon Laced. III iv 20.
Myrina III i 6.
Myscon Syrac. I i 29.
Mytilene I vi 16. 26, 35, 38; vii 29. II ii 5. IV viii 28. Myti-
lenaei ib.; I vi 22.

Narthacium IV iii 8 sq.
Naubates Laced. III ii 6.
Naucles Laced. VII i 41.
Naucidas Laced. II iv 36.
Naupactus IV vi 14.
Nauplia IV vii 6.
Neandrenses III i 16.
Nemea IV ii 14; vii 3. VII ii 5; v 6.
Neptunus IV v 1, 2, 4; vii 4.
Gaeacoecus VI v 30.
Niceratus Athen. II iii 39.
Nicias Athen. II iii 39.
Nicophemus Athen. IV viii 8.
Nicostratus Athen. II iv 6.
Notium prom. I ii 4, 11; vi 12 sq.
II i 6.

Ocyllus Laced. V iv 22. VI v 33.
Odeum Athen. II iv 9, 10, 24.
Odrysae III ii 2, 5.; IV viii 26.
Oniadae IV vi 14.
Oetaei I ii 18. III i 6.
Olontheus Laced. VI v 33.
Olympos III ii 26. IV i 40; vii 2.
Olympiorum ludicum VII iv 28.
Olythus V i ii sq., 27, 37; iii 9. Olynthii V ii 13 sq.; iii 1 sq., 26; iv 54.
Oeneum VI v 51. VII i 15, 41 sq.; ii 5.
Onomacles Athen. II iii 2. Laced. II iii 10.
Onomantius Laced. II iii 10.
Opuntii Locri, v. Locri.
Orchomenus Arcadiae IV v 18.
V i 29. VI v 15 sq., 29. Or-
chomenii ib. II, 13. Boeotiae
III v 17. IV iii 15. Orcho-
menii III v 6. IV ii 17; iii 15
sq. V iv 36 sq. VI iv 10.
Oreum V iv 56.
Oropus VII iv 1.
Orsippus Laced. IV ii 8.
Otys rex Paphlag. IV i 3 sq.
Ozolae Locri, v. Locri.
INDEX NOMINUM

Pactolus III iv 22 sq.
Pagsae V iv 56.
Palaegambreum III i 6.
Pallene V ii 15.
Pamphilus Athen. V i 2.
Pangaemum, V ii 17.
Pantacles Laced. I iii 1. II iii 10.
Paphlagonia IV i 2 sq., 21, 26, 28.
Paralus navis II i 28 sq.; ii 3. VI ii 14.
Parapita Persis IV i 39.
Parium I i 13.
Paros I iv 11.
Parrhasii VII i 28.
Pasimachus Laced. IV iv 10.
Pasimelus Corinth. IV iv 4, 7.
VII iii 2.
Pasippidas Laced. I i 32; iii 13, 17.
Patesiadas Laced. II iii 10.
Pausanias rex Laced. II ii 7; iv 29 sq.
III v 6, 17 sq. V ii 3.
Pella V ii 13.
Pellenenses Ach. IV ii 20. VI v 29.
VII i 15; ii 2, 11 sq.; iv 17.
Pelles (?) Laced. IV iii 23.
Pelopidas Theb. VII i 33 sq.
Peloponnesus III ii 17, 26; v 17.
IV vi 2, 14. V vi 20; iv 62 sq.
VI ii 9; iii 6. VII i 23; ii 2; iv 35; v 1 sq., 18. Pelopon-
nesii I i 6 sq.; vii 33 sq. II ii 7; iv 21, 29, 41. III i 4; v 6, 14.
VI v 1.
Percote V i 25.
Pergamus III i 6.
Pericles Athen. I v 16; vi 29; vii 2, 16, 21.
Persae III iv 14 sq. IV i 6, 30.
V ii 35. VI i 12. VII i 33 sq.
Phaedrias Athen. II iii 2.
Phanias Athen. V i 26.
Phanosthenes Athen. I v 18.
Pharax Laced. III ii 12, 14. IV v 6. VI v 33.
Pharnabazus Persa I i 6 sq.; ii 16; iii 5 sq.; iv 1 sq.
III i 9 sq.; ii 1 sq., 9, 13; iv 10 sq.
IV i 7, 15 sq. 29 sq.; iii 11; viii i. 3, 6 sq. V i 28.
Pharnabazi filius IV i 39 sq.
Pharsalus VI i 8; iv 34. Pharsalii IV iii 3. VI i 2 sq.
Phea III ii 30.
Phidon Athen. II iii 2.
Philippus V iv 2.
Philiscus Abydenus VII i 27.
Phillidas V iv 2 sq.
Philocles Athen. I vii i. II i 30 sq.
Philocrates IV viii 24.
Philocydes (?) Athen. I iii 13.
Phlius IV iv 15; vii 8. VI i 8; iii 15, 21, 25.
VII i 18; ii 1, 4, 11 sq. Phliasii IV ii 16; iv 15.
V i 9 sq.; iii 10 sq. VI iv 9, 18; v 14 sq. VII i 1; ii 1 sq.; iv 1 sq.
Phocaea I iii 1; v 11; vi 33.
Phocis III v 4. VI i 1; iv 27.
Phocenses III v 3 sq. IV iii 15, 21.
V i 33; iv 60. VI i 1; ii 1; iii 1; iv 2, 9, 21; v 23, 30.
VII v 4.
Phoebidas Laced. V ii 24 sq.; iv 41 sq.
Phoenice III iv 1.
Phoenicus IV viii 7.
Phrixia III ii 30.
Phrygia I iv 1. III ii 1; iv 12, 26, 29. IV i 1.
Phthia IV iii 9.
Phyle II iv 2 sq.
Piraecum IV v i sq.
Piraicus I i 14; iii 22; iv 12 sq.;
Vii 35. II ii 2 sq.; iii 9, 11; iv 1, 19, 32. III v 5.16. IV viii 9.
V i 9, 22; iii 33; iv 20, 22, 34.
Pisander Laced. III iv 29. IV iii 10 sq.
Pisatae VII iv 28 sq.
Pisias s. Pithias Argivus VII i 41.
Pisidae III i 13.
Pison Athen. II iii 2.
INDEX NOMINUM

Pithias, v. Pisias.
Plistolas Laced. II iii 10.
Plynteria I iv 12.
Polyaenidas Laced. VII iv 23.
Polyanthes Corinth. III v i.
Polycharus Athen. II iii 2.
Polycharmus Pharsalius IV iii 8.
Laced. V ii 41.
Polydamas Pharsalius VI i 2 sq.; iv 34.
Polydorus Thessalus VI iv 33.
Polyphon Thessalus VI iv 33 sq.
Polytropus Corinth. VI v 11 sq.
Potamis Syracuse. I i 29.
Potidaea V ii 15, 24, 39; iii 6.
Potniae V iv 51.
Pras IV iii 9.
Prasiae VII ii 2.
Praxitas Laced. IV iv 7 sq.; v 19.
Priene III ii 17. IV viii 17.
Proaenus Corinth. IV vii 11.
Proconnesus I i 13, 18, 20; iii 1.
Prometheus Thessalus II iii 36.
Prothous Laced. VI iv 2.
Protomachus Athen. I v 16; vi 30, 33; v i 1.
Proxenus Syracuse. I iii 13. Te-
geates VI v 6 sq.
Pygela I ii 2. Pygellenses ib.
Pylus Elidis VII iv 16, 26. Pyllii
ibid.
Pyrrhaolochus Argivus I iii 13.
Pythia VI iv 30.
Pythodorus Athen. II iii 1.

Rhamphias Laced. I i 35.
Rathines Persa III iv 13.
Rhium IV vi 14; viii 11.
Rhodus I i 2, v 1, 19; vi 3. II
i 15, 17. IV viii 20 sq. V i 5.
Rhodii I v 19. IV viii 20.
Rhoetium I i 2.

Salaminia navis VI ii 14.
Salamis II ii 9.
Samii I vi 25, 29; vii 30. II ii 6; iii 6.
Samius Laced. III i i.
Samothrace V i 7.
Samus I ii 1; iv 8 sq., 23; v 14
sq.; vi 2, 15, 25 sq. II i 12;
iii 3. IV viii 23.
Sardes I 9, 10; v i. III iv 25. IV
i 27; viii 21. Sardiana regio
III iv 21.
Satyrus Athen. II iii 54 sq.
Scepsis III i 15 sq. Scepsii ib.
21 sq.
Scilluntii VI v 2.
Scionsaei II ii 3.
Sciriae V vi 24; iv 52 sq. Sciritis
Scolus V iv 49.
Scopas Thessalus VI i 19.
Scotussaei IV iii 3.
Scyros IV viii 15. V i 31.
Scythes Laced. III iv 20.
Selinus I i 37. Selinuntii I ii
8, 10.
Sellasia II ii 13, 19. VI v 27.
VII iv 12.
Selymbria I i 20, 21; iii 10.
Sestus I i 7, 11 sq., 36; ii 13.
II i 20, 25. IV viii 3 sq.
Sicilia I i 37; v 21. VI ii 9. Si-
culi II ii 24.
Sicyon IV ii 14; iv 1, 7, 14, 18; v.
12, 19. VII i 17 sq., 44; ii 11,
15; iii 1, 4. Sicyonii IV iv 16;
iv 8 sq. VI iv 18. VII ii 22; ii
i sq., 11, 20; iv 1.
Sidus IV iv 13; v 19.
Sirapius III i 8.
Socilides Laced. VII iv 19.
Socrates Athen. I vii 15.
Sophocles Athen. II iii 2.
Sophroniscus Athen. I vii 15.
Sostratidas Laced. II iii 10.
Sparta I i 32; vi 32. II iii 1. V
INDEX NOMINUM

iii 10; iv 32. VII i 28, 33; ii 3; v 9. Lacedaemon III ii 20; iii i. IV ii 12; viii 7. VI iv 16; v 23. VII i 23, 24; v 7.

Spartiatae III iii 5 sq.; iv 2. IV iii 23. V i 11; iii 8; iv 2. VI iv 15; v 21, 25. VII v 10.

Spartolus V iii 6.

Sphagiae VI ii 31.


Spithridates Persa III iv 10. IV i 2, 20 sq.

Stages Persa I ii 5.

Stelacis (†) Eleus VII iv 15.

Statippus Laced. VI iv 18; v 6 sq., 36.

Stesicles (†) Athen. VI ii 10.

Sthenelaus Laced. II ii 2.


Stratus IV vi 4.

Strombichides Athen. VI iii 2.

Struthas Persa IV viii 17 sq.

Syracusae I i 29, 31; iii 13. V i 26, 28. VI ii 35. VII i 22.

Syracusani I i 18, 26 sq.; ii 8 sq. II ii 24; iii 5, 14.

Tanagra V iv 49. Tanagraei ib.


Teleutias Laced. IV iv 19; vii ii 11, 23 sq. V i 2 sq., 13; ii 37, 41, 43; iii 3 sq.

Temnus IV viii 5.

Tenea IV iv 19.

Tenedus V i 6. Tenedii V v 7.

Teos (†) I v 15.

Teuthrania III i 6.


Thamneria II i 13.

Thasus I i 12, 32; iv 9. V i 7.

Thebae II i iv 1 sq. III v 1, 3; vii 25; iv 1, 14, 19, 36 sq. VI iii 2, 11. VII i 39; iii 6; iv 6, 10, 34, 39; v 4. Thebani I vii 28. II ii 19. III ii 21; v 4 sq.

IV iii 16 sq.; v 10. V i 32 sq.; ii 25 sq., 37 sq.; iv 2. VI i i. ii 1; iii 1, 19 sq.; iv 3 sq.; v 22 sq. VII i 15 sq.; ii 5; iii 4 sq.; vi 1 sq.

Thebes campus IV i 41.

Themistogenes Syracuse. III i 2.

Theogenses Athen. I iii 13. II iii 2.

Theognis Athen. II iii 2.

Theopompos Milesius II i 30.

Theramenes Athen. I i 12, 22; vi 35; vii 4, 8, 17, 31. II ii 16 sq.; iii 2 sq.

Thermachus Laced. IV viii 29.

Thermopylea VI v 43.

Thersander Laced. IV viii 18 sq.

Thespiae V iv 10, 15, 20, 38 sq.

VI iii 5. Thespiones IV ii 20.

V iv 42 sq. VI iii 1; iv 10.


Thibraeus Laced. IV i 33.

Thibron Laced. III i 4 sq.; ii 1. IV viii 17 sq.

Thisbae VI iv 3.

Thorax Laced. II i 18, 28.

Thoricus I i 1.


Thrasonidas Eleus VII iv 15.

Thrasylulus Collytensis V i 26.

Thrasylulus Stiriensis I i 12; iv 9 sq.; v 11; vi 35; vii 5, 17, 31. II iii 42 sq.; iv 2 sq. III v 16. IV viii 25 sq.

Thrasylacus Eleus III ii 27 sq.

Thrasyllus Athen. I i 8, 33, 34; ii 1 sq.; iii 6; iv 19; v 16; vi 30; vii 2, 29.

Thraustus VII iv 14.

Thraiae V iv 21.

Thyamia VII ii 1, 23; iv 1, 11.
INDEX NOMINUM

Thymochares Athen. I i 1.
Thyrienses VI ii 37.
Tigranes Persa IV vii 20.
Timagoros Athen. VII i 33, 38.
Timocrates Athen. I vii 3.
Timocrates Laced. VII i 13.
Timocrates Rhodius III v 1.
Timocrates Syracuse. VII iv 12.
Timolaus Corinthius III v 1. IV ii 11.
Timomachus Athen. VII i 41.
Timothaeus Athen. V iv 63 sq. VI ii 2, 11, 13.
Tiribazus Persa IV viii 12 sq. V i 6, 28, 30.
Tisamenus Laced. III iii 11.
Tisipholus Thessalus VI iv 37; v 1.
Tissaphernes Persa I i 9, 31; ii 6, 8; v 2, 8 sq. III i 3 sq.; ii 12 sq.; iv 1 sq.
Thitraustes Persa III iv 25 sq.; v 1.
Tlemonidas Laced. V iii 3 sq.
Torone V iii 18. Toronaei II ii 3.
Tralles III ii 19.
Tricaranum VII ii 1, 5, 11, 13; iv 11.
Triptolemus VI iii 6.
Tripyrgia V i 10.
Troya III iv 3. VII i 34.
Tydeus Athen. II i 16, 26.
Tyndaridae VI v 31.
Vesta II iii 52. VII iv 31.
Xenias Eleus III ii 27.
Xenocrates Laced. III iv 20.
Xerxes II i 8.
Zacynthus VI ii 3. Zacynthii ib.
Zenis Dardan. III i 10.
Zeuxippus Laced. II iii 10.
Zoster V i 9.
HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK
A COMMENTARY

WITH INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX

ON THE

HELENICA OF XENOPHON

BY

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M.D.CCCC
PREFACE

The success of his edition of the first and second books of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, published in 1888, has encouraged the editor to revise and continue his work on the same lines, but on a slightly larger scale, so as to embrace the whole of the seven books. It was his original intention to prepare a revised text, and with that end in view he had already amassed considerable material—drawn more especially from a hitherto un-uncollated Palatine MS. of the *Hellenica* which it was his good fortune to discover, along with two others of inferior merit, in the Vatican Library. Finding, however, that the Delegates of the University Press had entrusted the task of revising the text of the whole of Xenophon's writings to Mr. E. C. Marchant, he most willingly abandoned this portion of the work, and has contented himself with collecting together in a short appendix such readings and conjectures—very few in number—as for some reason or other he has preferred to those admitted by Mr. Marchant into his own text.

The Introduction deals in the first section with the various problems that have been raised as to the composition of the *Hellenica*—with the relation of the first part to the History of Thucydides and with the relations of the various parts to each other, with the aim and object of the author and with his merits and de-
merits as a writer. The second section treats at very considerable length of the many chronological difficulties with which the *Hellenica* abounds, owing to the complete absence—at any rate after the second book—of any definite system of reckoning. The editor has seen reason to abandon his former view that the date of Alcibiades' return to Athens was 408 B.C., and to prefer the later date 407, and in the succeeding history he has done his utmost—after a careful study of many histories, commentaries, and monographs—clearly to exhibit the evidence on which his own conclusions depend. The remaining sections of the Introduction aim to summarize as clearly as possible such information about the MSS. of the *Hellenica*, the life of Xenophon, and the chronological order of the events of the period as seemed most needful for the profitable study of the *Hellenica*.

Though no serious difficulty, whether grammatical or textual, it is hoped, has been left undiscussed or unexplained, if explanation be possible, the notes are mainly historical, and are intended more especially to elucidate the many historical problems to which the well-known sins of omission and brevity in Xenophon so often give rise. They also treat with some fullness the divergent accounts of other authorities, e.g. the account of the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία of the Despotism of the Thirty, and Plutarch's two accounts of the Liberation of Thebes—comparing and, as far as possible, estimating the value of the conflicting evidence.

In the historical sections of the Appendix (§§ 1–6) the editor has treated at greater length than the limits of the notes would allow certain portions and problems
of Athenian and Spartan history, and has tried to put together from various sources—alas! only too scanty—all the available information about the Spartan and Theban constitutions applicable to the period of the Hellenica.

The great indebtedness of the editor to the annotated editions of Dindorf, Breitenbach, and Büchsenschütz, is indeed evident on every page: his only apology must be that the abundant materials collected by them must of necessity form the basis of every future commentary. He wishes also to acknowledge the use that he has frequently made of Mr. H. G. Dakyns’ admirable translation, and of Dr. Ernst von Stern’s most valuable monograph on the Spartan and Theban Hegemonies.

Finally the editor wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of the editors of the Journal of Philology and the Classical Review in allowing him to reprint portions of articles which had already appeared in their pages, and to give his grateful thanks to his friend and colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, who kindly consented to revise the proofs, for many corrections and important suggestions, and to the staff of the Clarendon Press for their diligent care in detecting all too numerous errors of every kind.

Magdalen College, Oxford, Christmas, 1899.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION:

§ 1. Composition of the Hellenica . . . . . ix
§ 2. The Chronology of the Hellenica . . . xxxv
§ 3. Manuscripts and Editions of the Hellenica . lxxii
§ 4. Life of Xenophon . . . . . lxxx
§ 5. Chronological Summary . . . . . lxxxii

NOTES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1-309

APPENDIX:

§ 1. Battle of Cyzicus . . . . . . . . . 310
§ 2. Political History of Athens, 411-404 B.C. . . 312
§ 3. Trial of the Generals after Arginusae . . . 325
§ 4. Sparta . . . . . . . . . . . . 334
§ 5. Athens and the Peace of Antalcidas . . . 353
§ 6. Thebes and Boeotia . . . . . . . . 356
§ 7. Critical Notes . . . . . . . . . . 359

GREEK INDEX . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 363

GENERAL INDEX . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 368

INDEX OF AUTHORS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 377
INTRODUCTION

§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA.

XENOPHON'S Hellenica furnishes us with a contemporary record of a considerable and important period of Greek History—from the autumn of 411 to the summer of 362—in all nearly forty-nine years. It begins in the middle of the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War, at the point—or more exactly within a few weeks of the point—where Thucydides' unfinished work suddenly breaks off. It ends with the battle of Mantinea, wherein the Spartans suffered a crushing defeat, and the Thebans left their hero Epaminondas dead upon the field. With the loss of their leader Theban supremacy was at an end; Spartan power sank never to rise to prominence again; the general result for Greece was ἀκρισία καὶ τραχύτητα greater than ever before.

Whether Xenophon himself gave the name of Hellenica to this work is perhaps more than doubtful, but the title implies and the universal opinion of antiquity testifies to the fact that it was early regarded as a treatise on Greek History, in the same sense in which Herodotus wrote a History of the Persian Wars, and Thucydides a History of the Peloponnesian War. Thus Polybius (fl. 167 B.C.), who places Xenophon among οἱ λογίωτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, by quotation and allusion shows apparently an intimate acquaintance with the Hellenica, and while he severely criticizes Ephorus for his foolish descriptions of the land battles, Leuctra and Mantinea, says not a word about Xenophon, implying, we may perhaps not unjustly infer, that he was satisfied with Xenophon's descriptions.

1 Diod. xiii. 42. 2 vii. 5. 27. 3 xiii. 6; vi. 45; ix. 8; x. 20.

XEN. HELLE.
INTRODUCTION

Dionysius¹ of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B.C.) ranks Xenophon with Herodotus and Thucydides, and referring to the Cyropaedia, Ana-
basis, and Hellenica, praises his choice and arrangement of subjects, his diction, and his ἡδος θεοσεβεῖς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ εὐπέτεις, ἀπάταις τε συλλήβδον κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς. Diodorus Siculus² (fl. 8 B.C.) puts Thucydides and Xenophon together as ἐπανούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἱστοριῶν. Plutarch (fl. 80 A.D.) quotes Xenophon as an authority many times over, and in one passage³ more particu-
larly contrasts his truthfulness with Ctesias’ lies. Lucian (fl. 160 A.D.), in his brilliant essay πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφεις, also classes Xeno-
phon with Herodotus and Thucydides, applying to him (§ 39) the epithet δίκαιος συγγραφείς. The chorus of antiquity in favour of Xe-
onophon as a historian is universal: adverse criticism is limited to his language and diction.

With the great historians of Greece of the present century Xe-
onphon has fared very differently. Niebuhr⁴ indignantly exclaims: ‘His history is worth nothing; it is untrue, written without care, and with perfect nonchalance. . . . The partiality towards Sparta is quite revolting; he glosses over her evil deeds, and acts the part of a calumniator and detractor towards his own country. His infatua-
tion is inconceivable, for he imagined the supremacy of the Spartans to be salutary and beneficial to Greece: how could an Athenian say so?’ Grote⁵ is almost as pronounced: ‘To pass from Thucy-
dides to the Hellenica of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us.’ And again⁶: ‘The partiality towards Sparta, visible even from the beginning of Xenophon’s history, becomes more and more exaggerated throughout the two latter books wherein he re-
counts her misfortunes; it is moreover intensified by spite against the Thebans and Epaminondas as her conquerors. But there is hardly any instance of this feeling, so glaring or so discreditable as the case now before us,’ &c. Freeman⁷ is still more condemnatory: ‘Xenophon writes from the worst inspiration of local and tempo-
rary party-spirit. He writes history, not to record facts or to

¹ Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4. ² xi. 37. ³ Artax. 13.
⁷ Historical Essays, ii. 111.
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA

deduce lessons, but at whatever cost of truth or fairness, to set up Agesilaus and to run down the Thebans... In Xenophon we have to brand, not merely an unpardonable degree of weakness and passion, but sheer want of common honesty, a deliberate breach of the first moral laws of the historian’s calling.’ Finally—to cite the words of another modern writer, who in his general estimate of Xenophon as a man and as an author has shown a keen appreciation of his character and merits—Colonel Mure\(^1\) says: ‘As a historian he is notorious for a partiality the most unscrupulous, fortunately also the most transparent that has ever probably been exemplified in the page of any writer, otherwise moderately endowed with tact and judgement in the art of composition. He seems however rarely to have carried this defect the length of deliberate misstatement of fact. His method of falsification consists in suppressing, colouring, or otherwise misrepresenting truth; in giving special prominence to transactions honourable to the cause which he favours; in concealing or palliating those of an opposite tendency; and in a corresponding degree omitting what is creditable, dwelling on what is disparaging, or harshly construing what is indifferent in the conduct or motives of the opposite party.’

Not but what Xenophon has also found many defenders among the moderns, but they too all have to admit the obvious faults of which his detractors complain—the strange incompleteness, the curious inequalities of treatment, the numerous omissions both of events and of persons—only in defence they bring forward explanations more or less ingenious to save the *bona fides* of the historian.

No single key, however, has hitherto been found of the many that have been offered to unlock all the difficulties of the problem. Xenophon himself gives no direct help towards any solution: nowhere does he state what was the scope or plan of his work, nor where, when, or how he wrote it. External evidence based on ancient testimony is almost worthless. Internal evidence drawn from differences of language and style, and from casual remarks and expressions of the author is the only guide, and unfortunately the proper inferences to be drawn from such materials are by no means easy to reach.

In the following pages the external testimony will first be con-

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1 Gk. Lit. v. 254.
sidered; then after that has been disposed of, the problems, mainly raised by the internal evidence, will be dealt with; here the theses maintained will be (1) that Xenophon’s primary object was to write history on the grand scale like his predecessors, Herodotus and Thucydides; but that from lack of capacity rather than of honesty he was unable adequately to carry out his purpose: (2) that though his partiality for Sparta and hatred of Thebes may sometimes explain his inclusion of some and omission of other occurrences, these subjective feelings seldom, if ever, lead him to distortion of actual matters of fact: and (3) that the lack of unity in the work is due partly to the nature of the matters dealt with, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the author himself at different times of his life.

External evidence carries us but very little way. Dionysius 1 of Halicarnassus in scarcely intelligible words speaks of τήν Ἑλληνικήν [Ιστορίαν] καὶ ἧν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῆ Θουκυδίδης, εν ἦ παλιώνται τε οἱ πρωύκοντα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καθειλον ἀδίκα ἀνύσταντα. Apparently there is some corruption in the text: some 2 scholars propose to strike out καὶ before ἦν: others 3 to insert a second καὶ before εν ἦ, the former seeing in the passage an argument for the unity of Xenophon’s work, the latter an argument for its division into two portions i–ii. 3. 10; ii. 3. 11–vii. Similarly Marcellinus 4, a compiler of a life of Thucydides, distinguishes two parts: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀναπληροῦ ἤ τε Θεότομος καὶ ὧ Ξενοφῶν, ὁς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικήν Ιστορίαν. These two authorities, however, seem to mean by their statements—nothing more than the simple fact that besides finishing the history of the Peloponnesian War, which it had been Thucydides’ 5 intention to write, Xenophon went on to write of other and later events. Diodorus 6 simply states: Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Θεότομος ἄφ’ ἐν ἀτελεῖ Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἄρχην πεποίητα, καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν περιέλαβε χρόνον ἑτῶν τεταράκοντα καὶ ὠκτῶ; and again 7 Ξενοφῶν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῖτον τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν κατέστροφεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν—statements which prove that in

1 Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 4. 2 E. g. Krüger. 3 E. g. Grosser.
4 § 45. 5 v. 26. 6 xiii. 42.
7 xv. 89.
Diodorus’ time the Hellenics covered the same period as they do in the form in which we now possess them. The obscure words of Diogenes Laertius seem to throw no light whatever on the problem: λέγεται ἐν ὸτί (he says) καὶ τὰ Θουκυδίδου βιβλία ὑφελέσθαι δυνάμενος λαυθάνοντα αὐτὸς εἰς δοξαν ἠγαγεν. The reference seems to be to the story preserved by Marcellinus that Xenophon was the editor and publisher of Thucydidès—a story probably invented to account for the unfinished state of the earlier historian’s work. The statement is only quoted here, because it has recently been made the ground for the baseless hypothesis, that Xenophon in Hell. i–ii. 3. 10 uses in his narrative materials already collected by Thucydidès.

Finally the MSS., though they all exhibit the Hellenica divided into seven books, yield evidence of a different arrangement and of a variation in title. Harpocrate, it has recently been noticed, quotes words from eight books, viz. Θέσυμα from Β’ (ii. 3. 2), πενέσται from γ’ (ii. 3. 36), ἐκπολεμώσαι from ζ’ (v. 4. 20), βύστρον and πολύστρατος from η’, i.e. ὡδοῖ (vi. 4. 36; 5. 11), and ἀμπεύει without a definite reference. Evidently therefore in his copy, wherever the divisions of the other books may have been, that between the second and third must have been drawn at ii. 3. 10. A Neapolitan MS. gives the title of the Hellenics as ξενοφόντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα ἀπερ καὶ ἐλληνικὰ ἐκάλεστην, εἰς δικτο βιβλία διαιρούμενα, although like the other MSS. it contains the sevenfold arrangement of books. Similarly Aldus in his preface to the Editio princeps (1503) refers to τὴν ξενοφόντος ἐλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀτινα λέγεται παραλειπόμενα τῆς Θουκυδίδου ξυγγραφῆς: on his title page he prints ‘paralipomena Thucydides,’ in the body of the book simply ἐλληνικῶν. Riemann again found in two MSS. παραλειπόμενα ‘Ελληνικῶν, Θουκυδίδου παραλειπόμενα ‘Ελληνικῆς ἱστορίας. From the MSS. evidence therefore two important inferences are deducible—the first that at an early date an intimate relation was supposed to exist between the History of Thucydidès and the Hellenica of Xenophon; the second, that in discussing the relation of the various parts of the Hellenica to each other we need not confine ourselves to the prevailing division into seven books.

1 de Xenoph. § 57.
3 G. Jorio, Codici Ignorati nelle Bibl. di Napoli: Leipzig, 1892.
INTRODUCTION

Remembering these deductions, let us now turn to the internal evidence.

Two passages prove that the composition of the Hellenica extended over a period of at least thirty years. In ii. 4. 43\(^1\) Xenophon praises the restored democrats at Athens after the final expulsion of the Thirity from Eleusis in 401–400\(^2\), because \(\epsilon π ι κ α \nu ν \delta μ ού τε \ π αλιτεύονται καί τοίς \ δρ κοις \ εμμένει \ ο \ δήμος\)—words which have no real meaning, if written more than ten or fifteen years after the amnesty; i.e. they cannot have been written later than 386 B.C., and may have been written earlier. In a digression upon Thessalian affairs (vi. 4) Xenophon states (§ 37)\(^3\) that Tisiphonus was reigning as successor to the murdered Alexander \(\alpha χρι \, α β τε \, \lambda κ ος \, \gamma ραφετο\): but Alexander was murdered in 358 or 357 B.C. Moreover, throughout the work numberless passages\(^4\) give so many picturesque details of time, place, and circumstance, that they must either have been written at the very time of the occurrences themselves, or extracted from a commonplace book, wherein they were noted at the time. In either case we must therefore suppose that for fifty years Xenophon entertained a more or less definite design of writing the history of his own times.

Again the ingenious statistics of the varying use of certain words and particles in the various works of our author, which have recently been compiled by Dittenberger, Roquette, Rosenstiel, and J. A. Simon—whatever may be their value in other respects—prove one thing at any rate to demonstration, that Xenophon must have been more or less occupied with the various sections of the Hellenica throughout the whole period of his literary activity.

Now although this slowly elaborated composition does indeed possess a certain unity of subject in so far as it treats throughout—with very few digressions—of contemporary Greek history, its composite character soon betrays itself even on the most cursory examination. Two main divisions at least can be distinguished, not only by their differences of date, but by their striking differences of style and treatment; and a closer investigation reveals three, four, or even more parts distinguished by differences doubtless less

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\(^1\) Cp. note ad loc.  
\(^2\) Arist. \(\alpha \theta. \, π αλ. \, 40.\)  
\(^3\) Cp. note ad loc.  
\(^4\) E. g. books iii and iv.
marked, but still sufficiently determinate. Of the two divisions most easily distinguishable the first extends from book i to book ii. 3. 10, continuing the history of the Peloponnesian War from the point where it was left in the unfinished work of Thucydides down to the destruction of the Long Walls of Athens—an event which Thucydides\(^1\) himself takes as marking the end of the war. Here Xenophon writes throughout from the point of view of an Athenian citizen resident in Athens, more conversant with Athenian affairs than with those of other states. The second (books iii–vii) resumes the narrative of Greek history from the Spartan expedition under Thibron to aid the Asiatic Greeks in 399 B.C., and continues it without any serious break down to 362 B.C., the year of the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. In 401 Xenophon left Athens never to reside there again; naturally therefore the Athenian point of view disappears, and with his philo-Laconian sympathies Xenophon shows his interest mostly in Sparta and her doings. In between these divisions come nearly two chapters, ii. 3. ii–4. 43, which most commentators regard as belonging to the first division, though some assign it to the second, while others again—perhaps with greater probability—regard it as a third division, more or less independent of the other two. It is occupied entirely with the history of the Rule of the Thirty at Athens, with which Xenophon, as resident at the time, must have been personally acquainted. Its point of view therefore, like that of the first part, is Athenian.

The second division again seems to fall naturally into two sections, the first extending from bk. iii to bk. v. 1. 36, i.e. from 399 B.C. to the Peace of Antalcidas 387–386, the second from bk. v. 2. 1 to bk. vii: but of this subdivision more hereafter.

Two questions therefore arise, (1) what is the relation of the first division to the History of Thucydides? and (2) what is the relation of the various divisions or sections to each other?

As to the first question the statements of Dionysius, Diodorus, and Marcellinus, as we have seen already, need imply nothing more than that Xenophon continued the history of Thucydides in the same way as Thucydides himself continued the history of Herodotus, although the words of Marcellinus might well be taken

\(^1\) v. 26.
to mean that Xenophon in this portion of his work deliberately intended to complete the unfinished plan of his predecessor. Internal evidence, however, though perhaps not conclusive, tends to show that this was really Xenophon’s express purpose. On no other hypothesis, except indeed that the beginning of the Hellenica itself is lost (which seems unlikely), can it be satisfactorily explained why the author should begin, not only without an introduction—a preliminary which Xenophon dispenses with in other works—but without any explanation, however brief, of the events immediately preceding and of the persons engaged in them, sufficient to put the reader in a position to understand the further development of their history. On the contrary, Xenophon plunges him in medias res with the connecting phrase μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, which seems to refer (with considerable obscurity, it must be confessed) to the battle of Cynossema, previously described by Thucydides. He is supposed to be already acquainted with Thymochares, the Athenian general, and Agesandridas, the Spartan general, who had a few months previously met in battle off Eretria; and also to know the place, i.e. the Hellespont, where the Athenian and Lacedaemonian fleets were stationed when their second (?) naval engagement took place; while not a word is said of the disaster which Diodorus (xiii. 41) relates to have overtaken Epicles with the fleet of Agesandridas off Mount Athos in the interval. Similarly Dorieus is suddenly represented as sailing from Rhodes to the Hellespont, whereas in Thucydides he last appears at Miletus, whence he had been sent, Diodorus tells us, by Mindarus to Rhodes. The Athenian generals are introduced with the article (τοῖς στρατηγοῖς), as if they had been already mentioned, but we are left to gather from Thucydides that they were Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus. Mindarus, the Spartan admiral is introduced with equal abruptness. Xenophon omits altogether to mention the movement of the Athenian fleet from Cyzicus to the mouth of the

1 So Büchsenschütz, Einleit. p. 3.
2 Cp. however Riemann, Qua rei criticae, &c., p. 52.
3 Cp. Thuc. viii. 107, 108 ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνους . . . πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον.
4 Thuc. viii. 95.
6 viii. 84.
7 xiii. 38.
8 viii. 104.
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA xvii

Hellespont 1, and the corresponding movement of the Peloponnesians under Mindarus from Elaeus to Abydos. So too (§ 5) Alcibiades sails up from no one knows where, and (§ 12) Thamemnes comes from Macedonia; whereas Thucydides 2 had left the one in Samos and the other in Athens. The motive of Tissaphernes' journey is never stated, and can only be supplied by a reference to Thucydides' narrative 3. All these passages therefore, though they do not, it must be admitted, join on quite exactly, yet seem to take for granted an acquaintance with Thucydides; and if it be further supposed that the last few chapters of Thucydides' eighth book have been lost 4—for to all appearances an interval of some five or six weeks must have elapsed between the last event mentioned by Thucydides and the first alluded to by Xenophon—these points of obscurity also would be readily explicable.

Again in books i–ii. 3. 10 Xenophon adopts an annalistic mode of treatment, which, though not very thoroughly or successfully 5 carried out, would appear to be a distinct reminiscence of Thucydides' careful division into summers and winters. So soon, however, as he has brought his narrative down to the surrender of Athens, which Thucydides 6 had announced as the goal of his undertaking, he drops this method, and relates the usurpation of the Thirty without any definite marks of time. Still even in the later books, where Xenophon as a rule groups events together much more according to their causal connexion than their chronological sequence, this annalistic treatment occasionally 7 reappears in the treatment of successive campaigns, which indeed most naturally fall into it. Further in the received text of the Hellenica as in Thucydides we find 8 at the end of most years a brief account of contemporary events—in Persia, Sicily, or elsewhere—which the author could not well weave into his main narrative: but un-

1 Cp. i. 1–2 with Thuc. viii. 107.
2 viii. 92, 108.
3 viii. 109.
4 Riemann (l. c.) thinks it equally probable that the beginning of the Hellenica may have been lost.
5 Cp. infr. p. xxxix.
6 v. 26.
7 E. g. iii. 2. 21, the war in Elis; iii. 1. 1–3. 23, campaigns in Asia and the Corinthian War to the battle of Coronea; v. 2. 43–3. 26, the campaigns at Olynthus and siege of Philius.
8 Cp. i. 1. 37; 2. 19; 3. 1; 5. 21; 6. 1; ii. 1. 8.
INTRODUCTION

fortunately for the present argument there is very grave reason\(^1\) to believe that most, if not all of these passages, are later interpolations. Finally it is noticeable that in this part, after the manner of Thucydides, Xenophon never departs from his impersonal narrative to make comments of his own, as he is so fond of doing in the later books, on the religious, moral, and political aspects of persons and things. We have therefore mainly to rely on the extraordinary nature of the opening words of the Hellenica, which, it is hard to believe, can ever have been meant to stand as the beginning of an independent work, and on the annalistic treatment of the remaining years of the Peloponnesian War, to which may be added the early date of its composition and the absence of personal comments, as arguments in support of our hypothesis that Xenophon purposely intended the first part of the Hellenica (i–ii. 3. 10) to be a completion of Thucydides' unfinished history.

In discussing the second question, the relation of the various parts to each other, we shall find that, however else they may be distinguished, they all alike suffer from their 'strange incompleteness,' their 'curious inequalities of treatment,' and their 'numerous omissions both of events and of persons.'

The first part (i–ii. 3. 10, 411–404 B.C.) which may be called the Sequel to Thucydides is undoubtedly distinguished from the rest by its more annalistic treatment, and by the absence of all personal comments, and of all references to sacrifices before and after battle, which are so frequent in iii–vii. In this part it has also been noticed that Xenophon states accurately the numbers of ships or soldiers in the contending forces, and the numbers of the slain or of prisoners taken in battle, while in the later books he uses the prepositions ὧς or εἰς, or the phrases οὐκ ἐλάσσοσιν ἦ, πλεῖος ἦ, πολλοὶ, ὀλίγοι. Philologists\(^2\) and statists affirm moreover that its language is more purely Attic, and therefore they rank it with the Cynegeticus as the earliest of Xenophon's compositions.

The second part (ii. 3. 11–4. 56, 404–401 B.C.), unlike the rest of the Hellenica, deals with a political event, the usurpation of the Thirty at Athens, and more than a third of it is taken up with speeches in oratio recta. Here the annalistic treatment has wholly

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\(^1\) Cp. infr. p. xxxviii.  
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA

disappeared: no dates are given except quite\(^1\) incidentally like the mention of snow or ripe fruit, and of the eight months’ rule of the Thirty in the middle of Cleocritus’ speech. Xenophon’s\(^2\) ἑθος θεοσειδῆς first appears; and here he first makes personal\(^3\) comments of his own. The date of its composition, as we have seen already\(^4\), cannot be later than 386 B.C., and the statists tell us that in diction it approximates more closely to the two succeeding books than to the first part of the Hellenica. Further it appears from the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, that it is not, as was formerly thought, separated from bk. iii by any interval of time: for the ὑστέρω χρόνῳ of ii. 4. 43 refers not to 403–402 but to 401–400, the very year of the expedition of the Ten Thousand, to which allusion is made in iii. 1. 1, 2. No special motive of the historian is discoverable beyond the general wish to record ἀξιομαμαχόντων τί; but as witnessed by Xenophon, when he was still in Athens, the events, whenever he may have noted them down, serve rather as an appendix to the Peloponnesian War, than as an introduction to the Spartan expeditions in Asia.

The third part (iii–v. 1. 36\(^5\), i.e. down to the Peace of Antalcidas) is more finished and complete than either what precedes or what follows, if we are to regard the Hellenica as a general history of Greek affairs. Its main theme seems to be the power and glory of the Spartans, who at the outset seemed likely to follow up Xenophon’s own Anabasis with a Homeric invasion of the dominions of the Great King under command of the hero Agesilaus—for such he seems to have appeared to Xenophon and his contemporaries\(^6\). Agesilaus, however, was stopped in full career by his recall to meet the troubles raised at home by the Thebans, Corinthians, and other faithless allies: so that the rest of this section is occupied with tracing how the Spartans overthrew their Hellenic enemies and successfully emerged as the προστάται τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθέισης εἰρήνης. It is doubtful when this section was composed, though the remark\(^7\) that the battle of Coronea (394 B.C.) ἐγένετο

\(^1\) ii. 4. 3; 21, 25.  
\(^2\) ii. 4. 14, 18–22.  
\(^3\) ii. 3. 56; 4. 43.  
\(^4\) Cp. supr. xiv.  
\(^5\) Some commentators have put the break between this part and the next at v. 3. 27. For arguments against this cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 56.  
\(^6\) Cp. Plut. Ages. 10 καὶ μέγιστος μὲν ἦν ὁμολογομένως καὶ τῶν τότε ζώντων ἐπιφανέστατος, ὅς εἰρήνη ποιεὶ καὶ Θεόπομπος.  
\(^7\) iv. 3. 16.
INTRODUCTION

οἰον ὅτα τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν seems to have more force, if it was written before the battle of Leuctra. But at the Peace of Antalcidas the historian seems to have paused, meaning to lay aside his pen. Thus in v. i. 35, 36 he recapitulates the results of Greek History from the destruction of the Walls of Athens 404 to the King's Peace 387–386; and in iii. 5. 25 he records the subsequent death of the exiled king Pausanias at Tegea, as if he would never again reappear in his narrative; whereas as a matter of fact he is mentioned again\(^1\) in the history of Agesipolis' campaign in 385. Moreover, the philologists and statists\(^2\) discover a change in vocabulary and diction in comparing this part with what follows.

The fourth part (v. 2–vii, 386–362) is the most unsatisfactory of all—fullest of inequalities and unaccountable omissions of events and persons. Here Xenophon in Herodotean fashion shows how the ὅβρες of Sparta in seizing the Cadmea (382) soon brought with it its own νέμεσις in its unexpected loss (379), and still worse in her crushing defeat at Leuctra (371). Hereafter Xenophon seems to have had neither the heart nor the patience to trace the gradual downfall of his beloved Sparta and the growth of the hated Thebes. His history becomes as confused as the wars and politics of the times, until it stops with the battle of Mantinea, which, while it brought no advantage to the conqueror, ended for ever all possibility of Sparta's again becoming the champion of Greece—ἀκρισία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐτι πλεῖον μετὰ τήν μάχην ἐγένετο ἡ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. As to the date of the composition of this section, if our previous conjecture as to the date of the third part be accepted, it must have been begun (if we leave out of consideration the notes, which it seems to have been Xenophon's habit to jot down in a commonplace book at the time of the events) some time after the battle of Leuctra, shortly after which Xenophon seems\(^3\) to have shifted his habitation from Scillus to Corinth; and the allusion\(^4\) to the reign of Tisiphonus proves that it was not completed in the year 358. It must, therefore, have occupied the last few years of Xenophon's life: for his death can be assigned with reasonable certainty to the year 354 B. C.

Thus far we have been occupied mainly with proving our

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\(^1\) v. 2. 3.  
\(^2\) Cp. Roquette, l. c. p. 35 ff.  
\(^4\) vi. 5. 37.
hypothesis\(^1\) that the lack of unity in the Hellenica is due partly to the nature of the subject-matter, partly to the length of time over which its composition was spread, and partly to the shifting motives which animated the historian at different periods of his life.

Our next task is to consider the numerous omissions and inequalities which occur throughout the whole of the Hellenica, though less perhaps in iii–v. 1. 36 than in the other parts of the work. First of all, however, two general theories to account for their origin may be briefly disposed of. The first\(^2\) is that the *Hellenica* in its present shape is only a later epitome of Xenophon's own work. To refute this theory it is sufficient to adduce the fact, that while the characteristics of an epitome are to leave out unimportant details altogether, and to give a summary of the whole, laying most emphasis on the matters of most importance, in the *Hellenica* the case is reversed almost more frequently than not. The second theory that our present text is very corrupt and has suffered much at the hands of interpolators, who, it is argued, may have seen good to omit just as well as to insert, is capable of neither proof nor disproof. The discovery of a papyrus fragment of the third century A.D. exhibiting the text, with the passages which are now almost universally regarded as interpolations, much in the state of the *textus receptus*, renders this hypothesis even more improbable than before.

We must now turn to the omissions and inequalities themselves. The most convenient arrangement will be to treat each of the four parts above distinguished separately, as different reasons may perhaps be discoverable for their occurrence in each part, and at any rate somewhat different theories to account for them have been advanced.

*First Part*: i–ii. 3. 10. 411–404 B.C.

*Omissions* occur here not only in the interval\(^3\) between the point where Thucydides ends and Xenophon begins, but frequently

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\(^1\) Cp. supr. p. xii.

\(^2\) Campe, Uebersetzung, &c., 1856; A. Cyprianus, περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν κ.τ.λ., Athens, 1859; Grosser, Jahr. f. Phil. 93, 95, 105, &c.

\(^3\) Cp. supr. p. xvi.
throughout the whole section. Thus Xenophon does not mention the Spartan offer\(^1\) of peace to the Athenians after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C., and the similar offer\(^2\) made after the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. The recovery\(^3\) of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians, which the Athenians had held ever since 425 B.C., Xenophon represents as the mere expulsion of some runaway Helots; and he does not say a word about the unsuccessful expedition which the Athenians sent under Anytus to relieve their garrison in the place; nor about the recovery\(^4\) by the Megarians of their port of Nisaea since 424; nor yet about the battle which shortly ensued, when the Athenians defeated the Megarians with great slaughter. Again, nothing is said about Alcibiades' plundering expedition against Cyme, though according to Diodorus\(^5\) it was one of the chief causes of the complaints against him, which brought about his downfall. Similarly\(^6\), Xenophon does not tell how in the year of his admiralty Lysander organized the oligarchical clubs in Asiatic Greece and the Aegean, which after the battle of Aegospotami did such good service to the Lacedaemonian cause.

Obscurities due to the omission of some important link in the chain of events, or to excessive brevity, are even more numerous. It has already\(^7\) been shown how Xenophon presupposes a knowledge of Thucydides, and that even then more has to be supplied to fill up the interval between the two narratives; but the same defects are noticeable throughout. For example, the newly appointed generals coming from Syracuse are made\(^8\) to take over the fleet at Miletus, which Xenophon had represented as built and still in dock at Antandros. Thrasyllus was sent\(^9\) to Athens to procure reinforcements for the Athenian armament in the Hellespont; but when at last he is given them, he takes them, without any word of explanation, to Ionia. No reason is assigned\(^10\) for the Lacedaemonian ambassadors and Hermocrates attaching themselves to

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\(^1\) Cp. 1. 23 with Diod. xiii. 52; Nepos, Alc. 5; Aesch. Fal. Leg. 76.
\(^2\) Arist. 'ΑΘ. πολ. 34, quoted by the Schol. on Aristoph. Frogs, 1532.
\(^3\) Cp. i. 2. 18 with Diod. xiii. 64, 65.
\(^4\) Diod. l.c.
\(^5\) Cp. i. 5. 15 with Diod. xiii. 73.
\(^6\) Cp. i. 6. 4; ii. 2. 5 with Diod. xiii. 70, 104; xiv. 10 and Plut. Lys. 5.
\(^7\) Cp. supr. p. xvi.
\(^8\) i. 1. 26, 31.
\(^9\) i. 1. 8; 2. 2.
\(^10\) i. 3. 13.
the Athenian ambassadors, to whom Pharnabazus had promised a safe conduct to the Persian king after the capture of Byzantium. These ambassadors at Gordium met other Lacedaemonian ambassadors, returning from the king, who, though never previously mentioned, are introduced with the definite article as if already known. What finally became of Hermocrates, when he attempted to return to Syracuse, is never stated. Callicratidas at an important crisis sent ships to Sparta to procure supplies, but nothing more is heard of them. Though in 409 B.C. Chalcedon was not captured by the Athenians, yet in 405 B.C. it appears in their possession.

The inequality and disproportionate length with which many episodes are treated, are still more extraordinary. Personal and military details, as any one acquainted with the other writings of Xenophon would expect, are often given with considerable fullness, like the negotiations between Lysander and Cyrus, the stratagem whereby Conon contrived to send to Athens news of his blockade in Mytilene, and the measures adopted by Eteonicus to quell the mutiny of his troops at Chios. On the other hand, many important events are dismissed in a few words, e.g. the expulsion of the philo-Laconian party from Thasos and the consequent exile of Pasippidas; the capture of Selymbria; the joint attack of Thrasybulus and Alcibiades upon Phocaea; the capture of Delphinium by the Spartans; the accusation of Erasinides περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας after Arginusae; the στάσις in which the demagogue Cleophon was slain; the revolt of the Athenian allies and the institution of Harmosts and Decarchies by Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami; the amnesty of Patroclides, by which he attempted to unite all parties at Athens to sustain the coming siege; and lastly the opposition offered to Theramenes' proposals for peace with Sparta and the ultimate surrender of the city. There is the same want of proportion in the speeches reported in this section. While the speech of Alcibiades to his fleet before the battle of Cyzicus is dismissed in three lines, the speeches of

1 i. 4. 2.  
2 i. 1. 27-29; 4. 7.  
3 i. 6. 8. 9.  
4 i. 3. 8; ii. 2. 1.  
5 i. 5. 2-7.  
6 i. 6. 19-21.  
7 ii. 1. 1-4.  
8 i. 1. 32.  
9 i. 3. 10.  
10 i. 5. 11.  
11 i. 5. 15.  
12 i. 7. 2.  
13 i. 7. 35.  
14 ii. 2. 5, 6; 3. 6. 7.  
15 ii. 2. 11.  
16 ii. 2. 22, 23.  
17 i. 1. 14.  
18 i. 6. 5, 8-11.
INTRODUCTION

Callicratidas to the discontented Lacedaemonians and to the
Milesian assembly are given at some length. Similarly only the
bare subject of Alcibiades' speeches \(^1\) before the Athenian Council
and Assembly on his return from exile is indicated; whereas the
speech of Eurypolemus in defence of the generals after Arginusae,
delivered on an occasion of scarcely greater importance, is the
longest in the whole of the Hellenica.

To account for these and similar defects—besides the general
theories already alluded to—various special theories have been
constructed. One is that for this portion of his work Xenophon
used the rough materials \(^2\) already collected by Thucydides for the
completion of his history. Such a hypothesis not only rests on no
evidence whatsoever, but furnishes no explanation why some events
should have been put in and others left out, why some parts should
have been elaborated and others not, especially as in the more
elaborated portions (e.g. the speech of Eurypolemus) there are no
traces of Thucydides' peculiarities of style.

More worthy of examination is the theory \(^3\) that these defects
are due to Xenophon's partiality for Sparta and her aristocratic
constitution. In support of this view is adduced the omission of
the humiliating offers of peace made by Sparta after the defeats
of Cyzicus and Arginusae; of the crushing defeat of the Megarians
just after they had succeeded in recovering their port at Nisaea;
of Agis' unsuccessful sally \(^4\) from Decelea right up to the walls of
Athens; of Lysander's organization of the oligarchical clubs among
the Asiatic Greeks; and of Lysander's cruel conduct \(^5\) towards the
Milesians—to which might be added the defective account given
by Xenophon of the recovery of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians.
But an almost equal number of omissions may be collected of
incidents favourable to Sparta, and of insertions of things damaging
to her reputation. Thus Xenophon never has a word of praise for
Lysander, although he was the victor at Aegospotami and the
main cause of the downfall of Athens; and he evidently has a
much greater admiration for the unsuccessful Callicratidas, between

\(^1\) i. 4. 20.
\(^4\) Diod. xiii. 72.
\(^5\) Diod. xiii. 104.
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA

whose unselfish and patriotic behaviour and Lysander’s meanness and ambition a tacit contrast is manifestly implied. Again, Xenophon omits the recapture of Nisaea by the Megarians, and the capture\(^1\) of Chios, Iasos, and Sestos by the Peloponnesians—all Lacedaemonian successes most damaging to Athens. On the other hand he relates in full the disastrous defeats of the Peloponnesians at Abydos, Cyzicus, and Arginusae, and even gives *verbatim* Hippocrates’ pitiable letter to the Spartan Government. Moreover, to take the converse of the theory, it seems to be just as much a matter of accident what incidents Xenophon happens to insert or omit favourable or damaging to the reputation of Athens. Thus on the one side he does not relate the failure of Anytus’ expedition to relieve Pylos, nor the subsequent trial of that demagogue, when he only escaped condemnation by bribing his judges; though this was, Diodorus\(^2\) tells us, the first known instance of corruption in an Athenian law court. And though on the other side he does indeed relate how conscience-stricken the Athenians felt after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing that now they themselves would suffer the same fate as they had inflicted on defenceless people like the Melians, yet he omits Cleophon’s opposition to the Spartan offers of peace after Cyzicus and Arginusae, and his still more foolish opposition to the comparatively mild terms first offered by Sparta during the siege of Athens.

It would seem therefore that however much reason there may be for accusing Xenophon in the later books of allowing his partiality for Sparta to warp his judgement and spoil his history, in this section at any rate the charge is groundless.

Neither does the theory\(^3\) of personal prejudice against individuals carry us very far. Enough has already been said about Lysander and Callicratidas, to dispose of the charge in their case; but Xenophon’s picture of Alcibiades deserves more notice. It is true that he passes over Alcibiades’ most splendid exploits in a word or two, like his capture\(^4\) of Selymbria, his escort of the Eleusinian procession by land, and his successful speeches before the Athenian Council and Assembly. But on the other hand he passes still

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1 Diod. xiii. 65, 104, 106.  
2 xiii. 64.  
3 Cp. Hertzberg, Alcibiades.  
4 i. 3. 10; Plut. Alc. 30

XEN. HELL.  
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more briefly\(^1\) over his failure at Andros, his marauding expeditions from Samos in the winter of 407–406, for which the first complaints were brought against him at Athens, and his final disgrace and loss of his generalship; and he omits altogether the scandalous tales which Plutarch\(^2\) and other authorities delight to retail against him. Moreover, he even enlarges on the favourable feelings with which far the larger section of the Athenian people welcomed him on his return, while he dismisses the murmurs of his enemies against him in a few scarcely intelligible lines; and he dwells at some length on the patriotic advice\(^3\) which Alcibiades gave the careless Athenian generals just before the battle of Aegospotami, suppressing the fact, which Diodorus\(^4\) relates, that the would-be patriot was at the same time actuated by motives of private interest. The defects therefore in his picture of Alcibiades are neither more nor less than those to be found in his sketches of other persons, like Hermocrates, Callicratidas, and perhaps Conon, with whom he was certainly more in sympathy.

So far then our examination has brought us only to the negative result, that there is no single key whereby to solve all the difficulties with which bks. i–ii. 3. 10 abound. Most of them indeed seem to admit of no explanation whatever. In some cases we can perhaps see that Xenophon’s fondness for personal anecdote or interest in the art of war has led him to narrate little incidents, in themselves of no importance, at disproportionate length, but personal feelings either one way or the other do not help us to account for his omissions. Perhaps the most obvious theory to explain them is to regard them as due to want of personal knowledge; but even on this theory we can see no particular reason why Xenophon’s treatment of events should be so uneven. For events occurring almost simultaneously at Athens, on the Hellespont, in Ionia, and elsewhere are related in one place with unaccountable fullness, in another with unaccountable brevity; and no known incidents of his life explain the difference. But there the defects are, and we shall soon see that they are not peculiar to this section.

1 i. 4. 21–23; Plut. Alc. 35.
2 Cp. i. 5. 16 note; Plut. Alc. 36; Diod. xiii. 73, 74.
3 ii. 1. 25.
4 xiii. 105.
§ I. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA xxvii

Second Part: ii. 3. 11-4. 43. 404-401 B.C.

This like the first part belongs to what has been called Xenophon's Attic History, dealing with events which happened while the author was still a resident in Athens. In its general tone it resembles very closely the account of the Trial of the Generals after Arginusae; and here again we are met with the same kind of omissions and of inequalities of treatment. Nothing is said either here or in the preliminary notice (ii. 3. 1) as to the events which led up to the appointment of the Thirty: we are told nothing of the selection of an oligarchical committee of Five (of which Lysias¹ speaks) who were called Ephors out of compliment to Sparta, nor of the succeeding struggle between the oligarchs and democrats wherein many of the generals, taxiarchs, and other important persons belonging to the democratic party were arrested; not yet of the second visit ² of Lysander to Athens at whose dictation the Thirty were appointed; and, stranger still, he omits to notice Alcibiades' murder ³ and the share that Lysander at the instigation of Critias had in bringing it about. So too the cruel decree ⁴ of the Spartans, forbidding any Greek State to give shelter to the Athenian exiles, is passed over; and the ultimate fate of the Thirty is dismissed in a single unintelligible phrase.

Here again events are alluded to as well known of which no previous account has been given. Thus Theramenes ⁵ in his defence against Critias refers to the banishment of Thrasybulus, Anytus, Alcibiades, and others, although not a word has previously been said about them; and after the death of Theramenes the Thirty forbid ⁶ all ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου to enter the city, though it nowhere appears that they had previously been driven out. Finally the Ten in the Piraeus are introduced ⁷ with the definite article, although never mentioned before.

Similarly the inequalities of treatments are as striking as before. Constitutional questions interest our author but little. A couple

¹ Lysias xii. 43.
² Cp. ii. 3. 2 note with Lysias xiii. 15.
⁴ Cp. ii. 4. 1 with Lysias xii. 99 and Diod. xiv. 6.
⁵ Cp. ii. 3. 44 with 13, 14, 21.
⁶ ii. 4. 1.
⁷ ii. 4. 19.
INTRODUCTION

of lines\(^1\) suffice to describe the appointment of the Thirty, and
the restoration\(^2\) of the democracy occupies no greater space. The
dramatic story of Theramenes'\(^3\) execution on the other hand is
told at great length, and so too is the device\(^4\) of the oligarchical
engineer to hinder the advance of Thrasybulus' siege engines.

In this second part Xenophon's impartiality is quite unimpeachable. He dilates on the enormities of the Thirty and the brutality
of Callibius the Spartan harmost. While he attributes\(^5\) to Pausanias
mean motives of personal pique for checkmating Lysander's
design of extermination against the Athenian exiles under Thrasy-
bulus, he evidently approves\(^6\) the measures taken by that hesitating
monarch for the salvation of the Athenian democrats. The violence
of Critias is shown up with unsparing hand, and the brave death
of Theramenes, whose unscrupulous intrigues have been previously
recounted, extorts from the historian for the first time words of
praise in the first person.

Third Part: iii. i. i−v. i. 36. 401−386 B.C.

In this and the following part, which have been called the
Spartan History, Xenophon writes first as an exile from and
never as a resident in Athens. Throughout he writes as a partisan
of Sparta and an ardent admirer of Agesilaus her king: throughout
he is just—even indulgent—towards Athens; and throughout he
is unfair and bitter against Thebes, the over thrower of his most
cherished ideal of Spartan Hegemony by land and perhaps
Athenian Hegemony by sea. His impartiality can indeed be put
to a simple test: for while in the years\(^7\) 395−362 he mentions more
than forty Lacedaemonian generals and officers and nearly as
many Athenian, he mentions no Theban general by name except
Epaminondas (Pelopidas\(^8\) is only once noticed as an ambassador
to the Persian court), and then only at the end of his career and in
words of obviously reluctant praise.

To come, however, to the omissions in this third part—a few may
be dismissed at once as due to mere negligence: thus nothing is

\(^1\) ii. 3. i, ii.
\(^2\) ii. 4. 43.
\(^3\) ii. 3. 22−56.
\(^4\) ii. 4. 27.
\(^5\) ii. 4. 29.
\(^6\) ii. 4. 31 ff.
\(^7\) Cp. Mure, Gk. Lit. v. 295, 315.
\(^8\) vii. 1. 33.
said as to what became of Dercylidas and his troops after\(^1\) his
treaty with Tissaphernes in 397: and three years later Dercylidas
is introduced\(^2\) quite casually as meeting Agesilaus at Amphipolis
with the news of the battle of Corinth. Similarly\(^3\) Euxenus is left
by Agesilaus in Asia with 4,000 men, but nothing more is told of
them. Again Teleutias gets\(^4\) ships from Samos in 391 (?), but
Xenophon never tells us, what we gather from Diodorus\(^5\), that
his predecessors had subjugated the island. So Eteonicus
is said\(^6\) to be again in Aegina, but no previous visit has been
mentioned.

Other so-called omissions may be due simply to the judicious
selection of his events by Xenophon: thus we hear nothing of
Lysander's intrigues\(^7\) to obtain the Spartan throne for himself;
nothing of Herippidas' exploits\(^8\) at Heraclea Trachinia; nothing
of the negotiations\(^9\) for peace after the capture of the Long Walls of
Corinth in 392–391. But far the most important and the most
suspicious omissions are those involving any Theban success or
Spartan reverse. Xenophon never lets us see, what a formidable
rival Thebes had become to Sparta in northern Greece after the
battle of Haliartus, 395; his only hint is iv. 3. 3\(^{10}\) Λαμισαίοι ... καὶ
Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτούσσαίοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ἐντες Βαυστοῖς:
but we have to go to Diodorus\(^11\) to learn of Ismenias' successes over
the Lacedaemonians at Pharsalus and Heraclea and of his victory
at Naryx. Again, nothing in Xenophon's narrative\(^12\) would lead us
to suspect, as we only discover from Diodorus and other sources,
that the decisive victory won by Conon and Pharnabazus at
Cnidus (394) over the Peloponnesian fleet was only their crowning
success in a series of efforts, which included a previous victory at
Caunus and the revolt of Rhodes, and which were begun as early
as 397.

Still more apparent in the inequalities of his narrative is Xeno-
phon's partiality for Sparta, and especially for Agesilaus, and his
hatred of Thebes. The copious and picturesque details with which
he recounts the campaigns of Thibron, Dercylidas, and Agesilaus
\(^1\) iii. 2. 20. \(^2\) iv. 3. 1. \(^3\) iv. 2. 5.
\(^4\) iv. 8. 23. \(^5\) xiv. 97. \(^6\) v. 1. 1.
\(^7\) Diod. xiv. 13; Plut. Lys. 25. \(^8\) Diod. xiv. 38, 81.
\(^9\) iv. 4. 12; 8. 15 notes. \(^10\) Cp. note ad loc.
\(^11\) iv. 82. \(^12\) iv. 3. 10; 8. 1.
in Asia (399-395), and of Agesilaus’ expedition against Piraeum (390) and perhaps too of his expeditions against the Acarnanians (389)—are sufficiently explained by the fact that Xenophon was himself an eyewitness, and here relates even at undue length matters which most struck him or most interested him. What however can be urged in defence for his descriptions of the battles of Corinth and Coronea, at the latter of which he was himself present? At the battle of Corinth he seems to impute to the Thebans a cowardly fear of facing the Lacedaemonians, tampering with the auspices, and the adoption of a deep column formation much to the disadvantage of their friends—charges which he insinuates rather than attempts to justify. Xenophon’s story of Coronea is a mere panegyric of Agesilaus, detailing with loud notes of admiration his brave but rather foolish and certainly unsuccessful attempt to stop the Thebans, returning from pursuit of the Orchomenians, from rejoining their friends on Mount Helicon. Not that Xenophon is wholly blind to the faults of Sparta nor even of Agesilaus himself. By the mouth of the Theban orator at Athens in 395 he states quite plainly how far-reaching was the hostile feeling roused in Greece by Sparta’s high-handed proceedings at Athens, in Elis, and elsewhere, and that too among her old supporters the Corinthians, the Arcadians, and the Achaecans. Similarly he censures Agesilaus’ appointment of his incapable brother-in-law Pisander to be admiral of the Peloponnesian fleet. Again he recounts with an evident sense of the fitness of things how Agesilaus’ arrogance towards his prisoners of war and the Theban envoys was crushed by the news of Iphicrates’ annihilation of the Spartan *mora* at Lechaeum.

Such instances may serve indeed to warn us against too harsh a judgement about Xenophon’s omissions and inequalities in this part. *Supressio veri* does of course amount to *suggestio falsi*; but there is nothing to show that Xenophon wilfully misstates matters of fact. What we have to lament is that Xenophon does not always give us his facts in their proper setting, and that this occurs too frequently in cases involving the humiliation

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1 Anab. v. 3. 6.  
2 iv. 2. 18.  
3 iii. 5. 8-15.  
4 iii. 4. 29.  
5 iv. 5. 6.
§ 1. COMPOSITION OF THE HELLENICA

of Sparta or the triumph of Thebes to be regarded as altogether accidental.

*Fourth Part*: v. 2. i–vii. 5. 27. 386–362 B.C.

In this part Xenophon seems to have given up all attempt to write a connected history of Greek affairs. It consists mainly of isolated sketches, many of them—like the long digression on the petty affairs of the little town of Phlius—well written and interesting in themselves, but of small importance from the point of view of general history. Thus to give a list of omissions in this part would amount to rewriting Greek History. It will therefore be sufficient only to point out those omissions—numerous and important enough by themselves—which involve breaks in the chain of causation in the events narrated by Xenophon, and which in many places would render his narrative unintelligible, could it not be supplemented from other sources. Here again the events omitted are in so many cases unfavourable to Sparta, that the historian’s reputation for impartiality correspondingly suffers, though there is at the same time no reason to convict him of wilful misstatement of facts.

Thus the story of the Olynthian Confederacy and its aggressions on its neighbours comes upon us in the speech 1 of Cligenes (382 B.C.) as a bolt from the blue: nowhere does Xenophon explain the nature of the League nor its previous relations with Amyntas king of Macedon. True, the story seems only to be introduced at all to account for Sparta’s seizure of the Cadmea; but if introduced, it ought to have been made intelligible. After the capture of the Cadmea, though he speaks 2 of the indignation at first felt at Sparta at this unauthorized act of Phoebidas, Xenophon says nothing of the fine, which according to the other authorities 3 was imposed upon him: in all probability however, as very shortly afterwards 4 we find Phoebidas made by Agesilaus harmost of Thespiae, the fine was never really exacted, and this may account for Xenophon’s omission. To the new and important Athenian Confederacy of

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1 v. 2. ii. 2 v. 2. 32. 3 Diod. xv. 20; Plut. Pel. 6; Nepos, Pel. i. 4 v. 4. 41.
378 B.C., which at the time seems to have influenced Lacedaemonian policy much more than the action of Thebes, Xenophon\(^1\) makes the barest reference: Diodorus\(^2\) gives more detail, but is hopelessly inaccurate, and but for monumental evidence we should have but the haziest notion of what took place. No doubt the historian always takes but little interest in naval warfare, and this may account for his vague and unintelligible allusion\(^3\) to the important Lacedaemonian defeat at Naxos in 376 B.C., which he does not even mention by name, though introducing it with the definite article as a famous engagement. Why again has he omitted to mention the Theban victory\(^4\) gained by Pelopidas over the Lacedaemonians at Tegyra in 375–374, to which he has an obscure allusion in vi. 4. 10? Or why has Xenophon so much to say about Jason of Pherae\(^5\) (374–370) and his successors down to Tisiphonus (358) and their influence in Thessalian affairs, and yet gives us not a word about the many expeditions of the Thebans into Thessaly under their greatest generals Pelopidas and Epaminondas (except an obscure allusion in vii. 1. 28), which alone made the doings of these tyrants of any importance to the history of Greece? Most extraordinary of all, Xenophon has entirely omitted the principal object which Epaminondas had in view in his first invasion of the Peloponnesus (370–369)—the restoration of Messenian independence, to which however he is compelled by his narrative of 368–367\(^6\) to allude in terms in themselves quite inexplicable without recourse to other authorities. Similarly though he has occasion later on to speak\(^7\) of the Megapolitans, he omits the foundation of Megalopolis c. 370. Again as to Philiscus’ mission\(^8\) from Ariobarzanes we are left quite in the dark both as to what were its causes and what were its consequences. Indeed, as stated already, bk. vii is no continuous history at all: it is a series of sketches, dealing now with the Theban invasions of Peloponnesus, then with the Arcadians and Eleans, again with the affairs of Sicyon or Philius, of Athens or of Corinth, and winding up with a fairly full and well-written account of the fourth and last Theban

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\(^1\) v. 4. 34 and note. \(^2\) xv. 29. \(^3\) v. 4. 61.
\(^4\) Plut. Pel. 15, 25; Diod. xv. 37. \(^5\) vi. 1. 4 ff.; 4. 20–5. 1.
\(^6\) vii. 1. 27. \(^7\) vii. 5. 5. \(^8\) vii. 1. 27.
invasion of Peloponnesus which ended in the fateful day of Mantinea.

The omissions then in this part tend more especially to obscure the growth of the power of Thebes and the glories of her statesmen and generals and to glaze over the decay of Sparta. Still even here philo-Laconism and anti-Thebanism alone are not sufficient to account for Xenophon’s attitude. No words could be stronger than his own in condemnation of the Spartan seizure of the Cadmea, the νέμεσις for which he thinks directly sent from heaven. No narrative could better show up the weak side of Agesilaus’ character than the simple story wherein he relates the king’s share in procuring the iniquitous acquittal of Sphodrias. No one could have more powerfully depicted the growing weakness of Sparta (374–373) than Xenophon himself in telling how the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess their inability to help the Pharsalians against Jason of Pherae. No one could have told to the Spartans more bitter home truths than Xenophon has put into the mouth of the Athenian orator Autocles. Nor are all his omissions in favour of Sparta: he alludes only very briefly to the barbarous destruction of Plataea by the Thebans, and altogether omits their still more barbarous treatment of Orchomenus.

What then is the result of this long and tedious examination? Xenophon, we must suppose, was animated, like many another man, with an irresistible impulse to write a history of his own times. For nearly half a century he must have kept a diary or commonplace book. These notes at various times in his life he attempted to work up into a more or less continuous history. But he never succeeded, like Plato’s philosopher, in viewing the course of events as from a high and lofty watch-tower. In many of them he played no inconsiderable part himself, and in all he takes no pains to conceal his own personal feelings and predilections: he is an oligarch, a friend of Sparta, an admirer of Agesilaus, a hater of Thebes. Naturally therefore all the corresponding feelings tend to find a place in his narrative; they influence con-

1 v. 4. 1.
2 v. 4. 25–34.
3 vi. 3. 7.
4 vi. 3. 1, 5.
5 Diod. xv. 79.
INTRODUCTION

scientiously or unconsciously his selection of subjects, his omissions and his commissions. Above all, however, he is an honest man, fond of truth and justice for their own sake, a pious worshipper of the gods. This higher side of his character appears in constant conflict with the lower. Thus in the case of Agesilaus his personal admiration of his hero leads him to exaggerate his exploits and minimize his reverses; but his sense of truth and justice does not allow him to pass over all the king's follies and mistakes. So it is everywhere: Xenophon seems always to fall between two stools. No writer of personal reminiscences has ever written a better book than the Anabasis, the story of Xenophon's own campaign; and there are corresponding parts in the Hellenica which reach as high a level. Unfortunately, however, the satisfactory accomplishment of the object, which Xenophon seems to have set before himself in the latter work, demanded a different treatment and a different genius—the all comprehensive genius of a Thucydides, and with this not the most ardent defender would pretend that Xenophon was endowed.

Tried by such a standard Xenophon falls short of the ideal: but it is very greatly to his credit that his detractors should wish to apply it to him at all. Tried, however, by the standard of the other authorities, who write about the same times, Xenophon comes out easily first. Modern historians and commentators now almost with one consent recognize that the contemporary orators, like Andocides, Lysias, and Isocrates, the historian Diodorus, and the biographer Plutarch, when they deal with the same events, can be used only to supplement, not to correct Xenophon's narrative. The orators naturally speak in the heat and passion of the moment: their first object is to persuade, to which but too often they make the truth but secondary. The actual value of any particular portion of Diodorus or Plutarch varies of course with that of the more ancient authorities on which it happens to be based; and to estimate such value is one of the most difficult problems of the modern writer. To speak generally, however, they are both far inferior to Xenophon. Diodorus, it is but too apparent, cares for history, not so much for its own sake, but as an opus oratorium, in which he can display his own surprising talents. Plutarch, however charming and artistic his biographies may be, evidently uses
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

the facts of history only 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Xenophon alone by his simple and unvarnished style, by his general impartiality and love of truth, even too by the very defects, which, however much they may mar and disfigure his narrative, yet by their curiously fortuitous and unaccountable occurrence tend rather to confirm its truth—leaves upon the mind of his reader the impression that his history, so far as it goes, is a history of facts.

§ 2. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA.

The chronology followed in this edition is based on Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, published in 1834: here and there, however, will be found certain departures which the discovery of ancient inscriptions and the general advance of historical knowledge have seemed to necessitate. It is the object, therefore, of the following pages to justify these changes, and at the same time to discuss several of the dates, admitted by Clinton himself to be doubtful, on which any new light has been thrown. For the sake of convenience the discussion is divided into paragraphs dealing with the dates of different periods. Controversy has, as far as possible, been avoided, and it is sufficient here merely to refer to the formidable bibliography on the subject.

For greater accuracy the years are reckoned from April to April—the time when the Greeks were accustomed to open their campaigns, as thereby the difficulty is avoided of separating the writer's events between two years of the Christian era.

Many references will be found to the years of the archons in Diodorus. The archons entered upon office on the 1st of Hecatombaeon (c. July), the first month of the Attic official year. But as the Athenians reckoned by lunar months, and were certainly often as much as a month wrong, if not more, it is well to remember the caution of Thucydides (v. 20) ὥσπερτο πιστεύσαν μᾶλλον. οὖ γὰρ ἄκριβές ἐστιν οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένως καὶ μεσοῦσι.
INTRODUCTION

καὶ ὁπως ἔτυχε τῷ ἐπεγένετό τί. Diodorus, moreover, in his annalistic treatment begins the history of each year apparently about mid-winter, but nevertheless prefixes to it the name of the eponymous archon as well as those of the Roman consuls; and for his Greek history he seems to have used the work of some chronologist, who dated events strictly by the Athenian archonship, beginning in July. Naturally this led to confusion: and almost more often than not Diodorus in his carelessness puts events, if in the right year, yet under the wrong archon; or if under the right archon, yet under the wrong year. Frequently he is mistaken in both.

A. The last years of the Peloponnesian War.

In the first two books of the Hellenica we find that not only is the beginning of each year of the war marked by such phrases as τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἑτερι, τοῦ ἐπιτύπου ἑτος, ἀρχομένου ἕαρος ¹ (where Xenophon is evidently following the system of Thucydides ²), but in several passages additional accuracy is apparently given by the mention of Olympiads, the year of the war, or the names of the eponymous archons and ephors, and also by the notice of contemporary events in Persia and Sicily ³. But by all recent commentators such passages have been suspected, and with justice, to be interpolations.

It is true that both Herodotus and Thucydides occasionally give the names of Olympic victors: but Herodotus sometimes simply styles a man Ὀλυμπιονίκης ⁴ as a general mark of distinction without specifying any particular victory, and sometimes relates the victories, whether in the chariot race ⁵, pentathlon ⁶, or pancratiwm ⁷, as incidents in the lives of eminent men like Miltiades the Athenian or Demaratus the Spartan; but in no case does he use an Olympiad to fix a date. Thucydides once ⁸ like Herodotus uses the epithet Ὀλυμπιονίκης as the mark of a distinguished man: twice ⁹ however he gives the name of the victor to help fix the date, in the first instance not specifying the contest, in the second taking the name

¹ i. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 2; 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1.
² v. 20.
³ i. 37; 2. 19; 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.
⁴ v. 47, 71.
⁵ vi. 36, 70; ix. 103, 125.
⁶ vi. 92; ix. 75.
⁷ ix. 105.
⁸ i. 126.
⁹ iii. 8; v. 49; cp. 50.
of the victor in the pancratium; but in both instances the celebration of the Olympic festival has an intimate connexion with his general history of the war, and is not introduced merely as a chronological datum. Moreover, Polybius\(^1\) expressly states that Timaeus, the Sicilian historian (flor. 264 B.C.), was the first to use the first Olympiad as a chronological era, for which, however, the list of the victors in the less famous stadium or foot-race was chosen. Nevertheless, in i. 2. 1 the 23rd year of the war is called the 93rd Olympiad (really it was the fourth year of the 92nd); and in ii. 3. 1 the Olympiad (really the 94th) is denoted by the name of the victor in the stadium without any number attached. The first instance is an obvious mistake, the second for the reasons alleged is equally spurious.

Again, Herodotus\(^2\) once mentions the name of the eponymous archon at Athens to fix the date of one particular event, the invasion of Attica by the Persians; and Thucydides\(^3\) sometimes gives the archon, ephor, and even the priestess of the Argive Hera, to mark some unusual occurrence; but neither of them ever use these official lists to distinguish successive years. Xenophon records seven years of the war: but the interpolator only inserts the names of five archons and five ephors. Further, in two passages the names given in the text of the Hellenica are incorrect: for in ii. 3. 9, 10, a continuous list of twenty-nine ephors appears in which Pantacles immediately precedes Pityas, whereas Xenophon makes two whole years elapse between i. 3. 1 and i. 6. 1, where Pantacles and Pityas are respectively mentioned, to mark the beginning of the years\(^4\); and exactly the same mistake is made with the archons. Evidently therefore the interpolator must have had before him complete lists of the ephors and archons, must have known the right names for the year 404, and then reckoned backwards from that year, but unfortunately overlooked the beginning of a new year in i. 4. 2, where no magistrates are mentioned. Of this, however, more below.

In three\(^5\) passages the numbers of the year of the Peloponnesian war are given, all of which are incorrect. In a fourth\(^6\) passage the war is wrongly stated to have lasted 28\(\frac{1}{2}\) years, and this number is

\(1\) xii. 12.  
\(2\) viii. 51.  
\(3\) ii. 1; v. 19.  
\(4\) Cf. i. 4. 12.  
\(5\) i. 3. 1; 6. 1; ii. 1. 7.  
\(6\) ii. 3. 9, 10.
substantiated by a list of 29 ephors. But Thucydides distinctly says that the war from the Theban attack on Plataea down to the capture of Athens lasted almost exactly 27 years; so that, if to this another six months be added to include Lysander's return to Sparta at the end of the summer's campaign in 404, the total number of years is only 27½.

As for the notices of Sicilian and Persian history to which marks of time, like ὁ ἐπιστάς ἐλημεν, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, τότε ἐπιστάτω, are mostly attached, though it is certain that the chronology of the Hellenica does not at all agree with that in Diodorus Siculus, yet, as that author is so exceedingly inexact in his dates, this disagreement does not amount to much of an argument against them. Some of the passages on Sicilian history, however, seem to be inconsistent with each other. The difficulties of the first passage, which is evidently inserted to account for the Ephesians conferring their citizenship upon the Selinuntines, may perhaps be resolved by supposing that Hannibal captured the cities of Selinus and Himera in the spring of 408 (not 409). For both the Hellenica (if the chronology be right) and Diodorus put the event in the year 409-408; so that this supposition would account for two Selinuntine ships still appearing in the autumn of 409 in the Aegean as Peloponnesian allies, and yet having returned to Sicily before the capture of the two cities. Again, the capture of Acragas, which Diodorus puts in the year 406, is related twice over, once as happening in 407, and the second time apparently as happening in 405, though in this second passage, it is true, its date is not precisely stated, but left open to inference with a πρὸτερον. On the other hand, the date of Dionysius' seizing the tyranny in the latter passage seems to be fairly correct. Finally the battle of Gela, referred to in ii. 3. 5, is put after the capture of

1 Morus (Xen. Hell. p. xxiii) has ingeniously shown how the interpolator arrived at the mistaken total. It appears probable from Thuc. v. 19, 36, that the Ephors entered on their office about the autumnal equinox. When the war began therefore, Aenesias, who had entered on his office in Sept. 432 had still four months of his eporate to run. Twenty-seven more names carry us down to Sept. 404. Then the interpolator adds a twenty-ninth, because Eudicus must have entered on his office just before Lysander returned to Sparta.

2 v. 26. 3 i. i. 37.
4 i. 2. 10. 5 xiii. 44, 61, 62.
7 Diod. xiii. 61. 8 xiii. 91.
9 i. 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

Athens in the spring of 404: really it occurred the autumn before (405). There are similar difficulties in the references to Persian history. The first (i. 2. 19) states a mere fact, which there is no means of confirming or denying. The second (ii. 1. 8, 9) is assailable on more grounds than one: it contains forms of words, which could not have been used by Xenophon, viz. Δαρειαῖον and Δαρειαῖον with Δαρείον in between, and κόρη instead of κάνδυς (Cyrop. viii. 3. 10); the sister of Darius was the daughter of Artaxerxes and not of Xerxes, as stated; it professes to give a secret reason for the recall of Cyrus by his father ὁ δὲ ἰρωστῶν, for which in § 13 Xenophon is content simply to give the ostensible reason, which he repeats again in § 15: and it makes too long an interval to elapse between the arrival of the message and the departure of Cyrus. On the whole, therefore, the balance of probability appears to be in favour of regarding as spurious all these passages, which have evidently been inserted in imitation of Thucydides’ custom of closing each period of six months with brief notices of events, which have not been recorded in his general narrative.

We are left therefore for our chronological data only with the phrases τὸ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει (i. 2. 1), τοῦ δ’ ἐπιώττος ἔτους (i. 3. 1), τῷ δ’ ἐπιώττ᾽ ἔτει (i. 6. 1; ii. 1. 10; 3. 1), supplemented occasionally by additional marks of time like ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος, ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, χειμῶν ἐπήει κ.τ.λ. Not all of these, however, are above suspicion. One of them (i. 6. 1) is probably in the wrong place: for the election of the ten Athenian generals, who replaced Alcibiades and his colleagues (two, Conon and Aristocrates, were re-elected), and who afterwards fought at Arginusae, though in the ordinary course of events it would have taken place in the spring of 406, is recorded in i. 5. 16: then μετὰ ταῖτα certain operations of Conon’s are inserted; and then only (to leave out of account the spurious ὃ ἐναυτός ἐληγεν of § 21) comes τῷ δ’ ἐπιώττ᾽ ἔτει, intended to mark the same spring of 406. Two more τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει (i. 2. 1) and τοῦ δ’ ἐπιώττος ἔτους (i. 3. 1) are combined, one with the phrase ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους, the other with the phrase ἔαρος ἀρχομένου—formulae which in i. 4. 2 and in the last five books of the Hellenics occur alone, as sufficient by themselves to mark the beginning of the year. The remaining two τῷ δ’ ἐπιώττ᾽ ἔτει (ii. i. 10; 3. 1) have no such objections

¹ Cp. Diod. xiii. 96, 108.
attached to them, and may be paralleled by τῶ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει of vii. 1. 1; 2. 10. All five, however, occur in connexion with the names of the archons and ephors, which have justly been bracketed as spurious. There remains still another difficulty in the chronology even more serious. Xenophon continues Thucydides from the point where he breaks off in his narrative of the 21st year of the war in the autumn of 411 B.C. The war lasted twenty-seven years, ending in the summer of 404. There ought, therefore, to be seven of these notices of the beginning of a new year: as a matter of fact there are only six; somewhere or other one has been left out, and the question arises, where?

Two answers have been given to this question. Dodwell 1, followed by Clinton, Grote, Büchsenschütz, Beloch, and many others, puts the beginning of the omitted year at i. 1. 11, whence it follows that Thrasylus (i. 2. 1) set sail in the summer of 409, and that Alcibiades (i. 4. 12) returned to Athens in 407. Haacke 2, followed by Krüger, Böckh, Curtius, Kirchhoff, Breitenbach, &c., maintains that Thrasylus sailed in the summer of 410 and that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 408: he and his followers, therefore, put the beginning of the omitted year at some point in ch. 5 after the departure of Alcibiades (i. 4. 21). In this edition Dodwell's system has been adhered to mainly for the following 3 reasons. In the winter 411–410 Thrasylus 4 sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements. Then ἡ δὴ τοῦ χειμώνος λήγοντος (Diod. xiii. 49) Mindarus collected his fleet, and after sundry evolutions, which must have occupied a considerable time, was defeated and slain by Alcibiades in the battle of Cyzicus (c. April 410). The news only reached Sparta after some delay, and the Lacedaemonians in despair humbly begged for peace (Diod. xiii. 53 5) which through the influence of Cleophon was refused. These negotiations cannot be placed much before the end of Theopompus' archonship (411–410). Then Agis made his sally from Decelea (i. 1. 33) and was repulsed by Thrasylus; we now learn from Lysias (xxxii. 5, 7) that Thrasylus was στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλίτων, so that, unless he received an extra-

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1 Annales Thucyd. et Xenophont. 2 Dissertatio Chronologica.
3 Cp. Beloch, Philologus, 1884, p. 276. 4 i. 1. 8.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

ordinary appointment, he must have been elected in April 410, and entered on office in July. The probability therefore is that in this capacity he commanded the Athenians against Agis. Encouraged by the success the Athenians (§ 34) thereupon voted him 50 triremes, besides horse and foot, i. e. not much before August 410. It is reasonable to suppose that the winter months were occupied by him in fitting out his fleet; for Alcibiades in 407 took three or four months (i. 4. 21) to fit out his fleet, and in the following year, notwithstanding all their efforts, the Athenians were thirty days (i. 6. 24) in despatching the fleet of 110 ships, which afterwards fought at Arginusae. Then in the spring, or rather early summer (i. 2. 1), of 409, Thrasyllus set out for Samos, made some descents upon the Ionian coast and invaded (§ 4) εἰς τὴν Ἀνδιαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, i. e. June.

Again, after the battle of Cyzicus, Pharnabazus allowed the ship-less Syracusans (i. 1. 25) ναυπηγεῖσθαι τρῆρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσα ἐκαστοι ἄπωλεσαν, χρήματα τε δίδονς καὶ ὅλην ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ιδης κομίζοντοι φράγων. While they were building the ships, the Syracusans found time to help the Antandrians build their city wall and do them other services for which they were rewarded with the Antandrian citizenship. Nevertheless they had their 20 ships ready (i. 2. 8, 12) to meet Thrasyllus in July (§ 7). This could only be July 409: for it is inconceivable that the Syracusans could have felled the timber and built their ships by July 410, only two or three months after the battle of Cyzicus.

Thirdly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Hypoth. to Lysias xxxii) actually states that Thrasyllus ἐκπλείων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Πλακίππου ἄρχοντος (410-409).

Finally, Xenophon (i. 2. 18) and Diodorus (xiii. 64) put the recapture of Pylos by the Lacedaemonians in the winter of the same year as Thrasyllus’ expedition; and we know from Diodorus that the siege was a long one, involving a blockade by sea as well as by land. It must therefore have been taken, while the sea was still navigable, i. e. in the autumn. But from CIA. i. 188, v. 10 it appears that Pylos in October 410 was still in the possession of the Athenians: probably, therefore, it was taken in the following year.

Beloch (l. c.) ingeniously groups together a number of other coincidences all leading to the same result, that Thrasyllus sailed

XEN. HELL. d
in 409 and not in 410: but the arguments above given are the strongest (not indeed that much reliance can be placed on Dionysius' chronology), and seem to be quite sufficient in themselves.

If, then, Thrasylus sailed in 409, it follows from the chronological data of the Hellenics (as already stated) that Alcibiades returned to Athens in 407 (not 408). This again can be otherwise strongly supported. In the first place the ten generals, who were elected (i. 5. 16) in succession to Alcibiades and his colleagues, were the generals who fought at Arginusae ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Κάλλιον (Athen. v. p. 218 a). In the ordinary course of things they must have been elected about April 406 and entered on office in July of the same year. Again, in the summer of the same year, Callicratidas succeeded Lysander in the Spartan admiralship (i. 6. 1) παρεληλυθότος ἡδή τοῦ χρόνου, i.e. a year since Lysander (similarly in 407) succeeded Cratesippidas (i. 5. 1) τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας. But Lysander's appointment was simultaneous (cp. ibid. πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ) with Alcibiades' stay in Athens. Finally the historian Andron 1, so far from putting Alcibiades' return in 408, put it in 406 in the archonship of Antigones 407 July to 406 July (for Alcibiades, it must be remembered, landed at Piraeus in June), and he is said to have differed from Xenophon περὶ τῆς καθόδου. The battle of Notium, therefore, was probably fought early in 406.

Here, again, Beloch (l. c.) confirms these main arguments by a number of coincidences, which it is unnecessary here to reproduce.

B. The Despotism of the Thirty, 404-403.

The dates given in the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολίτεια (34-41) confirm the chronological data of the Hellenica and the results previously arrived at by Clinton. The Thirty, we are told (35. § 1), were appointed ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος 404-403. Taken strictly this should mean that the Thirty came into power in or after July

404, a month or two later than is generally supposed; the interpolator in the Hellenics (ii. 3. 1), however, tells us that afterwards the Athenians struck out Pythodorus' name ὅτι ἐν ὀλγαρχίᾳ ὑπέθη, and called the year ἀναρχία; and Aristotle also says that the Thirty appointed πεντακοσίων βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς, so that his election must have taken place before any archon eponymous had been regularly elected (i.e. before July): otherwise the Athenians would scarcely have erased his name. Again, ἡδη δὲ τῶν χειμῶν ἐνεστῶτος (35. § 1), when Thrasybulus seized Phyle, agrees with Xenophon's ἐπιγίγνεται ... χίῳ παμπληθής (ii. 4. 3). Further, Aristotle, though he mentions no definite time, speaks of the expulsion of the Thirty (38. § 1), which Xenophon puts after an eight months' reign (ii. 4. 21, c. February), as happening a considerable time before the final amnesty: in this interval therefore there was time for the appointment of the Ten at Athens, for various negotiations between Athens and Sparta, and for the expedition of Lysander, followed by the second expedition of king Pausanias at the head of the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Meantime the Athenians in the city suffered great hardships from famine and want of money (Xen. Mem. ii. 7. 2; Isocrr. xvi. 13), so that we need not be surprised to find that according to Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 349 f.) Thrasybulus did not return to Athens till the 12th of Boodromion (September). The final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, which Xenophon (ii. 4. 43) merely states as happening ἵστερον χρόνω Aristotle (40. § 4) definitely fixes to ἔτει τρίτω μετὰ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν ἐπὶ Ξενανέτον ἄρχωντος, i.e. 401-400.

C. The Elean War, 399–397.

Clinton's chronology of this war (401–399) was long ago overthrown by Grote's common-sense remark (ix. 49), that, had the war been going on at the time of the Olympic festival (400 B.C.), the

1 Cp. 39. § 1 έγένοντο δ' αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπ' Ἐυκλείδου ἄρχωντος, 403. This passage is an apparent contradiction to the same author's statement infr. 41. 1 ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ... ἄρχωντος (404–403). In a way both statements are right. Pythodorus' year was the year of anarchy, and Euclides was not elected archon till the democracy was restored, i.e. after Sept. 403: cp. Plut. Glor. Athen. 349 f.

2 Classical Review, 1893, p. 156.
fact would hardly have been left unnoticed by all the ancient authorities.

The chronological problem is here twofold. (1) Did the war last two years or three? (2) Did the war take place before or after the 95th Olympiad?

As to (1) Xenophon is perhaps ambiguous: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) limits the war to two years; but Pausanias (iii. 8. 3–5) who evidently follows Xenophon, speaks distinctly of three years—τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει... τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου. Did he then misinterpret Xenophon, who being a contemporary authority is manifestly of the chiefest importance? If we examine the passage in the Hellenica (iii. 2. 21–30), there can hardly be a doubt that he did not. According to Xenophon, Agis' first campaign was cut short by the occurrence of an earthquake. But περιόντι τῷ ἔπιστευτῷ the ephors again declared war against the Eleans. Now the phrase περιόντι τῷ ἔπιστευτῷ can only mean, 'when the year was drawing to a close' (cp. Classen's note to Thuc. i. 30 περιόντι τῷ βῆμει); and as Xenophon, like Thucydides, always begins his year about our April, the close of his year must be February or March. On this interpretation, what follows immediately becomes intelligible. The Spartans, we are told, summoned contingents from their allies, who all, even including the Athenians, obeyed the summons, except the Boeotians and Corinthians. Then Agis at the head of this army entered Elis through Aulon, whereupon the Lepreates and others revolted from the Eleans. The Spartan king sacrificed at Olympia without opposition, and next proceeded to plunder the country; so rich was the booty that many Achaeans and Arcadians volunteered to join him. As he approached the city itself, internal disensions broke out; notwithstanding this, Agis after waiting awhile inactive retired, leaving a garrison at Epitalium. All this must have occupied a considerable time, namely, all the spring and the best part of the summer of the second year's campaign, so that we are not surprised to learn (§ 30) that this garrison continued to ravage the country τοῦ λοιποῦ βέρου καὶ τοῦ ἐπίστευτα χειμῶνα. At last τοῦ ἐπίστευτος βέρους (i.e. in the third year) the Eleans, to avoid further suffering, consented to accept the terms imposed by Sparta. Evidently, therefore,

1 Grote (l. c.) follows Xenophon and Pausanias: Curtius, Gr. Gesch. v. Anm. 70, prefers Diodorus.
Xenophon represents the events as extending over three years, and Diodorus is wrong in limiting them to two years.

As to (2), Xenophon's narrative seems to imply the later date, 399-397, rather than the earlier, 402-401, which is given by Diodorus (l.c.) who is followed by Grote and Curtius. For in iii. 2. 21 he distinctly states that τούτων . . . πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπὸ Δερκυλίδα at the same time the Elean War took place in Greece. Now, by reckoning back from Xenophon's Anab. vii. 6. 1, and from the eclipse of August 14, 394, it appears that Dercylidas took the command in Asia in the autumn of 399 and that Agesilaus succeeded him in the spring or summer of 396. At the time of Cimadon's conspiracy, which is related by Xenophon immediately before the king's expedition to Asia, Agesilaus had not yet been a year upon the throne. Supposing then that his predecessor Agis died in the spring of 397, the conspiracy may very well have taken place in the winter months of 397-396, and would give an additional reason for the ephors being willing to send Agesilaus abroad at the head of 2,000 Neodamodes or enfranchised Helots. If then Agis died in the spring of 397 immediately after the conclusion of the Elean War (as is plain from iii. 3. 1), his first expedition against Elis must have taken place in 399, the year after the Olympic festival, 398 must have been the year of his second and principal invasion, and peace must have been concluded in 397.

D. The Corinthian War, 395-386.

The dates for the beginning and end of the Corinthian War are well established, the first by the eclipse of August 14, 394, the second by the consensus of evidence that the Peace of Antalcidas, which ended the war, was concluded in the archonship of Theodotus, July 387–July 386. The eclipse fixes first the date of the

2 For an examination of Curtius' arguments cp. Classical Review (l.c.).
3 iv. 3. 10.
4 iii. 3. 4.
5 Cp. Brasidas' expedition to Thrace, Thuc. iv. 80.
6 iv. 3. 10; Lysias, xix. 28.
7 Aristides, ii. 370; Diod. xiv. 110; Polyb. i. 6.
outbreak of the war in the preceding year, in which campaign Lysander was slain at Haliartus; and secondly the dates of the sea-fight at Cnidus, a few days before the eclipse; of the battle of Coronea a short time after the eclipse; and also of the battle of Corinth, which was fought a few weeks earlier, in the beginning of the archonship of Eubulides, July 394. The chronology of the subsequent events has been much disputed owing to the vagueness of the marks of time given by Xenophon and the palpable mistakes of Diodorus; a difference indeed of as much as two years appears in the various arrangements advocated by different chronologists, some placing the destruction of the Spartan mora by Iphicrates in 392, others in 390, according as they date the biennial Isthmian games mentioned by Xenophon. Clinton takes the earlier date; Grote prefers the later, which has been adopted in this edition, on the ground that not only is it more probable in itself, but that what little additional evidence has been collected since his time tends to confirm it.

The prime difficulty is due to the fact that Xenophon has chosen to narrate the events of the war by land and by sea in two wholly distinct sections, which only cross each other certainly at one point and doubtfully at another, and out of neither case can much help be derived towards fixing the chronology. The events of the land-war he narrates uninterruptedly from iv. 4. 1, when Agesilaus at the end of the campaign of 394 B.C. disbanded his army, to iv. 7. 7, where he recounts an expedition of Agesipolis against Argos. Then from iv. 8. 1 to v. 1. 35 he professes to relate πάντα ... τὰ κατὰ βάλλοντα καὶ τὰς πρὸς βαλλόντα πόλεις γενόμενα—all the events that happened by sea during the same period of time, under the limitation, however, that he treats only of τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀξιομνημονεύτως. The problem is therefore so to combine these two sections and harmonize them with the scattered statements of other authorities, as to evolve a tolerably self-consistent scheme of chronology.

\[1\] iii. 5. 19.
\[2\] CIA. ii. 2084. Δεξίλεως ... ἀπέθανε ἐπ’ Εὔβουλίδου ἐγ’ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἵππων; cp. Aristides, ii. 370.
\[3\] iv. 5. 1.
\[4\] iv. 3. 10. Agesilaus heard the news of the battle of Cnidus just before the battle of Coronea.
\[5\] iv. 4. 19; iv. 8. 23: Teleutias’ 12 ships.
At the end of the campaign of 394 B.C., Agesilaus\(^1\), we are
told, disbanded his army and sailed home; and Conon\(^2\), while
blocking the Hellespont, collected ships for the ensuing cam-
paign. Accordingly next spring (393) Conon and Pharnabazus sailed
across the Aegean, made various descents upon the Peloponnesian
coast, captured Cythera, and sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth,
where they found a number of allies assembled to prosecute the
war with Sparta. Pharnabazus\(^3\) urged them to act vigorously,
leaving with them at the same time a considerable sum of money,
and then sailed homewards. On the way, however, Conon per-
suaded him to allow him to stay with the fleet at Athens, and to
provide him with money for the purpose of rebuilding the Long
Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus. Thus was Conon enabled
to do this great service to his country. That all these events,
including at least the beginning of the rebuilding of the Long
Walls, must have taken place before July 393, is proved by an
inscription\(^4\) recently discovered at Athens, which records the
hiring of artisans by Conon for this purpose in the archonship of
Eubulides, July 394 to July 393. With the Persian gold the
Corinthians\(^5\) also found the means to equip a fleet, with which they
gained the mastery over the Corinthian Gulf and maintained it,
notwithstanding the efforts of the Lacedaemonians to dispossess
them, until Teleutias (apparently in the following year 392–391)
succeeded to the command of the Lacedaemonian ships and
asserted once more the Lacedaemonian supremacy.

So far all is clear: now comes the first difficulty. Are the
dissensions and battles at Corinth narrated by Xenophon in iv. 4
to be put before or after the visit of Conon and Pharnabazus? Grote\(^6\) argues with great force that they are to be put afterwards.
He maintains that on the first outbreak of the war in 395, when
they received money from Tithraustes\(^7\), and again, in 393, when
they received money from Pharnabazus, the Corinthians were
zealous in carrying on the war and had no reasons for discontent;

\(^1\) iv. 4. 1. This happened some time after the Pythian games
(September): cp. iv. 3. 21 with Plut. Ages. 19.
\(^2\) iv. 8. 7. \(^3\) iv. 8. 8.
\(^4\) CIA, ii. 830. Köhler, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instlt in Athen, iii.
\(^5\) iv. 8. 10, 11. \(^6\) ix. 152.
\(^7\) iii. 5. 1.
whereas the discontents spoken of in iv. 4. 1 could only have arisen from causes which 'took effect after a long continuance—the hardships of the land-wars, the losses of property and slaves, the jealousy towards Attica and Boeotia as being undisturbed, &c.' At least the summer of 393 must therefore be allowed, wherein the ravages complained of may have taken place; so that, if the month 1 of the Euclea 2 be February, the massacre of the oligarchs must have happened about February 392. Then Praxitas gained his victory within the walls of Corinth in the summer of the same year, and at the end of the campaign large armaments were given up on both sides 3, and the contending parties henceforward limited themselves to harassing each other with mercenary forces stationed at Corinth and Sicyon respectively. In the same year may be placed the exploits 4 of Iphicrates' peltasts at Phlius and in Arcadia, and the rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians. Agesilaus' first invasion of Argos, the event next recorded by Xenophon 5, thus falls naturally at the opening of the campaign of 391—a date confirmed by Andocides 6, who apparently

1 Kirchner, De Andocidis quae fertur tertia oratione, p. 10. Could more reliance be placed on this conjecture, based upon the analogy of the Calendar of Corcyra, the colony of Corinth, it would be a still stronger confirmation of Grote's view.
2 iv. 4. 2. 3 iv. 4. 14. 4 iv. 4. 15-18. 5 iv. 4. 19.
6 Cp. iii. 18-20. It seems impossible to make Andocides quite consistent with Xenophon. He speaks of three Peloponnesian victories, and by the third over 'Αργείων μὲν ἀποντας καὶ Κορινθίων, ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν τοὺς παρῶντας (cp. Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 9) he evidently means Praxitas' victory within the Long Walls of Corinth. If Xenophon be right, then Andocides must be wrong in stating that the Lacedaemonians at the same time captured Lechaenum—a pardonable exaggeration in an orator, especially when we remember what Xenophon tells us, that many of the Boeotian guards within the town were slain upon the walls and upon the roofs of the docks. Andocides goes on to say that, now that the war had lasted four years (395-392), the Boeotians were on the point of making peace, agreeing to leave Orchomenus independent, though this had been their original subject of dispute with Sparta; whereas the Argives, secured by their πατρία and ἱδία εἰρήνη from all ravaging of their country (i.e. before Agesilaus' invasion in 391), were eager for the war to continue. At this moment the Athenians were (§ 12) already in possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and according to Andocides the Lacedaemonians were now ready to admit their claims to these possessions; whereas Antalcidas' proposals (Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 12-15), that the Athenians should recognize their independence, had resulted in the complete breakdown of his negotiations. This implies that Antalcidas'
in the winter of 392–391 speaks of the war as having continued four years (i.e. 395–392) and of the Argolis being as yet unravaged. It is to be noted that Diodorus (xiv. 97) also speaks of an invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus in the archonship of Nicoteles 391–390; but he represents Agesilaus as returning immediately to Sparta, instead of marching onwards, as Xenophon relates, to the Isthmus, so that not too much stress must be laid upon this coincidence. The invasion of the Argolis was followed by the capture of Lechaenum through the joint action of Agesilaus and Teleutias. This brings us next (ἐκ τοῦτον) to Agesilaus’ expedition against Corinth at the time of the Isthmian Games (c. June 390), shortly after which occurred the destruction of the Spartan mora by Iphicrates at the time of the Hyacinthian Festival (midsummer). This latter date is indirectly confirmed by the passage already referred to in Andocides (iii. 37), where the orator states that though the war has continued four years, the Spartans had as yet suffered no reverse by land—a statement which would have been quite impossible after this victory of Iphicrates.

It is natural to suppose that Agesilaus’ campaign against the Acarnanians, which Xenophon next relates, belongs to the following year, though there is no reason, except its order in his narrative, why it should not be put a year later, i.e. 388: for the only marks of time that the historian gives (§ 12 τὸ μετώπωρον and 7. § 1 παρελθόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος) do nothing towards fixing the year. Similarly Agesipolis’ invasion of the Argolis, which happened ἐκ τοῦτον, may be equally well assigned to 388 or 387: it appears at any rate from v. 1. 29 that it must have occurred very shortly before the Peace of Antalcidas.

scheme was earlier in date (perhaps the summer of 392) than the proposed peace advocated by Andocides; and that both the Athenians and the Spartans in the interval had seen some additional reasons for wishing for peace. These may well be found, on the part of the Athenians in the loss of Conon’s services owing to his arrest by Tiribazus, and on the part of the Spartans in the breakdown of Antalcidas’ negotiations and consequent fear of Persia.

1 iv. 4. 19 and iv. 8. 11. 2 iv. 5. 1.
3 If this expedition be referred (with Clinton, Dodwell, Breitenbach, &c.) to 392, then all the events hitherto spoken of have to be crowded into the single year 393 instead of being spread over the three years 393–391.
4 iv. 6. 1–14. 5 iv. 7. 2.
INTRODUCTION

So much for the chronology of the events by land.

The chronology of the events by sea is still more difficult owing to the fact already mentioned, that Xenophon only professes to make a selection of the most important events (iv. 8. i–v. 1. 35). How far he has narrated them in chronological order, and how far he has grouped them together for purposes of convenience in narrating, is in many cases impossible to discover. Little help can be gained from other sources. Diodorus gives practically none: his unreliability is abundantly evident from two palpable mistakes that he makes in the course of this period (not to mention others); (a) Diphridas, he says in contradiction to Xenophon 1, commanded in Asia before and not after Thibron; (b) he leaves, obviously by accident, a whole year blank between Thrasybulus’ setting out to the Hellespont 2 and his death at Aspendus. Fortunately Polybius 3 (and his statement is confirmed by Aristides, ii. 370) fixes with certainty the Peace of Antalcidas to the year 387–386. Only two inscriptions throw any light upon the question. The first (CIA. ii. 830) confirms the date already assumed for Conon’s rebuilding of the Athenian Long Walls (393 spring or summer): the second (CIA. ii. Add. 14 b) is thought to prove that the final acceptance of the Peace of Antalcidas must be put some months later than the date assigned by Clinton; for the inscription shows that Athens was still endeavouring in the archonship of Theodotus (387–386) to strengthen her influence in Clazomenae. This, it is rightly argued 4, would have been impossible after the acceptance of the Peace, which must therefore be dated, not at the beginning, but nearer the middle of Theodotus’ archonship.

Beyond these scanty materials no further direct evidence from ancient sources seems to be available. But a certain amount of indirect evidence can be obtained from the succession of Spartan admirals, if two or three preliminary assumptions be granted. The first assumption is that the admiraltyship at Sparta was, as a general rule, an annual office; the second that the newly elected admiral generally entered upon his office about midsummer. For both

2 xiv. 94–99.
3 i. 6; cp. Diod. xiv. 110, 117.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

these assumptions a very considerable amount of evidence can be collected, and their general truth may be granted. The third assumption is that the six names, which can be collected from the Hellenica between the years 393 and 387, viz., Podanemus and his temporary successors, Teleutias, Ecdicus, Teleutias, Hierax, Antalcidas,—furnish an exhaustive list; and the fourth, that Teleutias, whatever may have been his title, practically filled the office, like Lysander before him, on two, if not three occasions, notwithstanding the law ² ὁ νόμος αὐτῶς δίς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν. Under these four assumptions, which in several points, as will appear, are incidentally confirmed, the various dates in the maritime war can be fixed with some degree of apparent accuracy.

How then is this list of six admirals arrived at? In Hell. iv. 8. 11 we are told that Podanemus was put in command of a fleet to counteract the Corinthian fleet, which had been equipped with the gold of Pharnabazus in 393 B.C. This cannot have occurred till after midsummer ³, so that Podanemus' year of office must have been 393–392. Podanemus was however slain, and succeeded first by his secretary Pollis, who, being wounded, was in his turn succeeded by Herippidas. If then we suppose that at midsummer 392 Teleutias replaced Herippidas in the ordinary way, although Xenophon does not on this occasion call him ναυαρχός, we then get an important synchronism between the series of events by sea and land. For this would make Teleutias' year to have been 392–391, and it appears from the dates for the war by land already arrived at, that it was in the spring of 391 that Teleutias captured the docks of Lechaem on the same day that his brother Agesilaus re-took the Long Walls of Corinth (Hell. iv. 4. 19).

Xenophon nowhere says that Ecdicus (iv 8. 20) was Teleutias' immediate successor. Can it be proved that he was? Here our only resource is to reckon backwards from Antalcidas, whose year can be fixed with something like certainty to 388–387. For the Peace negotiated by him cannot for the reasons alleged by Clinton be put very late in the archonship of Theodotus, nor yet very early, as appears from the inscription about Clazomenae already

2 ii. 1. 7.
3 Cp. supr. p. xlvii.
alluded to (CIA. 14 b). Further it appears from Xenophon's narrative\(^1\) that the negotiations were carried on by Antalcidas during his year of office. Out of that time his journey to Susa and back, and his business there, cannot have occupied less than six months, and he appears in active command of his fleet both before and after his journey. On his return to the coast of the Aegean he found a contingent of Syracusan and Italian ships ready to help him, which, under the conditions of ancient navigation, cannot have reached the Hellespont before May. He then captured 8 Athenian ships, and further collected a fleet of 80 ships, with which he obtained so complete a command over the Hellespont that the Athenians in alarm once more became eager for peace. Finally a congress of Greek deputies met (probably at Sardis) to consider the terms offered by the King of Persia, and after this some considerable interval must have elapsed between this congress and the final acceptance of the Peace by the various Greek states about Nov. 387. All these proceedings must have required many months, so that, as Antalcidas seems to have undertaken his journey to Susa shortly after he entered upon his office, his year of command must, beyond all reasonable doubt, have been 388–387. His immediate predecessor was the admiral Hierax (v. 1. 3, 6), whose secretary was Gorgopas, and whose year must evidently have been 389–388. In that passage Xenophon relates with some detail under what circumstances Hierax took over the fleet from Teleutias; and in the previous chapter (iv. 8. 23) how Teleutias had in his turn succeeded or rather perhaps superseded the admiral Ecidicus. It seems therefore legitimate to infer that Teleutias must at any rate, whether he was entitled ναύαρχος or not, have held the ordinary year's command 390–389; while, if he superseded Ecidicus a few months after the latter's appointment, as an attempt will be made to show, he must then have been de facto commander-in-chief of the Spartan fleet for more than eighteen months. This would make Ecidicus' year of office to be 391–390; whence it follows from what has already been stated, that Ecidicus in his turn must have been Teleutias' immediate successor, shortly after the latter's capture of Lechaæum in the early summer of 391.

\(^1\) v. r. 6–25.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

The lists of Spartan admirals having been thus arrived at, the remaining events of the maritime war can be arranged with comparative ease.

393–392. Podanemus, admiral; Pollis, secretary.

Certain skirmishes took place this year in the Corinthian Gulf of which Xenophon gives no details, except the death of Podanemus and the wounding of Pollis, whereupon the command was taken by Herippidas.

392–391. Teleutias, admiral (?).

A priori and on the analogy of Lysander it would be natural to suppose that Teleutias was regularly appointed admiral this year, and that afterwards owing to his distinguished services and as the brother of King Agesilaus he was on the two subsequent occasions irregularly appointed to the supreme command. In the absence of all direct evidence however this must be left an open question.

This summer (392) Antalcidas’ attempt to bring about a general peace among the contending Greek states in the name of Tiribazus, the Persian satrap at Sardis, failed owing to the opposition of Athens, Thebes, and Argos.

In the autumn Tiribazus, having first arrested Conon, who had come as envoy to his court to represent Athenian interests against Antalcidas, repaired to the Persian Court at Susa. After his arrival the Persian king sent down Struthas to succeed him at Sardis. Some six months must be allowed for these two journeys, which brings us to the spring of 391. This spring Teleutias captured the docks of Lechaicum on the same day that Agesilaus after his invasion of the Argolis re-took the Long Walls of Corinth. About the same time the Lacedaemonians, finding Struthas hostile to their interests in Asia, sent out Thibron to oppose him: but Thibron was soon defeated and slain.


The Lacedaemonians at one and the same time sent out their admiral Ecdicus to help their supporters in Rhodes, and Diphridas to collect the remains of Thibron’s army and continue the war against Struthas. Diodorus (xiv. 97), it is to be noticed, synchronizes the

1 iv. 8. 11.     2 iv. 8. 12–15. 3 iv. 8. 16, 17. 4 iv. 4. 19.
invasion of the Argolis by Agesilaus (which however, as was noted above, he describes with some difference of detail as compared with Xenophon), and the expedition of Eudocimus (presumably Ecdicus?), Philodicus, and Diphridas. It is noticeable too that he records them both under the year of the archon Nicoteles 391–390. The synchronism is doubtless more reliable than the date; still they both confirm the present scheme of chronology, which puts the expedition of Agesilaus in the same natural year (391) as the admiralty of Ecdicus; for according to Diodorus' system of reckoning, which begins the year in mid-winter or early spring, 391 is the proper figure, whereby to denote the whole archonship of Nicoteles. Ecdicus, Xenophon tells us¹, finding the enemy too strong at Rhodes, remained inactive at Rhodes until his recall on the arrival of Teleutias σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα μαυσίν αἰσ εἰχὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. At this point, if we suppose that Teleutias simply succeeded Ecdicus in the ordinary way, we have to assume not only that Ecdicus remained inactive for the remainder of his twelve months' command at Cnidus, but that Teleutias also after his first year had remained a second year in command of these same 12 ships in the Corinthian Gulf, after his victory and the permanent occupation of Lechaem by the Lacedaemonians had rendered his further presence there unnecessary. In favour of this hypothesis it might of course be argued that, if neither of the two commanders had done anything of importance within the year, Xenophon would, according to the principle which he laid down for himself in iv. 8. 1, have simply skipped over the interval. Still it seems to be more consistent with Xenophon's narrative here, and, as will appear hereafter, with the exploits of Thrasybulus, who was sent out against Teleutias, and of his successors, to suppose that the Spartan government, contrasting the victorious energy of Teleutias at Lechaem in the spring with the unsuccessful inactivity of Ecdicus at Cnidus, decided to supersede the regular admiral after a few months only of his command had expired. If this hypothesis be correct, Teleutias must have sent (§ 23 ἀποπέμψαι) Ecdicus home in the autumn of 391, and must have continued for some twenty months or more (just like Lysander in

¹ iv. 8. 22; cp. iv. 4. 19.
405, 404 B.C.) de facto admiral of the Spartan fleet, whatever his title may have been. Soon after his arrival (i.e. late autumn of 391) Teleutias sailed to Rhodes and on the way captured 1 an Athenian squadron, which had been despatched under Philocrates to assist Evagoras in Cyprus. The Athenians thereupon made great exertions to counteract the activity of Sparta in the eastern Aegean, and sent a fleet of 40 vessels under Thrasybulus the Stirian to help the Rhodian democrats. Most of the winter of 391–390, we may well assume, was occupied in equipping this fleet, so that Thrasybulus probably sailed in the spring of 390. For fear of Teleutias, however, he directed his course to the Hellespont, where among other things he succeeded in winning over Byzantium to the Athenian side and in imposing the toll upon vessels passing through the Bosporus once more for the benefit of Athens.

390–389. Teleutias, de facto admiral.

Diodorus 2, as it has already been said, chronicles these operations of Thrasybulus under the two years 392 and 390, leaving by some mistake the intervening year a blank. Now it appears from Lysias (xxviii and xxix), Demosthenes (xx. 59, lvii. 38), and various inscriptions 3, as well as from Xenophon and Diodorus, that Thrasybulus' successes were wide and far-reaching in their results, so that his operations may well have extended over two years or rather parts of two years. Probably therefore he spent the whole of the summer of 390 on the Hellespont and Bosporus, and the winter months at Lesbos, and undertook the disastrous raid upon Aspendus in which he lost his life in the spring of 389, i.e. in the latter half of the archonship of Demostratus. Diodorus, it will be noticed, also puts his death in the archonship of Demostratus, meaning thereby, however, our year 390. Still he is by no means particular under which year he arranges his events, so that the coincidence noted is some small confirmation of the present arrangement of events.

If then the spring of 389 be adopted as the date of Thrasybulus' death, the succeeding events may be put in the order narrated by Xenophon.

389–388. Hierax, admiral; Gorgopas, secretary.

1 iv. 8. 24.  
2 xiv. 94, 97.  
Of this year's generals the Athenians sent out Agyrrius\(^1\) to take the command of Thrasybulus' ships, which had retreated to Rhodes; Iphicrates, the mercenary leader (there is no need to suppose that he had been regularly elected \(στρατηγός\)), to counteract the measures which the Lacedaemonians were taking to undo Thrasybulus' work upon the Hellespont; and Pamphilus\(^2\) to put a stop to the piracy of the Aeginetans. After an encounter with Pamphilus at Aegina, Teleutias was succeeded by Hierax, the regular admiral for the year. Hierax at once sailed to Rhodes\(^3\), leaving his secretary Gorgopas behind at Aegina, who for five months besieged Pamphilus in a fortress which the Athenians had built upon the island: whereupon the Athenians removed Pamphilus and his troops. Aristophanes in the Plutus (174, 176; cp. Eccles. 184), which was exhibited about Feb. 388, has an obscure allusion to Agyrrius and apparently to some legal process going on against a Pamphilus who may very reasonably be identified with the unsuccessful general at Aegina.

388–387. Antalcidas, admiral; Nicolocharus, secretary.

After their removal of Pamphilus, the Athenians began once more to suffer from the depredations of the Aeginetans; so now they equipped a new squadron under Eunomus, probably one of the new generals for the year, against them. Shortly afterwards the new Spartan admiral Antalcidas arrived at Aegina.

The remaining events of the war seem to present little chronological difficulty. Antalcidas took Gorgopas with him as escort from Aegina to Ephesus, whence he immediately sent him back again, at the same time that he despatched his secretary Nicolocharus to Abydos to succeed Anaxibius, who had been defeated and slain by Iphicrates in the previous year. Gorgopas on his return voyage fell in with Eunomus\(^4\), drove him back to Aegina, and next day defeated him, capturing four of his ships. Shortly afterwards, however, he was himself defeated by Chabrias, who was on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras. Eteonicus\(^5\) was apparently appointed to succeed Gorgopas at Aegina. These events may all very well have occurred before or during the autumn of 388. Xenophon then

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\(^1\) iv. 8. 31 ; Diod. xiv. 99.
\(^2\) iv. 8. 31 ; v. 1. 1, 2.
\(^3\) v. 1. 5.
\(^4\) v. 1. 7-9.
\(^5\) v. 1. 13.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

goes on to say ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἳ Δακεδαίμονι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναώρχον.

If by ναώρχος Xenophon here means the ordinary admiral for the year, we must suppose that the operations of Teleutias recorded in the following sections (v. i. 13–24) belong to the year 387–386, and that they are inserted out of their chronological order, because in § 25 Xenophon goes on to speak of Antalcidas, who appears to be still in his year of office (i.e. 388–387). It is, however, much simpler to suppose ¹ that the designation ναώρχος is here specially limited by the addition ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς, and that the Spartans, in the year of Antalcidas, were merely once more (αὖ) availing themselves of the services of their hitherto only successful commander at sea. In fact a continuous reading of Xenophon’s narrative, especially § 20 ἐκεῖνος (Teleutias) γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἐχεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώσα ἀπολογίτος, seems to necessitate this hypothesis: for Gorgopas was slain about midsummer 388, and the exploits of Teleutias here recorded evidently followed close upon his death.

Meantime Antalcidas, having spent some six or eight months in his negotiations with the Persian king and in his journey to and from Susa, came down (c. March 387) again to the Aegean coast. There hearing that Nicolochus was besieged by Iphicrates at Abydus, he went by land to that city. Arrived at Abydus he collected a fleet of more than 80 ships, with which he drove Iphicrates and the other Athenian commanders out of the Hellespont, and soon reduced the Athenians at home to wish eagerly for peace. Then followed (c. May or June 387) the congress of Greek deputies, assembled under the presidency of Tiribazus (probably at Sardis), to listen to the terms dictated to them by the Great King. The next six months must have been occupied in the return of the deputies to their respective states, the opposition raised by Thebes, Agesilaus' threatened invasion of Boeotia, and the terrorizing of Corinth and Argos into submission, until at last probably about November of the same year the ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνη was finally accepted by all the Greek states.

¹ Cp. Breitenbach, note ad loc.

XEN. HELL.
E. From the Peace of Antalcidas to the Battle of Leuctra, 386–371.

In this section the chronology of the first seven or eight years is extremely doubtful. We have to content ourselves with the dates and arrangement of Diodorus, except in so far as they can be corrected from the order observed by Xenophon in recording the same events. The chronology of the last eight years can be determined with much greater certainty, since we are here no longer mainly dependent upon Diodorus. Xenophon himself gives several definite marks of time, fixing the events of at least four successive years, 378–375. Two Attic inscriptions are of great importance; the first, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378–377, deals with the affairs of the Second Athenian Confederacy: the second, dated the archonship of Hippodamas 375–374, practically settles, as will be seen, the date of Timotheus’ expedition round the Peloponnesus. The speech of Apollodorus (Dem. xlix) contra Timotheum fixes the date of Timotheus’ second command to April 373, and his trial to November of the same year. The Pseudo-Demosthenes (lix. 1357) and Plutarch (Ages. 28) agree in assigning the battle of Leuctra to the year 371, the latter giving the day of the month as the fifth of Hecatombaeon, viz. July 6 or 8. The data for arranging the events of the successive years, where they differ at all from Clinton, are given under each year.

386–385 B.C. Sparta seems to have occupied the whole of this year in enforcing the provisions of the ‘King’s Peace,’ of which she was the originator and had been constituted the champion.

385–384 B.C. Clinton is apparently right in assigning the siege of Mantinea by Agesipolis to this year, though the data are very unsatisfactory and even contradictory. Xenophon would seem to imply that the siege began in the year after the expiration of the Thirty Years’ Peace between Sparta and Mantinea. Now we know from Thucydides that it was concluded in the winter 418–417, so that it must have expired in the winter 388–387. Xenophon ought therefore to mean that the war broke out in 386 at

1 CIA. ii. 17.  
2 CIA. ii. 49.  
3 v. i. 36.  
4 v. 2. 1–7.  
5 v. 81.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

latest. It is noticeable that in § 4 he implies that the siege did not last a very long time.

Diodorus puts the war in the archonship of Mystichides 386–385, i.e. in 386, thus agreeing with Xenophon. However he contradicts himself by saying of the Spartans οὐδὲ δύο ἔτη φυλάξαντες τὰς κωνὰς σπονδὰς, since in this very chapter he assigns the declaration of war to the first year after the Peace of Antalcidas. Then he makes the siege end under the archonship of Dexitheus in the winter of 385–384, i.e. 385, thus regarding it as lasting some eighteen months. Probably therefore the best way out of the difficulty is to take 385 as the year for the whole campaign, the beginning of which may very well have been in the last months of Mystichides’ archonship, May or June, and the end in the first half of Dexitheus' archonship, September or October. In this case we must not press too strictly the date of the termination of the Thirty Years’ Peace: in fact Xenophon himself (§ 2) introduces it with an ἐλέγοντο. Moreover some eighteen months between the final ratification of the Peace of Antalcidas and the actual renewal of hostilities a priori does not appear too long.

The action of the Phliasian exiles to procure their own restoration was, Xenophon tells us, occasioned by the fate of Mantinea, which surrendered, as we have seen, in the autumn of 385. This event therefore falls most naturally into the winter months 385–384.

384–383 B.C. The historian records no events of this year.

383–382, 382–381 B.C. The events next related by Xenophon, are (a) the appearance of Acanthian and Ambraciot envoys at Sparta to ask for help against Olynthus (which may probably be put in the winter or early spring), and the resolution of the Lacedaemonians and their allies to accede to the request; (b) the preliminary expedition of Eudamidas ὡς τάχιστα (§ 23) after this resolution and the surprise of the Cadmea by his brother Phoebidas, while he was on his march, θέροις ἔντος (§ 29), to join him.

It is a question whether these events should be assigned to the Julian year 383 or 382.

E. Curtius, E. von Stern, and others prefer the year 383.

1 xv. 2. 5. 2 xv. 5. 3 xv. 12. 4 v. 2. 8–10. 5 v. 2. 11–43. 6 Spartan. u. Theban. Hegemonie. Dorpat, 1884, p. 34.
Clinton and Grote the year 382. There seem to be only two arguments in favour of 383: (a) Xenophon is silent about any intermediate events between the Phliasian affair and the embassy of the Acanthians and Ambraciots; (b) Diodorus\(^1\) records this embassy under the year of Phanostratus 383–382, i.e. 383. The first argument is of little or no weight. The second argument is quite valueless, because Diodorus\(^2\) puts the capture of the Cadmea in the archonship of Evander 382–381, whereas it is plain from Xenophon’s narrative that the two events must have occurred in the same Julian year: in fact the testimony of Diodorus ought rather to be used against this theory, the embassy falling in the last six months of Phanostratus and the capture of the Cadmea in the first six months of Evander—an arrangement which accounts for the confusion in Diodorus in the usual fashion.

On the other side, in favour of the year 382 may be urged (a) the passages in Diodorus already cited; (b) the testimony of the orator Aristides\(^3\), \(\Pi\upsilon\theta\iota\omega\nu\, \delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \eta\,\ \kappa\alpha\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\) \(\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\phi\omicron\nu\delta\eta\); (c) the fact that the succeeding events in Xenophon’s narrative fall in better with the year 382 than 383. As to the first argument enough has already been said. From the passage in Aristides it would follow that the capture of the Cadmea took place about August 382; for it is generally agreed that the Pythian festival was held every third Olympic year, and the Delphian month\(^4\) Bucatius (c. August) is proved by an inscription to have been the time of the festival, simultaneous with the autumn meeting of the Pylagorae. This, it must be confessed, is not very consistent with Xenophon’s \(\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\οs\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu\) (v. 2. 29), and the preceding words \(\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \gamma\nu\nu\alpha\ikappa\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\delta\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\ \theta\epsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\phi\omicron\omicron\omicron\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu\) suggest that Aristides’ memory has here failed him. For in the context he is dealing with the impiety of the Greeks in the course of these wars; and after citing the capture of the Cadmea \(\Pi\upsilon\theta\iota\omega\nu\, \delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu\), goes on to speak with some inaccuracy of the fight\(^5\) over the Isthmian games in 390, and then alludes to the fight\(^6\) at the Olympic games in 364. It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aristides really means Phoebeida’s disregard of the Thesmophoria. If this be so, the passage cannot on the one hand be used to fix the year to 382, nor on the

\(^{1}\) xv. 5, 19.  
\(^{2}\) xv. 20.  
\(^{3}\) i. 258.  
\(^{4}\) C.I.A. ii. 545.  
\(^{5}\) iv. 5. 1.  
\(^{6}\) vii. 4. 28.
other need Xenophon's ἑρως ὄντος be strained to square with the autumn of the Pythian games, but may be taken in its natural sense, viz. c. June. The date of the Theban Thesmophoria is quite unknown; in Athens the festival was held in October, but in Syracuse in the spring ¹; but it is impossible to argue from one or the other to Thebes. We are thus thrown back mainly on the third argument—the order of events in Xenophon's narrative. The capture of the Cadmea, it appears, was followed in the same summer ² (ἐκ τούτου) by the trial and execution of Ismений. Then without any break Xenophon ³ continues: τοῦτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι πολὺ δὴ προδημότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὁλυνθον στρατιῶν συναπέστελλον. Accordingly they sent out Teleutias as harmost in command of τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν, and after various military operations τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενοι τὸ θέρος διήκε κ.τ.λ. Stern, Curtius, &c., interpose the winter of 383–382 between the execution of Ismений and the departure of Teleutias. Here not only is it much more natural to regard τοῦτο τὸ θέρος of § 43 as the same as the θέρων ὄντος of § 29; but it seems absurd to suppose that after solemnly resolving in the early spring that each state should send τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα for the summer's campaign, and after actually dispatching Eudamidas' force in advance, the Spartans and their allies waited a whole year before carrying their resolution into effect—especially when we read that after the Theban affair they all acted πολὺ δὴ προδημότερον § 37, and that Teleutias actually took with him this τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν. Surely the narrative implies that immediately after sending out Eudamidas' preliminary expedition before the capture of the Cadmea—for Xenophon carefully notes that Phoebidas only followed his brother with τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἐαυτῷ (i.e. Eudamidas) προστεταγμένων, not with the main army—steps were taken to organize the larger force, and this being ready to hand, Teleutias conducted it against Olynthus as soon as the affair of the Cadmea was settled.

381–380 B.C. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ ⁴ Teleutias began anew operations against Olynthus: then after several skirmishes προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου (§ 3) he was slain and the whole besieging force was obliged to disperse.

¹ Diod. v. 4. ² v. 2. 35, 36. ³ ib. § 37. ⁴ v. 3. 1.
Diodorus assigns the death of Teleutias to the archonship of Evander 382–381, i.e. to the same year as the capture of the Cadmea. Xenophon proves that this is too soon, though it is quite possible that his death may have occurred in the last month of Evander, i.e. circ. June 381. Diodorus goes on to attribute to Agesipolis a whole year (i.e. 381) spent in petty skirmishes. Xenophon leaves it indeterminate, whether Agesipolis set sail as soon as possible after the death of Teleutias, i.e. August or September 381, or whether he waited till the spring of 380. He implies however that the Spartan government met the emergency with all possible vigour, so that, combining this with Diodorus, we cannot go far wrong in preferring the earlier date.

380–379, 379–378 B.C. Xenophon marks exactly the time of Agesipolis' death with the words κατὰ θέρους ἄκμην. This agrees with Diodorus, who not only puts the occurrence under the archonship of Pytheas 380–379, but adds that he had reigned for fourteen years, and was succeeded by Cleombrotus, who reigned for nine years. Now Cleombrotus was slain at Leuctra in July 371, so that once more we arrive at the year 380. Polybiades was sent out as harmost to take the command at Olynthus: although he prosecuted the war with vigour, he was obliged to starve the town into a surrender. This must necessarily have been somewhat a lengthy process, so that the capitulation cannot well be dated earlier than the first half of 379. This date agrees well enough with Diodorus, who assigns it to the same archonship as the death of Agesipolis, i.e. Pytheas 380–379. Moreover it appears from Xenophon's narrative that it took place just after or simultaneously with the reduction of Phlius. This is an unusually safe inference, because it is evident from the way that Xenophon in this chapter leaves events at Olynthus to record what was going on at Phlius, then goes back to Olynthus, again to Phlius, and once more to Olynthus that he is strictly following their relative chronological order. In § 25 he definitely states that the Phliasian affair lasted twenty months. It appears from its order in his narrative, that the complication began between Agesipolis' departure for Olynthus circ. August or September 381 and his death in July 380. For the same reason

1 xv. 21, 22. 2 v. 3. 8. 3 v. 3. 19. 4 xv. 23. 5 v. 3. 20. 6 v. 3. 17, 19, 21.
we gather that the actual siege of the town began before the death of Agesipolis and continued after it. If therefore we assume the complication to have arisen about October 381 and the surrender to have taken place about March or April 379, no very wide margin for error will be left. Olynthus, as we have seen already, fell at the same date or just afterwards. Diodorus¹ affords us no help for the Phliasian affair. He compresses it into one year 383 and dismisses it in a couple of lines.

It is beyond all doubt that the Cadmea was recovered from the Spartans about the winter solstice 379–378. Xenophon² records the event next in order after the surrender of Phlius and Olynthus. It occurred ³ ἐπ᾽ ἐξώδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. e. Boeotarchship, which expired ⁴ about the time of the winter solstice. Immediately on receipt of the news the ephors sent out Cleombrotus μαλα χειμῶνος ὄντος (§ 14). Plutarch also ⁶ says ἦν περέτος, and in another passage ⁶, that it was a little after the surrender of Phlius. Moreover this date is indirectly confirmed by monumental evidence; for Xenophon affords us data, which exactly determine the four successive years 378–377—375–374, and the last of them is fixed by an inscription ⁷. Diodorus ⁸ therefore is manifestly wrong in putting the recovery of the Cadmea under the archonship of Nausinicus 378–377, though, if it happened as late as January 378, which is quite possible, his mistake is easily accounted for: in fact on his system it is hardly a mistake at all.

378–377—375–374 B.C. Three passages in Xenophon determine these years exactly. In v. 4. 56 we read of the Thebans μαλα πιεζόμενοι σπάνει οἶτον διὰ τὸ δύον ἐτόν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπόν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Then § 58 ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἕρως Cleombrotus led an expedition against the Thebans, which never reached its destination. Finally in § 63 we learn that the Thebans had leisure to subject their neighbouring cities ἀτε ἐκ τῆς Θῆβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκτῶν τῶν πολεμίων οὗτ ἐν ὅ Kleóbροτος ἤγε τὴν στρατιάν ἔτει οὗτ ἐν ὅ Τιμόθεος περίπλευσε. The two years alluded to in the first passage, it appears from the context, are the two years immediately following the recovery of the Cadmea, viz. 378–377, 377–376; and the two years of the last passage are 376–375, 375–374, the last of which, as

¹ xv. 19. ² v. 4. 1. ³ v. 4. 4. ⁴ Cp. Böckh, CIG. i. 732. ⁵ Pel. 9. ⁶ Ages 24. ⁷ CIA. ii. 49. ⁸ xv. 25.
INTRODUCTION

before mentioned, is confirmed by an inscription. The events of these years can thus be fixed with ease.


v. 4. 35-41. Agesilaus' first invasion of Boeotia.

This chronology is indirectly but strongly confirmed by the inscription CIA. ii. 17. Xenophon \(^1\) tells us that after the departure of Sphodrias oi Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπίλωσαν τε τὸν Πειραύα ναὸς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο τοῖς τε Βοιωτίοις πάση προθυμία ἐβοήθουν. This inscription, dated the archonship of Nausinicus 378-377, shows the outcome of this activity in the enlistment of many new allies into the Athenian maritime confederacy, including the Thebans.

377-376 B.C. ἐπεὶ τὸ ἐκρ ἐπέστη (§ 47), Agesilaus marched out on his second expedition into Boeotia.

Diodorus \(^2\), it may here be noted, compresses Agesilaus' two expeditions into one, which he assigns together with the first declaration of war to the archonship of Callias 377-376.

376-375 B.C. ὑποφαίνοντος πάλιν τοῦ ἦρος (§ 58) Cleombrotus commanded the Lacedaemonian forces.

Chabrias (§ 61) defeated the admiral Pollis and the Lacedaemonian fleet—at Naxos according to Plutarch \(^3\) τῇ ἐκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βονδρομίνων, c. Sept. 10.

Diodorus \(^4\) puts this victory a year too soon.

375-374. v. 4. 63-66. Timotheus sailed round Peloponnesus, winning Corcyra and τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις over to the Athenian confederacy. This date is verified by the inscription (CIA. ii. 49) dated the archonship of Hippodamas, 375-374, which records the inclusion of the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and Cephalenians in the Athenian Confederacy. If Polyænus \(^5\) is to be trusted and the festival of Σκύρα is the same as the Σκιροφόρια (Scirophorion is the name of the Attic month corresponding to June), Timotheus defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus off Leucas or, as Xenophon \(^6\) says, at Alyzia, about the month of June.

374-373, 373-372 B.C. From a comparison of Xenophon v. 4. 63 and vi. 1. 1, where it is implied that it was not until after the Thebans had completed the subjugation of their immediate neigh-

\(^1\) v. 4. 34.  \(^2\) xv. 28-32.  \(^3\) Camill. 19 and Phoc. 6.  
\(^4\) xv. 34.  \(^5\) iii. 10. 4.  
\(^6\) v. 4. 66.
bours, which had engaged them both during the year of Cleombrotus’ expedition and that of Timotheus’ circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, that they attacked the Phocians—it follows that Cleombrotus’ third expedition to help the Phocians falls in 374 and not as Clinton puts it, in the previous year.

Then ἀχέδὼν περὶ τούτου τὸν χρόνον Polydamas the Pharsalian came to Sparta to ask for aid against Jason of Pherae.

After narrating this transaction with some detail, Xenophon goes back to the Lacedaemonian expedition in support of the Phocians, and tells how the Athenians—doubtless in the same year—made a separate peace with the Lacedaemonians. Immediately afterwards orders were sent to Timotheus at Corcyra to return to Athens. On his way home he replaced certain Zacynthian exiles in their island. This was regarded by the Spartans as a violation of the new peace; whereupon εὕρης (§ 3) they collected a fleet of 60 ships and despatched it under the admiral Mnasippus with orders to sail against Corcyra, and at the same time appealed to Dionysius of Syracuse for aid. Unfortunately Xenophon gives no more definite marks of time for this or the next three or four years. Diodorus makes positive mistakes. He speaks of a preliminary expedition (which of course is quite possible) sent out by the Lacedaemonians under Alcidas, which was shortly followed by Mnasippus with his 60 ships. He then goes on to say, that the Athenians tried to counteract this move by sending Ctesicles to Zacynthus and by collecting a fleet, which was put under the command of Timotheus. All these events as well as the defeat and death of Mnasippus he puts in the archonship of Socratides 374–373, by which he means 374; whereas, as will shortly appear, Timotheus set sail in 373.

To return to Xenophon: hard pressed by the ravages of Mnasippus, who finally succeeded in blockading their city, the Corcyraeans appealed to Athens for help. The Athenians decided ἵσχυρός ἐπιμελητέων εἶναι, sent Ctesicles with 600 peltasts across the mainland, and ἐψηφίσαυτο καὶ ἐξῆκοντα ναῖς πληροῦν, Τιμόθεου δ’ αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτονήσαν. Fortunately the exact date of

1 vi. 2. 1. 2 xv. 46, 47. 3 Cp. Grote, ix. 358. 4 Probably a mere oversight for Corcyra, as in ch. 47 he speaks of Ctesicles as sent to Corecyra. 5 vi. 2. 8–11.
INTRODUCTION

Timotheus’ departure from Athens is preserved by Apollodorus (ps.-Dem. lix. 1186)—ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου ἄρχοντος μονοχωνίως μυρός, i.e. April 373. Evidently therefore, as Mnasippus’ operations must have taken some considerable 1 time and the Athenian fleet, we are informed, was very slow in its outfit, Mnasippus must have sailed in the autumn of 374; for he sailed as soon as possible (§ 3 εἰθοῦ) after the violation of the peace, and the Spartans would hardly have ventured on such extensive sea operations in the winter. Consequently Stesicles must have set out about midwinter.

Stern 2 has conclusively proved that Curtius and other scholars are mistaken in following Diodorus’ dates and narrative in preference to that of the contemporary Xenophon, supported as it is by Apollodorus’ (Demosthenes’) oration against Timotheus. In accordance with the latter it is evident that Iphicrates replaced Timotheus in the early summer of 373 and sailed for Corcyra, after completing by his vigorous measures the outfit of the fleet, some time between midsummer and autumn. The defeat and death of Mnasippus happened before Iphicrates arrived at Corcyra. Timotheus’ trial and acquittal is fixed by the same oration 3 to the month of November 373. Here there is an apparent discrepancy between the oration and Xenophon’s narrative. It might appear from the former 4 that both Iphicrates and Callistratus were present at the trial. The language however does not necessitate this interpretation, and the presence of Callistratus at Athens is fully explained by Xenophon 5 himself, who tells us that on Callistratus’ representing to his colleague that, if he returned to Athens, he would either send supplies to the fleet or procure peace with Sparta, Iphicrates let him go.

372-371 B.C. Iphicrates stayed 6 in Corcyra and the neighbourhood all through this year, maintaining his armament partly by hiring out his sailors to work in the fields for the Corcyraeans, partly by allowing his mercenaries to serve in the pay of friendly states, and partly by ravages in the enemy’s country.

371 B.C. The dates of the peace congress in Sparta about June and of the battle of Leuctra, fought according to Plutarch 7 twenty

1 Cp. vi. 2. 16 ὅπως μυρόν: this only shows that the blockade must have lasted more than two months: it does not prevent its having lasted eight or nine months, which actually seems to have been the case.
2 l. c. pp. 107-113. 3 p. 1190. 4 p. 1187. 5 vi. 3. 3. 6 vi. 2. 37, 38. 7 Ages. 28.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

days later, are sufficiently well attested by the evidence collected by Clinton.

F. From the Battle of Leuctra to the Battle of Mantinea, 371–362.

371 B.C. In the few weeks following the battle of Leuctra, which was fought in July 371, must be placed the expedition of Archidamus¹, and the congress at Athens, in which the peace of the previous June was solemnly renewed. Xenophon² next relates the restoration of Mantinea, which was effected evidently before and not, as Pausanias³ says, after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus.

370–369 B.C. The most important event of this year was the assassination of Jason of Pherae just at the moment when he was making great preparations to appear at the Pythian games (370 c. August), the mention⁴ of which satisfactorily fixes the date. His death freed the Greek world from a great danger, and enabled⁵ the Thebans to turn their attention with safety to affairs in the Peloponnesus. There the restoration of Mantinea, the formation of the Arcadian League and the foundation of Megalopolis in the winter of 371–370⁶ by the Arcadian democrats had given rise to great internal commotions. The Tegeate oligarchs had appealed to Sparta, and the Ephors had despatched Agesilaus to their assistance⁷ in the winter 370–369. All these dates are in harmony both with Xenophon and Diodorus. The retirement of Agesilaus to Sparta was immediately followed by the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which according to Diodorus⁸ lasted eighty-five days, and which ended while it was still winter⁹, i.e. early in 369.

369–370 B.C. τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει¹⁰, i.e. April 369 (for Xenophon, it must be remembered¹¹, always reckons the year to begin with the spring), a new alliance was concluded between Athens and Sparta. Then the Thebans made their second invasion of the Peloponnesus. The time of year is perhaps marked by the arrival and

¹ vi. 4. 17, 18; 5. 1.
² vi. 5. 4, 5.
³ ix. 14. 4.
⁴ vi. 4. 30.
⁵ Cp. Stern, l.c. pp. 165, 166.
⁶ Cp. Clinton. The foundation is not mentioned by Xenophon.
⁷ vi. 5. 20 ἵνα μέσος χειρών.
⁸ xv. 67.
⁹ vi. 5. 50 ἄτι καὶ χειρῶν ἵνα.
¹⁰ vii. 1. 1.
¹¹ Clinton, forgetting this practice, postdates the Second Theban Invasion and the following events.
departure of the troops, which Dionysius I of Syracuse sent to the aid of the Spartans: for under the conditions of ancient navigation they could hardly have arrived before May, and according to Diodorus¹ they returned at the end of the summer.

368–367 B.C. The words ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια² fix with tolerable accuracy the next events recorded by Xenophon. For Dionysius I died in the spring³ of 367. Their arrival was simultaneous with the congress at Delphi summoned by Philiscus, the envoy of the satrap Ariobarzanes. If Köhler's interpretation be correct, this date is confirmed by the inscription⁴ recording the honours voted by the Athenian assembly to Dionysius I towards the end of the archonship of Lysistratus, 369–368, which in lines 5 foll. seems to refer to this congress at Delphi. The so-called 'Tearless Victory'⁵ was gained this year by the Lacedaemonians over the Arcadians and Argives.

368–365 B.C. The chronology of the next three and a half years is most uncertain. It depends very much on the time assigned to the movements of Pelopidas, all of which, with the exception of his embassy to Susa, are unnoticed by Xenophon. Clinton omits them altogether. Grote departs⁶, without sufficient justification, from the ancient authorities and rearranges them on purely a priori principles.

Taking the events as they stand in Diodorus⁷ and Plutarch⁸, we may accept the date assigned by the former for the arrest of Pelopidas and Ismenias by Alexander of Pherae, and for the unsuccessful expedition of the two Boeotarchs, Cleomenes and Hypates to rescue them—viz. 368. Whether Epaminondas' expedition for the same purpose is to be put in the later months of 368 or in the early months of 367, is a doubtful question. Stern⁹ prefers the later date on the ground that Diodorus and Plutarch represent Epaminondas as once more elected Boeotarch and that the elections to that office usually were held about the time of the winter solstice—an argument at this point without much weight, as the two unsuccessful Boeotarchs were evidently deprived of their office and Epaminondas put in their place.

¹ xv. 70 τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος; cp. Xen. vii. i. 22.  
² vii. i. 28.  
³ Cp. Clinton.  
⁴ CIA. ii. 51.  
⁵ vii. i. 32; Diod. xv. 72.  
⁷ xv. 71.  
⁸ Pel. 27.  
⁹ l. c. 196.
§ 2. CHRONOLOGY

367–366 B.C. Assuming then the early months of this year to be the correct date for Epaminondas' expedition into Thessaly, we must suppose that immediately on his return to Thebes Pelopidas was sent as envoy to the Persian court. Not less than five or six months must be allowed for the journey up to and down from Susa, and another month or more for the subsequent congress at Thebes and for the despatch of the Theban envoys after its failure to the various Greek States. This brings us at earliest to the autumn of 367; and it is natural to suppose that not until all these negotiations were over did Epaminondas¹ lead his expedition against the Achaeans—perhaps in November or December of this same year. This kind of dead reckoning is at this point our only resource, because Diodorus, though he mentions Epaminondas' expedition and puts it, as we assume, correctly under the archonship of Polyzelus 367–366, omits altogether the embassy of Pelopidas to the Persian Court, which must necessarily have occupied a long time, except for a brief allusion² in speaking of the exploits of the hero after narrating his death at Cynoscephalae.

One of the indirect results of Epaminondas' expedition into Achaea was the political revolution at Sicyon, which finally resulted in Euphron's seizing the tyranny—probably at the very beginning of 366.

366–365 B.C. In the next two chapters (2, 3) Xenophon records a number of simultaneous events more or less centring round the person of Euphron and the little town of Phlius. Euphron³ joined the Theban harrase of Sicyon in an attack upon Phlius. The Athenian Chares was sent to assist the Phliasians, and after various operations the Phliasians began to build a fortress at Thyamia. At this point Xenophon introduces a digression, describing the further career and assassination of Euphron. From vii. 4. 1 it appears that this happened before the departure of Chares from Phlius and therefore, notwithstanding Grote's⁴ remark that a year is too short for Euphron's career, his death must be assigned to this same year. Then the historian⁵ returns from his digression to the Phliasians fortifying Thyamia τοῦ Χάρητος ἐτὶ παρῶντος, when Oropus, at the time in the occupation of the

¹ vii. 1. 41. ² xv. 81. ³ vii. 2. 11–23. ⁴ x. 26. ⁵ vii. 4. 1.
Athenians, was seized by some exiles. The Athenians summoned Chares to help them to recover the town, but they were obliged to content themselves with leaving it in the hands of the Thebans, until the question of their claims should be settled by arbitration. With the departure\(^1\) of Chares and the Athenian troops the Sicyonians were free to recapture their harbour, which Euphron just before his death had seized with the help of some Athenian mercenaries and handed over to the Lacedaemonians.

This date for the capture of Oropus agrees with Diodorus\(^2\), who puts it under the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365. Immediately afterwards, it would appear from the sequence in Xenophon’s\(^3\) narrative, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Epidaurians, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta made a separate peace with Thebes. This must be the peace which Diodorus\(^4\) wrongly represents as a universal peace made through the intervention of the Persian king. His date for it, however, is to be accepted, viz. the archonship of Cephisodorus 366-365, which is further confirmed by his remark—πόλεμος κατελύθη πλεῖον μείναι ἐτῶν πέντε, τὴν ἄρχην λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Δευκτρικῶν, Leuctra having been fought in 371.

In this year too arrived\(^5\) the third reinforcements from Syracuse for the Spartans, sent this time by Dionysius II, his father having died, as already mentioned, in the spring of the previous year.

365-364 B.C. The chronology of this and the next year presents but little difficulty. We may take Xenophon’s\(^6\) words μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ οὐ πολλῷ ύπερεύμοι as marking somewhere near the beginning of 365, when war broke out between the Eleans and Arcadians. To this year we may certainly assign all the events recorded in §§ 12-18; and though it is tempting to suppose that the words in § 19 οἱ δ’ ἀδ’ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῖνται ἀλλήν στρατεύαν εἰς τὴν Ἡλιὰν mark the beginning of the following year, it seems better to follow the chronology of Diodorus\(^7\) and to put this second campaign together with the capture of Cromnes by Archidamus under this same year 365. At the latest these events can hardly be placed

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\(^1\) Cp. vii. 4. 1 with vii. 3. 4 and 2.  
\(^2\) xv. 76.  
\(^3\) vii. 4. 6-II.  
\(^4\) xv. 76.  
\(^5\) vii. 4. 12.  
\(^6\) vii. 4. 12.  
\(^7\) xv. 77.
later than January to March 364; for Xenophon ought to mean by the words ἐπιώτος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους about April 364.

364–363 B.C. The Arcadians in the spring began to make great preparations for their celebration of the Olympic festival, which would take place in July.

This was the year of the death of Pelopidas at Cynoscephalae, which is fixed with something like certainty by the mention of an eclipse in Diodorus and Plutarch. This must be the eclipse of July 13, 364.

364 July–362 July. The remaining sections of the Hellenica are occupied with the commotions in Arcadia, which arose from a dispute over the use of the sacred treasures of Olympia, and which culminated in the intervention of the Thebans and the battle of Mantinea in 362. Xenophon gives absolutely no marks of time, so that it is impossible to distribute the events which he records over this interval with any semblance of probability; and no help whatever can be gained from the confused narrative of Diodorus.

The first event to which a date can be given is the treaty of the Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans, and other Peloponnesian states with the Athenians, which is actually extant in an inscription, dated the archonship of Molon, i.e. 362–361, who entered upon office about July. The battle of Mantinea occurred shortly after the conclusion of this treaty σιτων συγκομὸς οὔπης, probably at the end of July or the beginning of August, the harvest in the highland of Arcadia being late. Diodorus and Plutarch therefore must both be mistaken in putting the battle under the archonship of Chariclides, 363–362, the latter even giving the exact date, or rather that of the annual festival, which was held to commemorate the victory, as the 12th of Scirophorion (June). Diogenes Laertius repeats the mistake. The date of the festival seems somehow to have been different from the day of the battle, how or why—cannot be explained. But the evidence of the inscription, backed up as it is by Xenophon’s σιτων συγκομὸς, must be taken to outweigh this

1 vii. 4. 28. 2 vii. 4. 28. 3 xv. 80. 4 Pel. 32.
5 xv. 82. 6 vii. 5. 1–3. 7 C.I.A. ii. 57 b. 8 vii. 5. 14.
9 xv. 82. 10 De glor. Ath. 850 a. 11 ii. 54.
12 Contrast Unger, Philol. N. F. iii. 121, who puts the battle in the year 363.
§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE HELLENICA.

The extant MSS. of the Hellenica are numerous, and of very varying importance for establishing the text. They are twenty in number, besides three papyrus fragments recently discovered; namely:—

π'. A fragment from iii. 1. 3–7 among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

π''. A fragment from vi. 5. 7–9 also among the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

Π. A fragment from 1 and 2. 2–5. 8 among the papyri now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.


M. An Ambrosian MS. at Milan.

V v'. Three MSS. in St. Mark’s Library at Venice.

N n. Two Laurentian MSS. at Florence.

P. In the city library at Perugia (Ε. 65).

R. In the city library at Ravenna (131. 2. B).

F. A Perizonian MS. at Leyden.

P' V¹ V². A Palatine and two Vatican MSS. at the Vatican Library in Rome.

X. A MS. in the library of the Oratorio Napolitano at Naples.

H'. A MS. in the British Museum (Addit. 5110).

π' has been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I, London, 1898, and is by them assigned to the second century A.D. It contains fragments of three columns from a larger MS. The text is written in a ‘nearly upright square uncial hand. . . . Iota adscript is commonly written. Both single and double dots are used to mark a pause in the sense, as well as the marginal paragraphus. Short lines are filled up by the usual angular sign. A rough breathing is inserted once. Collated with Keller’s text (1890) the papyrus shows προσέλαβεν for προσέλαβε in § 6, and probably ἤτήσατο for ἤτῆσατο in § 4.'
\( \pi '' \) has also been collated and published by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II, London, 1899, and is by them considered to belong at least to the second and possibly even to the end of the first century A.D. The fragment contains three short and narrow columns, of which the first two are nearly complete. The MS. is written in a medium-sized neat uncial, and is carefully punctuated, the high stop denoting a longer, the low stop a shorter pause. The variants are not many, nor important, e.g. § 7 ὁ Στάσιππος for τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος, § 8 κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν for βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες, [Μαντ]ίνης for Μαντινεῖς, and § 9 καταφυγόντες for καταφέγγοντες.

Π has been collated and published by K. Wessely\(^1\), and is by him referred to the first decades of the third century of our era. It contains fragments of four chapters in the first book, viz. 2. 2, 3; 6, 7; 10–13; 17–19; 3. 1–7; 9–19; 22; 4. 1, 2; 5–7; 10–15; 18, 19; 21, 22; 5. 3, 4; 7, 8. The text is written on the back of seventeen columns of a papyrus roll of an official list recording the names of persons liable to the Land Tax, dating about 200 A.D. Like the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, it is obviously only a private copy, carelessly written and full of blunders, e.g. μὲ[ι]λ[η]τ[ου], i. 2. 2; πολειτιαν, i. 2. 10; συνφυγαδα, i. 2. 13; ενπεσοντος, i. 3. 1; ὀπλειτων, i. 3. 3; ὀπλε[ιγ]ας, i. 3. 6; ἰδεν, i. 3. 6, 7; 4. 7, 14, 19, 22; χερονησειατ, i. 3. 10; ομειεσιας, ομειαται, i. 3. 11; ἀκροβολίζους, i. 3. 14; γορδειω, i. 4. 1; κρεινεσσαι, i. 4. 14; καστρωματος, i. 4. 18. There are no accents; breathings and other symbols are rare: ὀρκους, i. 3. 9; οδ, i. 3. 10; ἰδια, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, κατ' ἰδεν, i. 4. 19; κατεκλείσαν, i. 4. 22; ἀ, ἰδιον, i. 5. 3.

Iota adscript is sometimes written, sometimes not, e.g. τοια, but βουλομενοι, i. 2. 10; εν μεθ[υμ]η, i. 2. 12; τω πολεμω but των στρατιωτων, i. 3. 1, 2; στρατιω, i. 3. 5; θρακης, i. 3. 10; επιληπτ, i. 5. 3. The avoidance of hiatus is just as variable, e.g. δε α[θ][η]ρυ[αιο]ν, δε ανεψ[ιον], i. 2. 13; δε εξωθην, i. 3. 5; δε ελων, i. 3. 10; δε αθηναιοι, i. 3. 5, 14; but δ' αθηναιοι, i. 3. 16; τ' ην, i. 3. 4; μετ' αυτον, i. 4. 2; μετ' αυτων, i. 4. 19. Short lines are filled up either by a stroke or by angular signs. This papyrus goes far towards establishing the excellence of B above all the other MSS.: i. 2. 2 τω τειχε,

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1 Mitth. aus der Samml. der Papyri Erzherzog Rainer, vi. pp. 17–33.
Ixxiv

INTRODUCTION

Π Β Φ Μ Δ; § 6 τισσαφερνης, Π Β; i. 3. 2 καλχηδιου, Π Β; i. 3. 5 ἀντιπαρατέκαντο, Π Β Κ Μ; μεχρι, Π Β; § 7 στενωποιαν, Π σρ. Β; § 10 μεχρι έλθου, Π Β Κ; § 19 απολλυμενος, Π Β; i. 4. 14 ντερβαλ-λομενοι, Π Β Φ Μ; § 21 λευκολοφιδου, Π Β Μ Δ Β; i. 5. 8 αδυμος μεν, Π Β Φ Μ Δ. However, besides errors of spelling and the obvious error κατ' ιδεν for κατιδον, i. 4. 19, the papyrus gives but few peculiar readings: i. 2. Π ειθυς Λεσβου for ἐπί Δέσβοι; i. 3. 5 εξωθεν for εξω and εποθει for προσεβοθει; § 9 μηδε for μη; § 10 οι γεν for γενεν and ἵππεας for ἵππεις; § 15 Κοιρατάδης for Κοι-ρατάδας; § 17 ποιησουσαι for ποιουσαι; § 18 επαγομενος for ἐπαγό-μενος and απολογουμενος for ἐποιων; i. 4. 2 λεγοιται for καὶ ἐλεγουν; § 11 ἐπειθε δ' for ἐπειδί δ'; § 18 ευθυς for εἰδεθως.

The importance of this papyrus is that it proves that in the third century of our era the text of the Hellenica was essentially the same as that which we now possess (e.g. i. 3. 1), and that the chronological interpolations of the first two books—if interpolations they be—are of an earlier date.

The MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on which the text of the Hellenics mainly depends, have been proved by Riemann 1 to fall into two families, which can easily be distin-
guished according to the presence or absence of a remarkable series of lacunae in v. i. 5-13: the better family exhibits three lacunae; the second family, which is in other respects inferior, is here com-
plete. The relationship of the better known among the twenty MSS. may thus be shown in a table.

1 Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione, &c., Paris, 1879.
§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

i. Superior Family.

B, Paris 1738, on bombycine paper, dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Its pre-eminence among all the extant MSS. has been universally recognized, and it has been taken as the foundation of almost all the printed editions. It has lost one leaf at vii. 1. 20 ἀκοντίζοντες—§ 31 ἐπιτον, and several leaves at the end of the book, vii. 1. 38 ὅ δὲ ad fin. ; and here and there single words or the ends of lines have become obliterated. The iota subscript is generally, but not always written. The accents are often wrong. Οὖτως is often written before a consonant, and so too is ν ἐφελκυστικῶν. The copyist, when he could not read his original, carefully noted all the letters that he could decipher, e. g. ii. 3. 34 ἐπιχεὶ . ρ . ἕ . ἐ for ἐπιχειρήσει ; ii. 4. 11 συν . ε . πειράθησαν for συνεσπειράθησαν, ν. 3. 12 δια . πε . πρα . μένοι for διαπεραγμένοι. This MS. not only preserves the proper spelling of many proper names and of the pluperfect indicative, but in many places alone preserves the true reading, and in many others, even when itself erroneous, alone retains traces of the true reading, where otherwise it could not be recovered. Its faults are chiefly the omission of words and even of whole lines, strange alterations of words, and sundry interpolations; but its faults are mostly of such a nature that they can be easily corrected.

P’, Palatine 140, is now in the Vatican Library. It is a bombycine MS. of the fourteenth century, containing only Xenophon’s Hellenica on 174 leaves of the size 23 × 16 cm. I first consulted this MS. while on a visit to Rome in 1892, and found that it exhibits all the lacunae in bk. v. 1 of the better family of MSS. On testing it I further found that in 156 readings it agreed with B in 79 passages, with M in 132, with D in 120, with V in 106, with C in 103, and with F in 113, and that in these same 156 passages, if Keller’s text of 1890 be taken as the norm, it exhibited 60 good readings, where B showed 67 and M only 52. It appeared to me therefore to stand in merit second only to B and to be of special importance in constituting the text of bk. vii, where B is defective. Accordingly in the following year Dr. Tschiedel at my request made a complete collation of bk. vii with the result that in 244 readings it was found to agree with M in 159, with D in 176, with V in 159, with C in 141, and with F in 159. It exhibited, however, only
peculiar readings: vii. 1, 8 καὶ τὰ μὲν for τὰ μὲν; § 28 παρρουσίας for παρρασίας; vii. 4, 2 ἐπεί δὲ δὴ for ἐπειδὴ δὲ; §§ 16, 26 ἐμέλησαν for ἐμέλησαν; § 18 'Ολόρω for Ὄλορω (but Ὅλορω three lines above); § 25 σπεισομένους for σπεισαμένους; § 35 οὕτως for οὕτω; vii. 5, 23 ἀνίππων for ἀμίππων; § 25 ἠτίμωμεν for ἠτιμέμεν; and § 26 συνεληλυθείς for συνεληλυθείς.

M, Ambrosian A. 4, at Milan, is a bombycine MS. dated 1344, containing Thucydides and Xenophon's Hellenics. It is very carefully and accurately written. The breathings and accents appear in their proper places, and the iota subscript is generally written. But the scholarly carefulness of the scribe in a way defeats itself, as it has led him laboriously to follow the erroneous rules of the grammarians of his age. Riemann has demonstrated the general excellence of the MS., and has shown that it preserves the best reading in more places even than B—with the difference however that, while B alone in many passages preserves the best reading or traces of it, there is no reading in M which could not have been supplied from other sources.

D, Paris 1642, of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains the Hellenics among many other treatises. It is neatly and elegantly written, but was never revised. Consequently it abounds in lapsus calami: letters and words are often omitted, and accidental repetitions and other faults frequently occur. Though the MS. manifestly belongs to the better family, the scribe, however careful himself, seems to have copied from an original full of lacunae and arbitrary alterations. These lacunae, which do not appear in B C F M, he seems to have filled by mere conjectures, a few of which are good in themselves, but unsupported by any manuscript authority. The corrupt alterations he has in many passages marked with some sign, while in others he has added and commended conjectural emendations of his own.

V, Venice 368, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, written on paper, contains many of the works of Xenophon besides the Hellenics. It is very closely connected with D, and is carefully written and corrected by another hand. The scribe marks doubtful readings, and possessing a sound knowledge of Greek, writes the breathings and accents correctly, and suggests a number of good emendations. The most remarkable feature, however, of the MS.
§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

is the presence here and there of wilful and arbitrary alterations of the text—some of considerable extent, e.g. i. 1. 35; iii. 2. 27; iv. 8. 4; v. 1. 13; v. 3. 18.

H', British Museum, Addit. 5110, of the fourteenth century, contains several of Xenophon's treatises besides the Hellenica, which are, however, written in a different hand. The lacunae in it, peculiar to this family, are filled up from an inferior MS., except v. i. 5, 6, for which the scribe omitted to leave a lacuna. Mr. Marchant, who has recently collated it, pronounces it to be closely akin to B, M, and P'.

I, Paris 317, is a MS. of the fourteenth century, written on paper, and containing a fragment of Thucydides and Xenophon’s Hellenics as far as vii. 1. 21. It abounds in lacunae, and is in other respects much inferior to the other MSS. of this family.

ii. Inferior Family.

C, Paris 2080, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, written on paper, contains Xenophon’s Hellenics on pp. 41–202 among several other treatises of Plutarch, &c. This MS. is very carelessly written from dictation; it is full of mistakes of spelling, and wrong breathings and accents, which in many cases have been corrected either by the same scribe or by another hand. It is, however, of importance because it alone of all the MSS. hitherto collated here and there preserves the true reading, e.g. iv. 2. 4 δὲ; 5. 1 τῆς; vi. 3. 13 and 4. 21 ἥλατταυ; vii. 1. 21 διεσκεδασμένοι, and because it best enables us rightly to fill in the lacunae of the superior family occurring in v. 1. 5 ff.

A, Paris 1793, is a late MS. of the sixteenth century, written on paper, and has evidently been influenced by the Aldine edition, to which it is subsequent. It is of no critical value.

E, Paris 1739, is similarly a late MS. of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. It exhibits traces of the same influence and is equally valueless.

N, Laurentian lxix. 12, is a MS. of the fifteenth century. It is described by Riemann and declared by him to be of the inferior family, akin rather to C than to F, but to be of no critical importance.

R, Ravenna 131. 2. B, of the fifteenth century, was used by
Sauppe in his edition of 1866, and has since been tested by Riemann, who pronounces it to be of no great value. 

V¹, Vatican 988, fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 21 × 14 cm.; and V², Vatican 1293, of the fifteenth century, is written on paper of the size 28 × 20 cm. These two MSS. I tested in 1892, and found them both to belong to the inferior family and to be closely akin to C. They seemed to be of no critical importance.

F, Perizonian 6, written on paper, is dated 1456. It contains several treatises besides the Hellenics. This MS. though it is closely allied to C, yet exhibits many readings found only in the superior family. Keller, therefore, conjectures that it was copied from an original, which had itself been corrected from a MS. of the better family. F exhibits many conjectures, sometimes good, but mostly bad, written in a later hand, which Keller would refer to a scholar of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

v and v', Marcian 365 and 364, are vellum MSS., the one dated 1453, the other 1469, and have never been completely collated. Riemann considers them both akin to F, and conjectures that v' was copied from v, as they both have nearly the same text. Dindorf collated them both at v. i. 1–19, and Riemann at i. 1–18, but neither scholar seems to have attributed any great value to their readings.

n, Laurentian lxix. 15, of the fifteenth century, was tested by Dindorf at iii. 3 and by Riemann at i. 18; 7. 34, 35; iii. 3; v. 1. 1–17. Riemann assigns it to the inferior family and thinks it more akin to F than to C.

X, Oratorio Napolitano xxii. 1, of the fifteenth century, has been recently (1892) collated by Professor E. Jorio, who assigns it to the inferior family and regards it as more akin to F than to C. The most important peculiar readings are ii. 1. 9 οικείαν for λίαν; iii. 3. 2 ἀλλ' εἰπον ή πολὺ κάλλιον κ.τ.λ. for ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κ.τ.λ.; iii. 5. 24 τῶν χωρίων τούτων for τῶν χωρίων του; iv. 3. 12 Κόνωνος Ἐλληνικοῦ for Κόνωνος τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ; iv. 6. 1 αὐτὴ for αὐτῷ. Its title Ἐνσοφάντος τὰ παραλειπόμενα ἅπερ καὶ Ἐλληνικά ἐκάλεσεν εἰς ὅκτω βιβλία διαιρούμενα is specially worthy of notice ¹.

Besides these extant MSS., five others, H, I, K, O, Y, must be mentioned, the readings of which are noticed in the margins of the old editions. The readings of H are preserved in the margin of

¹ Cp. Introd. p. xiii.
§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Munich described by P. Victorius. Riemann assigns it doubtfully to the F type of the inferior family.

The readings of I were transcribed by Valcknäer into the margin of a copy of Stephen's edition from the margin of a copy of the Aldine edition in the library at Leyden (No. 923). Riemann would assign it doubtfully to the inferior group of the better family.

K is also an unknown MS., the readings of which Valcknäer transcribed from the margin of a copy of the Basle edition in the Leyden Library (Perizon. t. 28) to the margin of another copy in the same library (Perizon. 85).

O is an unknown MS., which Valcknäer now and again notices in the margin of his copy of Stephen's edition.

Y is a lost MS., the readings of which are noticed by Gail in his edition of Xenophon's works (Paris 1797–1814).

So few readings of K, O, Y, are preserved that Riemann refuses even to conjecture to what family they belonged.

Besides these MSS., some slight help in constructing the text of the Hellenica can be derived from Harpocratio and the quotations of scholiasts and grammarians; and also from the MSS. of the Encomium Agesilai (Vatic. 1335, twelfth century; Vatic. 1950, fourteenth century; Urb. 93, fifteenth century); for where the text of it is identical with that of the Hellenica, in many places they agree with the peculiar readings of B.

Editions.

The principal editions of the Hellenica are as follows:—

Two Aldine, the first of 1502, the second of 1525.
Two Juntine, the one dated 1516, the other 1527.
Editio Halensis, printed at Halle, 1540.
Editio Brylingeriana or Basiliensis, printed at Basle, 1555.
Editio Castalionea, undated.
Two editions of H. Stephanus, the one dated 1561, the other 1581.
Editio Leonclavii, 1594.
Editio Wellsii, edited by C. A. Thieme, Leipsic, 1764.
Editio Mori, Leipsic, 1778.
Two editions of Schneider, Leipsic, 1791 and 1821.
Editio Weiskii, Leipsic, 1799.
INTRODUCTION

Two editions of L. Dindorf, the one dated Oxford, 1853, the other Leipsic, 1866.
Editio Breitenbachii, Leipsic, 1853–1863.
Editio Cobeti, Amsterdam, 1862.
Editio Sauppii, Leipsic, 1866.
Editio Kurzii, Munich, 1873.
Editio Büchsenschützii, Leipsic, 1860–1876.
Two editions of Otto Keller, Leipsic, 1890 and 1893.
Breitenbach has noticed that in the ancient editions of the sixteenth century the readings in many places are of special importance as representing MSS. now lost. By collation he found that before H. Stephanus’ editions they agree mostly with A and F, but that Stephanus and Leonclavius based their text rather on the Paris MSS. of the better family.

§ 4. LIFE OF XENOPHON 1.

c. 430. Birth 2.
c. 410–401. Friendship 3 with Socrates.
401, 400. Xenophon accompanied 4 Cyrus on his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and after the battle of Cunaxa conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand to Trapezus, and then to Chrysopolis.
400–399. Entered 5 with many of the Ten Thousand the service of Seuthes, King of Thrace.
399. Handed 6 the Ten Thousand over to Thibron, the Lacedaemonian general in Asia.

1 For details, cp. Roquette, De Xenophontis vita; Dakyns, Works of Xenophon, vol. i.
2 Xenophon speaks of himself as a young man in 401 B.C. at the time when he was elected to the command of the Ten Thousand; cp. Anab. iii. 1. 14, 25; 2. 37; iv. 2. 16; vii. 3. 46. The story of Diogenes Laertius (ii. 5. 22; cp. Strab. ix. 405; Macrobi. 21), that Socrates saved Xenophon’s life at the battle of Delium 424 B.C., probably rests on a confusion between Xenophon and Alcibiades (Plat. Symp. 221). If it were true, he must have been born some time between 450 and 444 B.C.
3 Cp. Memorabilia; Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 48.
4 Cp. Anabasis, esp. iii. 1. 5.
5 Cp. Anab. vii. 3.
6 Anab. vii. 7. 57; 8. 26, and Hell. iii. 1. 6.
§ 4. LIFE OF XENOPHON

Married 1 Philesia.
399-396. Accompanied 2 Thibron and his successor Dercylidas in their campaigns against the Persians.
396-395. Exiled 3 from Athens.
396-395. Became 4 the intimate friend of King Agesilaus in Asia, and accompanied him on his campaigns.
394. Returned 5 with Agesilaus to Europe, and was present in all probability 6 at the battle of Coronea.
394-387. Lived at Sparta and accompanied 7 Agesilaus on his various campaigns.
386-371. Lived 8 at Scillus.
c. 384. Xenophon built 9 a shrine to Artemis at Scillus.
371. Expelled 10 by the Eleans from Scillus.
371-354. Lived 11 at Corinth.
c. 369. Edict 12 of exile revoked.
362. Gryllus, Xenophon’s son, was slain 13 in a cavalry skirmish at Mantinea.
354. Death 14 at Corinth.

1 Cp. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 51. Xenophon states (Anab. vii. 6. 34) that in 399 he had no children. But about 392 he seems to have sent his sons Gryllus and Diodorus to Sparta to be educated (Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 54; Plut. Ages. 20), and Spartan boys began their training at seven years old.
2 This is an inference from the vivid details of Xenophon’s narrative in Hell. iii.
3 Cp. Anab. vii. 7. 57 (cp. v. 3. 6) ou γὰρ πως ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπήκτο Ἀθηναίοι peri ψυγής. These words seem to imply that Xenophon was exiled not very long after 399. So Dio Chrys. viii. p. 130 m. διὰ τὴν μετὰ Κύρων στρατεύα; Paus. v. 6. 5 and Epigram ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 58. Roquette dates his exile after Coronea 394, citing Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 51 παρ’ δὲ καιρὸν (Xenophon’s friendship with Agesilaus) ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ ἑυγῆ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων κατεγώρθη.
4 Anab. v. 3. 6: vivid details in Hell. iii and iv.
5 Anab. v. 3. 6.
6 Plut. Ages. 18.
7 This is an inference from the vivid details given of Agesilaus’ campaigns in Hell. iv passim.
8 Anab. v. 3. 7.
9 Ibid.
11 Diog. Laert. ibid.
12 Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 59.
14 Stesilides, ap. Diog. Laert. ii. 6. 56, puts his death in the archonship of Callidemides 360-359. But Xenophon was certainly writing (Hell. vi. 4. 34) as late as 358-357, and probably wrote the De Vectigalibus in 355 (cp. Roquette, p. 31).
15
§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

**BOOK I.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April</td>
<td>Book I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 411 c. Sept. | i. Agesandidas defeated the Athenian fleet. |
| Winter. | i. 2–9. ἀρχουένοις κειμῶνοι battles at Rhoeotem and Abydos. Thrasyllus went to Athens; μετὰ ταῦτα Tissaphernes at the Hellespont arrested Alcibiades. |
| 410–409. | i. 10–13. ἡμέραι τριάκοντα ἕστερων Alcibiades escaped and sailed to Proconnesus. |
| i. 23–37. ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ sundry contemporary events. κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτων revolt of Thasos to Athens. περὶ τούτων τοὺς χρόνους sally of Agis from Decela. Clearchus was despatched to the Bosporus. Sicilian affairs. | |
| 409–408. | ii. 1–13. τῷ ἀλλῷ ἔτει Thrasyllus ravaged the coast of Ionia, suffered a severe repulse at Ephesus, retired to Notium and sailed thence to the Hellespont. |
| Summer. | ii. 14–17. χειμῶν ἔπει Thrasyllus joined Alcibiades at Lampasacus, where the two generals wintered and defeated Pharnabazus. |
| Winter. | ii. 18, 19. τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ the Spartans recovered Coryphasium. |
| 408–407. | iii. 1–13. τοῦ οἰκίστος έτους the Athenians sailed from Lampasacus to Proconnesus, then invested Chalcedon, and compelled Pharnabazus to conclude an armistice with them and to promise a safe escort for some Athenian envoys to the Persian king. |
| Summer. | iii. 14–22. Siege and capture of Byzantium. |
| Winter. | iv. τοῦ χειμώνα the Athenian and other envoys met Pharnabazus at Gordium. |
| 407–406. | iv. 2–7. ἀρχουένοι τοῦ ἔρατος the envoys heard of the appointment of Cyrus to be satrap. Cyrus arrived and persuaded Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys. |
| Summer. | iv. 8–12. Alcibiades sailed to Samos, while Thrasyllus sailed with the main fleet to Athens; and then hearing of his election to be general, entered Piraeus in June, ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Πολυνήσῳ ἔγινεν ἡ πόλις. |
| Winter. | iv. 13–20. Reception of Alcibiades in Piraeus and Athens. His escort of the Eleusinian festival. [v. i. Lysander appointed to be Spartan admiral, πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ.] |
| iv. 21–23. τετάρτῳ μηνὶ Alcibiades set sail with his |
### Events. Books I, II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year. April to April.</th>
<th>Events.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>newly equipped fleet first to Andros, and then to Samos, which he made his head quarters for winter operations against the Peloponnesians.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 1–10. Lysander collected a fleet of 90 vessels at Ephesus, negotiated with Cyrus, and made preparations for renewing the war by sea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 11–19. Alcibiades joined Thrasybulus at Phocaea: in his absence Antiochus his lieutenant was defeated at Notium. Alcibiades returned to Samos, and soon afterwards withdrew in disgrace to the Chersonese. Conon succeeded him in the command of the fleet.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 20. Conon ravaged the neighbouring territory of the enemy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi. 1–12. ὀ καλλικρατίδες succeeded Lysander, and failing to get money from Cyrus, obtained supplies from the Milesians.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vi. 24–25. The Athenians sent out a fleet of 110 vessels to the rescue, which Callicratidas attempted to intercept.</td>
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<tr>
<td>vi. 37–38. Eteonicus despatched his ships to Chios and retired himself to Methymna. The Athenian fleet sailed first to Mytilene, and then to Samos.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vii. 1–35. ἐγήγερε Ἀπατοῦρα trial of the generals, who had fought at Arginusae.</td>
<td></td>
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### BOOK II.

i. 1–5. ἐπεὶ χεῖμῳ ἐγένετο Eteonicus suppressed a mutiny among his troops at Chios, and obtained money from the Chians.

i. 6, 7. The Spartans appointed Lysander to command their fleet for a second time.

i. 8, 9. Cyrus was summoned to the presence of his father Darius.

405–404. Summer.

i. 10–14. τῷ ἐπιμνήσθη Lysander arrived at Ephesus, where he fitted out his fleet with money supplied him by Cyrus, who soon afterwards set out to meet Darius, having first entrusted him with the revenues of his province. The Athenians made counter-preparations at Samos.

i. 15–21. Lysander sailed to Caria and Rhodes, and thence past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians set out from Samos, ravaged the Persian territory, touched at Chios and Ephesus, and then at Elaeus on the Hellespont: whence, hearing that Lysander had
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>Events. Book II.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. August.</td>
<td>taken Lampsacus, they took up a position opposite to him near Sestos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. 30–32. Lysander captured the whole Athenian fleet and executed all the prisoners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 5–9. Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganized the government of the several states and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. General revolt of all the Athenian allies except Samos. Lysander restored the Aeginetan, Melian, and other exiles to their native cities, and afterwards blockaded Piraeus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 12–15. Fruitless negotiations for peace first with Agis and then with the Ephors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 1–10. τῷ ἐπιδρόντι ἐτέλεσθαι appointment of the Thirty.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis evacuated Decelea. Lycophron of Phærae (περὶ ἡλίου ἐκλειψεν) defeated the Larisaeans. Lysander reduced Samos and returned in triumph to Sparta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter.</td>
<td>iii. 11–56. The Thirty began a reign of terror, supported by the Spartan harmost and garrison. Accusation and execution of Theramenes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. February, 403. 403–402.</td>
<td>iv. 1–22. ἐπιγίνεται ... χῶν παμπληθῆσι the democratic exiles, headed by Thrasybulus, seized Phyle and marched upon Piraeus, where they defeated the Thirty in battle, Critias being among the slain (ἐν ὀκτὼ μησίω).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 23–27. The Thirty were deposed and the Ten appointed in their place, with whom constant war was waged by Thrasybulus and the democratic exiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 28–38. At the invitation of the oligarchs the Spartans sent Lysander and Libys to their aid. But Pausanias intervened and after some slight military operations effected a reconciliation between the contending factions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 39–42. Pausanias disbanded the Peloponnesian army. Thrasybulus marched up to Athens, and restored the democratic constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 43. ὑστέρω χρόνῳ final suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis, and proclamation of an universal amnesty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### § 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

#### YEAR, April to April

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events. Book III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>401-399.</td>
<td>i. 1-3. ἐκ τοῦτων expedition of the Ten Thousand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399-398.</td>
<td>i. 4-7. Thibron sent to Asia as harmost: joined by the Cyreans: captured Pergamos and other cities in Asia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>ii. 21-24. τούτων πραττο-μένων the Spartans declared war against the Eleans. Agis invaded Elis, but retired on the occurrence of an earthquake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 25, 26. περίοντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ (Feb. or Mar. 398) Agis invaded Elis for the second time, sacrificed at Olympia, and ravaged the country as far as the suburbs of Elis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398-397.</td>
<td>ii. 27-30. Agis having penetrated as far as Cyllene, recrossed the Alpheus and left Lysippus with a garrison at Epitalium, who ravaged Elis (§ 30) τὸ λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπίοντα χειμῶνα.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. June</td>
<td>ii. 30, 31. τὸν ἐπίοντος θέρον the Spartans again threatened war, whereupon the Eleans submitted and entered the Lacedaemonian alliance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 1-3. μετὰ τοῦτο death of Agis. Agesilaus succeeded him through the influence of Lysander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>397-396.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 6-9. ἄμα τῷ ἡμὶ Dercylidas marched to Lampasacus, where he heard that his command had been prolonged for τῶν ἐπίοντα ἐνιαυτῶν: renewed the truce with Pharnabazus, and crossed to the Chersonese, where (§§ 10, 11) ἀπὸ ἡμῶν χρόνον πρὸ ὀπάρας he rebuilt the wall across the isthmus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On his return to Asia Dercylidas captured Atarneus after a siege (§ 11) ἐν ὑστῶ μῆς (c. August 398-March 397).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 12-20. μέχρι τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου peace had prevailed between Dercylidas and Tissaphernes: now Dercylidas advanced towards Caria and met the two satraps in the plain of Macander, when (§ 17) ἦν βαθὺς ὁ οἰκός. There a truce was concluded.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>April to April</th>
<th>Events. Book III.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>396-395.</td>
<td>Spring.</td>
<td>iii. 4-11. οὕτω ἑναιτῶν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ 'Αγησιλάου the conspiracy of Cinadon was discovered and suppressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395-394.</td>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 1-15. μετὰ ταύτα on news coming of a Persian fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia Agesilaus gained the consent of the Spartans and their allies to lead an expedition into Asia. The Boeotians prevented Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis. The King crossed to Ephesus. Truce with Tissaphernes. Quarrel with Lysander, who retired to the Hellespont and won over Spithridates as an ally. Tissaphernes, reinforced by the Persian king, broke the truce and declared war. ἐκ τούτου (§ 11) Agesilaus advanced into Phrygia, but after an unsuccessful cavalry skirmish returned to the sea (i.e. to Ephesus), where he reorganized his cavalry.</td>
</tr>
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<td>iv. 16-19. ἐπειδὴ ἦρ πρέφαυε Agesilaus drilled his troops at Ephesus.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>iv. 20-27. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἑναιτῶν ἡδή ἄφ‘ οὐ ἔξεπλευσεν ὁ 'Αγησιλαος διελήλυθε the king marched upon Sardis and defeated the Persian cavalry on the Pactolus. Tithraustes superseded and executed Tissaphernes. Then he made a truce with Agesilaus, persuading him to march into Pharnabazus' territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 1-25. Timocrates of Rhodes, being commissioned by Tithraustes to stir up war against Sparta, distributed 50 talents in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. Quarrel between the Locrians and Phocians: the Thebans inciting the former, while the latter appealed to Sparta. Sparta declared war against Thebes. Defensive alliance between Thebes and Athens. Lysander slain at Haliartus. Pausanias, arriving too late, retired, and on his return, being condemned to death, fled to Tegea.</td>
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<td>iv. 27-29. On his march Agesilaus collected a new fleet of 120 ships and appointed his brother Pisander admiral. [IV. i. 1-40 ἀμα μετοπὼρρῳ he reached Pharnabazus' Phrygia, ravaged the country, won over many cities and proceeded towards Paphlagonia. Story of Oty. Agesilaus (§ 16) διεχείμαζε in Dascyleum, Skirmish with Pharnabazus. Three days later (§ 20) Herippodas captured the satrap's camp. A quarrel over the spoils led Spithridates to desert to Sardis, much to Agesilaus' annoyance. Interview between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BOOK IV.

i. 41. ἔθος the king left
the satrap's territory;
σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔστρη ἥδη
ὑπέφανεν. In the plain
of Thebe Agesilaus col-
lected large forces for
another expedition against
the Persians.

ii. 2–8. Agesilaus obeyed
the summons home; and
leaving Euxenus with
4,000 men in Asia crossed
the Hellespont with the
rest of his army and
marched along the coast.

iii. 1–9. Dercylidas met
Agesilaus at Amphipolis
with the news of the
battle of the Nemea.

iii. 10–9. On the Boeotian
frontier Agesilaus heard
of Pisander's defeat at
Cnidus.

iii. 13–23. Battle of Coronea:
after the victory Agesilaus
dedicated a tithe of his
spoils at Delphi, while
Gylis led the army
through Phocis into
Locris.

iv. 1. μετὰ τὸῦτο Agesilaus
disbanded his army and
sailed home. ἐκ τοῦτον
the war was continued
from Sicyon and Corinth
as bases.
INTRODUCTION

**Year. April to April.**

| 393-392. | iv. 1. The Corinthians saw their own territory being wasted, whilst their allies enjoyed the blessings of peace: discontent of the oligarchs amongst them.

iv. 2–6. On Ἐκκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν [February 392?] the Corinthian democrats massacred many of the oligarchs and united the city with Argos.

| 392-391. | iv. 7–13. [Summer 392?] Some Corinthian oligarchs admitted Praxitas into the Long Walls of Corinth. Battle at Lechaemum. Praxitas pulled down parts of the Long Walls, captured Sidus, Crommyon and Episcia, and then returned to Sparta.

Autumn? | iv. 14. ἐκ τούτου large armaments were given up on both sides, the war being carried on only by the mercenaries stationed respectively at Corinth and Sicyon.

| 391-370. | iv. 15–18. ἐνθα exploits of Iphicrates’ peltasts at Philus and in Arcadia. Rebuilding of the Long Walls of Corinth with the help of the Athenians.

iv. 19. Agesilaus ravaged Argolis, and retook the Long Walls of Corinth, while Teleutias captured the docks.

| Events. Book IV. | viii. 7-11. ἀμα τῶ ἐπιμ Conon and Pharnabazus crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money. Pharnabazus returned to Asia, but Conon sailed to Athens and helped to rebuild the Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. The Corinthians equipped a fleet, whereby they asserted their mastery over the Corinthian Gulf; (§ 11) μετὰ τοῦτο summer 392 Teleutias dispossessed them.

viii. 12–15. The Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus at Sardis, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent Conon and others envoys to counteract his influence. Failure of Antalcidas’ negotiations.

viii. 16. Tiribazus gave money to Antalcidas, arrested Conon, and went up to Susa.

viii. 17–19. Struthas, a phil-Athenian, replaced Tiribazus at Sardis. The Spartans sent out Thibron to make war on him. προϊόντως του χρύνου (§ 18)
§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>Events. Book IV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April.</td>
<td>Thibron was defeated and slain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Autumn.</td>
<td>vii. 20–22. The Spartans sent out Diphyridas to replace Thibron and Ecdicus to help the Rhodians against the Athenians. Ecdicus remained inactive at Cnidus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390–389.</td>
<td>vii. 23, 24. Teleutias, leaving the Corinthian Gulf, superseded Ecdicus at Cnidus, and on his way to Rhodes captured an Athenian squadron sailing to Cyprus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn?</td>
<td>vii. 25–27. The Athenians sent out Thrasybulus with 40 ships to help the Rhodians: but for fear of Teleutias he sailed to the Hellespont, where he persuaded Medocus and Seuthes to become allies of Athens, set up a democracy at Byzantium, and at Chrysopolis a toll on vessels passing through the Bosporus, and won over Chalcedon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389–388.</td>
<td>vii. 28, 29. Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, defeated and slew the Spartan harmost at Methymna, and gained other successes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XEN. HELL.
### Events. Book V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>388-387</th>
<th>387-386</th>
<th>Winter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Dercylidas at Abydos**, whereupon the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to the Hellespont.
- **viii. 35–39. § 35. προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου** Iphicrates surprised and slew Anaxibius.

### BOOK V.

- **i. 1–4.** The Athenians to prevent piracy blockaded Aegina, but Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes, leaving his secretary, Gorgopas, in Aegina.
- **i. 5. ἐκ τούτου** the Aeginetans besieged the Athenians on the island, until πέμπτῳ μη διε τοὺς they were rescued. The piracy being then renewed, the Athenians sent Eunomus with 13 ships against Gorgopas.
- **IV. vii. i. παρελθόντος τοῦ χείμανος . . . εὗθυς ἄρχο -
- μένου τοῦ ἑρως Agesilaus prepared to renew the invasion; but the Acarnanians sent an embassy to Sparta, made peace with the Achaeans, and became the allies of the Lacedaemonians.
- **IV. vii. 2–7. ἐκ τούτου Agesilaus, having consulted the gods at Olympia and Delphi, invaded the Argolis, advancing to the very gates of the city.**

- **c. March 387.**
- **i. 25–31.** Antalcidas came down with Tiribazus, bearing terms of peace from the Persian king. He relieved Nicolochus from his blockade at Abydos, surprised an Athenian squadron, and gained full command of the sea. The envoys from the various states eagerly obeyed the summons of Tiribazus and gladly listened to the terms of peace negotiated by Antalcidas.

- **i. 32–36.** All the Greek states agreed to the King’s Peace, except the Thebans, who however under threat of invasion submitted. The Corinthians dismissed their
§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year.</th>
<th>Events. Book V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April</td>
<td>Argive garrison. § 35. ἐκ τοῦτοι all armed forces were disbanded. Great power of Sparta as champion of the King’s Peace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386-385.</td>
<td>ii. 1-3. The Lacedaemonians determined to chastise such states as had proved unfaithful to them in the late wars. (?) Expiration of the σπονδαὶ τριακονταεῖς with Mantinea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>385-384.</td>
<td>ii. 4-7. Siege and surrender of Mantinea: § 7. ἐκ τοῦτοι the Spartans split up the city into villages and set up an oligarchy over them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter.</td>
<td>ii. 8-10. The Spartans restored the oligarchical exiles to Phlius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382 early.</td>
<td>ii. 11-23. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia came to Sparta to seek help against the Olynthians. The Spartans and their allies voted to send an army of 10,000 men, and § 23 ὃς τάξιστα despatched a force of 2,000 men under Eudamidas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382-381.</td>
<td>ii. 24-36. Phoebidas, marching with the rest of Eudamidas’ troops, encamped at Thebes. Leontiades betrayed (§ 29 θέρως θείος) the Cadmea to Phoebidas, and went to Sparta to justify the deed. Trial and execution of Ismenias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381-380.</td>
<td>ii. 37-43. The Spartans sent out Teleutias with the 10,000 men. Teleutias marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter as far as Potidaea. He ended the campaign (§ 43 τοῦτο τὸ θέρος) with an indecisive victory at the gates of Olynthus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn.</td>
<td>iii. 10-17. Dissensions at Phlius. The Lacedaemonians under Agesilaus laid siege to the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii. 1-7. ἀμα τὰ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ skirmishes at Olynthus. Teleutias being slain, the whole besieging force was obliged to disperse.</td>
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<td>iii. 8, 9. Agesipolis sailed against Olynthus with a still larger armament.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year. April to April.</th>
<th>Events. Book V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>380-379.</td>
<td>iii. 18-20. Shortly after the capture of Torone Agesipolis died of fever (§ 19 κατὰ θέρων ἀκμήν). His place was taken by Polybiades.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. March 379.</td>
<td>iii. 21-25. After 20 months (§ 25 ἐν ὀδυκῷ μησὶ καὶ ἐναυτῷ) the Phliasians came to terms. Agesilaus set up a provisional government and left a garrison in the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379-378. Winter.</td>
<td>iv. 1-9. Liberation of Thebes (§ 4 ἐν ἑξάδῳ τῆς Ἀρχῆς) by Melon and other conspirators: the Spartan harpest surrendered the Cadmea. Cleombrotus marched upon Thebes (§ 14 μάλα χειρών ὄντος), but returned after a few desultory operations, leaving Sphodrias at Thespiae. The Athenians put their two generals to death, who had been privy to Melon's conspiracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378-377.</td>
<td>iv. 20-33. Sphodrias attempted to surprise Piraeus. His trial and acquittal through the influence of Agesilaus.</td>
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<td>iv. 34. The Athenians equipped their fleet and supported the Thebans.</td>
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<td>iv. 35-41. Agesilaus invaded Boeotia with varying success, left Phoeibidas as harpest at Thespiae, and then returned home.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 42-46. ἐκ τοῦτου after many skirmishes Phoeibidas was slain and his troops routed. The Lacedaemonians sent a Polemarch with a μορα by sea to guard Thespiae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377-376.</td>
<td>iv. 47-57. ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη Agesilaus led a second expedition into Boeotia, again without any decisive result. Revolt of Oreus from Sparta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376-375.</td>
<td>iv. 58-61. ὑποφαινοντος πάλιν τοῦ ἱπος Agesilaus being ill, Cleombrotus marched out against Thebes, but finding Cithaeron strongly guarded at once disbanded his forces. The Spartans manned a fleet of 60 triremes under their admiral Pollis to check the growing power of Athens. Defeat of Pollis by Chabrias.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375-374.</td>
<td>iv. 62-66. While the Thebans were subduing the Boeotian towns the Athenian Timotheus sailed round the Peloponnesus with 60 ships, won over Corcyra, and defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus at Alyzia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 5. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

BOOK VI.

374-373.

i. 1. Cleombrotus was despatched to help the Phocians against the Thebans.

ii. 2-19. σχέδων περὶ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Polydamas the Pharsalian applied to Sparta for help against Jason of Pherae: the Spartans confessed that they were unable to give it. Jason became tagus of all Thessaly.

iii. 1-7. On the approach of Cleombrotus the Thebans retired within their own frontiers. The Athenians made peace with Sparta and recalled Timotheus from Corecyra. On his way home he reinstated some exiles in Zacynthus. The Spartans regarded this as a breach of the peace, and εὐθὺς (§ 3) despatched their admiral Mnasippus with 60 ships to Corecyra.

Autumn? or Winter?

373-372.

ii. 8-11. The Athenians despatched Stesicles with 600 peltasts across the mainland to Corecyra, and resolved to send a fleet under Timotheus.

372-371.

ii. 12-26. Timotheus sailed from Athens, but lingered among the islands. The Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates. The Corecyreans defeated and slew Mnasippus. The Lacedaemonians abandoned the island.

371-370.

ii. 27-36. On the voyage Iphicrates heard of the death of Mnasippus at Sphagiae: he sailed on to Cephalenia, which he reduced, and then arrived at Corecyra, where he captured 10 triremes sailing from Dionysius to help the Spartans.


ii. 1-20. The Athenians, annoyed at the conduct of the Thebans, sent envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general peace. Congress at Sparta. The terms of peace were generally accepted, but when the Thebans claimed to sign it for all the Boeotians, Agesilaus disallowed the claim.

July.

iv. 1-3. The Athenians carried out the conditions of the peace: the Lacedaemonians, though they withdrew their harmosts and garrisons, ordered Cleombrotus, then in Phocis, to march against the Thebans.


iv. 17-27. The Lacedaemonians sent out a new army under Archidamus. The Thebans applied in vain to Athens for help, but were more successful with Jason of Pherae. Arrived at Leuctra Jason dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp. A truce was
## INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR.</th>
<th>Events. Book VI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April to April.</td>
<td>made: the Lacedaemonian army retired, and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. Jason returned to Thessaly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 1-3. Archidamus disbanded his forces. Congress at Athens, at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>v. 4, 5. Restoration of Mantinea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 28-32. Death of Jason of Phærae (τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον, c. August).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter.</td>
<td>v. 6-22. Dissensions at Tegæa: the Mantineans supported the democrats, who were in favour of the PanArcadian League: 800 of the oligarchs fled to Sparta. Agesilaus marched out against the Mantineans (§ 20 ἡν μέσος χειμῶν), but quickly returned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 23-32. First Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: against their own wishes the Thebans joined the Arcadians in an incursion into Laconia, ravaging the country and penetrating as far as Gythium.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 33-49. The Athenians, after a long debate, decided to help the Lacedaemonians, and sent Iphicrates with a large army to Corinth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 50-52. The Thebans and Arcadians returned from Laconia (§ 50 ἥτι καὶ χειμῶν ἡν), the former passing the Isthmus without serious opposition from Iphicrates.</td>
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</table>

## BOOK VII.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR.</th>
<th>Events.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>369-368.</td>
<td>i. 1-14. τῷ ἄντερω ἦτει negotiations at Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance with Sparta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 15-22. Second Theban invasion of the Peloponnnesus: the Spartans and their allies guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans forced a passage, attacked Sicyon and Pellene, and ravaged the Epidaurian territory. After some skirmishes round Corinth they turned homewards. Return of the Sicilian troops, which Dionysius had sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 34. Polyphron of Pheron murdered and succeeded by Alexander.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 23-26. Discontent of the Arcadians, fomented by Lycomedes of Mantinea, against the Thebans and Eleans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368-367.</td>
<td>i. 27. Ariobarzanes' envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeks to Delphi to make a general peace: his attempt failed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 28-32. With the aid of a second reinforcement from Dionysius of Syracuse Archidamus took Caryae and ravaged Parrhasia. Archidamus defeated the Arcadians and Argives in the so-called 'Tearless Victory.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>367-366.</td>
<td>i. 33-40. Meeting of Greek envoys at the Persian Court:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year.</td>
<td>Events. Book VII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter.</td>
<td>on the proposal of Pelopidas the king dictated terms for a new peace. The Theban's summoned deputies to Thebes to hear the king's terms: the deputies, headed by the Arcadians, refused to swear to them. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the various states to induce them to swear: the Corinthians refused, and the rest followed suit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366-365.</td>
<td>i. 41-46. Third Theban invasion of the Peloponnese: Epaminondas persuaded the Achaean's to join the Theban Confederacy. The Thebans at home reversed his policy, sent out harmosts, and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The oligarchs quickly effected their return and supported Sparta. Euphran effects a democratic revolution at Sicyon, and then makes himself tyrant.</td>
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<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>ii. 1. The Sicyonians and Argives annoyed the Phliasians from their strongholds at Thyamia and Tricaranon. Fidelity of the Phliasians to Sparta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>ii. 2-10. Xenophon recounts the fortunes of the Phliasians from the battle of Leuctra (371) to this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>ii. 11-23. The Theban harmost at Sicyon, together with Euphran, made an unsuccessful inroad into Phliaia. Again the Phliasians, with the help of Chares, successfully attacked the Sicyonians at Thyamia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>iii. 1-12. σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων Euphran was driven out of Sicyon, but soon again made himself master of the city. He repaired to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognize his supremacy in Sicyon. To Thebes he was followed by his enemies and murdered. Trial and acquittal of Euphran’s murderers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>iv. 1-5. The Athenians lost Oropus: left by their allies in the lurch, they accepted the Arcadian offers of alliance. The Athenians planned a surprise upon Corinth: but the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>iv. 6-11. The Corinthians, Phliasians, Argives, and others, weary of the long wars, with the consent of Sparta, made peace with the Thebans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>iv. 12. σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων troops sent by the younger Dionysius of Syracuse helped the Spartans to recover Sellasia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365-364.</td>
<td>iv. 13-18. μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ πολλὰ ὑπερεύον the Eleans seized Lasion: the Arcadians, supported by the Elean democrats, invaded Elis, captured many cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis. The Achaean's prevented the Arcadians in another attempt to capture Elis. Struggle at Olerus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Year, April to April

### Events. Book VII.

| 364–363. | iv. 19–27. Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis; whereupon the Lacedaemonians seized Cromnus. Struggle round Cromnus. The Eleans captured Pylos, putting all the democratical exiles there to death. Cromnus was retaken by the Arcadians. |
| 363–362. | iv. 28–32. ἐπιόντας Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους the Arcadians prepared with the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic games: the Eleans bravely attempted to expel them from Olympia, but in vain. |
| 362. | iv. 33–40. The Mantineans refused to handle the Olympic treasures: their example spreading, the other Arcadians invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans, and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus. While they were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant arrested all the oligarchs he could lay hands on, but next day at the demand of the Mantineans released them. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebes. |
| 362. | v. 1–3. Fearing Theban interference the Mantineans and their allies appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. |
| 362. | v. 4–17. Fourth Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: after waiting a while at Nemea Epaminondas went on to Tegea. Epaminondas made a rush on Sparta; but Agesilaus, warned just in time, was able to repulse the attack. Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, but sent on his cavalry, hoping to surprise Mantinea (§ 14 σίτου αὐγκομιδῆς οὕσις). Mantinea was saved by the accidental arrival of the Athenian cavalry. |
| 362. | v. 18–25. Epaminondas, feeling a general engagement to be necessary, led his army to the mountains west of Mantinea, surprised the enemy, and threw their whole army into confusion. But his own death in the moment of victory utterly paralyzed his troops, so that both sides claimed the victory. |
| 362. | v. 26. After the battle the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before. |
NOTES

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

§ 1. In a second sea-fight Agesandridas the Lacedaemonian defeated the Athenians. §§ 2–8. Doricus trying in vain to enter the Hellespont, Mindarus put out from Abydos to escort him, but was met by the Athenians. The two fleets engaged, and on the arrival of Alcibiades, the Athenians drove the Peloponnesians back to Abydos with a loss of 30 ships. The Athenians left only 40 ships at Sestos: the rest dispersed to collect money, while Thrasyllus sailed to Athens to ask for reinforcements. §§ 9–13. Alcibiades visited Tissaphernes, who had now reached the Hellespont, but was arrested by him and sent to Sardis. A month afterwards he escaped to Clazomenae, and thence to Cardia, whither the Athenians had retreated from Sestos. Meantime the Peloponnesian ships, 60 strong, had sailed to Cyzicus. Alcibiades returned to Sestos, and led the combined Athenian fleet, 86 strong, to Proconnesus. §§ 14, 15. He took measures to conceal his arrival, and exhorted his troops to fight bravely; for they had no money, while their enemies had plenty from the Persian king. §§ 16–22. Alcibiades surprised the Peloponnesian fleet manœuvring outside the harbour, and after a hard fight by sea and land captured the whole of it. Mindarus was slain. Cyzicus surrendered to Alcibiades. He exacted money from its citizens, and from other neighbouring states, and established a toll-house on the Bosporus. §§ 23–26. The despatch of Mindarus' secretary was captured and carried to Athens. The satrap Pharnabazus armed the Peloponnesian fugitives to guard his coasts, and urged their commanders to build new ships at Antandros. §§ 27–31. Story of the exile of the Syracusan commanders at Antandros, and of Hermocrates' accusation against Tissaphernes and expedition against Syracuse. § 32. The Spartan harmost Eleonius was expelled from Thasos. The admiral Cratesippidas took command of the ships that Pasippidas had collected. §§ 33, 34. Agis made a sally from Decleia, but retreated hastily before Thrasyllus. In reward the Athenians voted Thrasyllus 50 triremes and considerable reinforcements. §§ 35, 36.

XEN. HELL.
Agis sent Clearchus with a small squadron to the Bosporus to cut off the Athenian corn supply. Clearchus lost three ships in the Hellespont, but with the rest safely reached Byzantium. § 37. Contemporary events in Sicily.

411–410 B.C.

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

ἡλθεν, i.e. to the Hellespont: cp. following notes.

Θυμοχάρμη: a few months earlier this general had lost twenty-two out of thirty-six ships, when he was defeated by Agesandridas and the Peloponnesians off Eretria in Euboea: Thuc. viii. 95.

ἀβδίς, in a second battle; the Athenian victory at Cynossema being apparently the first (Thuc. viii. 106). Xenophon does not specify the place, but it appears from the context that it must have been the Hellespont.

'Αγησανδρίδου. According to Diod. xiii. 41 after the battle of Cynossema Mindarus sent the Spartan Epicles to conduct Agesandridas' fleet from Euboea to reinforce him in the Hellespont. But on the voyage the whole fleet was destroyed by a storm off Mount Athos, only twelve men escaping. Agesandridas must have been one of the twelve, if Diodorus' story is true: cp. Thuc. viii. 107 fin.

§ 2. Μετ' ὠλίγον ... τούτων: cp. ὑστερον τούτων.

Δωρεὺς: cp. i. 5. 19.

ἐκ Πόδου. For the positions of Dorieus, Mindarus, Tissaphernes, and Alcibiades at this time see Introd. pp. xvi, xvii. According to Diod. xiii. 38 Mindarus had sent Dorieus with thirteen ships, which had come from the Italian Greeks to aid the Peloponnesians, to Rhodes in order to suppress a threatened uprising in the island.

toῖς στρατηγοῖς, i.e. Thrasylus and Thrasybulus (Thuc.viii.104).

ἀνεβίβαζε. The imperfect tense expresses the attempt.

ὡς ἐνογε. This, the reading of most MSS., to which the commentators, comparing i. 5. 13; 6. 21, give the meaning, 'as soon as he got clear,' i.e. of the narrow strait of the Hellespont, suits neither Dorieus' action in beaching his ship, nor the geographical position of Rhoeteum, which is well within the strait some five or six miles from the narrow entrance. Diodorus xiii. 45 even says ἐις Δάρβανον, which is still higher up the strait.
It is better to read ὅς ἦνε, 'as best he could'; cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 359.

§ 3. ἔλς Μάδυνος, in the Thracian Chersonese not far from Sestos: cp. Her. vii. 33.

§ 4. Μίνδαρος, the Spartan admiral for 411-410: cp. Thuc. viii. 85. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, i.e. to Abydos; cp. Diod. xiii. 45 εὐθέως ἐξ Ἀβύνου μετὰ παντὸς ἀνήχθη τοῦ στῶλου.

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

§ 6. Φαράβαζας was satrap of Phrygia Minor and Bithynia, and was now in league with the Peloponnesians (Thuc. viii. 80, 99). μέχρι, temporal: 'as long as.'

§ 7. συμφράζαντες, 'having formed in close order.' ἅς αὐτῶι ἀπώλεσαν: Xenophon's brevity is obscure; but cp. Plut. Alc. 27 τῶι μὲν πολεμῶι τριάκοντα λαβόντες, ἀνασώσαντες δὲ τῶι αὐτῶι, τροπαίοιν ἔστησαν.

§ 8. ἐπ’ ἄργυρολογίαν: cp. § 14. Since the revolt of the allies after the Sicilian disaster the Athenians had been hard pressed for money.

§ 9. Τισσαφέρνης. Satrap of Lydia and Ionia: his policy had hitherto been to wear out both the Peloponnesians and Athenians by temporizing: cp. Thuc. viii. 109. συλλαβῶι. Though after this Alcibiades could never again hope to delude the Athenians with promises of Persian aid (Thuc. viii. 82), his own naval successes round Samos and now in the
Hellespont seem to have been sufficient to secure for him their confidence. Tissaphernes evidently wanted to retrieve his position in the opinion of the Peloponnesians: cp. Plut. Alc. 27 κακῶς ἄκουὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ φοβοῦμενος αὐτίνα λαβεῖν ἐκ βασιλέως.

§ 10. μετὰ Μαντιθέου: Mantitheus is mentioned again i. 3. 13. εὐπορήσαντες ... ἀπέδρασαν, plural κατὰ σύνεσιν.

410–409 B.C.

§ 11. οἱ δὲ ἐν Σητῷ, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. xl.

ναυαίν ἔξεκοντα, according to Diod. xiii. 49 Mindarus had received reinforcements from the Peloponnesians and the other allies.

ἐῖς Καρθίαν. On the west coast of the Chersonese.

Κύκκον, this city had revolted from the Athenians, but had been recovered after their victory at Cynossema, Thuc. viii. 107. It was now besieged by Mindarus and Pharnabazus and taken by storm. Diod. xiii. 49.

περιπλέειν, from Cardia to Sestos.

§ 12. Ὑπαρένης: cp. Diod. xiii. 47, 49. After trying in vain to prevent the Euboeans and Boeotians from uniting Euboea with the mainland by a bridge across the Euripus, Theramenes had sailed to the Aegean islands in order to replace the democracies in the various states, had then lent aid to king Archelaus of Macedon in the siege of Pydna, and finally joined Thrasybulus (cp. i. 1. 2, 8) on the Thracian coast.

Ὑπαρένης οὖν, one of the generals elected by the Athenian fleet at Samos (Thuc. viii. 76): he had commanded the right wing at Cynossema (ibid. 105) and had afterwards sailed to Thrace (Diod. xiii. 49).

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

ἐῖς Πάριον. On the Asiatic coast at the E. entrance to the Propontis.

Προκόπνησον, an island in the W. part of the Propontis.

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

§ 15. ὁμίσαντο, i.e. at Proconnesus in the Propontis.

§ 16. τὸντος, gen. abs. without the noun Διός being expressed:
cp. Ar. Nub. 370 υοντα; Hom. Il. xii. 25 ἐε δ' ἄρα Ζεύς; Goodwin, M.T. 848.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔγγυς, κ.τ.λ. See Appendix i. on the battle of Cyzicus, where the divergent accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch are given.

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

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

ἄπασας. The Peloponnesians did not succeed in collecting a fleet again till Lysander was appointed admiral in 407 B.C.; cp. Plato, Menex. 243 μηδὲ μὲν ἡμέρα πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἔλοντες ναῦς.

Συρακοσίων. Thucydides (viii. 26) relates that the Syracusans had sent a squadron of twenty-two ships under Hermocrates to aid the Lacedaemonians.

§ 19. ἐδέχοντο, cp. § 11 note: the city was unwalled: Thuc. viii. 107.

§ 20. Πέριμθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. Both on the European coast of the Propontis.

§ 22. Χροσόπολιν, on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporus, opposite Byzantium.

dεκατευτήριον. The establishment of this custom-house was of the greatest importance to Athens now that her treasury was exhausted, and she had lost so many of her subject allies, more especially Euboea: cp. Thuc. viii. 95; cp. also the similar action of Thrasybulus in 390-389, iv. 8. 27, 31.

καὶ φυλακήν: καὶ = also, i.e. besides the officials whose duty it was to collect the tithes, they also left as a garrison, &c.
ἐπιμελείσθαι, the infinitive expresses purpose: Goodwin, M.T. 770.


ἐπιστολέως: this officer held the second command in the Lacedaemonian fleet: cp. vi. 2. 25 and Appendix, p. 346.

καλα. This is Bergk's conjecture for the MS. καλά. The
word is equivalent to ξύλα and is used by Aristophanes, Lys. 1253, to denote ships. τὰ καλά = 'our honour is gone' hardly seems to suit the passage.

ἀπεσαύια. Doric form of ἀπεσώ, aor. pass. of ἀποσέω, is explained by Eustathius (ad Iliad. i. 117 p. 63) as ἀφώρμησε, ἀπήλθε, τέθυκε.

πεινόντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομεν. Doric for πεινώσων οἱ ἄνδρες. ἀπορούμεν. For the offers of peace apparently made by the Spartans at this time cp. Appendix, p. 314.

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

§ 25. τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς, i.e. the generals from the several states in the Peloponnesian confederacy: cp. iii. 4. 20 and Resp. Laced. 13. 4.

ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ, cp. Thuc. iv. 52 ναῦς τε γὰρ εὐπορίᾳ ἵνα ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόδεν (from Antandros) ξύλων ἄρχονταν καὶ τῆς Ἰδης ἐπικείμενης.


ἐνεργεία τε καὶ πολιτεία, i.e. the Antandrians voted the Syracusans the privileges and honours of being ἐνεργεῖται and πολίται: cp. vi. 1. 4 and Demos. xx. 60 ἐψηφίσασθ᾽ ἀπερ οἴμαι θείονος εὐνεργείας δε' ὑμᾶς προσήκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργείαν, ἀτέλεαν ἀπάντων.

Καλχηδόνα, on the Asiatic coast opposite Byzantium.  

§ 27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ. This and the similar formulae in §§ 31, 32, 33 seem to mean that all the events here mentioned occurred in the year 410-409, the next year 409-408 beginning at i. 2. 1.

'Ερμοκράτεα. The leader of the oligarchical party at Syracuse: after the defeat of the Athenians he had in 412 urged the Sicilians to assist in completing their overthrow, and accordingly had brought a fleet of twenty Syracusans and two Selinuntine ships to aid the Peloponnesians on the Asiatic coast: cp. Thuc. viii. 26, 29, 45, 85.

§ 28. μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχονταν. With this the MSS. reading the phrase λόγον διδόναι has to bear the unusual sense 'to give an opportunity of speaking,' and the words μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχονταν must then be an appeal made by the generals to their soldiers to give them a fair hearing, when they returned to Syracuse,—an appeal quite uncalled for after the loyalty which these soldiers had just shown them. If however the words be transposed, with Dindorf, to a position
before ἑλέσθαι, the passage at least becomes intelligible. ‘When the soldiers,’ it will then mean, ‘refused to elect new generals, notwithstanding the news that the present generals had been exiled, and entreated the latter to continue in command, Hermocrates told them that for him and his colleagues to assent to their demand would be an act of rebellion against the home government; but that if any one had any charge to make against himself or his colleagues, both he and they were in duty bound to give an account of their commands. As however no one brought any accusation against them, they consented to continue in command till their successors arrived.’ Even with Dindorf’s transposition the sense is lame and unsatisfactory. This and the sudden transition to oratio recta together with the irregular use of connecting particles (παρήμεναν τε ... ἑλέσθαι δὲ ... οἱ δ’ ... οἱ δ’) point perhaps to a lacuna or lacunae of unknown dimensions: cp. Critical Note.

νενικήκατε. Parallels may be found for this abrupt change to the oratio recta: cp. i. 4. 14, vi. 5. 35, &c.

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

§ 29. δεομένων. Genitive absolute, sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν: cp. § 26 note.

ἐὼς ἀφίκοντο, indic. as referring to a definite past action; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 913.

Γνώσοις. Ionic genitive: cp. iii. 1. 10 Ζήνοις.

κατάξειν, ‘would bring them back from exile.’

§ 30. προσομιλοῦντες. The pres. part. expresses frequency or use. ἔν for οὗς, genitive by a kind of attraction from τριηράρχων ...

ἐπιβατῶν.

ἀνεκουμνοῦτο: Suidas (s. v.) quotes this passage with the Doric form ἀνεξιννοῦτο.

§ 31. κατηγορήσας. Thucydides (viii. 85) narrates how in 411 B.C. Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Sparta of playing a double game between the Peloponnesians and Athenians. He is mentioned (i. 3. 13) as accompanying some Spartan envoys, who, at the same time as some Athenian envoys, were to meet Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, 408 B.C. Since Diodorus (xiii. 63) puts his expedition against Syracuse in 409-8 B.C., it must have been shortly after this meeting that he obtained from Pharnabazus the
assistance described in this passage. Tissaphernes was the personal enemy of Pharnabazus.

Ἀστυόχου, the Spartan admiral, who preceded Mindarus: cp. Thuc. i. c.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἤκον, cp. § 29 ἐμεῖναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο ... ἀπεπέμψαντο. The chronological sequence of events here seems to be hopelessly confused. How could the old generals have at the same time waited for the new ones to arrive and been sent on their way (§ 29 ἀπε-πέμψαντο) with promises of future help? Why in § 31 does Xenophon tell the story already narrated by Thucydides (viii. 85) of what had already happened to Hermocrates early in 411, and couple with that his visit to Pharnabazus, which must certainly have been subsequent to his exile, mentioned in § 27 as apparently occurring in 410 B.C.? and why does he insert at this point his preparations for his attack upon Syracuse, which was not made till 409–8 B.C. according to Diodorus (xiii. 63)? How too could Hermocrates have been in Sicily in 409 (or at latest in 408, if Diodorus’ date be, as so often, a year wrong), and again with Pharnabazus at Cyzicus in 408? (Cp. i. 3. 13; Freeman, Sicily, iii. p. 727.) Again, to what interval of time does ἐν τούτῳ refer? for the new ships must have taken some considerable time to build. In any case it can have nothing to do with Hermocrates’ visit to Pharnabazus and attack on Syracuse, which must be regarded as a parenthetical digression, anticipating the events of the next two years. Perhaps then ἐν τούτῳ may be interpreted to mean the time following the agreement made between the old generals and the army, inclusive of the time required for building the ships. ἤκον must therefore be translated as a pluperfect, ‘had arrived.’

εἰς Μιλητον. This agrees with the anticipatory remark of Thucydides (l. c.), who gives the same names.

§ 32. Ἐν Ὑάσῃ. Thasos had revolted from Athens in 411 B.C., two months after Diotrephes, an Athenian oligarch, had put down the democracy, then existing, in favour of an oligarchy (cp. Thuc. viii. 64), and had since submitted to the government of a Spartan harmost. Now it appears that the popular party under Ecphantus had expelled Eteonicus the harmost and his supporters, and admitted Thrasybulus with an Athenian force just after the battle of Cyzicus: cp. this section with § 12 note, and with Demosthenes (xx. 59), who
adds that this affair further led to τῶν περὶ Θρᾴκην τῶπον entering the Athenian alliance.

ἀρμοστῆς. In 423 B.C. the Spartans appointed governors in Thrace (Thuc. iv. 131), and in 413 king Agis made Alcamenes harmost of Euboea (Thuc. viii. 5). But it was not till the admiralship of Lysander, 407 B.C., that it became a principle of the Lacedaemonian hegemony to appoint these officers backed up by oligarchies of ten in all the subject states; cp. Diod. xiv. 10 καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Δάσανδρον τοῦτο προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς καλουμένους ἀρμοστῶς ἐγκαθιστάντα· ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτωντες οἱ Ἀκεδαμιόνιοι δὲ ὀλγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. Other instances of harmosts in the Hellenica are (i. 2. 18) Labotas in Heraclea, (i. 3. 5) Hippocrates in Chaledon, (i. 3. 15) Clearchus in Byzantium, (ii. 3. 14) Callibius at Athens, (iii. 1. 9) Dercylidas in Abydos, (iv. 8. 29) Therimachus in Methymna, &c.

Πασιππίδος. It is impossible to determine whether Pasippidas was actually ναύαρχος in succession to Mindarus, or whether he merely filled his place till the newly appointed successor Cratesippidas arrived: in either case, since Lysander did not succeed him till 407 (i. 5. 1), Cratesippidas must have held office for at least two years. This long tenure may perhaps be explained by the paucity of Peloponnesian ships after the destruction of the fleet at Cyzicus, which naturally made the admiralship of very little importance, until Lysander, backed by Persian gold, built a new fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 65) dates Cratesippidas’ appointment in the year 409, and narrates that he sailed with twenty-five ships collected from the allies to the Ionic coast οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγον πρίξας: that then he was supplied with money by some Chian exiles, reinstated them in the island and occupied the acropolis.

§ 33. Αἰκέλεια. Agis had commanded this ἐπιτειχισμός ever since its fortification in 413 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 19).

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

τὸ Νίκειον, east of Athens in front of the gate of Diochares: cp. Strabo, ix. 397.

§ 34. τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ‘of those in the rear.’ ἐπὶ = ἐπισθεν; cp. ii. 4. 11; Cyrop. viii. 3. 16–18.
§ 35. πλοία ... σίτου, cp. Cyrop. ii. 4. 18 ἀμάξας σίτου. These corn-ships would come from the Hellespont: cp. Demos. xx. 31 ἵστε γὰρ δήπου τοιδ' ὅτι πλείστῳ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἴμεις ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ χρωμέθα. πρὸς τοῖν ἀπαντά τοῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνοῦ-μενον, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σίτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν.

σχύσω καὶ θεν, 'should also occupy the places from which, &c.' καὶ Κλέαρχον. καὶ is to be retained: the passage means that, just as Agis prevented provisions coming into Athens by land, so also Clearchus was to do the same by sea. Clearchus had been designated to command a squadron in the Hellespont in 412 B.C., and on his arrival there in 411 B.C. Byzantium had revolted to him (Thuc. viii. 8, 39, 80). Diodorus (xiii. 51) says that he fought in the battle of Cyzicus. Nothing is known of his subsequent movements.

§ 36. Μεγάρων, the Megarians had just recovered Nisaea from the Athenians: cp. Diod. xiii. 65.

αὐτοῦ, i.e. τοῦ Κλεάρχου.

εἰς Σηστῶν. Sestus was at this time occupied by the Athenians (cp. supr. § 11), so that it has been proposed to read εἰς Ἀβυδῶν.

§ 37. 'Ἀννίβα. This Hannibal was the son of Gisco, and according to the narrative of Diodorus (xiii. 54–62) he captured Selinus and Himera in 409 B.C. For this reference to Sicilian affairs and the similar ones in i. 5. 21, ii. 2. 24, as well as the references to Persian history, i. 2. 19, ii. 1. 8–9, cp. Introd. p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1–5. Thrasyllus sailed with his fleet to Samos: he made numerous descents upon the Ionian coast, till he was stopped by Stages the Persian. §§ 6–10. Thrasyllus attacked Ephesus, but was defeated with great loss by the citizens, Syracusans, and the troops of Tissaphernes. §§ 11–13. The Athenians retreated to Notium, and sailed thence to Lesbos, where they fell in with the Syracusans, and chased them back to Ephesus with the loss of four ships. Thrasyllus joined the Athenian squadron at Sestos, and the combined force then crossed to Lampsacus. §§ 14–17. The unconquered troops of Alcibiades refused to associate with the defeated troops of Thrasyllus, until in combination they won a brilliant victory over Pharnabazus at Abydos.
109–408 B.C.

§ 1. 'Ολυμπιάς, κ.τ.λ. For the chronology see Introd. p. xli. Olympiad xciii. was really 408.


Εὐθώτας: cp. Pausanias vi. 8. 3.

Θορμών. On the S.E. coast of Attica.

Θράσυλλος (supr. i. 1. 8) was sent to obtain reinforcements for the Hellespont, but now, for some unexplained reason, he takes his new fleet to Ionia. Probably the Athenians were already completely masters of the Hellespont, and so could afford to use their forces elsewhere.

τὰ ψηφιασθέντα: cp. i. i. 34.

ὡς ᾠδα καὶ, κ.τ.λ.: the MSS. reading is unintelligible: probably the phrase is a gloss on τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστάς.

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

§ 4. εἰς Νότιον. The harbour of Colophon, N.W. of Ephesus: cp. Thuc. iii. 34.

Προσεχώρησαν, i.e. joined the Athenians voluntarily.

Ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σιτοῦ, 'when the corn was ripening,' i.e. about June.

§ 5. Στάγης. Thucydidès (viii. 16) calls him ὑπαρχος Τισσασαφέρνους.

§ 6. τῇ 'Ἀρτέμιδ. The famous temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

§ 7. Κορησσόν, a hill four and a-half miles S.W. of Ephesus: cp. Diod. xiv. 99.

Πρὸς τὸ Ἑλος, on the north side of Ephesus: cp. Strab. xiv. 642.

§ 8. ἑσφίσων, i.e. σφίσων αὑτοῖς = ipsi sibi: cp. Critical Note.

ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων ἐκοσὶ νεῶν, i.e. the ships destroyed at Cyzicus: cp. i. i. 18, 25.

Εὐκλέον—'Ἡρακλείδου, perhaps the same as the Syracusan generals of 414 mentioned by Thuc. vi. 103.

Σελινουσίαι δύο: cp. Critical Note. οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Σελινουσίων δυοῖν would be the natural construction: the anakoluthon is perhaps explicable by the preceding αἱ ἔτυχον. For their presence on the Asiatic coast cp. Thuc. viii. 26: ἐκοσὶ νῆς Συρακοσίων ἥλθον καὶ Σελινουσίαι δύο.

§ 9. ὡςεῖ ἐκυτόν, 'about a hundred': cp. ii. 4. 25.
§ 10. καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἱδίᾳ, i.e. the Ephesian state as a whole and Ephesian citizens as individuals.


τὸ βουλομένῳ ἄει, 'to any one who at any time should desire it.'

ἀπωλώλει: cp. i. 1. 37 note. Diodorus puts its destruction in 409; this is perhaps a slight confirmation of the chronology: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii.

§ 11. εἴθο: for this prepositional use cp. i. 4. 11, and Thuc. viii. 88 εἴθε δὴς Φασῆλιδος.

τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς, i.e. the ships newly built at Antandros, together with the five new arrivals, § 8.

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

§ 13. κατέλευσεν; if this Alcibiades be Alcibiades the Phegusian, who, according to Andocides (i. 65), was a relative of the famous Alcibiades, and had fled from Athens, when it was discovered that he had persuaded the informer Diocles to give false evidence against the Hermocopids, the base part that he then played may account for his summary execution by Thrasyllus, notwithstanding his relationship to Thrasyllus' friend Alcibiades: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.


§ 15. διότες ... ἕκοιν, instead of εἴεν ... ἕκοιν; the optative of oratio obliqua. Plutarch (Alc. 29) gives an elaborated version of the same story.

§ 16. ἵπποις πολλοῖς, i.e. ἱππεύσι πολλοῖσ: cp. i. 3. 5.

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

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

τοὺς ἔτοικους, to be construed with ἐν Ἰερακλείᾳ. It appears from Thuc. iii. 92, viii. 3 that when the Spartans in 426 B.C. settled 6000 colonists at Heraclea, they refused to allow any Achaeans to join in the settlement; and that in 413 B.C. king Agis had extorted money and demanded hostages of the Achaeans of Phthiotis. The Achaecans now had their revenge.


CHAPTER III

§§ 1—7. The Athenian fleet sailed from Lampscus to Proconnesus and the Bosporus. Alcibiades invested Chalcedon, and successfully resisted a joint attack made on his lines by Hippocrates from within and Pharnabazus from without. Hippocrates was slain. §§ 8, 9. While Alcibiades was absent collecting money on the Hellespont, the Athenians came to terms with Pharnabazus, who agreed to send Athenian envoys to the Persian king, and to allow Chalcedon again to become tributary to Athens. The Athenians agreed to suspend all hostilities till their return. §§ 10—13. After some delay Alcibiades swore to the treaty at Chrysolopolis and Pharnabazus at Chalcedon. Pharnabazus went to Cyzicus, where he was met by the Athenian envoys, and also by some Spartan envoys. §§ 14—22. The Athenians besieged Byzantium. While Clearchus the Spartan harmost was away collecting forces to raise the siege, some Byzantines betrayed the city to Alcibiades. The garrison, unable to resist, surrendered. Story of Anaxilaus at Sparta.

408 407 B.C.

§ 1. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxxix.

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

§ 2. Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον, now in possession of the Lacedaemonians (cp. i. 1. 35).

λείαι, i.e. all that the enemy might seize as booty: cp. Thuc. viii. 3.

Βιθυνοὺς Ὀράκας: the Bithynians had migrated into Asia from Thrace.

§ 3. ἀπέδοσαν: cp. Plut. Alc. 29 οἱ δὲ (Βιθυνοὶ) τῇ τοῦ λείαι ἀπέδοσαν καὶ φιλίαι ὁμολόγησαν.
§ 4. πίστεις πεποιημένος, i.e. πρὸς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς.
§ 5. Ἡποκράτης: cp. i. 1. 23.
§ 6. Ἀλκιβιάδης. According to Plutarch's account (Alc. 30), Alcibiades had been previously engaged in repelling Pharnabazus' attack on the outside of the Athenian siege works.
§ 7. στενοπορίαν. The narrow passage in between the river and the Athenian lines.
§ 9. τὸν φόρον... ὀδυνπερ ἐκδέχοντα. There is no evidence to show whether this φόρος was the εἰκοστή or five per cent. duty on all imports and exports, for which the Athenians in 413 B.C. commuted the tribute originally assessed by Aristides (Thuc. vii. 28); or whether in the interval they had returned to the old system; or whether this was a special arrangement made with the Chalcedonians. Cp. iv. 8. 27–30 notes, and CIA. ii. 14 b p. 423.
§ 12. κοινὴ... ἰδία, i.e. Alcibiades and Pharnabazus entered both into an official agreement as representatives of their respective states and into relations of private friendship. Pharnabazus afterwards procured the assassination of Alcibiades: cp. ii. 3. 42 note.
§ 13. Πασιππίδας was exiled (i. 1. 32) on suspicion of treachery at Thasos. In the interval therefore he must have been recalled. These Spartan envoys, who were evidently sent to counteract the influence of the Athenian envoys, are not to be confused with those who (i. 4. 2) met Pharnabazus at Gordium with the news of Cyrus' appointment to be satrap of Sardis. There is no need to bracket πρέσβεις.
ηδὴ φεύγων (cp. i. 1. 27–32). Xenophon apparently inserts these words to denote that Hermocrates was not with the envoys as commissioned by the Syracusan government, but hoping to gain, as he actually did, some aid for the expedition which he was preparing against his country. The doings of Hermocrates, however, seem involved in hopeless obscurity: for Diodorus (xiii. 63) represents him as returning to Sicily in 409–8 with a large sum of money given by Pharnabazus, wherewith he raised troops to effect his return to Syracuse. Moreover he puts his death in the following
year about September (xiii. 75), though by that time according to Xenophon (i. 4. 1) the embassy had got no further than Gordium. Polybius (xii. 25) even states that he fought on the Lacedaemonian side at Aegospotami (405). Dindorf in despair brackets the whole passage: cp. Introd. p. xxxviii, and supr. i. 1. 31 note.

§ 15. Κλέαρχος: cp. i. 1. 36. νεοδαμώδων. The name given to newly manumitted Helots: what their privileges were, cannot be ascertained (cp. Thuc. iv. 26, 80, vii. 58): cp. Appendix, p. 335.

§ 17. ἄλλαυ. There seems no need to change the manuscript reading to ἄλλαι ἄλλης. The construction ἄλλαι—καί—καί—καί ὅπως ἄλλαι is somewhat irregular, but the meaning is plain.

'Ἀγγειανδίδαις: cp. i. 1. 1. ἐπιζάτης here, as in Thuc. viii. 61, and perhaps in i. 1. 28, seems to denote, not a marine, but a subordinate officer in the Spartan navy.

§ 18. οἱ προδιδόντες. An anacoluthon: the nominative has no verb. The interrupted sentence is taken up again at § 20 with ἔπει ἔδε.

§ 19. θανάτου: cp. ii. 3. 12. οὔτερον. Byzantium surrendered a second time to the Lacedaemonians in the autumn of 405 B.C. (cp. ii. 2. 1), when Anaxilaus probably was made prisoner.

εἰσέσθαι, from εἰσίμην.

§ 20. ἀνοίξαντες. Diodorus (xiii. 66) and Plutarch (Alc. 31) give a much fuller and somewhat different account of the capture of Byzantium, detailing an elaborate stratagem of Alcibiades, and speaking of a hard-fought battle within the town.

τὸ Θράκιον. This square is described in Anab. vii. 1. 24 τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὥσπερ κάλλιστον ἐκτάζοντα ἐστὶ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκίων καὶ πεδινών.

§ 22. ἀποβαίνοντων, gen. abs.: cp. i. 1. 26, 29.

εἰς Δεκέλειαν: cp. i. 2. 14.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1–3. Pharnabazus and the envoys were met at Gordium by some Spartan envoys with the news that Cyrus had been appointed satrap at Sardis with orders to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war. §§ 4–7. Cyrus on his arrival persuaded Pharnabazus to detain the Athenian envoys on
various pretenses, so that they did not return till three years afterwards. §§ 8–10. Alcibiades designed to return to Athens. Thrasybulus reduced Thasos and the rebels in Thrace. Thrasyllus led the main fleet back to Athens. Meantime the Athenians elected Alcibiades general. §§ 11, 12. Alcibiades sailed from Samos and on hearing the news with some hesitation entered Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria. §§ 13-17. Various feelings of the Athenians towards him: some said that he was the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had contrived his exile to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others, that he was the cause of all the Athenian misfortunes. §§ 18–23. Alcibiades landed and was escorted to the city by his friends. His defence before the Senate and Assembly was favourably received. He was chosen commander-in-chief, and conducted the sacred procession to Eleusis safely by land. Then having equipped 100 triremes and large reinforcements, he sailed with them to Andros. He gained a slight success over the Andrians, and then sailed to Samos.

§ 1. oĩ πρέσβεις: cp. i. 3. 13.
Γορδεῖο, on the river Sangarius in Phrygia Major.

407–403 B.C.

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

[ὄνομα] : probably a gloss to explain that Βοιώτιος is a proper name.

ὁν . . . πάντων by attraction for πάντα ὁν.

§ 3. καὶ Κῆρος : also a nominative to ἀπήντησαν : cp. i. 2. 8.
πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ βαλάττυ. In the Anabasis (i. 9. 7) Xenophon describes Cyrus more exactly as σταράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων . . . οῖς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζοντα.

σφράγισμα : cp. v. i. 30 ; vii. i. 39 ; and Schol. on Thuc. i. 129 : ἡ σφραγίς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως εἰἐχε κατὰ μὲν τινα τῆν βασιλέως εἰκόνα, κατὰ δὲ τινα τῆν Κῆρον τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τινα τῶν Δαρείου ἦππον, δὲ ὄν χρεμετίσαντα ἐβασιλεύει.
κάρανον. Doric for κάρπον, 'chief.' Segaar (Epist. ad Valckenar. p. 41) however considers it to be a Persian word, to account apparently for Xenophon's explanation of the term: he quotes a MS.

Καστωλόν: Kiepert identifies this town with Strabo's (xiii. p. 902) Cyropedion, situated in E. Lydia, on a plateau on the southern border of the Catacecaumene. It was the ground for the yearly muster of ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται, Anab. i. 1. 2; 9. 7.

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

§ 6. μέμψησθε. This is the reading of Π: for the sudden change to oratio recta cp. i. 1. 28 note. The other MSS. read μέμψηται sc. ὁ Κύρος. Some commentators have conjectured μέμψουντο sc. οἱ προσβείς. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. ἐναυαλοῖς ἕναν τρεῖς, i.e. since the envoys started in the summer of 408 (i. 3. 13) they must have returned to the Athenian forces on the Hellespont in 405 B.C. just before the battle of Aegospotami.

οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. Some word like ἀναγώγοι must be supplied from ἀνάξεως immediately preceding.

'Αρισταρεῖν. The same probably as the successor of Pharnabazus, v. 1. 28.

Κίον: the site has not been identified.

§ 8. βουλάμενος, κ.τ.λ. Cyrus' measures to prevent the news of his own arrival, and of the intention of the Persian king to aid the Lacedaemonians from reaching the Athenians, must have proved successful. Otherwise it is hard to believe that Alcibiades would have chosen this moment to return to Athens; whereas, supposing him to have been in ignorance, no moment could have seemed more propitious. He had restored the Athenian dominion over the Bosporus, Propontis, and Hellespont (with the exception of Abydos: cp Diod. xiii. 68), had concluded a favourable treaty with Pharnabazus, and had sent an embassy to the Persian king in the hope of bringing him over to the side of Athens.

§ 9. Θρασύβουλος here reappears in Xenophon's narrative, nothing having been said of him since the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C.: cp. i. 1. 32 note. From this passage it would seem that the Lacedaemonian party had once more gained the upper hand in the island.

§ 10. στρατηγοῖς εἴλαντο. It is not to be supposed that only three generals were elected instead of the usual ten. Xenophon probably names the three who were to command the fleet.
Thucydides (viii. 97) says that the people ἐγγίσαντο καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην ... κατίναι in the year 411 B.C., but Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission, so that perhaps now the decree may have been renewed. The curse pronounced over him by the priestly family of the Eumolpidae was certainly not recalled till his return in 407 B.C.: cp. Plut. Alc. 33.

τῶν οίκοθεν: cp. οἱ ἐνδοθεν, iii. i. 18.

§ 11. Γυθείου. The Spartan arsenal on the southern Laconian coast: cp. vi. 5. 32.

tοῦ ... κατώπλου. The genitive may be made to depend on κατασκοπήν, or be regarded as a sort of partitive genitive dependent on ὅπως. The meaning is the same in either case: cp. ii. 1. 14 ὡς εἰχε φιλίας.

§ 12. Πλυντήρια. The washing of the goddess took place on the 25th of Thargelion, i.e. about the end of May: cp. Mommsen, Heortologie.

ἀνεπιτήδειον. So Plutarch, Alc. 34 δρωσί δὲ τὰ ὄργα Πραξιεργίδας ἀπόρρητα, τῶν τε κόσμου καθελόντες, καὶ τὸ ἔδω κατακαλύφαντες. οὗτοι πάντα μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀπακτὸν Ἀθηναίοι νομίζουσιν οὐ φιλοσφόνως οὐν οὔ τε εἴμενος εἴδοκεν προσδεχόμενη τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἡ θεὸς παρακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνειν ἑαυτῆς.

§ 13. ὁχλος ... θαυμάζοντες, a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν.

ἥθροισθη: cp. Plut. Alc. 34; Diod. xiii. 68, 69.

οἱ μὲν corresponds to οἱ δὲ § 17.

μόνος, if retained in the text, must mean 'alone' of those who had been banished at the same time.

[ἀπελογήθη ὡς.] Brückner and Dindorf inclose the words in brackets as a gloss: ἀπελογήθη, to be translated at all, must be taken passively: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

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

§ 14. ἐθέλοντος δὲ ... ἐστέρησαν. This hopelessly corrupt and involved sentence now passes into oratio recta.

ὑπερβαλλόμενοι: literally 'putting off that which seemed to be just to another time'; i.e. the demand for an immediate trial, which seemed to be just. For the facts cp. Thuc. vi. 29.

§ 15. δουλεύων is appropriate as expressing the relation between
Alcibiades as a subject, and the Persian king as a master: cp. iii. i., vi. 1. 26; vi. 1. 12.

τοὺς ἐξθήστος, i.e. the Spartans and Persians: cp. Thuc. viii. 45.

§ 16. τῶν... eius. A contracted expression for τῶν οὗτων τοιούτων οὖσαν, aitōs ἤν eius, 'they denied that it was the part of men who were such as he was, to need, &c.' aitō would be more usual than aitōs in such a contraction: cp. ii. 3. 25 γυνώτερος μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἠμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν eius; the nominative, however, is found in the MSS. in Arist. Achar. 601 νεανίας δ' οἷος σὺ διαδέδρακτας, and Demos. xxiv. 185 οὖδ' οὖσαν συγκράμμενοι συμβούλουσ, where some commentators have altered the text.

καυνὸν πραγμάτων for νεωτέρων πραγμάτων (cp. v. 2. 9) otherwise occurs only in later authors: cp. Polyb. iv. 2; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 30.

Τοιούτως... πρότερον.† The words, as they stand in the text, are a correction, almost universally adopted, of the unintelligible MSS. τοιούτῳ οὖς. But even so corrected it is very hard to extract any meaning out of them. τοῖς... εἴθροις is the dat. depending on ὑπάρχειν, and οὖσαν is the dat. instead of the nom. by attraction after τοιούτως: the sequence of cases δυνασθείσω... λειψθέντας is very irregular, and the clauses οὗτος δὲ... ἁγαπάσθαι... εἴχον χρῆσθαι, which are manifestly a mere recitation of the acts of the Four Hundred in 411, have neither logical nor grammatical connexion with what precedes. Probably, therefore, there is a considerable lacuna after πρότερον. Cp. Critical Note.

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

§ 19. Εὐρυπτόλεμον, to be distinguished from Euryptolemus (i. 3. 13), one of the Athenian envoys to the Persian king. In 406 the former advocated the cause of the generals after Arginusae, i. 7. 12. παρεσκευασμένον to be construed with μη ἐπιτρέπειν.

§ 20. αὐτοκράτωρ. For a parallel cp. Thuc. vi. 8, when Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus were appointed στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες. Cp. also Diodorus' account (xiii. 69) αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες αὐτοκράτορα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ δᾶλασαν ἀπάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτῷ.
σῶσαι, i.e. to secure what remained and to recover what was lost of the Athenian power. ἀνασῶσαι would rather be expected.

πρῶτερον μὲν. For the first time since the ἐπιτείχισμος was established at Decelea in 413, Alcibiades now conducted the procession to Eleusis, as of old, along the Sacred Way. He evidently meant it to be not only a military demonstration, but an act of atonement to the priestly party, whose hatred he had so deeply incurred (cp. Thuc. viii. 53). Plutarch (Alc. 34) indeed says that he roused such enthusiasm among the common people, that they hoped that he would make himself tyrant (cp. Thuc. vi. 15).

ἐποίησεν, sc. ἄγεσθαι.

§ 21. τρίτῳ μηνὶ. The Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated on the 20th of Boedromion, i.e. about the end of September: the Plynteria on the 25th of Thargelion, i.e. about the end of May. Alcibiades therefore must have stayed at Athens within a week of four months. Accordingly Cobet reads τετίρτῳ. Cp. Critical Note.

'Αδείμαντος, called ὁ Δευκόλοφιδων to distinguish him from Adimantus, the son of Ariston, Plato's brother: cp. i. 7. 1.

ηρημίνων κατὰ γῆν, i.e. Alcibiades selected them out of the college of generals to command the troops on board his fleet. Diodorus (xiii. 72) erroneously mentions Adimantus and Thrasybulus; for the latter was still absent from Athens (cp. Hell. i. 4. 9; 5. 11). It appears from i. 4. 22; 5. 18 that Conon must have accompanied Alcibiades as second commander of the fleet, as he was left by him to carry on the siege of Andros. This Aristocrates may be the same as the one mentioned by Thuc. viii. 89.

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

§ 23. ἐπολέμει. Diodorus (xiii. 69) and Plutarch (Alc. 35) state that Alcibiades made plundering expeditions to Caria, Cos, and Rhodes, apparently in the winter 407–406 B.C.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1, 2. Lysander was appointed Spartan admiral and collected a fleet of 70 ships at Ephesus, where he waited till Cyrus' arrival at Sardis.

§§ 3-7. Lysander obtained from Cyrus promises of vigorous support and increased pay for the Peloponnesians. §§ 8-10. The Athenians in despair sent
envoys to Cyrus, but he refused to see them. Lysander had now 90 ships at Ephesus. §§ 11–14. Alcibiades crossed to Phocaea to visit Thrasybulus, leaving his fleet at Samos, in charge of Antiochus, with strict orders not to fight. But Antiochus disobeyed, and drew on a general engagement at Notium, in which he was defeated by Lysander with a loss of 15 ships. § 15. On his return to Samos Alcibiades tried in vain to renew the battle and avenge the defeat. §§ 16, 17. On hearing of this affair the Athenians at home chose ten other generals in place of Alcibiades, who, finding himself unpopular also with his fleet, sailed away to the Chersonese. §§ 18–20. Conon succeeded Alcibiades at Samos; he manned only 70 ships out of 100, and with them ravaged the neighbouring coast. § 21. Contemporary events in Sicily.

§ 1. πρότερον τούτων, i.e. a little before Alcibiades sailed for Andros and Samos, in the autumn of 407 B.C. Xenophon now proceeds to bring his account of the doings in the enemy’s camp up to the same date.


ἐβδομήκοντα. This was the first fleet the Spartans had collected since the battle of Cyzicus, 410 B.C. (cp. i. 1. 18).

eἰς Σάρδεις: from Gordium in Phrygia Minor (cp. i. 4. 3), where he had been in the spring of 407.

§ 2. τοῖς . . . πρέσβεσιν. Xenophon leaves it quite uncertain who these envoys were—whether the same as those mentioned in i. 4. 2, or a different body.

ἄ πεποιηκὼς εἰ: for Tissaphernes’ policy cp. i. 1. 9 note.

§ 3. τὸν βρόχον κατακόψειν: cp. Tissaphernes’ promises to the Athenians, Thuc. viii. 81 μὴ ἀπερήσκειν αὐτοὺς τροφής, οὐδ’ ἂν δέχη
teleutώντα τὴν ἐαυτὸς στρωμᾶς εὔφρενίσει.

§ 4. δραχμὴν Ἀττικῆν. The Attic drachma was worth six, the Aeginetan ten obols. The Athenians were accustomed to pay their men only half a drachma: Thuc. viii. 45.

§ 5. τὰς ανωθῆκας: for these treaties cp. Thuc. viii. 29, 45, 58, in which, however, no fixed rate of pay was stipulated. One mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols, or three obols a day for every sailor in a crew of 200.


§ 8. ἀνύμως . . . εἶχον: according to Plut. Lys. 4 many of their sailors deserted.
§ 9. ἵνα Ἀλκιβιάδου: cp. Thuc. viii. 46.  
μηδὲ οὕτως = μηδὲν οὕτως εἰσι: 'none of the Greeks whatever.'  
Cp. Plat. Leg. 919 D μηδ' ἐμπόρος μηδ' διακοινάω μηδ' ἡμῖνα κεκτημένοι.  
Θρασύβουλον. Xenophon does not relate how Thrasybulus sailed from Thrace and Thasos (cp. i. 4. 9), nor why he was now fortifying Phocaea. This town was occupied by the Spartan admiral Astyochus 412 B.C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 31), and after Arginusae, 406 B.C., the Peloponnesians fled to it for refuge. But, like Cyzicus, it may have been unwalled, and so liable to occupation by either side, so that there is no need to change τεῖχιςων into ἀποτεῖχιζεων or περίτεῖχιζεων. Diodorus (xiii. 73) has a different story altogether, that Alcibiades sailed not to Phocaea, but to Clazomenae. Plutarch (Alc. 35) again makes him sail to Caria ἄργυρολογήσων.  
Ἀντίοχος. Plutarch (Alc. 35) says of him ἄγαθος μὲν ἣν κυβερ- 
νήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τάλλα καὶ φορτικός. In ch. 10 he relates a story of the manner in which, as a boy, he gained the friendship of Alcibiades.  
§ 13. ὡς ἐκαστος ἠνοίζει: better ἢνυσεν, 'as fast as each could': cp. i. 1. 2 note.  
§ 15. Δελφίνων καὶ Ἡιώνα: Delphinium was in Chios (cp. Thuc. 
viii. 38) and Eion on the Strymon in Thrace. Diodorus (xiii. 76) 
ascribes the capture of Delphinium and Teos to Callicratidas, so 
that Schneider here conjectures Τέων for Ἡιώνα.  
§ 16. Ἡγγέλθη. Plutarch (Alc. 36) makes a certain Thrasybulus, 
son of Thraso [to be distinguished from the famous Thrasybulus], 
return to Athens immediately after the battle, and there formally 
impeach Alcibiades for general misconduct. Diodorus (xiii. 73, 74) 
here again gives quite a different account: the general discontent 
at Athens was, according to him, increased by the accusations of 
some Cynocean envoys, who complained that, after the battle of 
Notium, Alcibiades had made a descent upon Cyme and ravaged 
its land, notwithstanding that it was an allied state. But something 
must be wrong in Diodorus' account, because Thucydides (viii. 31, 
100) distinctly states that Cyme was on the Peloponnnesian side. 
Nepos (Alc. 7) has yet another version, that Alcibiades was accused 
at Athens, not for the defeat at Notium, which he does not mention, 
but for his failure in an attempt upon Cyme.
Since the battle of Notium must have taken place in the early months of 406, and elections were held at Athens about April, it would seem that Xenophon must mean, not an extraordinary election of generals to replace Alcibiades, but the ordinary elections for the year 406-405, at which Alcibiades failed to secure re-election: indeed Conon and Aristocrates, now re-elected, had been his colleagues (i. 4. 10, 21) in 407-406. Otherwise we should expect to hear not of ten, but only of two or three new generals appointed to supersede him in command of the fleet. Cp. Introd. p. xlii, and Lysias xxi. 7.

Δέοντα: cp. i. 6. 16 note.


§ 17. τὰ έαυτοῦ τείχη. Cor. Nep. Alc. 7 and Diod. xiii. 74 call this fort Pactye. But Plut. Alc. 36 puts the castle at the Thracian town of Bisanthe much further E. on the Propontis. It appears from Anab. vii 3. 19 that other Athenians also possessed τείχη in this district.

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

Φανοσθένης: since the name of Phanosthenes does not occur in the list of the new generals, it would seem that he was one of the generals of the preceding year, and that he was sent to replace Conon at Andros in the interval which elapsed between the election of the new generals in April, and their entering on office in July. According to Plato (Ion 541 d) he was himself an Andrian.


Δωρία: cp. i. 1. 2, Thuc. viii. 35, 84. Pausanias (vi. 7. 4) relates with considerable detail how the Athenian Assembly, though greatly incensed against him, set him free out of pity at seeing so famous an athlete, who had won victories at Olympia and the other contests, in the guise of a suppliant before them: cp. Thuc. iii. 8.

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

παρ’ αὐτοῖς, i.e. at Thurii.

§ 20. ἐβδομήκοντα. Plutarch (Lys. 4) speaks of the impoverishment of Athens at this juncture: cp. Diod. xiii. 77 Κόνων. \( \varepsilonί\chi\)
CHAPTER VI

§§ 1, 2. Callicratidas succeeded Lysander at Ephesus. His answer to Lysander’s empty boast. §§ 3–5. He increased his fleet to 140 vessels, and prepared for battle; but finding himself traduced by Lysander’s friends, he assembled the Lacedaemonians and told them that he had come only in obedience to the Spartan government, and was ready to return if they so wished. §§ 6–11. The malcontents thus quieted, he tried to get supplies from Cyrus, but failing, appealed to the Milesians for help, till money should come from Sparta. §§ 12–15. With the supplies so obtained, he sailed to Chios and Lesbos, where he took Methymna by storm, and captured many prisoners; all the Greeks he set free except the Athenians. §§ 16–18. He chased Conon, returning towards Samos, into the harbour of Mytilene, where he captured 30 of the Athenian ships, and blockaded the rest. Cyrus thereupon sent him money. §§ 19 24. Conon by a stratagem contrived to send a ship to Athens with the news. In 30 days the Athenians equipped a fleet of 110 vessels, manned by both slaves and free. §§ 25–28. The Athenian fleet sailed to Samos, and anchored at the Arginusae islands, mustering more than 150 strong. Callicratidas left 50 ships under Eteonicus at Mytilene, and sailed to Cape Maiaea with 120 ships to meet the Athenians. §§ 29–34. Callicratidas refused to flee before the superior numbers of the Athenians. The fight began; and when Callicratidas fell into the sea and was drowned, the Peloponnesians fled to Chios and Phocaea with a loss of 69 ships. The Athenians retired to Arginusae with a loss of 25 ships. § 35. The Athenian generals commissioned Theramenes and other officers to rescue the crews of their sunken vessels with 47 vessels, while they themselves sailed against Eteonicus at Mytilene. But both projects were prevented by a storm. §§ 36, 37. Eteonicus, by spreading false news of a victory, succeeded in despatching his fleet to Chios, and in marching himself to Methymna. § 38. Conon met the Athenian fleet with the news about Eteonicus. The fleet sailed to Mytilene, made an attempt on Chios, and finally returned to Samos.

§ 1. ἡ σελίνη, κ.τ.λ. On the chronological data see Introd. p. xxxvi. This eclipse occurred on April 15, 406 B.C.

406–405 B.C.

ὁ παλαιός, κ.τ.λ. Probably the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis, called ‘old’ in opposition to the newer Parthenon. παρεληθυτός: cp. Appendix, p. 344.
§ 3. φαμένοι: the middle form is rare in Attic prose, and occurs nowhere else in Xenophon, unless it be in Cyrop. vi. 1. 21, where some MSS. read ἔφατο.


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

dιαλλάττειν: for the law against holding the office twice cp. ii. 1. 7 and Appendix, p. 345.

ἀνεπίτηδείων. Translate: 'since often unsuitable men were appointed, who had only just studied naval matters, and did not know how to employ men.' The text (cp. Critical Note) is manifestly corrupt: the clauses ἀπείρους . . . τοὺς ἐκεῖ merely repeat πολλάκις . . . γιγνωσκόντων, and in the MSS. the verbs παραπίπτοντων and κινδυνεῖτε ὰιεῖ are not combined by any conjunction.

§ 5. πρὸς ἀ ἐγώ τε, κ.τ.λ., 'in relation to those matters for which I am myself ambitious (i. e. my appointment as admiral) and our country is accused,' i. e. for changing its officers, &c.

§ 7. ἀν σωθῇ: the subjunctive of oratio directa is retained and not changed to the optative, as it might be: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 689.

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

§ 11. ἐκείνα: the money from Lacedaemon.

θαυμίζειν: a stronger word than θεραπεύειν.

§ 12. οἱ αὐτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦθαι, 'those who were accused of opposing him.'

ἐἰσηγοῦντο, i. e. proposed a grant of public money.

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

ἐφοδιασάμενος, κ.τ.λ., 'having had his seamen paid five drachmae apiece.'

§ 13. ἐμφρούρων: this word nowhere else occurs in this sense: cp. Resp. Lac. 5. 7 and Critical Note.

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντων, 'those who were in power.'

§ 15. τοὺς δὲ τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων φρουροῖς. Grote (vii. 406) overlooks the fact that Callicratidas allowed the Athenians to be sold.
μοιχύντα. Plutarch (Mor. 1100 A) explains: αἰσχρῶς καὶ κρύφα
πειρὰν καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι τὴν βίλαταν.
ἀναγόμενον: Diod. xiii. 77, says that Conon with his seventy ships
had sailed to the support of the Methymnaeans, but finding the
town already captured he had anchored for the night at one of
the islands known as the Hecatonnesi.
§ 16. εἰς θλίγας: cp. i. 5. 20.
Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. The brevity, if not the carelessness, of
Xenophon makes the passage, if genuine, almost unintelligible, when
compared with § 29. From Lysias xxi. 8 it appears that Archæ-
stratus was also with Conon at Mytilene and died there, and that
Erasinides, who fought at Arginusae (infr. § 29), escaped in one of
the two fast-sailing vessels mentioned in § 19. Again, Leon is
mentioned only here and i. 5. 16, while at the battle of Arginusae
(i. 6. 30 and 7. 1. 2) Lysias appears in his place. Diodorus too
(xiii. 74, 99, 101) speaks of Lysias. The name Leon, however,
in this passage of Xenophon is attested by the Scholiast on Aristid.
Pan. 162. 19, so that we can only conjecture with Riemann that
Leon was on board the ship captured by the Lacedæmonians
(§ 21), and that afterwards Lysias was chosen general in his place.
εἰς τὸν λιμένα: the old town of Mytilene lay on a little island
separated by a narrow channel from the shore, which formed the
connexion between the northern and southern harbours. The
southern harbour was deep enough only for small boats, so that here
the northern harbour must be meant, the entrance to which was
ἐκατόν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα: the thirty Athenian ships captured § 17
seem to be reckoned by anticipation: for according to § 3 and
Diod. xiii. 76 the number was now 140.
§ 17. κατακωλυθεῖς, i.e. prevented from beaching his ships under
the city walls.
§ 18. τὸν ἐκπλοῦν, i.e. of the northern harbour: the channel
(εὑρισκός) between the two harbours was too shallow to admit of
Conon’s escape in that direction.
§ 19. εἰς καλὴν ναὸν, ‘into the ship’s hold,’ instead of on deck,
their usual place.
τὰ παραρώματα: cp. Suidas, δέρρεις, σκεπάσματα and ii. 1. 22.
What particular kind of coverings these were, is unknown.
Apparently the crews remained below during the day-time to escape the notice of the enemy, and to fit out the ships. They had to wait five days before they caught the Peloponnesians off their guard.

§ 20. ὡς . . . ἐκοίμη: ὡς is here used with the infinitive, like ὡστε: cp. iii. 4. 27, v. 2. 38; Goodwin, M. T. App. 4.

πέμπτη . . . ἡμέρα: for the omission of the article cp. ii. 2. 17.

§ 21. ὡς ἔκαστοι ἤνωσον. Better ἤνωσον: cp. i. 1. 2 note and Appendix, p. 359. The logical order of ideas appears to be somewhat confused in the phrases ἀγκώρας ἀποκόπτοντες . . . ἐγειρόμενοι . . . εἰσβάντες.

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


§ 22. Διομέδεως. Xenophon does not say from whence he was coming—perhaps it was from Samos: from the context it would appear that it was not from Athens.

τὸν εὗρεπον: cp. §§ 16, 18 notes. It is difficult to understand how Diomedon effected an entrance.

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

τὸν ἵππην: the Knights formed the second of Solon's five classes and were usually exempt from naval service (cp. Thuc.iii. 16).

§ 26. 'Επεδνικοῦ: cp. i. 1. 32.

[ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης]: it is impossible to reconcile these words with the geographical features of the country.

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

[ἀντίον τῆς . . . ἄκρα]: cp. Critical Note: ἐπὶ τῆ Μαλέα ἄκρα seems to be a copyist's careless repetition of § 26, and ἀντίον τῆς Λέασβου a gloss on ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης.

§ 29. παρατεταγμένοι δὲ: Diod. xiii. 98 agrees with Xenophon on the whole in his description of the arrangement of the Athenian fleet, and also explains why it was left weak in the centre and strengthened on the wings: the reason was that the Arginusae islands were taken into the line, so that the ten Samian ships and the ten ships of the taxiararchs ἐπὶ μᾶς posted in front of the islands were sufficient to secure the centre. Their line, drawn up ἐπὶ φάλαγγος (cp. vi. 2. 30), must have faced NW.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, i.e. next in line with these: cp. infr. παρὰ δὲ Διομέδουτα.

ἐπετέτακτο, 'was posted behind.'

Ἐρασινίδης. Xenophon nowhere relates how he escaped from Mytilene, in which, according to § 16, he was blockaded together with Conon and Leon: he may have been on one of the two ships that Conon despatched to Athens (i. 6. 1), especially as Lysias (xxi. 8) states that on the death of the general Archestratus at Mytilene he went on board his ship as the fastest-sailing vessel in the fleet: cp. § 16 note.


ταξιάρχων: the taxiararchs, like the strategi, to whom they were subordinate, were ten in number, and each of them commanded one of the ten tribal divisions of the hoplites.

ἐπὶ μᾶς, 'in single line.'

ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτας, i.e. 'behind,' so as to form a double line on the two wings, the line in the centre being left single (cp. supr. ἐπετέτακτο).

ναυάρχων: the position of these officers in the Athenian navy is not known: cp. i. 7. 30. The title is applied in v. 1. 5 to the commander of a squadron of thirteen Athenian vessels.

§ 30. Δυσίας is not mentioned in the list of the ten generals, whose election is related in i. 5. 16. He may have been appointed in the place of Archestratus, who had already been killed at Mytilene (cp. Lysias xxii. 8), or, still more probably, in place of Leon: i. 6. 16 note.

§ 31. διέκπλουν, i.e. the Athenian line was doubled on the two wings to avoid the manœuvre of the διέκπλους. In this manœuvre the object was first to row rapidly past the enemy's ship, breaking his oars in the passage, and then to turn rapidly round and bear
down upon his disabled side. The *περίπλον* was the same manœuvre executed round the enemy’s flank.

§ 32. *ἐτή... ἔχον.* *ἐτή* is here used as an auxiliary verb with a participle: for the periphrasis cp. iv. 8. 4.

*οἶδεν μή:* the double negative is emphatic: cp. Critical Note.

*οἶκείται:* cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359.

§ 34. *πέντε καὶ ἕκοσιν.* The number is said to be twelve in i. 7. 30, but thirteen may have sunk in the interval.

§ 35. *Θηραμένη:* according to Diod. xiii. 98, though now only an *ίδιώτης*, he had been given a command on the right wing. This is not inconsistent with Xenophon: for a trierarch (cp. Dict. of Antiq.) only commanded the ship which he had fitted out. Thrasybulus (i. 5. 11), one of the generals of the previous year, was in the same position.

*ταῖς δὲ ἄλλας, sc. πλεῖστι:* the subject which must be the generals themselves, is not repeated, because it is the same as that of the principal sentence ἐδοξε, κ.τ.λ.

*διεκώλυσεν.* From this passage it would appear that the storm stopped both projects; but i. 7. 5, 31, and ii. 3. 35, would seem to imply that the rest of the fleet at least made a start for Mytilene, though perhaps the imperfect tenses there used might be interpreted to mean no more than the wish, here expressed by *βουλομένους*.

§ 37. ἡνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια: cp. the similar action of Agesilaus on the receipt of the news of the Lacedaemonian defeat at Cnidus, iv. 3. 13.

*τοῖς ἐπιτόροις* cp. vi. 2. 23; 4. 9. There was no proper commissariat attached to a Greek armament: the custom was for merchants to follow in its train, who sold the necessary provisions and bought the spoils, which were captured.

*οὐριον.* Though the wind was favourable for sailing SW. towards Chios, Conon thought it better to wait till it was more moderate (*§ 38*), before he sailed E. to meet the Athenian fleet.

Arist. *Ἀθην. πολ.* 34. 1, quoted by the Scholiast on Arist. Ran. 1532, represents the Lacedaemonians after this defeat to have again offered terms of peace to the Athenians, which were again rejected through the influence of Cleophon. Grote (viii. 1) thinks that Aristotle has confused together the two battles of Cyzicus and Arginusae. Cp. Appendix, p. 321.

*τὴν ταχύστην, sc. ὀδὸν ἀποπλεῖν.*
CHAPTER VII

§§ 1, 2. The Athenian generals were replaced by ten others, Conon alone being re-elected. Of the six who returned to Athens, Erasinides was accused by Archidamus of corrupt practices, and sentenced by the court to imprisonment. § 3. The other generals also, after informing the Council about the battle and the storm, were arrested by its order. § 4. Before the Assembly Theramenes and others attacked the generals for not having rescued the shipwrecked crews, alleging as evidence the official despatch. §§ 5, 6. In defence the generals recounted the facts, bringing forward some of the sailors as witnesses. § 7. The defence was favourably received, but, it being dark, the Assembly adjourned without a vote being taken, after commissioning the Council to bring forward a proposal as to the procedure of the trial. § 8. Theramenes availed himself of the Apaturia to excite the Athenians against the accused. §§ 9-11. At the second meeting of the Assembly Callixenus introduced the proposal of the Council, that the people should decide, without further hearing, upon all the accused at once by a single vote. §§ 12, 13. Euryptolemus and others threatened to indict Callixenus' proposal as unconstitutional, but were compelled to withdraw their threat. §§ 14, 15. The Prytanes refused to put the question to the vote, but were all frightened into submission except Socrates. §§ 16-33. Speech of Euryptolemus. §§ 16-18. 'Pericles and Diomedon were chiefly to blame, because they had persuaded their colleagues not to mention in their despatch the orders they had given to Theramenes and others to rescue the crews. §§ 19-22. Two courses were open to the Athenians: the generals might be tried, either before the Assembly according to the decree of Cannonus, or before a court according to the law against sacrilege and treason. §§ 23-29. But in either case they ought to be tried fairly and separately. Undue haste ought to be avoided, especially in the case of generals who had deserved so well of their country. § 29. To return to the facts: Diomedon had proposed to rescue the crews, Erasinides to sail against the enemy, Thrasyllus to do both by dividing the fleet. §§ 30-32. According to Thrasyllus' proposal 47 vessels were told off to rescue the crews, and the rest were to sail against the enemy, but the storm prevented both projects. Many survivors would witness to the truth of this. § 33. On all grounds therefore the generals ought to be acquitted.' §§ 34, 35. At first the people accepted Euryptolemus' proposal to try the generals separately, according to the decree of Cannonus; but at a second vote the Council's proposal was preferred, and the eight generals were condemned and six of them executed. Not long afterwards the people repented of the injustice.
§ 1. ἔπαυσαν. According to Diod. (xiii. 100) the generals from Samos ravaged the territory of the enemy: then Thrasylus and Thrasybulus returned to Athens and spread defamatory reports about the conduct of the generals at Arginusae. On hearing this the generals drew up a letter to the Assembly in reply. For a time the people were satisfied with their defence, but shortly afterwards, persuaded by the representations of Theramenes and Thrasybulus, they summoned the generals home. All this must have taken some time, so that since the Apaturia (§ 8) occurred early in November, the battle of Arginusae must have been fought some time in August: cp. Appendix, p. 321.

'Αδείμαντον: cp. i. 4. 21.

οὐκ ἀπῆλθον: cp. Diod. xiii. 101 φυβηθέντες τὴν ὅργην τοῦ πλήθους ἔφυγον. Leon, the general not here accounted for, may have been with Conon at Mytilene: i. 6. 16 note and Critical Note.

§ 2. προστήκοσ. It is extremely doubtful whether the designation προστάτης τοῦ δήμου was ever used as an official title in any state, and it was certainly not so used at Athens. The term προστάτης in its legal signification means a patron chosen from among the citizens by an alien (μέτοικος) to represent him before the law courts or elsewhere, where he had no legal right to appear himself. But though this legal signification is sometimes implied in the phrase προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, it seems to be more often used in its simple etymological sense of ‘leader’ or ‘champion,’ and as such is used indifferently side by side with different parts of the verb προϊστήμη. Thus Herodotus (i. 59, 69) speaks of Megacles the Alcmaeonid προεστῶς τῶν παράλων, of Sparta προεστάναι τῆς Ελλάδος, and of a man gaining a tyranny through προστάς τοῦ δήμου. Thucydides (ii. 65) says that Pericles προδύτη τῆς πόλεως, and in the same passage traces the ruin of Athens after his death to the quarrels of inferior men περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας. Pericles (Schol. on Arist. Pax 681) was in fact the last Athenian to unite successfully in his own person the two positions of στρατηγὸς and δημαγωγὸς (in the better sense). Cp. Plut. Phoc. 7. Henceforward, though members of the aristocratical families were as a general rule elected to be στρατηγοὶ, they were distrusted by the people on account of their Lacedaemonian proclivities.

Men of lower stamp and humbler origin, sprung directly from
the masses, were therefore preferred before them and contrasted (Lysias, xiii. 10) with them. This new class of demagogues rose to eminence by winning the ear of the Public Assembly: and though they were seldom elected to fill any of the higher offices, yet they exercised an enormous political power chiefly by proposing and carrying ψηφίσματα in the Assembly. Sometimes, however, when they chanced to be members of the Council (Arist. Eq. 774), they had a still more direct control over the executive officers and the financial administration, besides bringing forward προβουλεύματα, which, if passed, were afterwards submitted to the Assembly. But perhaps their most favourite method of showing zeal in the popular cause was their institution of prosecutions against generals and other magistrates (Thuc. vii. 48, viii. 65; Plut. Cimon 15) who failed to pass a satisfactory εύθυνα or who were otherwise unsuccessful, or against persons who were suspected of being involved in oligarchical (Arist. Eq. 861) conspiracies.

Usually one such demagogue, like Cleon (Thuc. iii. 36; iv. 21) or Hyperbolus, was pre-eminent over the rest, but it is not to be supposed that the designation προστάτης τοῦ δήμου was confined to one person only: for Thucydides (viii. 65, 89; iii. 75) speaks of Androcles as τοῦ δήμου μάλιστα προστάται, of different persons aspiring to be πρώτος προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and of οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται at Corcyra. And at the very time when Xenophon in this passage tells us that Archedemus was ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προστατικός ἐν Ἀθήναις, we learn from Lysias (xix. 48) that the demagogue Cleophon πολλὰ ἔτη διεχείρονε τὰ τῆς πόλεως πάντα.

διωρελίας. The most probable explanation seems to be that this was a public dole of two obols first given to poor citizens on the proposal of the demagogue Cleophon (Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 28), to relieve the distress caused by the war and the occupation of Decelea (cp. Busolt. Griech. Gesch. iii. 1. p. 264). Other commentators have identified it with the θεωρικά, the institution of which is ascribed by Plutarch (Per. 9) to Pericles: cp. Philoch. fr. 85. In 410-409 numerous payments were made ἐς τὲν διωρελίαν, cp. CIA. i. 188. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 77 note), refers it to the μισθὸς δικαστικός, on the ground that the amounts recorded in the inscriptions (16 to 17 talents) were quite insufficient to meet such a public dole, and that Aristophanes in the Frogs 1466 (date
406 B.C.) complains of the μισθὸς δικαστικὸς as the crying evil of Athenian finance.

ἐπιθολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν: all Athenian magistrates seem to have had the right of summary jurisdiction within their own spheres of office—in most cases to the extent only of a small fine: if the person so condemned refused to pay, it was the magistrate’s duty to bring him before a δικαστήριον for trial: cp. Lys. ix. 11, xxx. 3; Dict. Antiq. i. 745.

φάσκων . . . δήμον: cp. Schol. on Arist. Frogs, 1196 Δημήτριος δέ φησι περιττότερόν τι γενέσθαι τῷ Ἐρασινίδῃ, τὸ καὶ κλοπῆς κατηγορηθῆναι τῶν περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον.

δῆσαι, the story of Erasinides seems to be told by Xenophon as the exciting cause of the accusation against all the generals at Arginusae; cp. κατηγορεῖ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας.

§ 3. Βουλή, the Council of Five Hundred: cp. Appendix, p. 328. Timocrates, Callixenus (§ 8), Lyciscus (§ 13), and Menecles (§ 34), who take a prominent part in the proceedings of the trial, are otherwise unknown men.

ἐδῆσε, the Council was competent to imprison persons accused of προδοσία (§ 22) or other serious crimes: cp. Dem. xxiv. 144.

§ 4. ναναγοῦς, living as well as dead: cp. Appendix, p. 326.

ἐπιστολὴν, cp. Appendix, p. 327.

§ 5. σφίξῃ for αἰτοῖς, cp. vi. 5. 35.

κατὰ τῶν νόμων, which appointed a definite time, in which every accused person could make his defence: cp. Aesch. c. Ctes. 197 ff.

πλέονει, the pres. opt. represents the imperf. ind. of oratio recta Goodwin, M. T. 673.

Θρασυβοῦλος. Thrasybulus, for some reason or other, does not seem to have taken an active part against the generals.

§ 6. δέοι, sc. αἰτιάσασθαι.

ἐχεῖν αἰτοῖς: αἰτοῖς is the subject of ἐχεῖν: notwithstanding the accusative it seems best to refer it, with Breitenbach, Büchsen­schütz, &c., to οἱ στρατηγοὶ. Blake in his note ad loc. regards it as equivalent to οἱ μεῖος of oratio recta.

τὸ μέγεθος: an affirmative verb must be supplied from ψευδόμεθα φάσκοντες.

ἐπειθοῦ, ‘tried to persuade’: cp. iii. 5. 18.

§ 7. ἀναβαλέσθαι must refer to the voting as to whether there was

XEN. HELL.
any *prima facie* case against the generals or not. The reference of the procedure back to the Council seems to have been a ruse of the accusers to prejudice the case, and was, we may perhaps infer, in the darkness carried unanimously.

_οὐκ ἄν καθεῶρων_, the protasis is unexpressed; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 245.

_προβοσκεύσασαν_: cp. Plut. Solon, 19, _μηδὲν ἐὰν ἀπροβοσκεύσας εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρεσθαι._

§ 8. Ἀπατούρια, celebrated in the month of Pyanepson (Oct.–Nov.), was peculiarly a family festival, because the young men were enrolled in the _φρατρία_ at it.

_ως δὴ συγγενεῖς ὦντες_: 'pretending that they were kinsmen.' For _ως δὴ_ cp. v. 4. 3 _πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἡλθον, ὦς δὴ ἐξ ἁγροῦ ἀπιστές_, and similar passages in Cyrop. v. 4. 4; vii. 4. 3; Symp. 8. 4. Diodorus (xiii. 101) represents these men, who attended the assembly in great numbers in the garb of mourners, to have been the real kinsmen of the deceased: accordingly Breitenbach (note ad loc.) proposes to translate _ως δὴ—οντες_, 'quippe qui essent,' 'since they were'; with which might be compared Cyrop. vi. 2. 4 ὁ _Κυρος_ . . . _ως δὴ οὐδὲν σμικρὸν ἐπιστέων πράττειν_. But if that were Xenophon's meaning, he would probably have written _παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς συγγενείς τῶν ἀπολωλότων_ instead of _παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους_. Cp. Grote, vii. 434.

§ 9. δὸν ὑδρίας. Probably this was the ordinary method of voting in judicial cases, which however is not accurately known until the fourth century B.C. Where the interests of individuals were concerned, the voting was by secret ballot; and although it is difficult to understand how with two urns as described secrecy could be maintained, yet it appears from Lycurgus (Leocr. 146, 149) that even so the votes could still be kept secret. Cp. ii. 4. 9, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 517.

§ 10. τοῖς ἔνδεκα. The eleven magistrates whose duty it was to superintend the safe custody and execution of condemned prisoners.

_τῆς θεοῦ_, Athena.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους. Diodorus (1. c.) speaks as if the generals had neglected only to bury the dead, not to rescue the living.

§ 12. _προσεκαλέσαντο_, i.e. summoned on a _γραφὴ παραιόμων_: cp. vii. 4. 38.

συγγεγραφήναι, a term usually applied only to proposed legislation: cp. ii. 3. 2, and Critical Note.

δεινόν κ.τ.λ.: cp. [Demos.] lix. 88 ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ 'Αθηναίων κυριώ
tatos ὄν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπάντων, καὶ ἔξον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν βούληται.

§ 14. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων. The prytaneis of the φυλή πρυτανεύοντα had special seats assigned them, and the whole assembly was presided over by the ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, who was chosen by lot for one day only. On this occasion Socrates was ἐπιστάτης: cp. Mem. i. 1. 18.

τὴν διαψήφισιν. This can only refer to putting the Council’s proposal to the vote: cp. Appendix, p. 331.

αὐτῶν, i. e. Euryptolemus and his friends.

οἱ δὲ, sc. ὁ ὀὖχλος.

καλεῖν, sc. εἰς δίκην.

§ 15. Σωκράτους: cp. Plat. Apol. 32 b, Xen. Mem. i. 1. 18; Appendix, pp. 331, 333. Socrates’ opposition gave Euryptolemus an opportunity of bringing in an amendment to the προβουλεῦμα.

§ 16. κατηγορήσων: Euryptolemus does not adhere to this proposed order: his accusations are in §§ 17–19, his advice in §§ 19–29, his defence in § 29 ff.

§ 17. ἔπεισαν, i. e. μετέπεισαν, ‘persuaded them to give up their intention’: cp. Thuc. iii. 32.

§ 18. ἐκεῖνων ... ἐκεῖνων; the context seems to require the first ἐκεῖνων to be interpreted of Pericles and Diomedon, whose fault it was that all the generals were accused; and the second ἐκεῖνων of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. The transition is so very harsh, that perhaps it is better (with Bühenschütz, &c.) to understand ἐκεῖνων in both cases of Theramenes and Thrasybulus. This gives an intelligible though not so pointed a meaning.

§ 19. οὐκ, i.e. οὐ κινδυνεύοντος, κ.τ.λ.

καὶ ὀθεν, i. e. καὶ ταύτα ποιοῖντες ἐξ ὤν, κ.τ.λ., ‘doing those things by means of which.’

σφάς αὐτοῖς = ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς.

ἐν οἷς, the antecedent is the object to be supplied as accusative to συμβουλεύω: ἐν οἷς must be supplied again before τοῖς ἀδικοῦνται...

κολάσεσθε.

βάραθρον, a precipitous ravine outside the West gate of Athens in the deme of Ceiriadae.

*τὸς θεὸς, i.e. Athena.*

§ 22. τὸνδὲ τὸν νόμον. Antiphon and Archeptolemus were tried under this law: cp. ps.-Plut. v. Antip. § 24.

§ 23. ὁποτέρω ... τῷ νόμῳ, for the article cp. Plat. Men. 87 b ὁ διαφερέτω δὲ μηδὲν ἥμιν ὁποτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ὄνοματι χρώμεθα.

κατὰ ἕνα ἑκαστὸν: i.e. separate trial ought to be given to the accused, whether they were tried κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψῆφισμα before the Assembly, or κατὰ τὸν νόμον against sacrilege and treachery before a δικαστήριον.

διηγημένων ... ἀπολογήσασθαι, probably an interpolation. Leon-clavius corrected the MSS. διηγημένης, comparing Resp. Lac. 2. 4 μόρας διεἴλεξε ἐξ καὶ ἰππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν and Cyrop. i. 2. 4 διήρηται αὐτῇ ἣ ἀγορὰ τέτταρα μέρη. εἶν τε ... εἶν τε cannot in Attic Greek introduce an indirect question: cp. Goodwin, M. T. §§ 493, 689. Moreover there seems to be no trace in other authorities of this threefold division of the day, and the division of the day itself is logically absurd: cp. Critical Notes, and Appendix, p. 359.


ἐβδομήκοντα: cp. i. 6. 34.

§ 26. ἡ μη ὁχ ὑμεῖς, κ.τ.λ.: supply δέδει τὸν νόμον from δεδώτες.

οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, κ.τ.λ. denies the preceding clause: ‘Are you afraid, that you will not, &c., but not afraid [sc. that you will not put to death whomsoever you like], if you condemn him contrary to the law, &c.,’ i.e. οὐ δέδει, ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε.

§ 27. ἀποκτεῖναιτε ... ἡμαρτηκότες: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 359. The simplest way out of the difficulty seems to be to read with Dindorf ἀποκτεῖναι, and to adopt Peter’s conjecture μεταμελήσαι. The latter alteration overcomes the difficulty of beginning a new sentence at ἀναμνήσθητε without a connecting particle, and makes the infinitive μεταμελήσαι the subject of ἀλγεῖν καὶ ἀνωφελέσ.

§ 28. Ἀριστάρχῳ. For his conduct cp. Thuc. viii. 90, 92, 98. Lycurgus (Leocr. 115) says that he was condemned and executed, but for a different reason.
406–405 B.C.  I. vii. 29–33  37

ἀπολογήσασθαι, infin. to express a purpose: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.

§ 29. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, sc. ποιεῖτε ταῦτα.

ἐαυτῶν = ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, 'the laws which are your own': cp. § 19.

ἐπὶ κέρος, 'in column.'

πρὸς Μυτιλήνην, the accusative instead of the dative on account of the near neighbourhood of the verb of motion πλέων.

γενέσθαι, for the aorist cp. v. 1. 32.

§ 30. δοξάντων τούτων, i.e. ἐὰν ταῦτα δοξῆ.

τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας: this can only refer to the division of the fleet commanded by each strategus, since the well-known system of Symmoriae at Athens for providing money for war expenses was not introduced till 377 B.C.

ὀκτὼ: cp. i. 6. 29, 30.

δώδεκα: cp. i. 6. 34, where 25 ships, with their crews, are stated to have been lost. The two passages may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that 13 ships went down during the battle and that thus only 12 wrecks were left afloat.

§ 31. τριμυράρχων. Probably the word is interpolated from i. 6. 35, as taxiaruchs were left behind as well: cp. Critical Note.

ἐπλέον. The imperfect must mean that the attempt failed: cp. i. 6. 35 and ii. 3. 35.

τὰ μὲν ... πραξκέντα is dependent on ἵππειν λόγον, and ought therefore to be in the genitive, the construction being κατὰ σύνεσιν, not grammatical: cp. vii. 5. 12.

§ 32. εἶς, probably Lysias: cp. Diod. xiii. 99.

ἡπερ, sc. ψήφῳ κελεύοντι κρίνεσθαι.

τὰ προστάχθησαν; these words seem inexplicable, because Thrasybulus and Theramenes, who had received the orders, were not accused, while the accused generals had themselves given the orders. There is the same difficulty in § 33 with τὰ προστάχθησαν: cp. Critical Notes.

§ 33. ἀγνωμονεῖν ... ὁχὶ ἴκανοὺς. Two constructions are possible:

(1) sc. αὐτοῖς. 'Do not think that they were wanting in right feeling (or judgment), who were unable,' &c., i.e. do not attribute to a want of feeling on the part of men, what was really due to a necessity imposed by the gods. The passage would be much easier if we had τοὺς ὁχὶ ἴκανοὺς. (2) 'Do not show yourselves to
be unreasonable by convicting of treachery,' &c. Breitenbach, while adopting the first construction, takes ἀγνωμονεῖν as meaning 'to act unfairly,' i.e. treacherously, on the analogy of Demosthenes, xviii. 94; cp. Critical Notes: most probably οὐχ ἰκανοῦς ... προσταχθέντα is a gloss on ἄδυναμίας.

πειθομένους, agreeing with ὑμᾶς, the subject of ζημιοῦν.

§ 34. ὑπομοσαμένου: cp. Appendix, p. 332.
oi παρόντες ζῆ: cp. § 2.


προβολάς. A προβολή was a complaint laid before the Assembly against any individual before a formal indictment was brought. If the people decided that it was made with just grounds, then the complainant had greater hopes of success, if he followed it up with a legal accusation; cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 492.

Κλεοφῶν: cp. i. 1. 23, note. According to Lysias (xiii. 12) the oligarchical party contrived his execution on a charge of λιποστρατία during the siege of Athens, because he had vehemently opposed the proposal to demolish part of the Long Walls, which formed one of the conditions offered by the Lacedaemonians. Theramenes at the time was absent in Lysander's camp. Nothing is known of the particular στάσις here referred to.

ὁτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, sc. κατηλθὼν, in the autumn 403 B. C.; cp. ii. 4. 39.

λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν, cp. Suidas s.v. ἐναύειν. Καλλιένος ὃ Ἄθηραιος διὰ συκοφαντίαν ἠθλα ἀπηρέγκατο τῆς ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀσβείας ἐν ἀστεί μισούμενος καὶ πενόμενος καὶ ἀποκλείόμενος λιμῷ ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπεὶ μήτε ὕδατος ἐκομώνουν αὐτῷ μήτε πυρὸς ἐναύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὡσπεροὖν κοινοῦν τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ δεομένοις; and Schol. ad Aristid. Panath. iii. 245 (Dindorf).
II. i

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

§§ 1-5. The Peloponnesian soldiers at Chios, hard pressed by want, formed a plan to sack the city. Eteoninicus discovered the plot, and by prompt measures put it down. He asked and obtained from the Chians a contribution of money. §§ 6, 7. On the appeal of her Asiatic allies, supported by envoys from Cyrus, Sparta appointed Lysander to be secretary and Aracus to be admiral of the fleet. §§ 8, 9. Cyrus, having put Autoboecaces and Mithraeus to death, was summoned before Darius to answer for his conduct.

§§ 10-12. Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, collected all the ships he could from Chios, Antandros, and elsewhere, got a fresh supply of money from Cyrus, and refitted his fleet. The Athenians made similar preparations at Samos. §§ 13, 14. Cyrus, before going up to his father in Media, left Lysander in charge of all the tribute of his satrapy, and warned him against fighting with the Athenians. §§ 15, 16. Lysander took Cedrææ in Caria by storm, and then set out for Rhodes. The Athenians sailed to Chios and Ephesus, and chose three additional generals. § 17. Lysander sailed past Ionia to the Hellespont. The Athenians put out to sea from Chios.

§§ 18-21. Lysander took Lampsacus by storm. The Athenians, 180 strong, sailed in pursuit, first to Elaesus, then to Sestos, where they anchored off Aegospotami, opposite Lampsacus, and offered battle. §§ 22-26. For four days they tried in vain to draw Lysander out of his harbour. Alcibiades pointed out to them the disadvantages of their position, but their generals scorned his advice and refused to move. §§ 27, 28. On the fifth day, at a given signal from his scouts, Lysander suddenly rowed across the strait with his whole fleet, and surprised the Athenians while they were scattered along the shore obtaining provisions. He captured without a blow the entire Athenian fleet, except Conon’s squadron and the Paralus, and most of the crews. §§ 29, 30. Conon escaped to Cyprus. The Paralus carried the news to Athens. Lysander brought his prisoners to Lampsacus, and sent Theopompus to Sparta to announce his victory. §§ 31, 32. Lysander summoned a meeting of his allies at Lampsacus at which they made many complaints of Athenian cruelty. In revenge he executed all the Athenians among his captives, except the general Adimantus.
§ 1. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ, κ.τ.λ. After the battle of Arginusae, Eteonicus, left in chief command by the death of Callicratidas, had led the Peloponnesian fleet from Mytilene to Methymna, and then on to Chios; cp. i. 6. 38. For the Lacedaemonian offers of peace cp. Appendix, p. 321.

ὁντες, for the position of the words cp. i. 4. 10.

τῆς ὁρασ, i.e. τῶν ὁραϊὼν καρπῶν.

τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθυμομεναι. Chios had been the first of the Athenian allies to revolt after the Sicilian disaster, 412 B.C. (cp. Thuc. viii. 14), and ever since had adhered to the Peloponnesian side.

§ 2. ἀπόρως μὲν. The correlative sentence with δὲ begins § 3 ἀναλαβὼν δὲ.

τὶ χρῶτο, 'how he should behave in the matter.' Cp. iii. 5. 1.

τὸ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς. The correlative sentence would naturally be expected to begin with τὸ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς: but Xenophon in τὸ τ᾽ ἀδ ἀπολλύναι (equivalent to ἀν κρατήσας ὁ Ετεόνικος ἀπολέσῃ) rather carries on the thought suggested in the previous subordinate sentence ἄν κρατήσωσι.

συμμάχους, i.e. the soldiers of the allies in the Spartan army, who had joined the conspiracy.

eἰς τοὺς ἄλλους : for eis after διαβολὴν instead of πρὸς cp. iii. 5. 2, Cyrop. vi. 1. 3; Thuc. iii. 109. Translate: 'lest the Spartans should incur the slanders of the other Greeks.'

σχοίνεν . . . δῶν. Notice the change of mood; the optative is in accordance with the rules of oratio obliqua: the subjunctive expresses more vividly Eteonicus' own state of mind: cp. Goodwin. M. T. 365.

§ 4. διὰ τὶ ἀπέθανεν, the indic. is retained here in oratio obliqua; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 669.

ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων, a partitive singular in the nominative, in apposition to πάντες: cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 42 ταῦτα γὰρ ἄκουόντες ἦττον ἄν παντὶ σθενεῖ ἄθροίζοντο, ἐκιστῶς τις φοβοῦμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀικόλ.

§ 6. συλλεγόμενες: cp. i. 6. 4. This assembly is probably to be traced to the influence of the oligarchical clubs organized by Lysander two years before: cp. Diod. xiii. 70 and Plut. Lys. 5.

ἀιτήσοντας, fut. part. expressing purpose.

ἐν φερόμενον: for the opposite cp. i. 5. 17 πονηρῶς φερόμενος.

τὴν . . . ναυμαχίαν, cp. i. 5. 14.
§ 7. ἐπιστολέα: who was second in command; cp. i. 1. 23, Appendix, p. 346.

δίς . . . ναυαρχεῖν, cp. Appendix, p. 345.


Σέρβου. Darius' father, it should be noticed, was Artaxerxes, not Xerxes.

διὰ τῆς κόρης: for the custom cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. ιο ὁ ἰππεῖς πάντες παρήσαν . . . διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανθάμων, ὡσπέρ καὶ νῦν ἐτε διείρουσιν, όταν ὁρᾶ βασιλείας.

ἔχουν, without τις as in iii. i. 19.

§ 9. Ιεραμένης: probably the husband of Xerxes' sister and father of Autoboeas and Mitraeus; cp. Thuc. viii. 58.

ὡς ἀφρωστῶν, in the Anab. i. 1. i Xenophon says nothing of the execution of Autoboeas and Mitraeus: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴσθένει Δαρείου καὶ ὑπάλλελον τοῦ βιῶν, ἐβουλέτο τῶ παιδὸ ἀμφιτέρω παρείναι. οὐ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος (Artaxerxes) παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, Κυροῦν δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρχης.

§ 10. ἐκ Χίου, cp. §§ 1, 2.

'Αντάνδρος, cp. i. 1. 25.

406-405 B.C.

§ 11. ἔχω, i.e. 'had received already,' represents εἶχε in oratio recta: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.

§ 12. οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί, i.e. Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles; cp. i. 7. 1.

Προς τὸ ναυτικῶν: the force of the preposition after παρε-σκευαζόντο is obscure. Breitenbach believes that some words must have fallen out, describing the reinforcement of 30 ships, which the Athenians received between the battles of Arginusae and Aegospotami; cp. i. 6. 25 with ii. 1. 20; cp. Critical Note.

§ 13. Καδουσίων, dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian Sea.

§ 14. τοῦτον ἐνέκεν, i.e. as far as money was concerned.

παρεδείξε: 'enumerated, and at the same time handed over'; cp. ii. 3. 8.

τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα: 'the money in reserve,' i.e. the ready-money stored in the treasury, opposed to the φόροι.

ὡς . . . φίλια: partitive genitive. 'How friendly he was towards,' &c.: cp. i. 4. 11.
§ 15. Κεράμειον κόλπον: on the south coast of Caria.
    Κεδρείας, placed by Kiepert on the south coast of the gulf.

§ 16. τὴν βασιλέως, sc. χώραν.
    παρασκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, κ.τ.λ. The Athenians must therefore have intended to fight Lysander on his return voyage somewhere between Ephesus and Rhodes, but he contrived to elude them, apparently by coasting along the shore, while they sailed across the open sea; cp. § 17 πελάγιοι.

προσείλοντο. Apparently three generals only seemed insufficient to command a fleet of 180 vessels in a general engagement, so that the crews took upon themselves to elect three more, following their own precedent at Samos in 411 B.C. (Thuc. viii. 76).

§ 17. πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων, κ.τ.λ., i.e. in order to prevent the corn ships sailing from the Hellespont to Athens.
    αὐτῶν: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 18. σύμμαχον: cp. i. 2. 15.

§ 19. σώματα = ‘persons’: for this use of σώματα cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 73 τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρĭματα.


ἐν Ἑλαιοῖντι: in the Chersonese at the entrance of the Hellespont. Here the Athenians anchored to prevent the passage of Lysander, whose previous arrival they had not yet heard of.

§ 21. διείχε, for this imperfect of permanent distance, cp. Thuc. i. 63 ἀπείχε δὲ ἐξήκοντα μᾶλλα σταδίους.

σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαιδεκα. Just under two English miles.

§ 22. παραβλῆματα: probably much the same kind of coverings to screen the men from missiles as those called παραρύματα in i. 6. 19.

ὁς ... κινήσωτο ... ἀνάξωτο; future optative in oratio obliqua: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 130, 351, App. iv., for this violation of Attic usage.

§ 23. ἐν μετώπῳ, ‘in line,’ opposite to ἐπὶ κέρως.

§ 24. ἐξεβίβασεν, i.e. Lysander would not allow his men to disembark, until his reconnoitring vessels had returned.

ἐπανήγγειλοντο: imperfect, to express that the Athenians also did so for four days.
§ 25. Ἀλκιβιάδης: last mentioned as sailing to these forts, i. 5. 17. According to Diodorus (xiii. 105) he now demanded a share in the command of the fleet. Plutarch (Alc. 36, 37, Lys. 10) reproduces Xenophon’s account with one or two additions. Lysias (xiv. 38) actually accuses Alcibiades of having, in conjunction with Adimantus, betrayed the Athenians at Aegospotami in revenge for this repulse. But, if Xenophon’s account of the circumstances be correct, any treachery on his part seems to have been quite impossible, and in the following year it was Adimantus and his party who contrived the assassination of Alcibiades.

§ 26. αὐτοὶ . . . ἐκεῖνοι: for this the regular construction of nominative and accusative in oratio obliqua cp. ii. 2. 17, Thuc. iv. 28, ὃς ἐφ' αὐτὸς ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν.

§ 27. ἐπεὶ . . . τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, for the dative cp. Thuc. iii. 29 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐλωκυῖα ἐπτά, and i. 4. 7.

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


§ 28. Θώραξ, § 18: according to Diod. (l.c.) Eteonicus was in command of the land forces.

τῶν ἐπίπλων. Diodorus (xiii. 106) gives a totally different account of the battle; it being his day of command the general Philocles, according to him, put to sea with 30 triremes in search of provisions, bidding the other generals follow him. This they failed to do; whereupon Lysander, learning the fact from some deserters, sallied out with his whole fleet, easily drove in Philocles and surprised the rest of the Athenian fleet, which was thus compelled to surrender without striking a blow.

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

ἐπτά: so Plutarch (Lys. 10); Diodorus (l.c.) says ten.

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

ἀναλεξομένων: cp. supr. διεσκεδασμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

εἰς τὰ τεχνώδημα, i.e. of Sestos. Xenophon omits to relate its capture. Diodorus (l.c.) puts the event immediately after the battle.
§ 29. τὰ μεγάλα ... ἱστία. Lysander must have left them behind to lighten his ships for rowing: cp. i. i. 13. Xenophon says nothing more about Conon till just before his great victory over the Lacedaemonians at Cnidus in 394 B.C.: cp. iii. 4. i.

Εὐαγόρας, cp. iv. 8. 24; Isocr. ix. 52 and Diod. xiii. 106 Κόνων ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν μὲν εἰς 'Αθήνας ἐπάνοδον ἀπέγνυ, φοβηθεὶς τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ δήμου, πρὸς Εὐαγόραν δὲ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον τῆς Κύπρου κατέφυγεν ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν. Evagoras was prince of Salamis and tributary to Persia.

§ 30. τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους: according to Plutarch (Lys. 11) 3,000 in number.

§ 31. τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα. According to Plutarch (Lys. 9), Philocles ἐπευς ψηφίστασθαι τὸν δήμον ἀποκρύπτειν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀντίχειρα τῶν ἀλησκομένων ὅπως δόρῳ μὲν φέρειν μὴ δύναται, κώπην δὲ ἐλαύνοσι. Cp. Cicero (De Offic. 3. 11) Athenienses sciverunt ut Aeginetis, qui classe valebant, pollices praeciderentur.

§ 32. ἡ σιάθη μέντοι, i.e. in contradiction to the pretended reason for sparing his life. The evidence against Adimantus is very doubtful. Lysias (xiv. 38) speaks of Alcibiades τὰς ναὸς Λυσ-άνδρῳ μετὰ 'Αδειμάντον προδοῦναι, where he is certainly mis-representing much of Alcibiades' conduct. Indeed, in another speech (ii. 58), he regards the cause of the disaster as doubtful, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία εἴτε θεῶν διανοία. Pausanias (iv. 17, x. 9) preserves the Athenian tradition, that Adimantus and Tydeus were the traitors, the latter being the bitterest opponent of Alcibiades. Isocrates (v. 62) expresses no decided opinion. The accusation of treachery brought by Conon against Adimantus (mentioned by Demosthenes xix. 191) belongs to a much later date, c. 393, after the amnesty of 403. In the midst of such uncertain evidence it is impossible to form a definite opinion either way, especially as accusations of treachery to account for so irretrievable a disaster would lie so ready to hand.

ἀρξάμενος, for the middle cp. ii. 3. 38, iii. 5. 4: ἄρχειν is to 'do something before others,' ἄρχεσθαι 'to take the lead in independent action:' vid. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

παραπομεῖν. The MS. D has interpolated in it after παραπομεῖν —νικήσας ἔφη ποίει ἂ παθεῖν ἔμελλες ἱμτηθεῖς, εἰθὺς τοῦτον ἀπέσφαξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, which exactly agrees with the story of his answer given by Plutarch (Lys. 13): ὅ δὲ οὐδέν τι πρὸς τὴν
405-404 B.C. II. ii. 1, 2

CHAPTER II

§§ 1, 2. Byzantium and Chalcedon submitted to Lysander, who sent the Athenian garrisons in them and elsewhere back to Athens, hoping thereby the sooner to reduce the city to starvation. §§ 3, 4. The Athenians, on hearing of their disaster, reflecting that the vengeance they had taken on many subject states was about to return upon their own heads, resolved to prepare the city for a siege. §§ 5, 6. Lysander sailed to Lesbos, where he reorganized the governments of the several states, and despatched Eteonicus to do the same in Thrace. All the Athenian allies revolted, except the Samians. §§ 7-9. Simultaneously the Spartans and their allies under King Pausanias invaded Attica and encamped in the Academy, and Lysander, having restored Aegina and Melos to their exiled citizens, blockaded Piraeus. §§ 10-14. The Athenians maintained an obstinate resistance till all their corn failed; then they sent envoys to Agis with offers of an alliance, but he referred them to the Ephors at Sparta; by whom, however, they were refused permission to enter the country. § 15. Still they would not hear of demolishing their Long Walls, and even arrested Archestratus for making such a proposal. §§ 16-18. Theramenes procured his own despatch to negotiate with Lysander, but after waiting more than three months returned with the information, that the Ephors alone had power to make peace. He and nine others were chosen as plenipotentiaries and sent to Sparta. §§ 19, 20. An audience was given to them at Sparta, where many accusations were brought against the Athenians, especially by the Corinthians and Thebans; but the Spartans refused to destroy Athens utterly, and offered terms of peace. §§ 21, 22. The Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few, readily accepted the terms offered. § 23. Lysander and the exiles entered Piraeus and began the destruction of the Long Walls, celebrating the first day of Greek Freedom. § 24. Contemporary events in Sicily.

§ 1. Καλχηδώνα. This city was, by the treaty with Pharnabazus in 408 B.C., left in the hands of the Lacedaemonians, and must therefore at some time since have been taken by the Athenians: cp. i. 3. 8 ff.

οἱ δὲ προδότες: cp. i. 3. 18.

τότε: before the surrender of Athens.

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

§ 2. εἰδὼς ἄτι ... ἐσεθεῖν. The construction is altered owing to the intermediate clause ὅσφ ... Πευχαῖ: cp. iii. 4. 27; v. 4. 35.
δοφο πλείους: the correlative τοσούτος is wanting before θάττουν:
cp. iv. 2. II.

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

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

§ 3. τῆς Παράλον: cp. ii. 1. 28.

ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἔτερῳ: in partitive apposition to the nominative, as if φιμωζόν had preceded: the genitive absolute would have been more regular: cp. ii. 3. 54; iv. 1. 24.

πενθοῦντες, πάντες must be supplied from οἴδεις.

Μηλίους: cp. Thuc. v. 116. In 416 the Athenians had put all the men to death and sold the women and children into slavery.

Ἰστιαῖας: cp. Thuc. i. 114.

Σκιωναίους καὶ Τιφωναίους: cp. Thuc. v. 3, 32.

Ἀγυνίτας: cp. Thuc. i. 108; ii. 27.

§ 4. τοὺς λιμένας: on the southern side of the peninsula of Munychia were the two harbours of Zea and Munychia, and on the northern Piraeus itself, divided into the merchant harbour (ἐκπόρσιον) and the war harbour (κάνθαρος). Angelopoulos, however, puts Zea in the innermost part of Piraeus; cp. Classical Review, xiii. 88.

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

τὰ ἐπὶ Ἐράκης χώρια, the ordinary formula to denote the Greek colonies on the Thracian coast: cp. iv. 8. 26; v. 2. 24; 2. 12.

κατεσκέυασατο. For the system introduced cp. § 2 note. The same is meant infr. by πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν.

§ 6. τῶν γνωρίμων, i.e. the oligarchs, who often called themselves καλοὶ κάγαθοι, χριστοί, &c.: cp. Resp. Ath. 1. 2 ff. For the conduct of the Samian democrats in 412, here apparently referred to, cp. Thuc. viii. 21.
§ 7. Ἀγιν, cp. i. i. 33.
πλήρω Ἀργεῖων, who had concluded an alliance with Athens in 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 47), to which they seem now to have been faithful: cp. ii. 4. i note.

§ 8. Ἀκαδαμεία, nearly a mile N.W. of the city walls.

§ 9. πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀδρόψας: most of them had settled at Thryrea, on the south border of the Argolis; cp. Thuc. ii. 27.

τῆς αὐτῶν, sc. πατρίδος: cp. Thuc. viii. 6 φυγάδες τῆς ἐνυτῶν.

τὰ πλοῖα: the corn ships: cp. i. i. 35.

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

†εἰ μὴ παθεῖν: in place of this unparalleled construction, it seems best to adopt Hartman's conjecture μὴ οὖ: he compares Plat. Phaed. 72 d τίς μηχανή μὴ οὖχι πάντα καταναλωθηναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι; cp. Critical Note.

οὐδ' ἔπι μα, cp. v. 4. i οὐδ' ύφ' ἕνος.

ἐκείνους: the Lacedaemonians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀτίμους. The proposal was made by Patroclides (Andoc. i. 73). It did not apply to the exiles (cp. § 20), but only to those who had been in any measure disfranchised for the part they had played in the oligarchical revolution of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C.; cp. Appendix, p. 323.

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

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


αὐτόθεν: temporal, 'at once,' 'on the spot:' cp. iii. 4. 20; vii. 5. 3.

§ 15. τῆς καθαιρέσεως. This shows that the Athenian envoys were not simply dismissed by the Spartans, but had definite terms proposed to them, on which a peace could be concluded: cp. Appendix, p. 324.

'Αρχέστρατος, Plutarch (Alc. 16) quotes his mot on Alcibiades, ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐκ ἄν ἣνεγκε δύο Ἀλκιβιάδας.
II. ii. 16–18 405–404 B.C.

Λακεδαίμονιος, to be constructed with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι: in other passages (cp. iv. 8. 12) Xenophon uses not the dative but πρὸς with the accusative after εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

tῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν . . . ἐκατέρων, a partitive genitive dependent on ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίων. There were two long-walls joining Athens and Piraeus, and one joining Athens and Phalerum; ἐκατέρων must therefore mean each of the two outer walls.

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

§ 16. τοιοῦτων δὲ δυτῶν. τοιοῦτων is the predicate, the participle having no subject: cp. i. 1. 26.

παρὰ Λύσσανδρον: now engaged in the siege of Samos; cp. § 11, and Plut. Lys. 14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄντειχον oi Ἀθηναίοι, λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς πάλιν εἰς Ἡσίαν διεσέρασε, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ὁμαλῶς ἀπασῶν κατέλευ τὸς πολιτείας καὶ καθίστη δεκαδρικίας, κ.τ.λ.

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

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

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

ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε = τὸν καιρὸν φυλάττων, ἐν ὑ.

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

ἀπαντά ὑ τι: for the irregularity cp. Cyrop. i. 6. 11 ὑ τι . . . ταῦτα, and Cyrop. vii. 4. 14 πάντα πειραμένους ποιεῖν ὑ τι φοντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι.

§ 17. τετάρτῳ μην, for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

ἐἰτα without δὲ strengthens the opposition between the sentences.

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

ἡρέθη . . . εἰς Λακεδαίμονα: eis expresses motion; ‘to go to Lacedaemon.’ δέκατος αὐτός: ‘with nine others.’

§ 18. Ἀριστοτέλην: cp. ii. 3. 2, 13. Afterwards he was one of the Thirty, and was sent by them to Sparta to obtain a Lacedaemonian garrison for Athens.
§ 19. Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι, cp. iii. 5. 8; vi. 5. 35; and Isocr. xiv. 31 [οἱ Θηβαῖοι] μόνοι τῶν συμμάχων ἔδειν τὴν ψήφου, ὡς χρή τὴν τε πόλιν ἑξώνοςτισασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνείναι μηλόβιον ὡσπερ τὸ Κρισάων πεδίον.

εξαιρεῖται, sc. τὰς Ἀθηναίς, to be supplied from Ἀθηναίους.

§ 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ: cp. vi. 5. 35; Andoc. iii. 41; and Justin v. 7 'Necarunt Spartani se ex duoibus Graeciae oculis alterum eruturos.' In ii. 3. 41, however, Theramenes attributes to them mere motives of political expediency.

τῶν φυγάδας, cp. § 11.

καθένας = κατελθείν ἐφέντας, 'having allowed to return.' Plutarch (Lys. 14) and Diodorus (xiii. 107) add as one of the conditions, that the Athenians were for the future to confine themselves to their own territory (τῶν γε πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρῆσαι). Plutarch professes to give the actual words of the treaty: καθισαλόντες τὸν Πειραιὰ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καὶ ἐκβάντες ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐχοντες ταυτά καὶ δρώντες τάν εἰρύναν ἐχούτε, αὐτοὶ χρήσιον, καὶ τὸν φυγάδας ἀνέντε. περὶ τῶν ναών τῷ πλῆθος ὁκοίον τί κα τηει δοκέτ, ταῦτα ποιέστε: cp. Arist. 'Ἀθ. πολ. 34. 3 τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῦ ἐφὶ ϑετ πολιτείσιν ἡπὶ τῶν πάτρων πολιτείαν: cp. Lysias, xiii. 14, 15; xiv. 3.

Though this Aristotelian statement is confirmed by Diodorus (xiv. 3), it is probably mistaken: for not only does it not appear in Plutarch's version of the original document, but it is plain from Lysias (xii. 70) that the constitutional question first arose after Lysander's return after the capture of Samos.

τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχθρῶν, κ.τ.λ., for this formula cp. v. 3. 26; Thuc. i. 44.

§ 22. Ἐπαραμένης, for his conduct cp. Lysias xiii. 13–33, and Appendix, p. 324.

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

κατέσκασσον, 'began to demolish.' The work was not completed till the autumn of this year; cp. ii. 3. 11.

ὑπ’ αὐλητρίδων, cp. Plut. Lys. 15 ὁ δ’ οὖν Δύσανδρος ἐνδόντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς ἀπαίτα πολλὰς μὲν ἐξ ἀστεος μεταπεφυμένους αὐλητρίδας, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συναγαγὼς, τὰ τείχη κατέσκασσε καὶ τὰς τρῆρες κατέβλεγε πρὸς τῶν αὐλῶν, ἐστεφάνωμένων καὶ παιζόντων ἀμα τῶν συμμάχων, ὡς ἐκείνη τὴν ἡμέραν ἀρχουσαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

XEN. HELL.
voµiçontes: on the question of Xenophon's impartiality, cp. Introd. p. xxiv, and § 10 note.

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

CHAPTER III

§§ 1-3. The Athenians appointed Thirty men to draw up a new constitution, whereupon Lysander sailed to Samos, and Agis withdrew from Decelea. §§ 4, 5. Contemporary events in Thessaly and Sicily. §§ 6-8. Samos surrendered at discretion. Lysander, after reorganizing the government, dismissed the allied fleet, and at the head of the Lacedaemonian ships returned to Sparta in triumph with all the spoils of war. §§ 9, 10. A list of the Ephors to show the duration of the war. §§ 11-14. The Thirty delayed to publish the new constitution, and put their own creatures into the Council and other offices. They proceeded to purge the city of all extreme democrats, and to support their violent measures they procured from Lysander a Spartan garrison with Callibius as harmost. §§ 15-17. A disagreement arose between Critias and Theramenes, the former urging a policy of indiscriminate bloodshed. §§ 18, 19. To satisfy Theramenes the Thirty nominated three thousand to participate in the government; a measure which Theramenes criticized as at once dangerous and absurd. §§ 20, 21. By a stratagem the Thirty stripped all the Athenians, except the Three Thousand, of their arms: they now began a reign of terror, putting to death their own personal enemies and rich citizens for the sake of their money. §§ 22, 23. When Theramenes opposed these measures, the rest of the Thirty conspired against him, and Critias openly accused him before the Council. §§ 24-26. Speech of Critias—The numerous executions were necessitated by the long duration of democracy at Athens, and had the full approval of the Lacedaemonians. §§ 27-29. Theramenes had shown himself not an enemy only, but a traitor; though he had been foremost in making peace with Sparta and in putting down the democracy, he now wished to make his peace with the people and to secure a safe retreat. §§ 30, 31. In the past he had been highly honoured by the people; then he had been foremost in promoting the revolution of the Four Hundred, and foremost again in bringing about their fall. Well therefore
had he deserved the nickname of Buskin. § 32. By such shifts he had caused the death of many; he had procured the condemnation of the generals after Arginusae to save his own life. §§ 33, 34. Death was the only punishment meet for such a man. If they should condemn him they would but follow the example of Sparta; while if they acquitted him, he was sure to prove the ruin of them all. §§ 35, 36. Defence of Theramenes—'Really the generals at Arginusae had been the first to accuse him. In alleging the violence of the storm he had offered a reasonable defence, so that in accusing him they had pronounced their own condemnation. Critias knew nothing of the matter, being at that time in Thessaly. §§ 37-40. But it was not men like himself who endangered the existence of the government, but those who had wished to put to death the foremost men in the state. §§ 41, 42. He had consistently resisted such measures as the arrest of the metoeci, the seizure of arms, the hiring of the Spartan garrison, the banishment of leading citizens. §§ 43, 44. Did such conduct show him to be a friend or a traitor? Surely those rather were traitors who by such evil counsel had made so many enemies. §§ 45, 46. He had indeed turned against the Four Hundred, but only when he had perceived that they had deluded the people with the vain hope of a Spartan alliance. §§ 47, 48. He was nicknamed the Buskin for suit ing both sides; but what of Critias who suited neither side? He had consistently advocated a moderate constitution, opposed alike to extreme democracy and extreme oligarchy. § 49. If Critias could convict him of treachery to such a policy, he was indeed worthy of death.' §§ 50, 51. Critias, seeing that Theramenes would be acquitted by the Council, arbitrarily erased his name from the roll of the Three Thousand and condemned him to death in the name of the Thirty. §§ 52-54. Theramenes took refuge at the altar, appealing against this illegal procedure; but Critias, relying on the guard he had posted round the Council Chamber, handed him over to the Eleven. §§ 55, 56. The Council, panic stricken, passively allowed Theramenes to be dragged away from the altar and hurried to execution. His last sayings.

404-403 B.C.

§ 1. ánavrían, i.e. this year was not named, like the other years, after the ἄρχον ἐπώνυμος. For the election of Pythodorus cp. Introd. p. xliii.

§ 2. εἴδοξε τῷ δήμῳ. This decree was passed on the proposal of Dracontides. Xenophon here apparently puts the appointment of the Thirty before the capture of Samos, but Aristotle dates it in the archonship of Pythodorus (404 July—403 July), and Diodorus (xiv. 3) puts it after the capture of Samos (cp. § 9
τελευτώντος τοῦ θέρους). It is, however, more probable that Lysander made a special visit to Athens, when he was already occupied with the siege of Samos, and that the appointment took place in June: cp. Grote, viii. 26 note, and Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 109 note. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 3; Lys. xii. 73. Xenophon passes over all the intervening events, viz. the nomination of five ephors, among whom were Critias and Eratosthenes afterwards members of the Thirty, through the agency of the oligarchical clubs (Lys. xii. 44), the embitterment of internal dissensions, the arrest of the democratical leaders (Lys. xiii. 28), and the invitation sent by the oligarchs to Lysander, who was still besieging Samos, to interfere in the domestic politics of Athens (Lys. xii. 72). When he arrived in Athens, his oligarchical partisans easily procured the passing of the decree mentioned in the text through the Assembly with all the usual legal forms, backed as they were by the threats of Lysander (Plut. Lys. 15), on the ground that the Athenians had not completed the demolition of the walls within the time prescribed in the treaty, Of the Thirty ten were nominated by Theramenes, ten by the five ephors, and ten by the Assembly itself. (Lys. xii. 77.)

toὺς πατρίους νόμους, cp. τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν, Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 3; 35. 2; Diod. xiv. 3. Similarly the Four Hundred had been charged to revise toὺς πατρίους νόμους, 'Αθ. πολ. 29. 3.

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

§ 3. ἀπέπλει: this, as already stated in the note on § 2, must mean Lysander's return to resume the siege of Samos after his second visit to Athens at the invitation of Theramenes and the oligarchs: cp. Lysias xii. 71; xiii. 34. The interval between Lysander's departure and this second visit must have been a short one, because not only Lysias but Plutarch and Diodorus also represent him as complaining that the Athenians had not pulled down their walls τῶν ἡμερῶν, εὖ αὖ ἐδεῖ καθηρῆσαι, παροχημένων.

ἐκ τῆς Δεκέλειας, which Agis had first occupied in the summer of 413 B.C.; cp. i. 1. 33; ii. 2. 7.

§ 4. περὶ ἡλίου ἐκλειψῆς: September 3.

Ἀνκόφρων, nothing more is known of the affair.

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

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

§ 6. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι, cp. ii. 2. 6.

ἀπέναυ. Some of the democratic exiles found refuge in Ephesus and Notium, CIA. ii. 16.

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

δέκα ἀρχοντας . . . φρουρεῖν, i.e. Lysander organized the government of Samos in the same way as he had previously done in the other subject states; cp. ii. 2. 2 note. Thorax was left as harshest, Diod. xiv. 3. φρουρεῖν is epeexegetical, ὡστε φρουρεῖν, unless indeed it be a gloss.

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

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

τὰς ἑκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις: acc. to Plut. Lys. 15 he had already burnt them.

πλὴν δῶδεκα, cp. ii. 2. 20.

ἀ περιεγένοντο. Contrast the conduct of Lysander, when Callicratidas succeeded him in 406, i. 6. 10. παρέδειξεν: cp. ii. 1. 14.


τῶν . . . σπονδῶν, concluded 446-445: cp. Thuc. i. 114.

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

καθηρέθη: the aorist expresses the completion of the process, the beginning of which some time before was expressed by the imperfect κατέσκαλτον, cp. ii. 2. 23.

ἐφ᾽ ὄτε συγγράψαι: for a similar use of ἐφ᾽ ὄτε with an infinitive cp. iii. 5. 24. Goodwin, M. T. 610.
πολιτεύσοντο, for the fut. opt. cp. § 2 and Goodwin, M. T. 134, 574.

κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς: cp. Arist.'Δθ. πολ. 35. 1 πεντακοσίους δὲ βουλευτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστήσαντες ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων (the Knights?), καὶ προσελάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀρχοντας δέκα καὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φίλακας ἕνδεκα καὶ μαστιγοφόρους τριακοσίους ὑπηρέτας κατείχον τὴν πόλιν δὲ ἑαυτῶν. So too Diodorus (xiv. 4) βουλήν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φιλῶν κατέστησαν' ὡστε τούτους καλείσθαι μὲν ἀρχοντας, εἰκιν δ᾽ ὑπηρέτας τῶν τριάκοντα. Moreover, as appears from §§ 12, 23, 28, they transferred all judicial powers to the βουλή: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 2 τὸ κύρος ὤ ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν.

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

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

ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας: cp. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 35. 2 κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ... τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ τοὺς τῶ δήμῳ πρὸς χάριν ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ τὸ βελτίστων καὶ κακοπράγμονοι ὄντας καὶ ποιηροὺς ἀνήρουν, ἐφ' ὅς ἔξαρεν ἡ πόλις γυνομένοις, ἥγούμενοι τοῦ βελτίστου χάριν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς, cp. Diod. xiv. 4. The sycophants made a practice of informing against rich citizens: they gained money either by sharing in the fine imposed after a successful accusation, or by blackmailing under threats of accusation: cp. Mem. ii. 9. 1; Symp. 4. 30.

τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς, cp. § 22 βελτίστων, and ii. 2. 6 τῶν γνωρίμων.

συνήθεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι: for a similar construction cp. ii. 4. 17. μὴ, not οὐ, is used, because of the relative clause implying a condition, Goodwin, M. T. 841.

οὐδὲν ἡχῆσον. Even Lysias (xii. 5) admits that at first the conduct of the Thirty had at least a show of justice about it: cp. Sall. Cat. 51.

§ 13. ὅπως ἃν: this use of ὅπως with ἃν in indirect questions is almost peculiar to Xenophon, representing the direct question with ἃν and the optative: cp. iii. 2. 1; vii. 1. 27; Cyrop. ii. 1. 4; &c. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Ἀριστοτέλη οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ Ἄριστοτέλην: two members of the Thirty; cp. § 2, and ii. 2. 18.
404-403 B.C.  II. iii. 14, 15

ἐπείδαι, so Diod. xiv. 4. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 37. 1 (evidently erroneously) puts the sending for and arrival of the Spartan garrison after the limitation of the citizenship to 3,000, the capture of Phyle by Thrasybulus, the murder of Theramenes, and the stratagem whereby all the Athenians except the 3,000 were deprived of their arms. It is obvious that without the support of the Spartan garrison the Thirty would not have ventured on any such extreme measures: cp. Busolt (Hermes, xxxiiii. p. 71) for a defence of Aristotle.

σφίσι συμπράξαι, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'that Lysander would join them in effecting that guards should come'; cp. § 14 συνεπράξεν, and for the infin. ἐλθεῖν without ὡστε cp. ii. 4. 28 διανεισθῆναι.


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

ἂν: notice the unusual omission of ἃν with ἀνέχεσθαι, the first of the two opposed sentences: it is perhaps inserted in the second only, because πλείστους ἄν ... λαμβάνειν is so obviously the apodosis of the condition applied in ἐπιχειροῦντας.

§ 15. ὁ Κριτιάς, it is curious that Critias' name is never so much as once mentioned by Arist. Ἀθ. πολ.

ἐπεὶ δὲ: the apodosis is wanting. It is virtually taken up at § 18 with the words ἐκ τοῦτον.

πολλοὶς ἀποκτείνειν: cp. Isoc. vii. 67 πεντακοσίους μὲν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, and Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 35. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔσχον, οὐδένως ἀπέχοντο τῶν πολιτῶν, ᾧ ἀπέκτειναν τῶς καὶ τάς οὐσίας καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι προέχοντας, ὑπεξαρ- ραίμενοι τε τῶν φόβων καὶ βουλόμενοι τάς οὐσίας διαρράξειν καὶ χρόνου διαπεσόντος βραχέως οἰκ. ἐλάττους ἀνηρήκεσαν ἣ χιλίους πεντακοσίους.

ἄτε καὶ φυγών. The date and cause of his banishment are unknown. He was in Athens at the time of the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., had proposed the recall of Alcibiades c. 407 B.C. (cp. Plut. Alc. 33), and was an exile in Thessaly during the Trial of The Ten Generals in 406 B.C. (cf. § 36). Accordingly some have supposed that he was banished, perhaps on the accusation of Cleophon (Ar. Rhet. i. 1. 13), in 407, as being mixed up with the affairs of Alcibiades. He came back with the other exiles after the capture of Athens, and was nominated one of the five ephors: cp. Lysias xii. 78.
§ 16. οὐκ ἐγχώροι, κ.τ.λ., 'that it was impossible for those who aimed at extraordinary power not to put out of the way those who were most capable of hindering them': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 815.

ὁσπερ τυραννίδος, 'you think that we ought with any the less care to look after this government just as if it were a tyranny': the comparison is expressed in ὅτι... οὐχ εἰς. ὥσπερ = οὕτως ὥσπερ. Hermann proposes to read ἢ ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, which gives an obvious, but a slightly different sense: cp. Critical Note.

§ 17. καὶ ἄδικος: καὶ emphasizes the adverb.

θαυμάζοντες... ἡ πολιτεία: cp. Anab. iii. 5. 13 θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἑλλήνες καὶ τί ἐν νῷ ἔχουν.

§ 18. οἱ ἄλλοι τρίακοντα, although Critias and Theramenes were of their number. οἱ τρίακοντα is similarly used as a proper name in ii. 4. 21, 23, 38, after several of them had been killed.

οὐχ ἦκιστα, i. e. μάλιστα.

καταλέγουσι. So Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 36. 4 Ὡηραμένης ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς γιγνομένους τῆς μὲν ἀσελγείας αὐτοῖς παρῆμεν παύσασθαι, μεταδοῦναι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις. οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι ἐναντιωθέντες, ἐπεὶ διεσπάρθησαν οἱ λόγοι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θηραμένην οἰκείους εἶχον οἱ πολλοί, φοβηθέντες μὴ προστάτης γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου καταλύσῃ τὴν δυναστείαν καταλέγουσιν τῶν πολιτῶν τρισκλίους ὡς μεταδώσοντες τῆς πολιτείας.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας = οἱ μεθέξουσι. Similarly the Four Hundred, in 411 B.C., had pretended to enroll 5,000 citizens from those capable of supplying themselves with heavy armour at their own expense: cp. § 48. It appears from § 51 that no member of the 3,000 could be condemned without the warrant of the Council, while any other Athenian could be put to death simply at the orders of the Thirty.

§ 19. ὁ δὲ Ἄθο Θηραμένης: Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 36. 4 is in almost verbal agreement: Θηραμένης δὲ πάλιν ἐπίτιμα καὶ τούτους, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι βουλήμενοι μεταδοῦναι τοὺς ἐπεικείσι τρισκλίους μόνοις μεταδιδόσαι, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῆς ἄρχης ὀρμημένης, ἐπειδή ὅτι δύο τὰ ἐναντιώστα ποιοῦσιν, βιανύν τε τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἥττω κατασκευάζοντες.

Βουλήμενοι, κ.τ.λ. κοινονόν ποιήσασθαι must be repeated with τρισκλίους: cp. Anab. iii. 4. 13: iv. 5. 15. The meaning is, 'though wishing to take the best of the citizens into partnership, they had taken only three thousand': cp. Critical Note.
II. iii. 20–22

τὸν ἄριθμὸν τούτον ἔχοντα is in the accusative absolute: cp. § 51;

ii. 3. 2. 19.
oίνον τε εἶη, as if ὁσπερ εἰ ὁ ἄριθμὸς οὕτος ἔλαοι had preceded:
cp. iii. 2. 23.

ἡμᾶς, i. e. the Thirty.

ἡπτονα τῶν ἄρχομένων, 'weaker than the governed.'

§ 20. ἐξέτασιν: Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 2 puts this disarmament after the death of Theramenes (cp. § 13 note), merely stating ἐγνώσαν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ ὅπλα παρελέσθαι.

κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα: this phrase, as the passage stands, can only mean κελεύσαντες ἐλαῖ τὰ ὅπλα, 'having ordered them to take up their arms,' 'to fall in': cp. Anab. i. 5. 13. But to whom, we ask, was the command given, and who are the ἐκεῖνοι? The passage, as Cobet points out (Mnemosyne, vi. 47), ought to indicate some stratagem by which all ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου were induced to leave their arms behind them, but no such meaning can be extracted from the words as they stand. Probably there is a lacuna which both Cobet and Dindorf suggest might be filled by some such words as κελεύσαντες ἀπείναι ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα. J. B. Kan would read θέσθαι instead of ἐπὶ, comparing Thuc. vi. 58.

τόσος φρουροίς: the Spartan garrison.

ἐν τῷ ναῷ, i. e. of Athena.

§ 21. ὡς ἔξων, accusative absolute: cp. § 19.

ἐκαστὸν, i. e. τῶν τριάκοντα, 'that each of the Thirty should seize one of the Metoeci': cp. § 40, and Lysias, xii. 6 Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοικῶν, ὡς εἶν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀγθόμενοι καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ’ ἐργῷ χρηματίζεσθαι πάντως δὲ τῇ μὲν πῦλῃ πένεσθαι, τῇ δ’ ἄρχῃ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων ... ἐδοξεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβέειν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητα, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὡςπέρ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβαδίζον. καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐξέτους ἐστιώντα κατέλισον, ὡς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνι με παραδιδώσαν. Lysias himself was one of the richest resident aliens or metics.

§ 22. λαμβάνονεν: the optative expresses repetition.

τῷ παντὶ, adverbial, 'in every point,' 'altogether': cp. iii. 5. 14; vi. 1. 7.
§ 23. τρόες των βουλευτάς: to whom the judicial power had been transferred: cp. § 11 note.

παραγενέσθαι: just outside the Council Chamber: cp. § 50.

συνάδεξαι. The Thirty summoned the Council, and directed the course of procedure: cp. Lysias xiii. 37 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν βίαθρων, οὐ νῦν οἱ πρυτάνεις καθέκονται: for the different account in Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37 cp. § 50 note.

§ 24. πλείους τού καιροῖ, 'more than is expedient': cp. v. 3. 5.

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

§ 25. τοῖς οἷοι ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν, i.e. τοιοῦτοι οὗτοι ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσμέν: cp. i. 4. 16.

§ 26. λυμαίνεται with the dative has the same meaning as with the accusative, 'to injure,' 'do mischief to': cp. vii. 5. 18; for the accus. cp. §§ 23, 51; iii. 2. 27; 3. 8.

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

ὅσ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ. After this one would expect μαρτύρων to follow, which however is really implied in ήν κατανοήτε, εὑρήσετε: cp. § 34; vi. 1. 11.

πολεμίων μὲν ήν, without ἄν, to express the certainty of the supposed case: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 432.

§ 28. αὐτῷ . . . ἀρέσκει, an anacoluthon, just as if, not ἀρξας and ἐξορμήσα, but ἐπει . . . ἡρξε . . . ἐξώρμησε had preceded: cp. iii. 2. 21.

ἀδ: cp. § 30 πρῶτος ἀδ ἡγεμόν.

§ 29. οὗτος πολεμίων. Here there is no correlative comparative with ὅσῳ, although one is implied in the meaning, 'men are more ready to trust enemies than traitors.' Here ὅσῳ may be translated 'inasmuch as': cp. Isocr. i. 33 ἥγοι τὴν παιδείαν τοσοῦτοι μείζον ἀγαθῶν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδεύσιας, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαιοῦντες πρᾶττοιν κ.τ.λ.


§ 30. κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγγώνα, 'just as his father Hagnon had been': cp. Plat. Symp. 203 d ('Ερως) κατὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐπίβουλος ἐστι τοῖς καλοῖς. Hagnon was one of the πρόβουλοι appointed immediately after the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. viii. 1), who, according to Lysias (xii. 65), prepared the way for the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.
προπετέστατος. For the facts alluded to cp. Thuc. viii. 68, 92; Arist. Αθ. πολ. 29.
κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. For the nickname cp. § 47 and Plut. Nic. 2 διὰ τὸ μή μὸνμον ἀλλ' ἐπαμφοτερίζον δει τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη κόθορνος.
§ 31. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, κ.τ.λ. Morus ingeniously explains this obvious interpolation as a double gloss; the first clause explains the point of the nickname, the second ἀποβλέπει ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων applies to Theramenes, 'he looks away from both parties,' 'faces both ways.' Then a stupid copyist, Morus supposes, united the two glosses with μέν and δέ. The phrase ἀποβλέπει κ.τ.λ. cannot possibly mean 'fits neither foot,' which is the sense required if ὁ κόθορνος be taken as its subject: cp. Critical Note.
δεὶ ... οὔ ... δεινῶν εἶναι must be translated together, 'ought not to be clever at bringing his associates into difficulties.'
eἰς πράγματα, i.e. 'to dangerous undertakings': cp. πράγματα παρέχειν.
eἰ δὲ μή, 'otherwise,' more fully explained by εἰ ... πλέον.
§ 32. θαυματηφόροι: cp. § 24.
πλείστοις ... έξ ὀλγαρχίας = πλείστοις τῶν βελτιώνων, and πλείστοις ἐκ δημοκρατίας = πλείστοις τοῦ δήμου.
μεταίτισι, with the infinitive of the thing caused (ἀπολωλέναι) like αἴτιος, vii. 4. 19.
ίνα αὐτὸς περισσαθείη: cp. Appendix, p. 328, and for the facts alluded to, i. 6. 37; 7. 4 sqq.
§ 33. πῶς δὲ οὐ, sc. χρή.
ὁς μή ... δυνασθή: cp. Cyrop. viii. 7. 27; the ordinary Attic construction would be ὅπως μή with the future indicative: Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.
ὁς ... ποιούμεν ... ἐννοῆσατε: supply θανεῖ εἰδήτε: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 312 and § 27 note.
§ 34. Ἠ Λακεδαιμονίων: Critias was himself the author of a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution: cp. Athen. xi. 463 e; Pollux vii. 59. τοῖς πλείστοι, sc. τῶν ἐφόρων.
τῶν ἐξω. The democrats in exile.
§ 35. Θηραμένης δὲ: Lysias (xii. 77) gives an outline of Theramenes' speech: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ εἰρήμενα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὄνειδιζόμεν μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν (the oligarchs), δότι δὲ αὐτῶν
κατέλθοις, ούδὲν φροντιζόντων Δακεδαιμονίων, ὑνειδίζον δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν ὃτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αἰτίας γεγενημένοι τοιοῦτον τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔργο δεδοκὼς καὶ παρ' ἑκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφὼς.

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον. This assertion of Theramenes is a direct contradiction to Xenophon's own narrative in i. 7. 4 (cp. Appendix, p. 328).

προσταχθὲν μοι υφ' ἐαυτῶν, accus. absolute, 'that although orders had been given me by themselves, I did not rescue,' &c.: cp. § 19 and Goodwin, M. T. 851.

μὴ ὅτι, elliptic phrase μὴ (ἐἴπω) ὅτι, 'much less to': cp. Symp. 2. 26 and Goodwin, M. T. 708.

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

§ 36. τεθανενομηκέναι.† A word is required meaning that Critias had misunderstood the matter: cp. Critical Note.

ἐν Θεσσαλία: cp. § 15. In Mem. i. 2. 24 Xenophon adds Κριτίας . . . φυγὼν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἐκεῖ συνήν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἡ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις: cp. ii. 2. 15 note. Theramenes ridicules Critias for taking exactly the opposite side in Athens to what he had taken in Thessaly: for the Penestae, like the Helots in Lacedaemon, were 'adscripiti glebae.'

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

tοὺς ὁμολογομένως συγκοφάντας: cp. § 12 οὓς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἀπὸ συγκοφαντίας ζόντας. For the adverb with a substantive cp. Demos. xxix. 14 τῶν ὁμολογομένως δούλων: vi. 2. 39; vii. 3. 7.

§ 39. Λέοντος: for the previous history and democratical proclivities of Leon cp. Thuc. viii. 23, 55, 73; i. 5. 16; 6. 16. Plato (Apol. 32) gives a fuller account of this incident, in which Socrates was involved, and showed his courage: cp. Andoc. i. 94.

Νικηφάτου: cp. Lysias xviii. 6 Νικήφατος, ἀνεψιος ὃν ἐμὸς καὶ νῖός
II. iii. 40–45

Νίκιον (the Athenian general), εὖνος δὲν τῷ ύμετέρῳ πλήθει, συλληφθέις. ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθανεν, οὐτὲ γένει οὐτὲ οὐσία ύποθ' ἥλικια δοκῶν ἀνάξιος εἶναι τῆς πολιτείας μετασχέιν. For his wealth cp. Lys. xix. 47.

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

ὑπόπτως . . . ἔξωεν, in an active sense as in Demos. xix. 132 δυσκύλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον.

§ 41. ἐνα ἐκαστὸν: cp. § 21 note.

ὅτε τὰ ὀπλα, κ.τ.λ., cp. § 20.

τούτων ἑνεκα βουλομένου: cp. Diod. xv. 63; Polyaeon i. 45. 5, whence it appears that the Spartan reasons for sparing Athens were based as much on policy as on generosity: cp. ii. 2. 20.

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

§ 42. τὸ φρονοῦντος μισθοῦσθαι, cp. § 13.

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

Ὀρασύβουλον . . . 'Ἀντιον . . .'Ἀλκιβιάδην. In §§ 13, 14, 21 Xenophon alludes only in general terms to the banishment and execution of the leading democrats. More extraordinary still, he never even mentions the assassination of Alcibiades at this time by Pharnabazus, at the wish of Lysander, who had been instigated by Critias to accomplish it: cp. Plut. Alc. 38; Diod. xiv. 11. For Thrasybulus cp. infr. ii. 4. 2 sqq. Anytus was one of the leading democrats, and after his return from exile was the foremost accuser of Socrates: cp. Lys. xiii. 78; Plat. Apol. 18 b.

§ 44. ἀ ἐγὼ λέγω, sc. δεῖν γινεσθαι.

αὐτοῦς, Thrasybulus and the exiles.

τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως, 'the best elements in the state,'

ἡγεσία, sc. αὐτοῦς, accus. and infin. depending on οἷμαι.

τὸ ἐπιβάινειν, subject to χαλεπών.

ποι τῆς χώρας, partitive genitive.

§ 45. ἀ δʹ αὖ ἐπεν, κ.τ.λ., 'again as for his saying that I am of a character always to change,' &c.
II. iii. 46–50

οῖος...μεταβάλλεσθαι: for the infinit. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 759.

ἐψηφίσατο: cp. Thuc. viii. 69; Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 29. 1.

§ 46. ἐκεῖνοι μέν, κ.τ.λ.: ‘the Lacedaemonians were as vigorous as ever’: cp. Thuc. viii. 70.

ἐπὶ τῷ χώρατι ἔρυμα, i.e. the fort Eetionea; cp. Thuc. viii. 90.

τοῖς ἐταίροις, the members of the oligarchical clubs through whose influence the Revolution of the Four Hundred had been effected: cf. Thuc. viii. 54.

ταύτ’ αἰσθόμενοι. So Thucydides (viii. 92) attributes the discovery and exposure of the plan to Theramenes.

§ 47. κόθορον, cp. § 30.

§ 48. πρὶν [ἂν], for ἂν with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 702.

†δραχμῆς †μετέχοιες, i.e. should be made Councillors, a drachma being the daily pay for sitting in the Council. Cobet thinks the expression, δραχμῆς μετέχοιες, too artificial, and conjectures αὐτῆς, i.e. τῆς πόλεως: cp. Critical Note.

τὸ μέντοι...διὰ τούτων: if Dindorf’s reading διατάττειν for διὰ τούτων be adopted, τὸ...διατάττειν is the subject to ἀριστον...ἔιναι and ὥφελειν depends on δυναμέοις. If, however, the MSS. reading be retained, the sentence is an anacoluthon. Xenophon begins with τὸ μέντοι σιών τοῖς δυναμέοις (sc. ὥφελειν τὴν πολιτείαν) καὶ μεθ’ ἵππων καὶ μετ’ ἀσπίδων ὥφελειν, as if he were going on to say τὴν πολιτείαν ἀρίστην παρέχειν ἵγγούμην. Instead of doing so however he breaks off with διὰ τούτων (i.e. διὰ τῶν δυναμέων ὥφελειν καὶ μεθ’ ἵππων, κ.τ.λ.) in the same sense as Demostenes uses the phrase τὰς διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων πολιτείας, and entirely alters the construction. In this case we may translate: ‘but to support the constitution with the help (σῶν) of those who are able to do so both with horses and with shields....I say, I used formerly to think that a constitution formed by (διὰ) such men is the best,’ &c.; cp. § 18 note. For the part that Theramenes played in the Four Hundred cp. Thuc. viii. 68; and for the excellence of the constitution limited to οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων cp. Thuc. viii. 97; Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 33. 2.

§ 50. εὐμενῶς ἐπιθερμοβήσασα: cp. Diod. xiv. 4 παραλαβῶν τῶν λόγων ὁ Θηραμένης, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπολογησάμενος ἀπασάν ἐσχε τὴν βουλὴν εὑσών.

ἀναφεύγοιτο, for the more usual ἀποφεύγοιτο: so too vi. 5. 40.

οὐ βιωτῶν, ‘unendurable.’
404–403 B.C.

II. iii. 51

τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας: cp. § 22, and Diod. xiv. 4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κριτίαν φοβούμενοι τὸν ἀνδρὰ μὴ ποτὲ καταλύσῃ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν περιέστησαν στρατιώτας ἔχοντας ἐσπασμένα τὰ ξίφη.

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

§ 51. προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οὖν δεῖ, 'that it is the duty of such a president as a man ought to be.' οὖν is attracted into the case of προστάτου. Two constructions are here confounded: (1) νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οὖν δεῖ ... ὀρῶντα ... μὴ ἔπιτρέπειν, and (2) νομίζω προστάτην εἶναι οὖν δεῖ, δὲ ἐν ὀρῶν ... μὴ ἔπιτρέπη.

οἱ ἐφεστηκότες, i.e. οἱ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες: cp. § 50.

ἐν τοῖς καυσίς νόμοις: cp. § 11 αἱρεθέντες ἐφὶ φτε συγγράψαι νόμους: and in Mem. i. 2. 31 Xenophon speaks more specifically of ὁ Κριτίας ... τῶν τριάκοντα ὄν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους. Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 speaks of two laws used against Theramenes, the one arming the Thirity with full powers to put any citizen to death ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου, and the second forbidding any one to be put on the κατάλογος, who had taken part in destroying the fort at Eetionea or who had in any way opposed the government of the Four Hundred. Mr. Kenyon in his note ad loc. says: 'as to the first of these two laws Aristotle agrees with Xenophon, but as to the second the two accounts differ fundamentally. ... At best it can only be supposed that Critias instead of striking out the name of Theramenes from the list of the 3,000, proposed the second law as described by Aristotle and forced it down the throat of the council by threat of armed force.' Really however the two accounts are quite reconcilable, and a parallel passage in Lysias as to the proceedings of the oligarchs against Cleophon (404) strongly confirms Mr. Kenyon's hypothesis as the proper solution of the difficulty: cp. Lys. xxx. 11 οἱ δὲ (the oligarchs) βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν (Cleophon) ἀπολέσαι, δεδιότες μὴ οὐκ ἀποκτείνοσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πείθουσι Νικομαχίδην νόμον ἀποδείξαι ὡς χρή καὶ τὴν βουλὴν συνδικάζειν. καὶ ὁ πάντων οὖτος ποιηρότατος (Satyrus) οὕτω φανερῶς συνεστασίας, ὡστε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἂν ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο ἀποδείξε τῶν νόμων. Similarly we have only to suppose that on this occasion Critias invented a καυσὸς νόμος to meet the case: we need not therefore be surprised that Xenophon has made no mention of this second νόμος ἄνομος: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. l. c. ἄν (the destruction of the fort and the overthrow of
the Four Hundred) ἐτύγχανεν ἀμφοτέρων κεκοιμωνηκὼς ὁ Ἐθραμένης, ὅστε συνέβαινεν ἐπικυρωθέντων τῶν νόμων ἐξω τε γίγνεσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τριάκοντα κυρίων εἶναι βασιλοίν.

tῶν ἐξω, genitive dependent on κυρίων: βασιλοῖν is added epexegetically.

συνδοκοῦν, used absolutely: cp. § 35 προσταχθέν.

§ 52. ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν, where stood the altar at which the Councillors took their oath. So Diod. xiv. 4.

§ 53. ἀσεβέστατοι, cp. Diod. xiv. 4: ὁ δὲ φθίσας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ πρὸς τὴν βουλαίαν ἑστίαν, ἐφησε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καταφεύγειν, οὐ σωθήσεσθαι νομίζων, ἀλλὰ σπεύδων τοὺς ἀνελούσιν αὐτὸν περιποίησασθαι τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν.

καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες, i.e. ‘especially when you perceive.’

§ 54. ἐκείνου, for the ellipse of λέναι cp. § 20.

τοὺς ἐνδέκα: cp. i. 7. 10 note. The Thirty seem to have retained this old democratical magistry, filling it however with the most violent of their partisans.

ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες, a nominativus pendens without an accompanying finite verb: cp. ii. 2. 3.

Σατύρον. Lysias (xxx. 10, 12, 14) speaks of him as a violent member of the oligarchical Council in 404, who was foremost in accusing Cleophon, and afterwards as one of the Thirty. His name does not however occur in Xenophon’s list: cp. § 2.

tὰ ἐκ τούτων = τὰ λοιπά, lit. ‘what comes next’: cp. Plut. Poplic. 6 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀποστρέψας τὸ πρῶσωπον, ἵμετερον ἡδη, εἶπε, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον.

§ 55. εἰλκε ... εἰλκὸν: for the anaphora cp. v. 1. 35.

ἤσυχιαν εἰχὲν: Diodorus (xiv. 5) relates that Socrates and two of his friends rushed forward to interfere; and ps.-Plutarch (v. Orat. p. 836) ascribes the same to Isocrates. Probably both are quite mistaken: cp. Grote viii. 45 note.

§ 56. ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, i.e. ‘having jerked out the last drop.’ The κότταβος was a convivial practice, consisting in jerking out the last drop from a cup, which was supposed to furnish an omen by its sound in falling. Then the guest, who had just drunk, handed on the cup to the guest whose turn came next: cp. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. 40. 96 quum venenum ut sitiens obduxisset, reliquum sic e poculo ciecit, ut id resonaret, quo sonitu redditto arridens, ‘Propino,’
inquit, 'hoc pulcro Critiae,' qui in eum fuerat teterrimus. Graeci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sint. lusit vir egregius extreemo spiritu, quem iam praecordiis conceptam mortem contineret: vereque ei, cui venenum praebiberat, mortem eam est auguratus, quae brevi consecuta est.

έκεινο δὲ κρίνω. Here for the only time in the first two books, the noble death of Theramenes draws from Xenophon a remark in the first person. His portrait of him agrees well with that in Thucydides (viii. 68, 89, 92): cp. Aristoph. Frogs 968. Theramenes in the Trial of the Generals does not scruple to sacrifice the lives of others to secure his own. In bringing about the second oligarchical revolution he is as skilful and successful in his intrigues as he was in the first. So soon as he perceives that the policy of the Thirty is leading them to certain destruction, he opposes them with the same skill as he had used in setting them up; and when at last his opposition brings him into personal danger, the nobler side of his character shines out, till he drinks the cup of hemlock with the courage and cheerfulness of Socrates. But after all that can be said in his favour, it is hard to understand Aristotle’s judgement on Theramenes (’Αθ. πολ. 28. 5, also quoted by Plutarch, Nicias 2), where he mentions him in the same category with the statesmen Nicias and Thucydides, δοκούσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονόντες τῶν Ἀθήναις πολιτευσαμένον μετὰ τῶν ἄρχαίων, though at the same time admitting the justice of his nickname of κόλωρος. Beloch indeed (Die Politik Athens seit Perikles 101 and Griech. Gesch. ii. 117), relying on Theramenes’ own words in § 48, tries to show that he consistently aimed to establish a moderate democracy at Athens, based on the middle classes who had some stake in the state, both when he joined the conspiracy of the Four Hundred in 411, and when he became one of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and that he turned against his colleagues on both occasions, not from a mere wish to save his own life, but because he really disapproved of the extreme form of oligarchy which they had introduced, based as it was upon robbery and murder. From the epithet ὁ κομψός, which is given to him by Aristophanes, we may conclude that he was in the habit of drawing delicate distinctions; and very delicate distinctions indeed are required to free him from the charge of treachery in his conduct at the Trial of the Generals and the capitulation of Athens.

XEN. HELL.
CHAPTER IV

§ 1. The Thirty expelled all not on the roll of the Three Thousand from Attica. The refugees assembled in Megara and Thebes. §§ 2–7. Thrasybulus, starting from Thebes with a few refugees, seized Phyle, repulsed the attack of the Thirty, and made a successful sally upon their camp, his forces being now increased to 700. §§ 8–10. The Thirty seized Eleusis as a place of retreat for themselves, capturing by a stratagem all the able-bodied Eleusinians. Next day they compelled the Athenian Knights and the Three Thousand to condemn all these prisoners to death. §§ 10–12. Thrasybulus marched upon Piraeus, but unable to hold so large a town against the forces of the Thirty, occupied a strong position on Munychia. §§ 13–16. Thrasybulus addressed his troops. 'On the right they had against them the men they had already defeated, on the left the hated Thirty. The gods were evidently now on their side: for victory was certain over an enemy placed in so unfavourable a position. § 17. Every one of them must fight, remembering the high stakes at issue, and the vengeance due to all of them.' §§ 18, 19. Warned by the seer, who was himself the first to fall, Thrasybulus waited for the enemy to attack, whereupon he gained a complete victory, Critias himself being among the slain. §§ 20–22. When after the battle the troops of the two factions met together, Cleocritus, the sacred herald, proclaimed on behalf of the refugees with Thrasybulus, that they had no quarrel with their fellow-citizens, but only with the Thirty, who in eight months had caused the death of more Athenians than the Lacedaemonians in ten years. The Thirty withdrew their forces to Athens. § 23. At a meeting of the Council open dissension broke out among the Three Thousand, until they voted to depose the Thirty and appoint Ten in their place. §§ 24, 25. The Thirty retired to Eleusis. The Ten supported by the Knights kept guard over the city. Their opponents at Piraeus made new weapons and organized their ever increasing forces. §§ 26, 27. Meanwhile they made constant sallies, in revenge for which the Knights ruthlessly butchered some Axionians. In return they killed the Knight Callistratus, and soon ventured to march close up to the walls of Athens. §§ 28, 29. In response to an appeal from the Three Thousand at Athens and the Thirty at Piraeus, the Spartans sent out Lysander as harmost and his brother as admiral to blockade Piraeus, so that the tables were once more turned. §§ 29, 30. But Pausanias, out of jealousy against Lysander, persuaded three of the Ephors to let him head a second expedition to Athens. All the allies followed him, except the Corinthians and Boeotians, who refused to join, and with them he encamped near Piraeus. §§ 31–34. Pausanias summoned the refugees
at Piraeus to disperse, and on their refusal made a half-hearted attack upon them. Failing in this and in a similar attack he advanced the next day with all his forces and gained a complete victory over Thrasybulus and his supporters. §§ 35-37. Pausanias urged the two factions at Piraeus and Athens to send envoys to him and the Ephors present in his camp; and when they arrived in obedience to his summons, he sent them on to Sparta, where they both tendered a complete submission to the Lacedaemonian supremacy. §§ 38, 39. The Spartan government despatched fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of reconciliation. These settled, Pausanias disbanded his army, and Thrasybulus marched up to Athens. §§ 40-42. Speech of Thrasybulus — 'On what grounds did their opponents claim to rule over them? Facts had shown them to be no juster, braver, or wiser than themselves. Even the Lacedaemonians had forsaken them. Once more he wished his followers to show themselves the better men by keeping their oath of reconciliation.' § 43. The Athenians then reorganized their constitution; but shortly afterwards, hearing that the Thirty were forming a conspiracy, they seized and slew their generals, but came to terms with the rest, to which ever since they had faithfully adhered.


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

φευγόντων, for the genitive absolute cp. i. 1. 26, vi. 4. 8.

ἀγώνες, sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

Μέγαρα ... Θῆβας: according to Diod. xiv. 6 the Argives were the first to disobey the Lacedaemonian edict and ὑπεδέχοντο φιλανθρώπων τοὺς φυγάδας. καὶ Θῆβαιοι δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρόστιμον τῷ θεασαμένῳ μὲν ἀγώνευν φυγάδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

§ 2. Ἑρασύβουλος: cp. ii. 3. 42: for the date cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 ἡδὲ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστῶτος καταλαβόντος Ἑρασύβουλον μετὰ τῶν φυγαίδων Φυλῆν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦν ἐξῆγαγον οἱ τριάκοντα κακῶς ἀποχωρίσαντες, κ.τ.λ. So too Diod. xiv. 32 with different details.

Φυλῆν, between Mounts Cithaeron and Parnes, high up on the road from Athens to Thebes, about twelve miles NW. from Athens.

μάλ' εὐημερίας ὤσης: for the adverb with a substantive cp. v. 4. 14.

§ 3. χιῶν: cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 37. 1 already quoted.
§ 4. φυλάς: the Athenian army was organized on the basis of Cleisthenes’ ten tribes. Cp. Hdt. vi. 111; § 23 note and iv. 2. 19.

§ 5. ἡδη shows that some considerable interval had elapsed since § 3.

συνειλεγμένων ... περὶ ἐπτακοσίους: cp. iv. 6. 12 καὶ ἀπέθανον ... περὶ τριακοσίους.

§ 6. ἀνισταντο, κ.τ.λ., ‘had already risen and were going,’ the notion of motion implied being shown by ὅποι. The nom. is οἱ πολέμων understood.

ὅποι ἐδείτο ἐκαστος: cp. vii. 1. 16.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν, ‘from the camp’: cp. Critical Note.

§ 7. στησάμενοι. Xenophon, though he uses both active and middle, seems to prefer the latter in such passages; the older historians use only the active: for the active cp. i. 2. 3, 10; 4. 23; 5. 14: for the middle § 35.

ἀνεχώρησαν. Diodorus (xiv. 32) tells a story (cp. Justin v. 9) that at this point the Thirty tried by promises to induce Thrasybulus to come back to Athens and take the place of Theramenes.

§ 8. οὐκέτι νομίζουτε, κ.τ.λ. Lysias (xxv. 22) represents dissensions as having already broken out among the Three Thousand themselves.

καταφυγήν, Eleusis being a fortified town.

παραγεῖλαντες, sc. ἔλθειν.

eis Ἑλευσίνα. It appears that many of the Salaminians suffered at the same time as the Eleusinians: cp. Lysias xii. 52 ἔλθων (i.e. Eratosthenes) μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων eis Ἑλευσίνα καὶ Ἑλευσίναδε τριακοσίων τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπηγαγεν eis τὸ δεσμωτήριον, καὶ μία ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων θανάτου καταφυγίσατο: cp. ib. xiii. 44; Diod. xiv. 32.

ἐν τοὶς ἱππεύσιν has probably crept into the text from τοῖς ἱππεύσιν immediately above. For if the Athenian Knights are meant in the sense of ‘under the protection of the Knights,’ we should rather expect σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν: and it can hardly mean the Eleusinian Knights, because it appears, from what immediately follows, that the review was of the whole forces, horse and foot alike. Moreover ἐξέτασον ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν can scarcely be equivalent to ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππεῶν: cp. Critical Note.

πόσης ... προσδεχόμεντο, i.e. how large an additional garrison the Eleusinians would need to make the place secure.

ἀναγαγόντα, i.e. from the coast to Athens.
tois evdeka: cp. ii. 3. 54.

§ 9. to 'Ωideion. At this time there were two Odea, the one built by Pericles (Plut. Per. 13) on the south-east side of the Acropolis, the other, an older one, outside the city to the south-east on the river Ilissus. It is doubtful which of the two is here meant.

tois ållous. For this use of ållous cp. i. 1. 6; ii. 2. 18, &c.

fanerw... twn ψήφων: cp. the decree of the Council as to the trial of the generals, i. 7. 9; Lysias xiii. 37 [i.e. μεν γαρ τρίακοντα έκάθηντο επί των βάθρων, οδ ην οι προτάνεις καθεζονται' δου δε τραπέζαι εν τα] πρόσθεν των τρίακοντα έκεισθην. την δε ψήφων ουκ εις καδιακους ållâ fane]rw̱n επί τας τραπέζας ταύτας έδει τίθεσθαι, την μεν κα]ba]rov]σαν ε]π]i τ]ην ύστεραν, . . .

§ 10. twn politw]n, the Three Thousand.
ēk δε τούτου, four days later than the events in § 7 (cp. § 13), so that in the interval 300 more refugees must have joined Thrasybulus at Phyle.

anafére]savan. The participle is here transposed as πεμφθε]nta, i. 1. 23.

§ 11. eti meν, 'for a while,' here opposed to a second action, which has not yet begun—επει δε.

μη ἀνείναι, i.e. 'to prevent their approach': so vii. 2. 12.
ο κύκλος, 'the wall surrounding Piraeus.' Thucydides (ii. 13) calls it sixty stadia, or more than seven miles round.

Μουνιχ]iαν, the hill on the east side of the Piraeus peninsula.

Bendid]ieov, the temple of Bendis, the Thracian Moon-goddess.
epi πεντήκοντα. This unusual depth was on account of their great number and the confined space. The ordinary depth of the phalanx was eight.

§ 12. ep' autw]is, 'behind them': cp. i. 1. 34.
autóde]ν, 'from the place itself,' i.e. from Munychia and Piraeus.

tà δ' ållâ úp]l]α, i.e. spear and sword.


II. iv. 14–18 404–403 B.C.

toûs χιλτάτους...ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀποσημαίνεσθαι is properly applied to the confiscation of goods and chattels only. Here, in his indignation, the speaker applies it to citizens: cp. Critical Note, and Appendix, p. 359.

παραγεγένηται. The subject is 'the exiled citizens': with οὖ...φώντο supply παραγεγένησθαι ἂν.

§ 14. συνελαμβανόμεθα, 'were arrested.'
oi δὲ καί without a preceding οἱ μέν, as i. 2. 14.
oὐχ ὡτός...ἀλλ' οὐδὲ, 'non modo non...sed ne quidem':
cp. v. 4. 34; vi. 4. 3.
ἐν εὐδία χευμόνα: cp. §§ 2, 3, 7.
§ 15. ὑπέρ, 'above the heads of': cp. Cyrop. vi. 3. 24 τοξεύοντες ὑπέρ τῶν προσθεν πάνων.

ὁρθον: cp. Strab. ix. 395 λόφος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Μουνχία χερσονησίαζων...στομίῳ δὲ μικρὸ τὴν εἰσόδον ἔχων.

§ 16. τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις. The dative may be either after δεησεν or after μάχεσθαι.

ἀμαρτήσουσι...ὁ...μεστῇ, i.e. τούτων ὁν.

φυλασσόμενοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ., 'but to protect themselves they will always be skulking behind their shields.'

ἐναλλομένοι makes better sense if taken of the enemy, 'to drive them back, when they leap upon our ranks.' Most commentators construe it with the subject ἢμασ understood.

§ 17. οὕτω πλοῦσιος ὦν καλοῦ: here οὕτω belongs to καλοῦ. Its force is strengthened by the interposition of πλοῦσιος ὄν, 'however rich he may be': cp. iii. 5. 24; iv. 4. 12.

παιάνα, the Greek war song, invoking the aid of the deity, usually Apollo: cp. iv. 7. 4 and Anab. v. 2. 14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιώνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο, ἀμα τo Ἑνναλίῳ ἠλελίζαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, κ.τ.λ.

toν Ἑνναλίον, 'the war-god Ares': cp. Anab. i. 8. 18 τῷ Ἑνναλίῳ ἠλελίζειν.

§ 18. δ' μάντις: the article because such seers were regularly attached to Greek armies: cp. Her. vii. 228; Thuc. vi. 69, &c.

μὴ πρότερον ἐπείδεσθαι...τρωβεῖν, i.e. in order that the guilt of being the first to shed a fellow-citizen's blood might be upon the enemy.

πρὶν [ἂν]. For ἂν cp. ii. 3. 48 note.
§ 19. Κηφισοῦ. This stream passes under the road from Piraeus to Athens, and falls into the Bay of Phalerum.

τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιῶι δέκα ἀρχόντων: cp. § 38. Neither Xenophon, Lysias, Diodorus, Nepos, nor Justin mention the appointment of these magistrates, who are here introduced with the article as if already known to the reader. Arist. ΑΘ. Πολ. 35. 1 (quoted ii. 3. 11 note) puts their appointment by the Thirty immediately after their own election; so too Plat. Epist. vii. 324. Plutarch (Lys. 15) attributes their institution to Lysander himself: εῦθες δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκήνησε (Λύσανθος) τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν ἀατε, δέκα δὲ ἐν Πειραιῶι καταστήσας ἀρχόντας.

Χαριάδης, uncle of Plato and once a ward of Critias: Xenophon (Mem. iii. 7. 1) calls him ἀξιολόγου ἄνδρα καὶ πολλῷ δυνατότερον τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ τότε πραττόντων.

§ 20. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κηρυξ, one of the Eumolpidae, the hereditary heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries: cp. Aristoph. Frogs 1085.


ἐν ὀκτὼ μησίν, from May or June 404 to January or February 403.

δέκα ἐτη, i. e. the last ten years of the Peloponnesian War, known as the Decelean War. Isocrates (xii. 24, 67) says that the Thirty put 1,500 citizens to death: cp. ii. 3. 15 note.

§ 22. τῶν . . . ἀποθανόντων . . . ἔστων οὐς, 'some of those who have been slain.'

οἱ δὲ λαοί τῶν ἀρχοντῶν: of the Thirty at Athens twenty-seven, and of the Ten at Piraeus nine, were still alive.

καὶ διὰ τὸ, κ.τ.λ., i. e. as well as an account of their defeat.

§ 23. διεφέροντο πρὸς ἄλλοις: cp. § 8 note.

τοῖς ἐν Πειραιῶ: the followers of Thrasybulus, now in occupation of Piraeus.

οὐδὲν δέοντο, κ.τ.λ., lit. 'they had no need of these evils'; i. e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.

καὶ εἰλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς, i. e. one from each tribe: cp. iv. 2. 8 εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. Cleisthenes in 509 B. C. had divided the Athenians into ten tribes, Hdt. v. 66. It appears from Lysias (xii. 54), who mentions four by name, Eratosthenes, Phido, Hippocles, and
Epichares, that these Ten were of that section of the oligarchical party most opposed to Critias and his crew, and that they were chosen because it was thought that δικαιως διν υπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς τε τριάκοντα μανεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιᾷ φιλεῖσθαι. So soon however as they were in power (ibid. § 57) ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ ὑμῖν πάντα κακὰ πετουθόν. The 'Αθ. πολ. (38. 1) is in substantial agreement: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλῆς τὴν Μουνικήν καὶ νικησάντων μάχη τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα βοηθήσαντας, ἑπαναχωρήσαντες μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ συναδροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῇ ἀστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, ἀφεύρεται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχήν ἐφ' οἷς ἦρεθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, κ.τ.λ. So too Diod. xiv. 33.

403-402 B.C.

§ 24. Ἐλευσίναδε : their καταφυγῆ, § 8.
τῷ Ὠμίδειῳ : cp. § 9 note.
σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ; shields were part of the equipment of the hoplites or heavy-armed soldiers and not of the Knights : cp. iv. 4. 10. The Athenian Knights were now obliged to serve as horsemen by day and as hoplites by night.

§ 25. οἱ δὲ, i. e. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.
ἐλευκυνήτο : cp. iii. 2. 15.
ἡμέρας δέκα, since they had occupied Piraeus.
ἰσοτέλειαν. Such μέτοικοι as paid no μετοικίων, but paid the same taxes as full citizens, were called ἰσοτέλεις. Before ἰσοτέλειαν, τούτοις must be supplied : the infin. ἐσεσθαι depends on πιστὰ δόντες.
ὡσεὶ : cp. i. 2. 9.
ποιούμενοι ... λαμβάνοντες. The present participles here denote frequent repetition.

ὄπωραν : cp. § 26 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. This shows that it was already summer time, although Xenophon has not marked the beginning of another year.

§ 26. Αἰξονέων. This is Palmer's conjecture for ἐξω νέων, which is quite unintelligible. Αἰξόνη was a village between Hymettus and the west coast of Attica : cp. Critical Note.

§ 27. τῶν ἵππεων, partitive genitive with Καλλίστρατον.
πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. Xenophon (Mem. ii. 7. 2) makes Aristarchus
describe the necessities to which Athens was reduced by these
attacks from Piraeus: cp. Isocr. xvi. 13.

ei δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεί, κ.τ.λ. To complete the construction ἑρῶ
before ὅς is required: cp. Cyrop. i. 4. 27 ei δὲ δεὶ καὶ παιδικὸν λόγον
ἐπιμνησθήναι λέγεται, κ.τ.λ. For the genitive τοῦ μηχαναστίου after

τὸν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμον, the open space between the Lyceum and
the city wall.

μέλλοντες... προσάγειν, sc. οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

§ 28. περιπότων δὲ πρέσβεις: Lysias (xii. 60) and Arist. 'Αθ. πολ.
(38. 1) speak only of the embassy of the Ten. Diodorus (xiv. 32,
33) puts the embassy of the Thirty before Thrasybulus’ occupation
of Piraeus, and the embassy of the Ten at the same time as here.

τὸν δ’ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, i.e. by order of the Ten, who, instead of
fulfilling the hopes with which they had been appointed (§ 23), in
the words of Lysias (xii. 55), πολὺ μείζων στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐν Πειραιαί... ἐποίησαν: cp. § 23 note.

συνέτραγεν, i.e. with the ambassadors.

ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, with which to collect a mercenary army, as the
Spartans refused to send any troops of their own: cp. Lysias xii.
59, 60; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 38. 1; 40. 3. Isocrates (vii. 77), citing it as an
instance of the ἐπίκεισα τοῦ δῆμου, says, that shortly after its restora-
tion the democracy repaid this loan to the Lacedaemonians, as
a debt incurred by the Athenian state, and not merely by the
oligarchs, who had contracted it: cp. Dem. xx. 12.

§ 29. οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦσαν, ‘while things were going on in this
way’; cp. ii. 2. 16 τοιοῦτον δὲ δυτικὸν; v. 3. 27 προκεχωρηκότων.

Goodwin, M. T. 848.

τρεῖς, i.e. a majority out of the Five Ephors.

φρουράς: a Lacedaemonian word for an army. Lysander had
only mercenary forces; cp. iii. 2. 23.

§ 30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων: cp. ii. 2. 19; and iii. 5. 5,
where the Lacedaemonians charge the Bocotians with having
persuaded the Corinthians to refuse to follow.

ἐνδορκεῖν: consistently with the Treaty of Peace concluded in
404 B. C., ii. 2. 22.

ἐγίγνωσκον: ‘supposed’ (wrongly).
ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ: the level ground between Piraeus and Hymettus. The fugitives from the violence of the Thirty and the Ten flocked round Pausanias at Piraeus, where the king so far showed his real feelings as to refuse the presents offered him by the Thirty; cp. Lysias xviii. 8–12.

§ 31. ὁσον ἠπὸ βοής ἐνεκεν: 'so far as cries went,' i.e. in appearance only. βοή is the battle cry. Thuc. viii. 92 joins the same two prepositions with the same meaning; cp. Plat. Leg. 701 δίνος δὴ χάριν ἐνεκα.

δύο μόρας: according to Xenophon (Rep. Lac. 11. 4.), the whole Spartan army was divided into six morae, each commanded by a Polemarch. Contrast Thucydides v. 68: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

ϕυλάσι, cp. § 4.

tὸν κωφόν λιμένα. κωφόν is 'dumb,' 'quiet,' in the sense of 'smooth.' Curtius supposes it to be the inlet E. of Eetionea.

§ 32. ἐλάν, a rare form of the present: cp. Cyrop. viii. 3. 32 ἀπέλα. ἐνέντασ: 'pressing on.' Xenophon also uses the word intransitively in Cyrop. vii. 1. 29.

τὰ δέκα ἀθ' ἡβης, sc. ἑτη, lit. 'the [men] ten years from military age,' which at Sparta was fixed at eighteen. The use of the neuter τὰ is a Lacedaemonian usage; cp. iii. 4. 23, iv. 5. 15 and Critical Note.

τὸ Πειραιῶ θέατρον. Πειραιῶ is the old locative case like ὀικοῦ. The theatre was on the hill of Munychia; cp. Thuc. viii. 93.

§ 33. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'foot by foot,' i.e. slowly, with their front facing the enemy: cp. Anab. v. 2. 32; Cyrop. iii. 3. 69.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, in the north-west part of Athens: cp. Paus. i. 3. 1; 29. 3 ff.

§ 34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων: if the reading of the MSS. be kept, this must mean 'eight deep in front of the rest,' i.e. the light-armed troops. But Madvig's conjecture τῶν Ἄλαων seems almost certain: these 'Ἀλαί, according to Curtius, were salt marshes just to the north of the harbour of Piraeus; cp. Critical Note.

εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, 'let them come to close quarters': cp. vii. 4. 13.

§ 35. λέγοντος . . . πέμπειν: present participle where the future would naturally be expected, as ii. 1. 29; 4. 37.

διίστη δὲ καὶ τούς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, 'he created a division among,' &c. πρὸς σφᾶς: to himself and the Ephors.
II. iv. 36–38

Δακεδαμονίως φίλοι εἶναι, i.e. in accordance with the terms of the former treaty; cp. ii. 2. 20.


ἡ μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης, two modes of expression are here confused: (1) ης Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες, and (2) μετά Παυσανίου ὄντες.

ἐπεμπτων, sc. ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἑφόροι.

τὰς . . σπονδὰς: here, ‘the terms,’ or ‘offers of peace.’

ἰδιῶτας opposed to οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ in § 37.

§ 37. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ. According to Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 38. 3 the first Ten had been replaced by a second Ten, more favourably disposed towards Thrasybulus and his exiles: ὡς δ’ οἱ τῶν Πειραιαί καὶ τὴν Μονυχιάν ἔχοντες, ἀποστάντος ἀπάντος τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐπεκράτουν τῷ πολέμῳ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοῖς πρώτοις αἰρέθηνασ ἄλλους εὑλογεῖν δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους εἶναι δοκοῦντας, ἐφ’ δὲ συνείβῃ καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις γενόσθαι καὶ κατελθεῖν τῶν δήμων, συναγωνιζομένου καὶ προθυμουμένους τούτων. προειστήκεσαν δ’ αὐτῶν μάλιστα Ρίπον τε ὁ Παιανεύς καὶ Φάυλλος ὁ Ἀχερδούσιος. Again in 39. 6 the first Ten are said to have been excluded from the Amnesty. This detail is probable enough in itself; but if it be true, it is curious that none of the other authorities should mention this second Ten—neither Lysias, Andocides, Xenophon nor Diodorus. Isocrates (xviii. 67) even calls Rhinon one of οἱ δέκα οἱ μετὰ τοὺς τριάκοντα καταστάντες: and Andocides (i. 90), professing to quote the actual words of the Amnesty (cp. § 43), does not mention them. Nepos (Thrasyl. 3) however mentions the exclusion from the Amnesty of ἔκερα, qui postea praetores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi,’ but says nothing of the Ten at Piraeus.

λέγοντας instead of the more common ἐροῦντας; cp. ii. 1. 8; iii. 4. 25.

χρήσθαι ὁ τι βούλουντι: for the expression cp. ii. 1. 2; v. 3. 23.

ἀξίον γ’ ἑφασαν; the subject is still οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

§ 38. οἱ ἑφόροι: the three remaining in Sparta.

οἱ ἐκκλησίαι. This term occurs only in this passage and in ν.
II. iv. 39–41

403–402 B.C.

2. 33 and vi. 3. 3. In the second passage no distinction seems to be drawn between the ἐκκλησία and the πλήθος who formed the ordinary Assembly. Probably therefore the term has no technical meaning, but simply denotes the members of the Assembly, in which all the ὄμοι were entitled to vote: cp. iv. 6. 3; v. 2. 11; and for other views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 703.

πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρας: cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 38. 4 ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις Παυσανίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαίμονισιν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν δέκα διαλλακτῶν (Xenophon’s 15) τῶν ὑστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος, ὅς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν.

ἐφ’ ἄριστος: Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 39 professes to quote the terms of the διαλύσεως in full.

ἄς πρὸς: cp. Anab. iv. 3. 11 ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ; 3. 21 φένυγουσι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβασιν ἄνω.

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: cp. § 31. This implied, as far as practicable, a restitution of the confiscated property; cp. Harpocr. s. v. σύνδικος.

πλὴρ τῶν κ.τ.λ.: cp. §§ 37, 43 notes.

ἀυτοῖς: to those who διῆλλαξαν, i.e. to the Lacedaemonians and Athenians.

§ 39. ἀνελθόντες . . . εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. This procession, which Lysias (xiii. 80) describes at some length, Plutarch (Glor. Athen. 7, p. 349) puts on the 12th of Boedromion, i.e. Sept. 403 B.C.: cp. Introd. p. xliii.

κατέβησαν † . . . οἱ στρατηγοὶ. Cobet inserts ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν. Some words of this kind are evidently required to complete the sense; cp. § 42 ad fin. and Critical Note.

§ 40. γνοίητε, sc. ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς.

ἐπὶ τίνι: cp. § 29 μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ.

§ 41. ἡ ὡς, i.e. ἡ ἡ κρίσις ὡς.

περειληφθέ, ‘you have been outwitted.’ This is Laves’ conjecture. I prefer Geist’s περειλήλασθε, ‘you have been worsted’: the best MSS. give περειλήλυθεν, which is quite unintelligible. Some word is required in the perfect tense, meaning to ‘outwit,’ as opposed to γνώμη . . . προέχειν: cp. Critical Note.

πῶς, oýge, i.e. πῶς ἐπὶ τούτως, oý ge.

κλοιό ἄρχαντες, κ.τ.λ. The allusion is to a law of Solon preserved in Plutarch (Solon 24) κύνα δακώντα παραδούναι κλοιό τριτῆξει δεδεμένον: the subject of παραδιδόσας in general, oý ἄνθρωποι.
κάκεινοι repeats the subject ὦ γε, strengthening the comparison after ὁτω.

§ 42. ὅμα. Thrasybulus now addresses his own followers.
ἀνέστησε, 'adjourned,' 'broke up.' Blake wishes to translate, 'restored.'

§ 43. ἄρχας καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Euclides was created ἄρχον ἐπώνυμος, and in his archonship and the following years a complete revision of the Solonian laws and constitution took place to suit the altered condition of affairs, when Athens had lost her sovereign rights and her empire over the subject allies. Meanwhile a provisional government was set up: cp. Andoc. i. 81 δόξαντα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα (the Amnesty) εἶλεσθε ἄνδρας εἶκοσι τούτως δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἣς ἄν ὦν νόμοι τεθείεν τέως δὲ χρῆσαί τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμοι καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος βεσμοῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ βουλὴν τε ἀπεκληρώσατε νομοθέτατε τε εἶλεσθε κ.τ.λ. Cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 40, 41.

ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, according to Ἀθ. πολ. 40. 4 two years later: διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἑλευσίνι κατοικίσαντας ἐτει τρῖτῳ ὑπά καὶ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν ἐπὶ Ξενανετὸν ἀρχοντος.

401-400 B.C.

ξένους μισθοῦσαί. Justin (v. 10. 11) gives an account of the affair but little more intelligible than Xenophon's. The Thirty, it would appear, were suspected of once more conspiring to regain their supremacy at Athens.

τοὺς Ἑλευσίνι. The Thirty, their adherents, and such other Athenians as had since joined them; cp. § 38. Ἑλευσίνι is the locative case.

μη μηροκακήσειν: cp. Cor. Nepos, Thras. iii. 2 Legem tulit (Thrasybulus) ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarent. The oath was taken by the Knights, the Council, and the whole people; and Andocides (i. 90) preserves the actual words, καὶ οὐ μηροκακής τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδεὶς πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδεκα, οὐδὲ τούτων ὅσ ἄν ἐθελοι εὐθύνας διδόναι τῆς ἄρχης, ἦς ἤρξεν: cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 39. 6 τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδείς πρὸς μηδένα μηροκακέων ἐξείλα, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τούτους, ἐὰν διδώσων εὐθύνας: cp. § 37 note.
ἐτι καὶ νῦν. It is impossible to fix with any exactitude what time is denoted by these words. Xenophon accompanied Cyrus on his expedition against his brother in 401 B.C., a time which allows too short an interval to give the words any real meaning; and he did not return to Greece till 394 B.C. On the other hand it cannot be very long after the events described, because the praise assigned to the Athenians must mean that consistently with the Amnesty they did not prosecute certain definite persons, who had been implicated in the enormities of the Thirty, and such prosecutions were only likely to have taken place in the succeeding ten or fifteen years. We may therefore perhaps infer that Xenophon wrote these words not very long after his return to Greece: cp. Introd. p. xiv.

τοῖς ὀρκοῖς ἐμένει: cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. (40. 3) ἀποθανόντος γὰρ (τινὸς τῶν κατεληλυθότων, at the instigation of Archinus) οὐδεὶς πόσοτε ὑστερον ἐμνησικάκησεν. ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἀπάντων καὶ ἰδιὰ καὶ κουή χρήσασθαι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς περὶ τῶν προτέρων αἷτια ἔξηλεψαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα Δακεδαιμονίως, ἄοι τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔλαβον, ἀπέδοσαν κουή.
BOOK III

CHAPTER I

§§ 1, 2. After the expulsion of the Thirty Cyrus sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians, who instructed their admiral, Samius, to support him. Samius secured Cilicia. Cyrus was slain; the Greeks safely reached the sea. §§ 3–8. The Ionian cities, threatened by Tissaphernes, appealed to the Lacedaemonians. In response they sent Thibron as harmost with 1,000 neodamodes, 4,000 Peloponnesians, and 300 Athenian Knights. On his arrival he collected additional forces, but was unable to take the offensive, until he was joined by the Cyreans. Then he captured Teuthrania and Halisarnasia, and won over several other cities in Aesoria. Failing to take Larisa, he was ordered by the Ephors to march into Caria, but at Ephesus he was superseded by Dercylidas. §§ 9, 10. Dercylidas came to terms with Tissaphernes, and marched against the rival satrap Pharnabazus to revenge an old insult. §§ 10–15. This part of Aesoria was governed by Mania, the widow of Zeuxis, who had persuaded the satrap to allow her to carry on her husband’s administration. Mania faithfully fulfilled her office until she was murdered by her son-in-law, Midias, who seized the cities of Scepsis and Gergitha, and tried to make terms with Pharnabazus. §§ 16–28. In the midst of this disorder Dercylidas appeared, whereupon many of the cities of the Troad and Aesoria opened their gates to him. Cebren too after some little delay followed their example. Midias found himself obliged to surrender to him Scepsis and Gergitha, in the latter of which was stored Mania’s treasure, sufficient to maintain an army of 8,000 men for a year.

§ 1. στάσις: between the Thirty and the Democrats.

ουτῶς, cp. Introd. p. xix.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου (i.e. 401 B.C.), both temporal and causal. The following sentences explain how the Spartans, formerly the allies of Persia, now came to be at enmity with the Great King. This embassy is put by Diodorus xiv. 19 (with whom Diogenes Laertius agrees) in the year of Xenacnetus 401–400. In the Anabasis Xenophon makes no mention of it; but Plutarch (Artax. 6) speaks of
Cyrus' bounteous promises to the Lacedaemonians if they would send him troops: ἔφη δύσειν, ἄν μὲν πεζοὶ παρώσων, ἵππους, ἄν δὲ ἵππεις, συνωρίδας· εἰς δ' ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κόμας· εἰς δ' κόμας, πόλεις· μισθοῦ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένσι οὐκ ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ μέτρου ἔσεσθαι.

αὐτῶν Ἀλεξαδαμοῦνίοις: for Cyrus' services to the Lacedaemonians cp. i. 5. 2-9; 6. 18; ii. i. II-14.

Σαμίω τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ: called by Diod. xiv. 19 Samos, if indeed he has not confused him with the Egyptian Tamos (Anab. i. 2. 21, 4. 2), who guided the Greek ships from Ionia to Cilicia.

περιέπλευσεν...Συνένευν: Xenophon (Anab. i. 2. 21) does not mention Samios, but relates that Syennesis, when he heard that Menon's division of the army had crossed the Taurus by another pass, and that Tamos with the Lacedaemonian and Persian ships had already arrived in Cilicia, abandoned the Cilician Gates, and made terms with Cyrus. Then in i. 4. 2, referring to some twenty-five days later, he speaks of the Lacedaemonian admiral Pythagoras being on board the triremes at Issus. We must therefore suppose that in the interval Samius, at the end of his year of office (cp. Appendix, p. 344), must have been succeeded by Pythagoras; unless indeed we adopt the far-fetched hypothesis of E. Schwartz (Rhein. Mus. 44, p. 193) that Xenophon, still better to disguise his authorship of the Anabasis, has substituted Samios for Pythagoras, because the philosopher of that name was a Samian!

§ 2. τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ: Artaxerxes Mnemon.

ἡ μάχη: at Cunaxa in the autumn of 401: cp. Anab. i. 8.

ἐπὶ θᾶλασσα, to the Euxine.

Θεμιστογένες. Who was Themistogenes the Syracusan? Suidas the lexicographer professes to know, s.v. Θεμιστογένης, Συρακώσιος, ἰστορικός. Κύρου ἀνάβασιν, ἥτις ἐν τοῖς ξενοφώντος φέρεται (i.e. laudatur aut nominatur) καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδος. But if, as seems most likely, Xenophon wrote the Anabasis before books iii–vii of the Hellenica, it seems more probable (cp. Introd. p. xiv) that Xenophon for some reason or other wished to conceal his own authorship of the Anabasis under a nom de plume. This hypothesis finds expression as early as Plutarch de Glor. Athen. p. 345 ε: ξενοφών αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ γέγονεν ἰστορία, γράψας ἀ ἐστρατηγῆσε καὶ κατόρθωσε καὶ Θεμιστογένη [λέγει ἡ] περὶ τούτων συντετάχθαι τὸν Συρακώσιον,
401-400 B.C.  III. i. 3  81

\[\text{\'ina p\'istot\'er\'os} \hat{\nu} \delta\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma \varepsilon\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\circ\mu\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \nu \\dot{o} \\dot{s} \\dot{o} \nu, \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega \tau\eta \nu \tau\eta\nu \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu \nu \\dot{o} \delta\dot{o}\gamma\upsilon \chi\alpha\rho\iota\gamma\omicron\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma\nu.
\]

Compare Schol. ad Epist. Joannis Tzetzae 21, p. 23, ed. Pressel, ὃσπερ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐπέγραψε τὴν Κῦρον ἀνάβασιν Θημιστο-γένει Συρακοσίῳ, καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν ὅμως καὶ πάλιν Ξενοφῶντος καλεῖσθαι. L. Dindorf in his note on the passage has collected together all the modern hypotheses about the relation of Xenophon to Themistogenes, all of which seem equally baseless.

§ 3. πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεῖ: Tissaphernes had been the first to inform Artaxerxes of the projected revolt of Cyrus (Anab. i. 2. 4; ii. 3. 18, 19), had fought zealously at Cunaxa against the rebels, and by his treacherous conduct towards the Ten Thousand and their generals after the battle had nearly succeeded in overwhelming the whole Greek force (Anab. ii. 5. 32ff.).

\[\text{δὲν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν. The extent of Tissaphernes' district before} \]

Cyrus’ arrival is nowhere exactly described. Thucydides (viii. 5) calls him στρατηγὸς τῶν κάτω, i.e. of the coast land, and we find him at that time supreme in the whole region south and west of the satrapy of Pharnabazus which extended over the northern part of Aeolis as far as Aspendus in Pamphylia.

\[\text{δὲν Κῦρος, more exactly described in Anab. i. 9. 7 (quoted}\]

i. 4. 3 note). Tissaphernes was thus made commander-in-chief (κάρανος) over all Asia west of the Halys, even Pharnabazus being subordinate to him: cp. iii. 2. 13.

\[\text{τὰν Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις: cp. Anab. i. 1. 6 καὶ γὰρ ἤσαν αἰ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις}
\]

Tissaphernos τοῦ ἄρχαιον, ἐκ βασιλεῶς δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ (402-401 winter, B.C.) ἀφεστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πάσαι πλήν Μιλήτουν. Ever since Lysander was left in charge of his satrapy by Cyrus in 405, they seem to have been governed by Spartan harmosts (cp. iii. 2. 20); and when Cyrus in 401 marched eastwards against his brother, they must have become entirely independent of Persia.

\[\text{πάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος προστάτη: cp. Her. v. 49. At the time of} \]

the Ionic revolt Aristagoras of Miletus sought help from the Spartans, similarly maintaining Ἰωνικὰ παῖδας δοῦλους εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐλευθέρων ὀνείδου καὶ ἄλγους μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥμιν, ἐτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσον προεστάτη τῆς Ἐλλάδος. It is true that in their three treaties with Persia concluded in 412 (Thuc. viii. 18, 37, 58) the Lacedaemonians had distinctly recognized the right of the Great King to rule over all Asiatic cities, but these treaties they had

\[\text{xen. hell.} \]
de facto broken by supporting the revolt of Cyrus. According to Diodorus (xiv. 35) the Lacedaemonians immediately sent envoys to Tissaphernes, warning him μὴ ὅπλα πολέμων ἐπιφέρειν ταῖς Ἑλληνίδοι πόλεσι, and promised speedy aid. The satrap however at once attacked Cyme, and ravaged the surrounding country.

399–398 B.C.

§ 4. Θῆβες. Nothing is known of his previous career. Diodorus (xiv. 35–39) gives a very confused and erroneous account of the succeeding campaigns of Thibron and Dercylidas, evidently grouping together the events of 399–397 for purposes of convenience into the annals of two years. Thus he wrongly spreads the command of Thibron over two years 400, 399, whereas it appears from Xenophon (Anab. vii. 8. 24 as well as the Hellenica) that he came to Asia in the spring of 399, and was superseded by Dercylidas in the autumn of the same year. Then he compresses all the exploits of Dercylidas, who held the command until the arrival of Agesilaus in the spring of 396, into the single year 399, breaking off his narrative with the truce concluded between him and Tissaphernes (which really occurred in the summer of 397), and not again dealing with Asiatic affairs until the arrival of Agesilaus.

νεοδιμόδων: cp. i. 3. 15 note.

ὕτησατο. The Athenians were now subject allies of Sparta, bound τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρον καὶ φίλον νομίζοντα Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπεσθαί καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅποι ἦν ἡγοῦται: cp. ii. 2. 20.

αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. Though subject allies were in the ordinary course of things obliged to maintain their own contingents, Athens deprived after Aegospotami of all her external revenues was now in too destitute a condition to do so.

τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἰππευσάντων. The Knights had taken a leading part in support of the Thirty (ii. 4. 2, 8) and the Ten (ibid. 24), and had finally assisted Pausanias in his attack upon the refugees at Athens (ibid. 31). Though they were together with the large majority of the oligarchs covered by the Amnesty of 401 B.C., yet according to Lysias (xvi. 6) they were afterwards excluded from further military service and compelled to give up their equipment. The partitive genitive is here used as object
without τινάς to express the indefiniteness of the number: cp. ii. 3. 14; iv. 4. 13.

§ 5. εἰς τῷ Ασίαν: Ephesus, according to Diod. (xiv. 36), who estimates these Asiatic troops at 2,000.

πᾶσα... ἐπιτάττω: cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9–12 where Xenophon remarks by way of comment on the power of Clearchus the harshest of Byzantium, in 400 B.C., ἰκανοὶ δὲ εἰς καὶ εἰς ἡκαστὸς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι.

ὁρῶν... τὸ ἱππικόν. Herwerden’s conjecture is perhaps the best, ὁρῶν... ἐπὶ τὸ ἱππικόν, ’looking at his cavalry.’ Dindorf interprets, ‘seeing his own cavalry was weak,’ which seems to be more than the words can well mean. There is a similar difficulty in iv. 4. 6 ὁρῶντες τοὺς τυραννεύοντας, where Campe reads τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας τυραννεύοντας: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360, for other conjectures.

eἰς τῷ πεδίον, the valley of the Maeander.

ἡγάπα... ἀδόγατον διαφυλάττειν. This language of Xenophon, who throughout (cp. §§ 7, 8; 2. 1, 6, 7; iv. 8. 18, 19, 22) seems to betray some animus against Thibron, for which there was probably ample justification, can hardly be made to square with the account of Diodorus xiv. 36. According to the latter, before the arrival of the Cyreian troops, Thibron took the unwalled city of Magnesia near Ephesus, besieged Tralles without success, returned to Magnesia, and put its inhabitants into a place of safety on Mount Thorax. Then he ravaged the country round, until on the approach of Tissaphernes with an overwhelming army he returned to Ephesus. Diodorus however omits all details of his exploits after the arrival of the Cyreians.

§ 6. συνεδέντες... συνεμειξαν αὐτῷ. It appears from Anab. vii. 6. 1 ff. that Thibron had, immediately on his arrival in Asia, sent an invitation to the Cyreians, who were at the time in the service of the Thracian prince Seuthes, to join him in the war against Tissaphernes. They had gladly assented, and were to the number of some 5,000 or 6,000 led by Xenophon himself from Selymbria across to Lampsacus, through the Troad, and on to Pergamos in Mysia, where Thibron took over the command. Anab. vii. 8. 24.

Πέργαμον. This town had already been seized by the Cyreians: Anab. vii. 8. 8.
ои ἀπὸ Δημαράτου: cp. Her. vi. 70. Being deprived of his kingship on the pretext of illegitimacy by Cleomenes, Demaratus retired to Persia, to the court of Darius Hystaspes, who ὑπεδέξατο τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωτί καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλεις ἔδωκε. Afterwards he accompanied Xerxes as adviser in his expedition against Greece. For similar gifts of land and cities cp. the instance ofThemistocles, Thuc. i. 138.

ἐκ βασιλέως. For ἐκ instead of ὑπὸ or παρά cp. Anab. i. 1. 6 ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι: the agent is regarded as the source of the gift.

Γογγύλων καὶ Γογγύλος: cp. Anab. vii. 8. 8. Hellas, their mother, entertained Xenophon at Pergamos, and forced her son Gongylus to support him in an attack upon the Persian Asidates, which she herself had advised as likely to result in rich booty.

Γάμβρων, κ.τ.λ. These cities, except Palaegambrium, lay in southern Aeolis between the rivers Caicus and Hermus. Pergamum, Teuthranna, and Halisarnaria were also in Aeolis north of the Caicus.

Γογγύλω: cp. Thuc. i. 128; Nepos, Paus. 2. This Gongylus of Eretria had acted as the regent Pausanias' envoy in his treacherous correspondence with Xerxes. He must have been an ancestor, probably grandfather of the Gorgion and Gongylus just mentioned.

§ 7. ἢν δὲ ἂς = τινὰς: ἔστω ὅσ is declined like a pronoun: cp. ii. 4. 6, &c.

Δάρισαν ... τῆν Αἰγυπτίαν, north of the Hermus; so called because Cyrus the Great after conquering Croesus allowed the Egyptians, who had acquitted themselves bravely in the service of the Lydian king, to settle there: cp. Cyrop. vii. i. 45.

γε μήν: this combination of particles is generally used to emphasize some additional point in the narrative. It occurs but twice in the first two books, ii. 3. 33, 42, but frequently in the later books: cp. Roquette, Vit. Xen. p. 54.

φρεάτιαν ... ῥυττεῖν, 'having sunk a shaft he began to dig a mine.' ὑπόνοομον is not an adjective in agreement with φρεάτιαν, but a substantive as in Thuc. ii. 76: ὑπόνοομον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ῥυττεῖντες. The aorist, τερμάμενος, of completed action, and the imperfect, ῥυττεῖν, of continued action confirm this interpretation.

eἰς τὸ ῥυγμα, i. e. eἰς τὴν φρεάτιαν.

χελώνην ἔιλίνην, like the Roman testudo, is used to denote any kind of movable roof or shed used to protect men or siege engines: cp. Caesar, B. G. v. 43, 52; Vitr. x. 21.
autou: genitive of the pronoun. Breitenbach (not. ad loc.) takes it as the adverb, making δοκοῦντος impersonal; but in the immediate context autou is twice used of Thibron, and there is no real difficulty in the accusative ἀπολειπόντα in the infinitival clause following πέμπονων, which is here used pregnantly for πέμποναι καὶ κελεύοντο: cp. ii. 2. 7; iii. 2. 12; 4. 27.

ἐπὶ Καρίαν, where Tissaphernes' palace was situated: iii. 4. 12.
§ 8. Δερκυλίδας: in 411 B.C. the Spartans despatched him from Miletus to the Hellespont, where he induced Lampacus and Abydos to revolt from Athens; cp. Thuc. viii. 61, 62.

Σίσυφος, the Corinthian hero, noted for his cunning. Ephorus (ap. Athenaeum xi.500) gives a different explanation of his nickname: Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ Θερμωνος Δερκυλίδαν ἐπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἁσίαν, ἀκούοντες δὴ πάντα πράττειν εἰδωθαι οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἁσίαν βαρβαρον μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ ὁδον. διὸσπερ Δερκυλίδαν ἐπεμψαν ἥκιστα νομίζοντες ἐξαπατήθησθαι ταῖς γὰρ οὔθεν ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ λακονικῶν οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὸ πανοπρό-
γον καὶ τὸ θηρίων. διὸ καὶ Ἐκίδουν αὐτὸν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι προσηγορέουν. ἀρπάζειν... τοὺς φίλους. This is the only instance of ἀρπάζειν used with the accus. of the person: cp. ἀφαρπαζέσθαι τὴν χώραν, Anab. i. 2. 7 and ἄνδρας ληιζεσθαι, Anab. vii. 3. 31.

§ 9. ὑπόπτους... ἄλληλοιος: for the rivalry between the two satraps cp. i. 1. 6 note. There was now an additional reason for jealousy, because Tissaphernes in return for his services to the King had been made κάρανος of Asia in the place of Cyrus: cp. iii. 1. 3; 2. 13.

ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, in the year 407, unless we suppose with Breitenbach that it was during Lysander's second command, 405, when he was secretary to the titular admiral Aracus, on the ground that Lysander was not in the Hellespont in 407, but first sailed thither in the year of Aegospotami. A similar punishment was invented by the regent Pausanias for his allies according to Plutarch (Arist. 23): τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκόλαξε πληγαίς ἢ σιδηρῶν ἁγκυρῶν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἥγακαζεν ἐστάναι δὲ ὁλης τῆς ἡμέρας. Moreover a Spartan officer never carried his shield himself except in battle; his ὑπασπιστής carried it for him: cp. iv. 8. 39.

§ 10. τῆς Φαρμαξίδου Λιολίδος, i.e. the northern portion of the district. ἐσατράπενε, i.e. as under-satrap: cp. Tamus, Tissaphernes' under-satrap of Ionia (Thuc. viii. 31, 87), Tiribazus, Orontes' under-satrap of West Armenia (Anab. iv. 4. 4).
Δαρδανεύς, Δαρδανής, of Dardanus on the Hellespont.

Ζήνιος: Ionic genitive, used even by Attic writers in the case of non-Attic names. So Συννέπτως, Anab. i. 2. 12; 'Αφύτιος, Thuc. i. 64.

§ 12. ἔγνω with a following infinitive, ‘determined that’: cp. iv. 6. 9: Goodwin, M. T. 915.

τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπέων. Ramsay points out (‘Church in the Roman Empire,’ pp. 67, 161) that the honours and influence which belonged to women in Asia Minor are one of the most remarkable features in the history of the country: cp. Arrian, Anab. i. 23. 7 νεομισμένον ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναίκας ἀρχεῖν ἀνδρῶν.

§ 13. πασχάδες, inherited as her husband’s successor.

ἐπιβαλλαττίδια: the feminine form is also used, iv. 8. 1: but in iii. 4. 28 it appears as an adjective of two terminations.

Δάρισσαν τε καὶ 'Αμαξίτον καὶ Κολώνας: these three cities and all the cities mentioned in Mania’s district §§ 15–17 were in the Troad. This Larisa is to be distinguished from the Egyptian Larisa of § 7.

ξενικό Ἑλληνικό: Greek mercenaries increased more and more in numbers after the Peloponnesian war, partly because the more general employment of slave labour ousted poor citizens from the lower kinds of work, partly because owing to internal dissensions there were numerous exiles from almost every city, and partly because war became more and more of an art, for which the citizen was never sufficiently trained, and which only the professional soldier could master: cp. Buckle, Hist. Civ. i. 205. In Asia the superiority of the Greek soldier was now universally acknowledged.

ἐφ' ἀρματίσεις: Polyaelus (viii. 54) has extracted this story from the Hellenica.

Πισίδας, a tribe S.E. of the Phrygians and just to the N. of the Pamphylians; consequently far distant from the frontiers of Pharnabazus’ territory. The passage must therefore mean that Mania with her mercenaries accompanied the satrap, when he himself was called upon by the κύρανος of the district to supply his contingent for distant expeditions: cp. Anab. i. 1. 11; 9. 14; ii. 5. 13; iii. 2. 23; Mem. iii. 5. 26.

ὦτι... κακοφυγόσων: if these words be genuine (cp. Appendix, p. 360), the present tense must denote the state of continual depredations.
§ 15. Σκῆψις, on the river Aesepus in the Troad. Ephor. fr. 122; Strabo p. 603.

Γέργιθα, on the river Granicus.

κατέσχεν, 'seized': aorist of complete and definite action.

ἀπεκρίνατο, implying a command, cp. Cyrop. v. 2. 24.

§ 16. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ: doubtless the disturbed state of the satrapy as well as his grudge against Pharnabazus induced Dercylidas to march into this district rather than into Caria.

Λάρισαν ἑ.τ.λ.: cp. Diod. xiv. 38 Ἀμα'τιν... καὶ Κολωνᾶς καὶ Ἀρισβαν ἔλεν ἐξ ἑφώδου· metà δὲ ταῦτα Ἴλιον καὶ Κεβρῆναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τρῳάδα ἀς μὲν δόλῳ παρελαβεν ἀς δὲ ἐκ βιας ἐχειρώσατο. Ilium and Neandria lay on the river Scamander: Cocylum is otherwise unknown.

δέχεσθαι, sc. αὐτῶν.

§ 17. Κεβρῆν, also on the Scamander.

οὐκ ἐγίνετο, 'were not favourable': used of sacrifices repeatedly, iii. 5. 7; iv. 7. 2; 8. 36; v. 1. 33; 3. 14; 4. 37; vi. 5. 12, 49.

§ 18. οἱ ἐνδοθεν = οἱ ἐνδον by a kind of attraction due to the following ἐπεξελθόντες: cp. § 22 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων, &c.; v. 3. 25 τῶν οἴκοθεν.

ἀδυμοτέρων καὶ: see Critical Note. If the MSS. reading be retained, it must be explained by a transfer of the emotion of the agent to the action. Breitenbach, who keeps the MSS. reading, compares Ages. i. 35 τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀδυμότερα ἐγίνετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγασιλάου πολὺ ἐρρομενεστερα. Liebhold's emendation ἀδυμοτέρους κατὰ seems almost certain.

ὁ ἄρχων, i.e. ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς ἔχων of § 17.

§ 19. λέγων: for the participle without the article or τις, used as an indefinite substantive cp. ii. 1. 8; vi. 5. 25, &c.

§ 20. ἐξηλθε: Polyaeus (ii. 6) gives a slightly different version of the same story, apparently confusing the capture of Scepsis with that of Gergitha. Dercylidas, he says, enticed Meidias out ἐφ' ὑπὲρ προελθόντα καὶ ὀμλήσαντα ταχὺ πάλιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφεῖναι. Then having compelled him to open the gates on pain of death ἀφιημί σε, ἐπη, νῦν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτῳ γὰρ ὀμοσα' καίγω δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως εἰσέχρημαι.

§ 21. βία τῶν πολίτῶν, 'against the will of the citizens': cp. Anab. vii. 8. 17 ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βία τῆς μητρίς.
§ 22. ἔλεγεν: the imperfect, strictly taken, represents the point of view, not of the historian, but of the reporter of the speech. Classen in a note on Thuc. ii. 71 points out that that historian uses the aorist and imperfect indifferently to introduce speeches in oratio recta.

eis δύo, 'in double file': cp. vii. 4. 22.
oi ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. § 18 oí ἐνδοθεν. The preposition ἀπὸ is accounted for by the verb ἐβαλλον.

§ 23. ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι, 'in the van': cp. Latin 'acies.'

ὅς μισθοφορησοντας, 'since for the future they would serve in his (Dercylidas') pay.'

οὐδὲν ἐτί δεινόν, because, being no longer tyrant, Meidias would have no more need of δομοφόροι to protect him.

§ 24. ἐξευέσθαι: ἔννα and its derivatives imply both hospitality and the giving of presents. Dercylidas now, having sacrificed as master of the house, invites Meidias to partake of the sacrificial feast which was made from the flesh of the victim.

§ 26. τῶν: all subjects were regarded and regarded themselves as slaves of the King. So in iv. 1. 36 Agesilaus speaks of the ὄμοδούλους of the satrap Pharnabazus: cp. vi. 1. 12.

καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου: καὶ explanatory, equivalent to 'id est.'

§ 28. τῇ στρατιᾷ . . . ὀκτακοσχιλίοις. Thibron brought (§ 4) 5,300 troops with him: he collected reinforcements in Asia estimated by Diodorus (xiv. 36) at 2,000, and was eventually joined by the Cyreians, who numbered more than 5,000 according to the same authority: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 23. This makes a total of some 12,300 men. As the army had sustained no losses of importance, the balance beyond 8,000 was probably employed on garrison duty in the various cities, which had submitted to Thibron and Dercylidas.

ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ: thereby Dercylidas reduced Meidias once more to the position of a private citizen, as he had been before his marriage with Mania's daughter.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1–5. In eight days Dercylidas had won over nine cities. To relieve his allies of maintaining his troops during the winter and of all danger from Pharnabazus, he made peace with the satrap and marched his troops into Bithynia, where he was joined by some reinforcements from Seuthes, king of
the Odrysae. The Bithynians surprised the camp of these Odrysae during their absence, and slew many of the Greek guards within it. §§ 6, 7.
Dercylidas went to Lampsaenus, where he received orders to hold his command for a second year and to enjoin his troops not to maltreat the allies. §§ 8–11. Learning too that the Greeks in the Thracian Chersonese had appealed to Sparta for help against the Thracians, he renewed his truce with Pharnabazus, crossed into the Chersonese, and built a wall across the isthmus. On his return to Asia he laid siege to Attarneus, which had been seized by some Chian exiles: after eight months he compelled them to surrender. Then he went on to Ephesus. §§ 12–14. In response to an Ionian embassy the Ephors sent orders that Dercylidas, supported by the admiral Pharax, should invade Caria. Pharnabazus joined Tissaphernes and the two proceeded into Caria, but so soon as they had garrisoned all the strong places, returned to Ionia, so that Dercylidas was obliged to turn back. §§ 15–20. On the plain of the Maeander Dercylidas found the Persian army drawn out to meet him. Tissaphernes was afraid to fight and proposed a conference; so the two armies separated without a battle. Next day the three generals met and concluded a truce, until they should have consulted their respective governments about the terms for a permanent peace. §§ 21–24. The Lacadaemonians, having long suffered many insults from the Eleans, demanded that they should allow their subject states to be autonomous: on their refusal to comply they declared war. Agis invaded Elis, but on the occurrence of an earthquake retired. §§ 25–27. The war was renewed: Agis led the allied army against the Eleans, and was joined by many of their subject states. Having sacrificed at Olympia without opposition he advanced, plundering and ravaging, as far as the suburbs of Elis. §§ 27–31. Thereupon a faction fight broke out, which ended in the expulsion of the oligarchs, who fled to the Lacadaemonians, now at Cyllene. Then Agis retired, leaving a garrison at Epitallium. Next year the Eleans submitted to the terms dictated by Sparta and entered her alliance.

§ 1. ἐὰν . . . κακουργῆ : the optative expresses the doubtful possibility of the one clause, the subjunctive the definite necessity, as it appeared to Dercylidas’ mind, of the other. For ὡς ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἐπιτειχίσθαι : the technical meaning of ἐπιτειχίσμος was a fortress (like Decelea) or fortified city (like Heraclea) established in an enemy’s country : cp. Thuc. i. 122 and v. 1. 2; vii. 2. 1.

σπουδᾶς : according to Diodorus xiv. 38 ὀκταμηνίαν ἄνωχας. This is not necessarily inconsistent with § 9, where Dercylidas again asks Pharnabazus, as a preliminary to his intended expedition
to the Thracian Chersonese, πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδᾶς ἔχειν καβάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος. For if the truce were concluded in October, it would expire in June, which was the most favourable time for military operations; whereas Dercylidas reckoned on being absent in the Chersonese for the whole summer. Moreover we are not told in § 9 (which refers to the spring, April) that the truce had already expired. Still it is perhaps better to assume with Breitenbach that Diodorus, whose chronology at this point is wrong in other respects, has confused the duration of the two truces spoken of by Xenophon. On this assumption the first truce must have been made in November or December 399, and Dercylidas probably came back to Asia about the time of the expiration of the second, July or August, 398: cp. §§ 10, 11.

§ 2. Βιθυνίδαι Θράκην: cp. i. 3. 2 note.
τὰ ἄλα, ‘in all other respects,’ adverbial.
Σεύθοι. The Cyreians had served under this prince in the winter 400–399, Anab. vii. i. 5: cp. iii. i. 6 note and iv. 8. 26.

πέραθεν: from the further side, i.e. the European shore of the Hellespont.

τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, partitive genitive as the object of αὐτοῦντες, to which φιλάκας stands in apposition: cp. iii. 1. 4.

§ 3. οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ, the Bithynians; the second οἱ δὲ, the Greek hoplites (αὐτοῖς).

ὡς ἄνδρουμηκεί: ὡς = ‘about,’ as with numerals, e.g. παλτὸν ὡς ἐγκύρην, Anab. vi. 4. 12.

§ 4. οἱ δὲ . . . ἐκθεοῦν, i.e. οἱ δὲ Βιθυνοὶ ἵ μὲν οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐκθεοῦν. 
πελτασταὶ ὁπλίται: cp. iv. 5. 15, ὁπλίται ὀντες πελταστῖς.

ἀμφὶ τούς πεντεκαίδεκα: the article expresses the whole in round numbers.

ἐπεὶ εὐθέως = ἐπεὶ τάχιστα, ‘as soon as.’

§ 5. ἐν αὐτοῖς, ‘in their honour.’

ἱπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες. Herodotus (v. 8) notes it as a burial custom of the Thracians ἄγωνα τιθέναι παντοίον: their drunkenness was notorious.

398–397 B.C.


"Ἀρακος: perhaps the same as the titular admiral under whom
Lysander served as secretary at the battle of Aegospotami, ii. 3. 7: the other two envoys are otherwise unknown, unless this Anti-
stenes be the same as the Spartan commander mentioned by Thuc. viii. 39, 61.

 tà ἄλλα, adverbial as in § 2.

 ἐπιστελλαί: infin. depending on ἔροῦντες, 'to say that the Ephors had especially (σφίσαν αὑτοῖς) charged them to summon a meeting of the soldiers and to tell them.'


 § 7. ὁ ... προεστήκως: probably Xenophon, since we know from the Anab. vii. 8. 23 that he had himself conducted the Cyreians to Thibron. Moreover it seems to have been his habit to suppress his own name: cp. iii. i. 2 note; 4. 20.

 τότε δὲ, sc. ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

 § 8. τὴν Χερρόνησον ... ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥακῶν. In the middle of the sixth century the elder Miltiades had built a wall across the isthmus from Cardia to Pactya to protect his Athenian colonists and the Dolonci from the attacks of the Apsinthian Thracians: Her. vi. 36. Again about 453 Pericles strengthened the Greek community in the peninsula by the addition of 1,000 Athenian colonists and renewed the wall across the isthmus to guard against the con-
tinual incursions of the Thracians: Plut. Per. 19. Once more in 402-401 the Lacedaemonian Clearchus used the mercenary troops that he had collected with the money given him by Cyrus to punish these same troublesome Thracians: Anab. i. 1. 9; 3. 4; cp. ii. 6. 5.

 ὠστ' ἐφασαν, sc. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον.

 § 9. ἐπὶ Εφέσου. Grote's conj. ἐπὶ for the MSS. ἀπὸ is to be accepted because Dercylidas was now at Lampsacus, § 6.

 ὀπονδὰς ἐχεῖν: cp. note § 1.

 ὦτω, instead of the more usual ὦτῳ δή, refers to the fact stated in the previous clause as the reason for Dercylidas' action: cp. iv. 4. 2.

 τὰς περὶ ἐκείνου πόλεως φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει. Breitenbach retains the MSS. reading τὰς περὶ ἐκείνου φιλίας, κ.τ.λ., translating—'leaving the cities of Pharnabazus' district friendly, he crosses in
peace.' For the expression τὰς περὶ ἐκείνων πόλεις he compares Diod. xiii. 52 τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονιον πόλεις, to which Büchsenschütz adds Thuc. iv. 83 τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν (Περδίκκαν) χωρίων. Cobet conjectures περὶ ἐκεῖνα. Dindorf and Keller bracket φιλία: cp. Critical Note.

διὰ . . . Θράκης . . . εἰς Χερσόνησον. Hence it appears that Dercylidas must have sailed from Lampsacus to some place in Seuthes' dominions north of the Chersonese, and then marched SW. into the peninsula.

§ 10. ἐπὶ καὶ τριάκοντα: according to Her. vi. 36 the distance was thirty-six stadia: cp. § 8 note.

ἐκτειχίσασι, sc. τὸ μέρος τοῦ τείχους. πρὸ ὄπωρας, about July.

σπόριμον, sc. γῆν.

§ 11. Χιών φυγάδας. Diod. xiii. 36 relates that, when the Spartan Cratesippidas restored the oligarchical exiles (410 B.C., cp. i. i. 32), they in their turn expelled their opponents to the number of 600, who thereupon seized upon Atarneus just opposite to Mytilene, and made sallies therefrom upon Chios.

ζώντας ἀπὸ τοῦτον, i.e. living by the plunder.

Δράκοντα: Isocrates (iv. 144) rather inaccurately says, Δράκων Ἀταρνέα καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδιὸν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε.

ἐκπλεω, proleptic: cp. v. i. 24 πλῆρεις τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεψε.

397–396 B.C.

§ 12. ἐν ἐληρήνῃ διῆγον, according to the understanding arrived at in the autumn of 399, iii. i. 9.

ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων, which had sent to Sparta for aid in 400 B.C., iii. i. 3.

διαβαίνειν, i.e. the river Maeander.

§ 13. Φαρνάβαζος. According to Diod. xiv. 39 this satrap had during the truce (§ 9) visited the King at Susa, had persuaded him to equip a naval expedition, of which Conon the Athenian was to be the admiral, had himself received 500 talents for that purpose, and had crossed over to Cyprus to make the offer to Conon, who was still an exile at the court of Evagoras: cp. iii. 4. i note.

στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων: cp. iii. i. 3 note.

διαμαρτυρήμενος: the present is more vivid than the future; it
expresses an attendant circumstance as well as a purpose: cp. iii. 5. 4; vii. 4. 5 βοηθῶν παρεῖν.

Αἰώλιδος: cp. § 1.

§ 14. οὕτω: Dercylidas and his army.

ὡς προεληλυθῶσιν κ.τ.λ.: ‘supposing that the enemy had advanced far into the country of Ephesus.’

μνηματών: lofty tombs, which served as good look-out posts: cp. vi. 2. 20. So μνημεῖα, § 15.

§ 15. τινάς: ‘some of their men’: the accusative after ἀνταναβι-βαίναντες.

τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ: cp. iii. 1. 13 note. Diodorus (xiv. 39) estimates the Persian army at 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and Dercylidas’ army at 7,000.

ἐκάτερος: Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

§ 16. εἰς ὅκτω: the ordinary depth of the phalanx in battle array.

κράσπεδα, apparently a poetical expression for τῷ κέρατα: cp. Eur. Supp. 661 ὄχλον πρὸς κρασπέδους στρατοπέδου τεταγμένον. Büchsenschütz suggests that possibly here it may bear its more usual sense, ‘the foot of a hill or mountain.’

§ 17. Πρίηνης...‘Ἀχιλλείου. Both cities lay in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17. Herodotus (i. 142) reckons Priene among the Ionic cities, and there is no known reason why Xenophon should have distinguished it and Achilleum from αἱ ἱωνικαί πόλεις.

βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος fixes the season of the year, c. June.

§ 18. ἐξηγηγέλετο: impersonal passive.

αὐτῶς: Tissaphernes and his army.

tοὺς κρατίστους: Clearchus did the same in his interview with Tissaphernes, Anab. ii. 3. 3.

§ 19. δόξαντα ... περανθέντα: accusative absolute: this construction used personally as here, without ὡς or ὃσπερ, is extremely rare, cp. Anab. iv. 1. 13 and Her. ii. 66 ταῦτα δὲ γυνόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Ἀγγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει: Goodwin, M. T. 854.

Τράχλεις, north of the Maeander: cp. iii. 1. 5.

Δεύκοφρων, also in the plain of the Maeander, iv. 8. 17: its site has recently been discovered, cp. Athenæum, 1891.

ἂν: the imperf., because a present fact is here stated with reference to past circumstances: cp. ii. 1. 21.

πλέων: the adverb is used for the adjective.
§ 20. εἰπαν ὅτι. This form of the aorist, mostly preserved in B alone, occurs iii. 4. 4; 5. 24; vi. 1. 16; vii. 4. 4. ὅτι recalls the clause to be supplied from the preceding sentence τὴν εἰρήνην ἅν ποιήσαντο: cp. i. 5. 6.

ἀρμοσταῖ. Hence it appears that, though by this time Lysander’s Decarchies had been overthrown (iii. 4. 2, 7), the Spartans still maintained their empire over the Asiatic cities by harmosts and garrisons.

σπονδᾶς ἐποίησαντο. Xenophon has entirely omitted to say what were the results of these negotiations begun in the summer of 397, or what became of the Greek army. Diodorus (xiv. 39) only adds οὗτοι μὲν οὗ τοίς διέλυσαν τὰ στρατόπεδα. Dercylidas himself is casually mentioned in iii. 4. 6 as one of Agesilaus’ envoys in the negotiations with Tissaphernes in the truce concluded in the spring of 396, but from that time he disappears from history until in 394 he meets Agesilaus at Amphipolis with the news of the victory at the Nemea, when the king was marching back from Asia in obedience to the summons of the Ephors.

ἔως ἀπαγγέλθη, i. e. to continue until, &c.; for this final use of ἔως cp. Goodwin, M. T. 614.

Δερκυλίδα . . . Τισσαφέρνει. Datives of the Agent instead of ὑπό with the genitive.

p 398-397 B.C.


Δακεδαμίον: Α΄ nominativus pendens. The construction is changed at οὗ μόνον ταῦτ’ ἔρκει, and resumed again in a different form in § 23.

συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κ.τ.λ., in 420 B.C.; cp. Thuc. v. 47. For the motive cp. ibid. 31.

καταδεικύσθαι. This second charge, which Xenophon repeats almost in the words of Thucydides, is narrated by the latter historian, v. 49. The Eleans had condemned the Lacedaemonians to pay a fine of 2,000 minae for violating the Olympian truce, and on their refusal to pay had excluded them from the festival of Ol. 90 (420 B.C.). The insult to Lichas also occurred at the same festival. Thuc. v. 50; Paus. vi. 2. 2.
398-397 B.C.  III. ii. 22, 23


§ 22. τόντων δ’ ὑστερον. The date cannot be determined. Diod. xiv. 17 speaks of the insult as offered to Pausanias.

νόημων. The custom seems to have been honoured in the breach rather than in the observance. At the beginning of the Peloponnnesian War the Lacedaemonians sent to Delphi and ἐπηρώτων τῶν θεῶν εἰ πολεμόωσιν ἢμεινον ἔσται: Thuc. i. 118. Again in 388 or 387 Agesipolis indirectly asked the same question both at Olympia and Delphi: cp. iv. 7. 2.

'Ελλήνων πολέμῳ, ‘war against Greeks’: cp. iv. 8. 24 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκεῖνον πολέμῳ.


τὰς περισσότερα πόλεις. The Eleans had gradually made themselves masters of Pisatis and Triphyllia with the exception of Lepreum, and about 465 B.C. had been supported by the Lacedaemonians in suppressing a revolt among the subject towns; cp. Paus. iii. 8. 2; vi. 22. 2; Strab. viii. 355, 358. Now, however, that the Eleans had proved disaffected towards the Peloponnesian League, it was the Spartan interest to weaken them in all possible ways. The autonomy of all Greek States had been the Spartan watchword even before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Diodorus (xiv. 17) adds that the Lacedaemonians also demanded from the Eleans their quota of the expenses of the war against Athens, and that the Eleans in return charged the Lacedaemonians ὅτι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταδουλοῦται.

φρουράν ἐφημαν: a Lacedaemonian phrase, which first appears in Xenophon. It means ‘to call out the ban,’ φρουρά, like the German Bann, denoting a body of men destined for military service. Generally it is used of a declaration of war by the Ephors or the Spartan state; but in iv. 7. 1 it is used of king Agesilaus alone, and kings Pausanias and Agesipolis are both said ἐξάγειν φρουρὰν ii. 4. 29; v. 2. 3: cp. Appendix, p. 342.

Ἄγιος: Diodorus (xiv. 17, 34) gives the name of Pausanias instead of Agis and compresses the events of three years into two. His version is in many respects quite inconsistent.

Δάρμων, a river forming the boundary between Achaea and Elis: Paus. vii. 17. 5.
§ 24. ἐκ τῆς χώρας. According to Pausanias (iii. 8. 3) Agis in this year's campaign twice penetrated to Olympia and the Alpheus. δυσμενεῖς. This growing hostility towards Sparta, which culminated in the outbreak of the Corinthian war, is noteworthy. Still only the Boeotians and Corinthians dared to refuse the usual contingents required of them.

§ 25. περιώντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, better περιώντι. Classen (in a note on Thuc. i. 30 περιώντι τῷ θέρει) has shown that the phrase can only mean 'when the year was drawing to a close,' i.e. about February or March, since Xenophon like Thucydides begins his year about our April: cp. Introd. pp. xxxvi, xlv.

καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι: cp. iii. 1. 4.

Ἀυλώνος: on the river Neda in the borderland between Elis and Messenia.

Μακίστιον . . . Μαργανεῖς. The two first-mentioned towns were in Triphyllia to the S. of the Alpheus; the three last towns in Pisatis to the N. of that river.

ἐχώμενοι, 'next neighbours.'

τοῦ ποταμῶν: the Alpheus.

§ 26. τὸ ἀστυ, i.e. Elis: so too τὴν πόλιν in the next section.

ἐπιστησιμός. Not only was Elis the most fertile part of the Peloponnesus, but it had suffered from no invasion since 420 B.C. (Thuc. v. 49) and then the invaders had penetrated no further than Lepreum.

§ 27. περὶ Κυλλήνην: the seaport of Elis.

βουλόμενοι . . . ἃ δὲ ἄντων τραγῳδησαί. The words as they stand in the text seem untranslatable; but if, with Schäfer, δὲ ἄντων be altered into δὲ ἄντων, they may perhaps be translated 'wishing by themselves alone (i.e. without the participation of the opposite faction) to go over to the Lacedaemonians': cp. Polyb. iii. 80 σπουδάζων δὲ ἄντων ποιήσασθαι τὸ πρότερα καὶ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν παρούσιαν τοῦ τὴν ἦσθαν ἀρχὴν ἑχοντος, and Critical Note.

οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) tells the story as follows:

Ξενίας δὲ ἄνηρ Ἡλεῖος Ἀγίδι τε ἰδίᾳ ἕνος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ κωνοῦ πρὸς ἐπανεύρῃ τῷ δήμῳ σὺν τοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι πρὶν δὲ Ἐλυν καὶ τῶν στρατῶν ἀφίξατα σφισθαν ἀμύνοντας, Ὀρασυνδάος προεστηκὼς τότε τοῦ Ἡλείων δήμου μάχη Ξενίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας ἐξέβαιλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
398–397 B.C.

III. ii. 28–31

τῶν λεγ'μενον, 'who proverbially was said.'

ἐξ οἰκίας: whose house it was, Xenophon leaves indeterminate.

τῷ τοῦ δι'μον προστάτῃ, cp. i. 7. 2 note.

§ 28. περιπελήσθη ἢ οἰκία . . . ὁ ἤγεμὼν. On account of the lameness of the comparison many commentators have supposed there to be some corruption in the text. Schwabe suggested περιεκλήσθη (or περιεκλείσθη), excising ἢ οἰκία, but this hardly seems to be any improvement.

§ 29. αὖ . . . πάλιν: the former belongs to ἀπιών, the latter to διέβη.

dιηκέν: 1st aor. from διήμι.

397–396 B.C.

§ 30. Φρίζαν καὶ 'Επιτάλιον, in apposition to τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις: the other three towns next mentioned were in the Pisatis.

'Ακρωρείους: the inhabitants of the district east of Elis, which included Lasion.

μεταξύ governs the genitives Ἡραίας καὶ Μακιστοῦ: for its position cp. iii. 5. 3 τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεύσι τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς.

'Ἡραίας, an Arcadian town on the upper Alpheus.

§ 31. οὐκ ἄρχαίου, cp. Paus. v. 9. 4; vi. 22. 2; Her. ii. 160. The Olympic games were under the care of the Pisatans until Ol. 50 (580 B.C.), when the Eleans were given the management of them. Since their συνοικισμός in 471 (Diod. xi. 54) the Eleans had formed a city state and the Pisatans were in comparison only χωρίται, though they never forgot their old claims to the administration of the festival; cp. vii. 4. 28.

συμμαχία. Pursuing the same policy, which had already proved successful against Athens and which some ten years later was adopted with equal success against Thebes, Sparta had thereby isolated Elis from all her neighbouring towns and reduced her to the position of a subject ally.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1–3. On the death of Agis his reputed son Leotychides and his brother Agesilaus disputed the succession. Through the influence of Lysander the state decided in favour of Agesilaus.

§§ 4–7. While Agesilaus was
sacrificing, the seer warned him against a plot; five days later the Ephors were informed of a wide-spread conspiracy among the subject population, headed by Cinadon. §§ 8-11. The Ephors feared to arrest Cinadon openly, and sent him on a pretended mission to Aulon. On the road he was arrested and forced to disclose the names of his fellow-conspirators. He was brought to Sparta, where he and the ringleaders were put to death.

§ 1. ἀποθέσας: ἀπό in composition sometimes as here signifies the obligation to do the action expressed by the verb; cp. Anab. i. 1. 8 ὁ Κύρος ἀπέτεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους διασμόν βασιλεῖ.

Ἡραία: cp. iii. 2. 30.

σεμνοτέρας ἦ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 9 αὐτες τελευτάσαι τιμᾶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δε βουλοῦται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὧν ὃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄλλῳ ὃς ἡρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετημήκασι: Her. vi. 58, 59 describes these honours at length.

αὐτή ἤμεραι: according to Her. l. c. 10 days.

νῦν φάσκων ἂν ἰδοὺς εἶναι. Plutarch (Alc. 23; Ages. 3) relates that Leotychides was a son of Alcibiades by Timaea, Agis’ wife. Thucydides however (viii. 12, 45) does not allude to the story. Pausanias (iii. 8. 4) says that Agis on his death-bed acknowledged Leotychides as his son, but Plutarch (Ages. 3; Lys. 22) adds that he only did so in response to the tearful prayers of Leotychides and his friends.

ἀδελφὸς. Agesilaus was half-brother of Agis, being a son of Archidamus by his second wife, Eupolia: cp. Plut. Ages. 1.

§ 2. κα, Doric for ἀν: similarly ὃς for οὖτως.

ἐμὲ ἂν δεῖ νβασιλεῖσεν. This is Agesilaus’ rejoinder.

τὸ, Doric for σὸ: so also Ποσείδῶν for Ποσείδων, σει for σοῦ, ψευδομένῳ for ψευδομένον. In all other passages, where Xenophon reports conversations in Doric, as indeed in Ionic or Aeolic, except in iv. 4. 10, he adheres to the Attic forms.

ὡς ... ψευδομένῳ. For the genitive absolute with ὡς cp. iii. 5. 8 ἄ μεμφεσθε ήμῖν ὑμᾶς ψηφισμαῖνων, and v. 1. 25 διαστείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπέμπομενον τῶν Καλχηδονίων.

λεγόμενος: cp. iii. 2. 27 note.

ἀδὴν ὃς γὰρ τοι, κ.τ.λ.: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 3. Διοπείδης: Plutarch gives the oracle (Ages. 3; Lys. 22):

φράζει δή, Ἐπάρτη, καίπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐνύσσα,

μὴ σέθεν ἄρτιποδος βλάστη χωλὴ βασιλεία.
Agesilaus was lame in one foot.

Λύσσανδρος. Now that Agis was dead and Pausanias more or less in disgrace (for he had only escaped condemnation for his conduct of the war against Athens in 403 through the votes of the judges being equal, Paus. iii. 5. 3), Lysander, whose commanding influence had been checked by the opposition of these two kings, saw a chance of coming once more to the front, if only he could procure the throne for his own nominee: for it was in this light he regarded Agesilaus, whose ἐραστής he had formerly been according to the Spartan custom, Plut. Lys. 22.

χωλεύσατι: see Critical Note.

ἀν τοῦ γένους, i.e. of the royal family: cp. iv. 2. 9.

οἱ ἀφ’ Ἰππακλέους. For the descent of the Spartan kings cp. Her. vi. 52; vii. 204; viii. 131.

396-395 B.C.

§ 4. θύντος αὐτοῦ: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 2 ἔθηκε (ὁ Λυκούργος) θείεν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὤντα.

§ 5. τῶν ὁμοίων, the citizens in full enjoyment of their political rights, opposed to the ἱππομείονες: cp. § 6, and Appendix, p. 335.

κελεύοι: the pres. opt. in oratio obliqua represents the imperf. in oratio recta: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 673.


ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις: ‘in the country,’ opposed to ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ and ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς.

ἐν ἑκάστῳ [sc. τῷ χωρίῳ]: ‘on each estate.’

§ 6. αὐτοῖ, i.e. οἱ προστατεύοντες.

ἔφασαν. If ἔφασαν be retained in the text, it may perhaps be explained, notwithstanding the change in mood, as dependent upon ὡς like συνέδεειν. This construction however is extremely harsh; and it is almost as easy to suppose that Xenophon for the sake of vividness has put the traitor’s words into oratio recta. If on the other hand ἔφασαν be rejected, it seems necessary to alter αὐτοῖ into αὐτοὺς. Ἐφασαν at the beginning of § 7 is nearly as difficult.
εἰλώσι ... περιοίκοις: cp. Appendix, p. 335. The ὑπομείονες are only mentioned in this passage.
μὴ σοῦ: the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance in κρύπτειν: cp. Goodwin, M.T. 811.
ὁμών εἰσθείν. Proverbial. Hom. II. iv. 34:
εἰ δὲ σὺ γ’ εἰσελθοῦσα πῦλας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ
ὁμών βεβρῶθοις Πρίαμον.
cp. Anab. iv. 8. 14 τούτοις, ἦν πως δυνάμεθα, καὶ ὁμών δεῖ κατα-
φαγεῖν.
§ 7. ἐφασάν: the indicative is apparently used as more expressive than the regular optative.
τὸν δὲ, i.e. ἐφή ὁ εἰσαγγείλας τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰπεῖν. The particle δὲ is frequently used to introduce the consequent: cp. iv. i. 33
εἰ δὲν ἐγὼ μὴ γεγυμόσκω ... ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με; Plat. Symp. 220 b
καὶ ποτε ὄντος πάγου ... ὄντος δ’ ἐν τούτοις ἔστιν. Madvig supposes
that some words have slipped out of the text, like αὐτὸς ἐφη τούτο
ἐρεσθαί: cp. Critical Note.
οἱ ... συνταγμένοι, seems to mean the definitely organized
conspirators, and not, as Büchsenschütz takes it, those enrolled for
the Spartan military service: cp. vi. 4. 11; 5. 29.
[ἐφασάν γε], seems inexplicable: cp. Critical Note.
τῷ δ’ ὀχλῷ: dative of the possessor: in the following words
Xenophon has suddenly changed the construction for the sake of
greater vividness.
εἰς τὸν σίδηρον, i.e. to the place where articles of iron were
kept: cp. Pollux, x. 19 οἱ ’Αττικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὰ χωρία
ἀνόμαζον, λέγοντες εἰς τοῦρον καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα καὶ εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν
καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀνδράποδα.
ὅπλα ... ἄρκοιντα: proleptic, ‘implements which would serve
as weapons.’
ἐπιθημεῖν, ‘to stay in the city,’ so as to be ready for action.
§ 8. ἐσκεμμένα ... λέγειν: ‘that he was describing a fully
elaborated scheme.’
μικρὰν ... ἐκκλησίαν: cp. Appendix, p. 341.
συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων: συλλεγόμενοι must be taken as
middle, with the partitive genitive without τινάς (cp. iii. 1. 4) for its
object. Trans.: ‘the Ephors summoning to themselves some of
the Senators.’
Aulis: the district in the NW. of Messenia.

σκυτάλη: cp. Plut. Lys. 19 έστι δε ἡ σκυτάλη τοιούτων. ἐπὶν ἐκπέμπτωσи ναύαρχων ἡ στρατηγὴν οἱ ἐφοροι, ξύλα δύο στρογγύλα μῆκος καὶ πάχος ἀκριβῶς ἀπισώσαντες, ὠστε ταῖς τοιμαῖς ἐφαρμόζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, τὸ μὲν αὐτῷ φυλάττοντι, βάτερον δὲ τῷ πεπομένῳ διδόσαι. ταύτα δὲ τὰ ξύλα σκυτάλας καλοῦσιν. ὅταν ὀν ἀπόρρητον τι καὶ μέγα φράσαι βουληθῶσι, βιβλίον ὄσπερ ἵματα μακρὸν καὶ στενὸν ποιοῦντες περιελάττουσι τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς σκυτάλην, οὐδὲν διαλείμμα ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν κύκλῳ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτὴς τῷ βιβλίῳ καταλαμβάνουσε. τούτο δὲ ποιοῦντες ἄ βύονται καταγράφοντι εἰς τὸ βιβλίον ὄσπερ ἐστὶ τῇ σκυτάλῃ περικείμενον· ὅταν δὲ γράψωσιν, ἀφελόντες τὸ βιβλίον ἀνευ τοῦ ξύλου πρὶς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλουσι. δεξάμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναλέξασθαι δύναται τῶν γραμμάτων συσφῆν τόκτι ἐχόμενως, ἀλλὰ διεσπαρμένως, τὴν δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ σκυτάλην λαβῶ τὸ τμῆμα τοῦ βιβλίου περὶ αὐτὴν περιέτεινεν, ὡστε τῆς ἔλικος εἰς τάξιν ὁμοίως ἀποκαθαστάμενης ἐπιβάλλοντα τοῖς πρῶτοι τὰ δεύτερα κύκλῳ τῆς ὁψιν ἐπάγειν τὸ συνεχὲς ἀνεφράσκουσαν. καλείται δὲ ὄνομάμως τῷ ξύλῳ σκυτάλῃ τὸ βιβλίον, ὡς τῷ μετροῦντι τὸ μετροῦμενον.


ἐρομένου: for gen. abs. without a subject cp. ii. 4. 1.


αὐτοῖς, i.e. the Ephors.

ὅτως ... εἰδείη: for the pres. opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 339.


πρότον ... πρὶν like πρότερον ... πρὶν.

ἀποπέμπειν: the object τὰ γεγραμμένα ὑδόματα is to be supplied from γράφαντες.

οὐτῷ ἔσχον ... πρὸς τὸ πράγμα, 'were so concerned about the matter'; cp. Plat. Prot. 332 b πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμην;

τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Αὐλόνως, i.e. τοῖς τῶν νέων ἐπ᾽ Αὐλόνως πεμπομένοις.

§ 11. ἀπέγραψε: the legal term for dictating what another man writes down.

Τισαμενόν. Is he to be identified with the soothsayer of § 4?

ἐἶναι: dependent upon βουλόμενος.
CHAPTER IV

§§ 1–4. News coming of a large fleet being fitted out in Phoenicia, Agesilaus, instigated by Lysander, offered to lead an expedition into Asia. The Spartans and their allies consented. Like Agamemnon, he went to offer sacrifice at Aulis, but was prevented by the Boeotarchs. He met his forces at Gerastus and sailed to Ephesus. §§ 5, 6. Agesilaus demanded the autonomy of the Asiatic Greeks. Tissaphernes induced him to consent to a truce, while he consulted the Persian king: really however the satrap only asked for reinforcements. §§ 7–10. The Asiatic Greeks paid court to Lysander rather than to Agesilaus. The king in revenge thwarted all their wishes. Thereon Lysander persuaded him to send him to the Hellespont, where he induced the Persian Spithridates to revolt. §§ 11–15. Tissaphernes declared war upon Agesilaus, who at once summoned his contingents to Ephesus. The satrap moved his infantry into Caria, but posted his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus however marched northwards into Phrygia, gathering rich booty. His cavalry were defeated in a skirmish near Dascyleum. On his return to the sea he took speedy means to improve this arm of his forces. §§ 16–19. In the spring Agesilaus mustered his troops at Ephesus, and drilled them by military exercises and games. §§ 20–24. Agesilaus appointed four of the new Spartan commissioners to various commands. Tissaphernes posted his troops as before. This year however the king really marched upon Sardis. At the Pactolus he was met by the Persian cavalry: but he easily defeated them, and captured their camp full of booty. §§ 25, 26. Tissaphernes, being suspected of treachery, was beheaded by Tithraustes, who had been sent to supersede him. The new satrap offered autonomy to the Greek cities, provided that they paid the usual tribute, and induced Agesilaus to move into Pharnabazes' territory, until he had consulted the Spartan government as to the offer. §§ 27–29. Agesilaus, being entrusted with the command of the navy, appointed Pisander admiral and collected a new fleet of 120 ships.

§ 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: cp. Ages. i. 6 ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἅρχῃ ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεύς ἀβροίζων, and Plut. Ages. 6 τοῦ δὲ Ἀγεσιλάου τὴν βασιλείαν νεώστι παρειληφθῶν ἀπῆγγελλόν τινες with iii. 3. 4.

τριήρες Φοινίσσας. Isocrates (ix. 55) represents Conan the exiled Athenian general and his friend Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis as persuading the Persian satraps, who had fared so badly in their recent campaigns against the Lacedaemonians, μὴ κατὰ γῆν ἄλλα κατὰ βάλεται ποιεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, alleging that εἰ κατὰ βάλεται κρατήσειν, άπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς νίκης ταύτης μεθέξειν. Similarly Plut. Ages. 6 says that the object of the expedition was
Δακεδαυμονίους ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς θαλάσσης. Pausanias (i. 3. 1) adds that it was by Evagoras' personal influence with Artaxerxes, that Conan was appointed admiral of the fleet: cp. iv. 3. 11. Diodorus (xiv. 39) tells the story somewhat differently: according to him, Pharnabazus just before his joint campaign with Tissaphernes (i.e. in 397: iii. 2. 12-20) went up to Artaxerxes and persuaded him to equip a fleet and appoint Conan its admiral: thereupon the satrap sailed to Cyprus, ordered the native princes to equip 100 vessels, and offered Conan the command. Conan accepted, and so soon as 40 ships were ready, crossed over to Cilicia, there to complete his preparations. Diodorus erroneously records these events under 399 B.C., though he does not resume them again till 396 (xiv. 79) without accounting at all for the interval: cp. § 28 note.

ἀναγόμενων: for the position of the participle cp. iv. 3. 2 αἱ συμπέμποται πόλεις ἢμίν τοὺς στρατιώτας; v. 2. 4 τῶν ῥέοντα ποταμῶν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, &c.

ὡς ... παρασκευαζόμενων: for the participial construction in the genitive cp. iv. 3. 14; 5. 8; vii. 2. 5.

Τισαφέρνους: Herodas naturally reported the name of Tissaphernes rather than of Pharnabazus, because the former was commander-in-chief of the whole country. Cor. Nepos (Con. 2) gives an extraordinarily garbled version of the story.

§ 2. τὸ ... ἀναβάων: cp. iii. i. 1, 2.

πείθει τῶν Ἀργησίλαοι. According to Plutarch (Ages. 23) Lysander urged his friends in Asia to send an embassy to Sparta to ask for Agesilaus' appointment.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. In 429 B.C. the Spartans sent three σύμβουλοι to attend their unsuccessful admiral Cnemus, Thuc. ii. 85. Again in 418 after Agis' ill success against Argos νόμον ἑθεντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὡς οὕτω πρῶτερον ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς: 'δέκα γὰρ ἄνδρας Σπαρτιατῶν προσείλοντο αὐτῷ ἐξωθούλους, ἀνεν δὲν μὴ κύριον εἶναι ἀπάγεων στρατιῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Thuc. v. 63. The thirty Spartiateæ sent out with Agesilaus were in the following year succeeded by a second thirty despatched by the home government, cp. § 20 and Appendix, p. 337.

τὰς δεκαρχίας ... διὰ τοὺς ἑφόρους: cp. iii. 2. 20 note. After the capture of Athens the two kings Agis and Pausanias had successfully combined to crush the influence of Lysander; but no definite measures are known, whereby the Ephors displaced the
Decarchies, which he had set up in the Asiatic cities: ii. 2. 5; 3. 7; iii. 5. 13. Plutarch (Ages. 6) simply says of them—κακῶς χρώμενοι καὶ βιαιὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξέπειτον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἀπέθυμηκον. The reference in § 7 throws no further light on the matter.

πατρίους πολιτείας, i.e. as they existed before the Athenian Empire: cp. § 7.

§ 3. ἐξαμήνου, sc. χρόνου.

tà διαβατήρια. Xenophon describes these sacrifices Resp. Lac. 13. 2. First at Sparta the king sacrificed to Zeus Agetor; then again at the frontiers he sacrificed to Zeus and Athena.

taìs πόλεισι. Pausanias (iii. 9. 1–3) states that Thebes, Corinth, and Athens under various pretences refused to send contingents: cp. iii. 5. 5 οὐδ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀχηριλάω συνεστράτευον (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι).

ὁπον παρείναι, i.e. Gerastus (§ 4) in the southern point of Euboea.

θύνατε ἐν Αἰλίδι. Plutarch (Ages. 6; Pel. 21) tells the story with many embellishments, which were unknown even to Pausanias (iii. 9. 1, 2).

§ 4. βοιώταρχοι, the presiding magistrates of the Boeotian League, who were elected annually: cp. v. 2. 25 note; Thuc. iv. 91; Appendix, p. 357.

ὁσος . . . πλείστον: for ὁσος with the superlative and δύναμιν cp. ii. 2. 9 ὁσοὺς ἐδύνατο πλείστους.


εἶναι dependent on δεόμενος.

§ 6. Δερκυλίδα. The presence of Dercylidas at Ephesus makes it probable that his army had been incorporated with that of Agesilaus: cp. iii. 2. 20 note.

ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδὰς: cp. Ages. i. 10 σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρισάμενος τὴς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας: Polyaen. ii. 1. 9.

§ 7. συντεταραμένων . . . τῶν πολιτείων: cp. Ages. i. 37 παραλαβῶν πάσας πόλεις ἐφ᾽ ἂς ἄρξομεν ἐξέπεισε στασιαζόντως διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κυνηγῆαι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐληξαν, ἐποίησον ὄστ᾽ ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων ἐως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὑμωνοῦ πολιτευόμενα καὶ εὐδιάμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι: cp. iii. 2. 20; 4. 2 notes.

§ 8. ἐμπνε, transitive in a causal sense. It is never used except here in the meaning ‘to madden with anger’ (cp. Eur. I. A. 580;
Ion 520; Aristoph. Thesm. 561), though frequently so used in the passive: cp. Anab. ii. 5. 10 eì δε δη και μανέντες σε κατακτείναμεν. By the poets (cp. Eur. &c. &c.) this aorist is used in the simple sense 'to drive mad': cp Critical Note.

édiòsèsev, sc. Ὅγισιλαος.

οἴ... ἄλλοι τριάκοντα: Lysander was one of the thirty.

ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου: the article is used because of the cause of the φθόνος has already been sufficiently explained.

τῆς βασιλείας ὄγκριστερον διάγων, i.e. behaving himself more pompously than would beseeem even the king: cp. Mem. ii. 1. 22 ὡστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέρων (τὴν γυναίκα) τῆς φύσεως εἶναι.

ηττωμένως, i.e. 'disappointed': cp. infr. ἐλαττην ἐξοείν.

§ 9. τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ: for the dative cp. v. i. 29 χαλεπῶς ἀφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. Similarly with ἐπὶ and the dative vii. 4. 21 χαλεπῶς... φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. The more usual construction is with the accusative.

According to Plut. Lys. 23 Agesilaus made Lysander his κρεοδαίτης.

μὲν ἄρα intensive, without a corresponding δὲ: cp. Anab. vii. 6. 11 ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρωπον ὑπάρχον ἄρα προσδοκῶν δέi.

τοὺς αὔξοντας, sc. ἐμὲ. Breitenbach wishes to emphasize the difference between ποιεῖν and πράττειν, translating, 'You are behaving towards me more reasonably than I acted (i.e. when I helped you to the throne).' But Büchenschütz is probably right in thinking that the two words are used almost indifferently, adducing as parallels Mem. i. 2. 29 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴδὲν αὐτῶς πονηρῶν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαύλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπῆμε, δικαίως ἂν ἐπετιμάτω καὶ Dem. iv. 5 οὐδὲν ἂν ὃν νυνι πεποίηκε ἐπράξεν. Plutarch seems to have read λέγειν instead of ποιεῖσ, Lys. 23 'Αλλ' ὑσως μὲν, ὃ Ἀγησίλαε, σοι λέεται κάλλιον ᾧ ἑμοί πέπρακται, and Ages. 8 'Αλλ' ὑσως, ἥφη, ταῦτα σοι λέεται βέλτιον ὧ ἑμοὶ πέπρακται.

ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ, 'still at any rate!'

ἐν καρφῳ σοι εἶναι: Plut. Ages. 8 ἐσομαι σοι χρήσιμος.

§ 10. Σπιθριδάτην: cp. Anab. vi. 5. 7. Spithridates helped Pharnabazus in trying to hinder the ravages of the Ten Thousand upon the Bithynians.

ἐλαττούμενον τι: cp. Ages. 3. 3 Σπιθριδάτης μὲν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδὼς ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γήμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλείως ἐπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ ἄνω γόμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὑβριν νομίσας τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάος ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε.
Ἀναβιβάσαμενος, perhaps ‘having put Spithridates and his son on board ship.’ The force of the middle voice is by no means clear: cp. Thuc. vii. 33, 35. Agesilaus was at Ephesus.

§ 11. κατάβαντες: for the position of the participle cp. § 1 note.

οἵ ἄλλοι: for this idiomatic use of ἄλλοι cp. ii. 4. 9.

ἀγοράν. The Greek soldier usually provisioned himself at his own cost, but it was the duty of his general to take care that provisions should be forthcoming at the various halting places on the march.

§ 12. νομίσας . . . νομίζων: cp. iv. 8. 25: the aorist denotes a more definite belief than the present participle.

τάναντία, adverbial: cp. Anab. iv. 3. 32 τάναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον.

τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ. Most editors here insert from Ages. I. 1. 16 ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἤγεν καὶ τὰς: cp. Critical Note. Cp. § 11, whence it appears that these δυνάμεις must have been mostly the Aeolian and Hellespontine contingents.

§ 13. Δασκυλείον: S.E. of Cyzicus, on the river Odryses, where stood the residence of Pharnabazus, iv. 1. 15.

προϊόντος αὐτοῦ. Most editors have accepted Leonclavius’ correction of προϊόντος into προϊόντες and Koppen’s correction of αὐτοῦ into αὐτῷ, comparing v. 4. 59 προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ, and vii. 2. 22. αὐτῷ is to be taken as a kind of ethical dative: cp. Critical Note.

'Ραθύνη, mentioned along with Spithridates as one of Pharnabazus’ officers, Anab. vi. 5. 7.

tοὺς πρῶτους, i.e. the front not broader than twelve men.

πλέον = εἰς πλέον: cp. vi. 4. 12, the same words; Oecon. 21. 3 πλέον ἢ ἐν διπλασίῳ χρόνῳ.

§ 14. κρανείνα παλτά: for the superiority of these weapons cp. De Re Equest. 12. 12 ἀντὶ γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενές καὶ δύσφορον ἐστὶ, τὰ κρανείνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἑπανοῦμεν.

§ 15. ἀλοβά. The absence of one of the lobes in the liver of the victim was regarded as a most unfavourable sign: cp. Dict. Antiq. i. 360, 646.

ἐπὶ βάλασταν: Diod. xiv. 79 ὑπὸ τὸ φθινότωρον ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς Ἐφεσον; Xen. Ages. i. 18 dilates upon the richness of the booty.

ὡς . . . δέοι: for this exceptional use of ὡς cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

ἱπποτροφεῖν: epexegetical infinitive.

κατελεξε, ‘drew up a list of?’
396–395 B.C.

εποίησεν, κ.τ.λ., 'thus caused these preparations to be made as zealously as if they were eagerly seeking substitutes to die for them.'

395–394 B.C.

§ 16. ὑπέφαυε. Xenophon uses both the active and the middle in this intransitive sense: cp. v. 3. 1.

σωμάτων: for the genitive dependent upon ἔχει constructed with an adverb cp. ii. 1. 14 ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς, κ.τ.λ., iv. 5. 15 διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἐκατὸς εἶχεν: it specifies the object of the relation expressed by ἔχειν and the adverb.

§ 17. ὡστε τὴν πόλιν κ.τ.λ., 'so that one might really have thought that the whole city was turned into an arsenal.' This passage is alluded to by Polybius x. 20. 7.

§ 18. ὅπου ... σέβοντο. Although there is no historic tense in the principal clause, the optative is used instead of the more usual subjunctive with ἄν, as v. 2. 16 after ὅπως: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

§ 19. μαλακοῦς: Ages. 1. 28 πίνας.

§ 20. διάδοχοι: cp. § 2 note. Herippidas seems also to have been one of the thirty both for the preceding year 396, and for the next year, 394 (iii. 4. 6; iv. 2. 8), unless indeed he accompanied Agesilaus during the first and third years only in a private capacity.

ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους: Herippidas seems to have succeeded Xenophon himself in their command, cp. iii. 2. 7. Xenophon however remained in attendance upon Agesilaus and accompanied him on his return march at least as far as Coronea: Anab. v. 3. 6; Plut. Ages. 18.

ἡν συντομωτάτην, sc. ὅδεν.

ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα: i. e. Lydia, cp. § 21; Plut. Ages. 10. For the neuter adjective as substantive cp. Anab. i. 8. 4 τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος.

αὐτόθεν: 'at once': temporal, as ii. 2. 13.


εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον: Diod. xiv. 80 represents Agesilaus as marching εἰς τὸ Καῦστρον πεδίον καὶ τὴν περὶ Σίπυλον χώραν and ravaging the country as far as Sardis; then as turning back and engaging Tissaphernes' whole army, infantry as well as cavalry, ἀνὰ μέσον ... τὸν τε Σάρδεσσον καὶ Θυβάρμων. It is however manifest from Xenophon's narrative that the Persian infantry were far away
in Caria. Plutarch follows Xenophon, Pausanias (iii. 9. 3) is more like Diodorus.

§ 22. εἶπε: most editors insert ὁ ἡγεμόν from Ages. I. 36, as evidently the commander of the Persian cavalry (not Tissaphernes, cp. § 25) must be meant.


§ 23. τὴν μὲν φάλαινα, i.e. the army as a whole: the following clauses state the orders given to its several sections. Then παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ, which should have come first, is put in as an afterthought; for it is evident from the following τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἵππεας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι that the Greek cavalry charged in advance of their main army.

§ 24. ἐπεσον ... ἐφευγον. The river separated the Persians from their camp. The aorist means that in the rout some of them fell into the river and were slain; the imperfect, that the rest made their way through the river and continued their flight.

According to Diod. xiv. 80 Agesilaus' victory was mainly due to a successful ambush.

κύκλῳ πάντα, κ.τ.λ., 'formed a cordon round all that was in the camp, whether belonging to friend or foe.'

ἀ, subject to ἦρπε, 'fetched,' 'produced': cp. Oecon. 2. 3 πῶσον ἄν οἷος εὕρειν τὰ σὰ κτήματα πωλούμενα; for these spoils ἐν δυνῶ ἐτοῖν cp. iv. 3. 21 and Ages. I. 34.

καὶ ... δὲ after τε, as ii. 4. 6.

αἱ κάμηλοι: not afterwards mentioned.

§ 25. Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν. This statement of an eyewitness is doubtless to be preferred: but both Diodorus (l. c.) and Plutarch represent Tissaphernes as commanding his cavalry in person at the first successful skirmish, and the former definitely states that after this defeat—ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης ... εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησε.

γνωτίς, in the sense of 'being of opinion,' 'judging,' is here as in ii. 3. 25 constructed with an infinitive.

κακῶς φέροσθαι, κ.τ.λ., 'of his affairs being in evil plight': cp. Oecon. 5. 17 εὖ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας ἐρρωτηθεὶ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀπατοῦν. According to Diod. l. c. Artaxerxes was also incited to punish Tissaphernes by his mother Parysatis, who had never forgiven the satrap for accusing her younger son Cyrus of designs against his brother: Anab. i. 1. 3; Hell. iii. 1. 3.
Tithrausthen: described by Nepos (Conon 3) as 'chiliarcham qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat.'

ἀπότεμεν . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν: at Colossae, Diod. l.c. But Poly-aenus (vii. 16) says that he was treacherously seized at Colossae and carried to Celaenae, where he was beheaded.

λέγοντας, 'who said,' instead of the usual ἔροῦντας: cp. ii. 4. 37.

αὐτοῦμον, i. e. undisturbed in their local affairs.


ἐος ἐν πύθη: according to Diod. xiv. 80 ἐξακμηνάων ἄνοχας ἐποίησατο. Isocrates (iv. 153) however calls it eight months, τὴν μὲν γε μετ' Ἀγγεισιάδον στρατιᾶν ὁκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις διέβρεαν.

§ 27. Κύμης: probably Cyme in Aeolis is meant.

ἐρχεται . . . ἄρχειν . . . καταστήσωσθαι. The infinitives may either be regarded as the subjects to ἐρχεται or as dependent upon it used impersonally: cp. Ages. i. 36 ἤθεν αὐτῷ . . . βοηθεῖν.


ὅπως γιγνώσκοι, 'as he might think fit': cp. iv. 5. 5 γυνώναι ὅ τι βούλοιτο περὶ σφῶν.

ός . . . εἶναι: ός like οτι is several times used by Xenophon with an infinitive where a finite verb would be more usual, especially when a dependent clause comes in between the particle and the verb: cp. ii. 2. 2 εἰδὼς, οτι . . . ἐσεαθαι; vi. 5. 42 ἐλπίζειν ὃς . . . γενήσεσθαι.

καθ' ἄν: lit. 'the force belonging to both being at one,' i. e. 'both forces being united': cp. v. 2. 16.

§ 28. ἐξ δὲ = ἐκ τούτων ὅσι, i. e. 'consisting of those ships which, &c.' Xenophon has said nothing about the Lacedaemonian fleet since the orders given to the admiral Pharax in 397 to support Dercylidas in an attack upon Caria (iii. 2. 12–14). According to Diod. (xiv. 79, cp. § 1 note) in 396 Pharax with 120 ships besieged Conon in Caunus, who was in command of only 40 ships, but on the Caunians receiving reinforcements from Artaxerxes and Pharmabazus he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Rhodes.
Meanwhile Conon, now at the head of 80 ships, had sailed to the Cnidian Chersonese. The Rhodians thereupon revolted, expelled Pharax, and opened their harbour to Conon. Agesilaus must therefore have received these orders from home about strengthening the Lacedaemonian fleet with a view to crushing the rising power of Conon before it was too late: cp. iv. 3. 10 note; Paus. vi. 7. 2; Justin vi. 2.

§ 29. Πεισανδρον...απειράτερον: Plutarch (Ages. 10) also censures the king, ἀμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμωτέρων παρόντων οὐ σκέψαμεν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τιμῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος, ἃς ἀδελφὸς ἦν ὁ Πεισανδρος, ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκε τὴν ναυαρχίαν.

CHAPTER V

§§ 1, 2. Tithraustes sent Timocrates to Greece to stir up war against Sparta. The latter distributed fifty talents in Thebes, Corinth and Argos. The Athenians took none of the money. §§ 3-7. The Thebans stirred up a quarrel between the Locrians and Phocians. The Thebans supported the former: the latter appealed to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians were glad of a pretext to declare war against the Thebans, and sent Lysander forward to collect forces at Haliartus, where Pausanias was to meet him with the Peloponnesian army. §§ 7-16. The Thebans sent envoys to Athens, who advocated for many reasons an alliance between the two states. The Assembly voted to enter into a defensive alliance, and Thrasybulus communicated the decree to the Thebans. §§ 17-21. War began. Lysander without waiting for Pausanias attacked Haliartus and was slain, whereupon his allied forces dispersed. §§ 21-25. Pausanias arrived on the scene and next day the Athenian contingent joined the Thebans. The Spartans applied to the Thebans for the recovery of the corpses, which was only granted on condition that they left the country. On his return Pausanias was condemned to death, but escaped to Tegea.

§ 1. τῶν 'Αγησίλαον...ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας: for the warlike operations of Agesilaus in the autumn of 395 in Phrygia and Paphlagonia cp. iv. i. 1-28.

αἱρήσειν, 'to subjugate': Paus. iii. 9. 1 Δακεδαμωνίως ἤρεσε διαβῆναι ναυσίν ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Δαρεῖον αἱρήσοντας.

τί χρότο, cp. ii. i. 2.
395–394 B.C.  III. v. 2  III

Τιμοκράτην τῶν Ρώδιον: Rhodes had recently revolted from Sparta: cp. iii. 4. 28 note.

τοῖς προεστηκόσιν: cp. i. 7. 2 note. Plut. Ages. 15 calls them οἱ δημαγωγοί.

ἐν Θῆβαις. The Thebans seem to have used the Persian gold to coin money bearing the impress of Heracles and the Snake. Then after the battle of Cnidus, 394, many of the Asiatic states—Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos, Ephesus, and later on Lampsacus, Cyzicus, and even Croton and Zancynthus in Europe—adopted this type, entering, it would seem, into some close relationship with Thebes, and forming themselves into some sort of League, in all probability to protect themselves against Sparta (cp. A. Holm, History of Greece, vol. iii. 48; Head, Coins, pp. 40, 41). The coins of Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos and Ephesus are inscribed with ΣΥΝ.

'Ανδροκλείδα: cp. § 4; v. 2. 31, 35.

'Iσμηνία: cp. v. 2. 25–35.

Γαλαξίδόρφ is not further mentioned.

Τιμολάχι: cp. iv. 2. 11; he advised the allies to march upon Sparta, 394 B.C.

Πολυάνθει... Κύλων: not otherwise mentioned.

§ 2. 'Αθηναῖοι... οὐ μεταλαβόντες: Plut. Ages. 15 states the contrary, τοσοῦτον (τοξοτῶν, i.e. darics) γὰρ εἰς Ἀθῆνας καὶ Θῆβας κομισθέντων καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαρχοῦσιν: and Pausanias (iii. 9. 8) actually names Cephalus and Epicrates as the recipients. Curiously enough Head (Coins, p. 314) is of opinion that a gold coinage was first instituted at Athens about 394.

†τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι: no meaning can be extracted out of these words; cp. Critical Note.

eἰς... πόλεις διέβαλλον, ‘began covertly to attack the Lacedaemonians in their respective states,’ Dakyns. For eἰς instead of πρὸς cp. ii. 1. 2 μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας διαβόλην σχοίνον.

συνίστασαι καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις. In the following sections Xenophon speaks only of the league formed between the Thebans and Athenians. But Diodorus (xiv. 81, 82) relates that after the death of Lysander the Corinthians and Argives also joined the league, and their example was speedily followed by the whole of Euboea, the Leucadians, Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and Chalcidians.
The results of these alliances are apparent in the list of forces opposed to Sparta at the battle of Corinth: cp. iv. 2. 17; 3. 3 note.

§ 3. οἱ ἐν ταῖς Ὑβαίσι . . . πείθουσι. Similarly Isocrates (xiv. 27) γενομένον δὲ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὴν ὑβριν τὴν τούτων (the Thebans). Grote (ix. 113) calls in question this statement, that the Thebans instigated the war between the Locrians and Phocians, thinking that it is due to Xenophon's philo-Laconian and miso-Theban tendency: but the evidence from inscriptions (cp. § 1 note) shows that the Thebans at this time were carrying on a far more energetic foreign policy than had been previously supposed. Xenophon's account moreover is borne out by Pausanias (iii. 9. 9), so that Diodorus' jejune version of the affair (xiv. 81), on which Grote relies, but which says nothing about the Locrians at all, cannot be taken to counterbalance the united testimony of the two other authorities.

λύειν . . . συμμάχους: for the expression cp. Thuc. v. 61 ὃμως γὰρ τὰς σπουδὰς ὀκνοὺν λύει τῶν ἰακεδαμονίων.

ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου . . . τελέσω, 'to levy money upon the debateable land claimed both by the Phocians and themselves (i.e. the Locrians). For the position of ἀμφισβητησίμου, on which the two datives depend, cp. iii. 2. 30.

πολλαπλάσια, i.e. many times as much as the Locrians had seized.

§ 5. τῆς ἀντιλήψεως . . . ἐν Δεκελείᾳ. These words must mean: 'the claim they put forward at Decelea to the title dedicated to Apollo,' i.e. at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War; cp. Justin v. 10. 12 interea Thebani Corinthiiique legatos ad Lacedaemonios mittunt, qui ex manubiiis portionem praedae communis belli periculose petenter. quibus negatis non quidem aperte bellum adversus Lacedaemonios decernunt, sed tacitis animis tantam iram concipiunt, ut subesse bellum intelligi posset. Plut. Lys. 27 τῆς δεκάτης ἀντεποιήσαντο τοῦ πολέμου Ὑβαίοι μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἰπυχαζόντων. As neither of these authorities mention Apollo or Decelea (indeed the booty, we learn, was conveyed by Lysander to Sparta), Breitenbach wishes to read τῆς δεκάτης τῆς ἐκ λείας.

ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιᾶ . . . μὴ συστρατεύειν: cp. ii. 4. 30.
395-394 B.C. III. v. 6-8

ΧΕΡΑ . . . ΕΡΡΙΨΑΝ: cp. iii. 4. 4.

ΟΥΘ’ ΕΙΣ . . . ΕΝΝΕΑΤΡΙΕΥΝ: cp. iii. 4. 3. This fact was not previously mentioned by Xenophon.

§ 6. ΦΡΟΝΡΑΝ . . . ΕΦΑΙΝΟΥ: cp. iii. 2. 23 note. Pausanias (iii. 9. 11) relates that before the declaration of war the Athenians sent ambassadors to Sparta to implore the Lacedaemonians to refer the points in dispute to arbitration, but that the ambassadors were indignantly dismissed.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ: Lysander must have returned to Sparta in the spring of 395 (cp. iii. 4. 20). According to Plutarch (Ages. 20; Lys. 24) he at once began organizing an extensive conspiracy against Agesilaus, which the king only discovered after his death.

ΟΙΤΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ 'ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΑΣ. According to Diod. xiv. 38, in 399 B.C. Herippidas quelled a revolt which had arisen at Heraclea with great severity, and expelled the Oetaeans from their homes, to which they were restored by the Boeotians five years afterwards.

ΕΙΣ ΑΛΙΑΡΤΟΝ in the NW. of Boeotia. The design of the Spartans was to attack Boeotia on the north and south sides simultaneously.

ΘΡΟΧΟΜΕΝΙΟ ΆΠΕΩΤΗΣ. Orchomenus was the second city of the Boeotian League and was always jealous of the Theban supremacy. Moreover, at this time her government was aristocratical, while Thebes was in the hands of the democrats. In 364 the Thebans razed the city to the ground; cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 7. ΤΑ ΔΙΑΒΑΤΗΡΙΑ: cp. iii. 4. 3 note.

ΕΧΑΝΑΥΟΥΣ: Spartan officers, whose duty it was to collect and command the contingents from the allied states: cp. iv. 2. 19; v. 2. 7; Ages. 2. 10; Resp. Laced. 13. 4; Thuc. ii. 75 and Appendix, p. 349.

ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΣ: for the present instead of the future participle cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 8. ΩΣ ΨΗΦΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΩΝ: for ΩΣ with the genitive absolute cp. iii. 4. 1; vi. 5. 10. For the fact cp. ii. 2. 19.

Η ΠΟΛΙΣ . . . ΕΙΣ ΑΝΗΡ: Isocr. xiv. 31 lays the blame on the whole Theban state: cp. the similar excuse which the Thebans made for their Medism in the Persian War: Thuc. iii. 62. Plutarch (Lys. 15) gives the name of the Theban spokesman as Erianthus.

ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ in the assembly of the Peloponnesian allies.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΑ: cp. ii. 4. 30.

ΜΗ ΣΥΝΕΤΡΑΤΕΥΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ. Curiously enough the Theban orator

XEN. HELL.
is made by Xenophon to say nothing of the great services the Thebans rendered to Thrasybulus and the other Athenian democrats in exile at the time: cp. Plut. Lys. 27.

§ 9. τῶν ἐν ἀστεί: the oligarchs in the city of Athens as opposed to the democrats in Peiraeus.

ἀφικόμενοι: cp. ii. 4. 28 ff.

πολλῇ δυνάμει, the so-called military dative; cp. v. 2. 4.

παρέδοσαν: cp. Thrasybulus' speech, ii. 4. 41.

τὸ . . . ἐναὶ, 'as far as they were concerned': infinitive absolute; cp. Anab. i. 6. 9 σχολὴ ἡ ἡμίν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον ἔπαυ τῶν ἑθέλωντας φίλους εἰπ τοιεῖν; Anab. vi. 6. 23 αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ἀπολόγημεν; Goodwin, M. T. 781. The perfect indicative ἀπολόγηται expresses the certainty of the result.

§ 10. εἰκὸς γενέσθαι: the aorist instead of the future and without ἄν expresses more immediate probability; cp. § 14, and Anab. iv. 6. 9 ἀλλοι εἰκὸς τοῦτων θυρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι, 'because they rule many'; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 377.

§ 11. 'Αργεῖοι: for the hostility of Argos towards Sparta cp. Thuc. ii. 9; v. 28, 41, 69; and ii. 4. 1 note.

§ 12. 'Ηλεῖοι: cp. iii. 2. 30.

τί φῶμεν. The meaning is obvious: the construction requires some infinitive (e.g. γεγυνώσκειν) to be supplied.

ἐἵλωτας ἀρμοστάς. Perhaps an oratorical exaggeration: no instance is known.

§ 13. εὐξηπατηκότες. The freedom of Hellas had been the Spartan watchword in the Peloponnesian War: cp. Thuc. ii. 8; iv. 85, 108, 121; v. 9.

ἀρμοστῶν . . . δέκα ἄνδρῶν. In Asia Lysander's decarchies seem all to have disappeared (cp. iii. 4. 2 note), although many of the harmosts still continued in power supported by Lacedaemonian garrisons; cp. iv. 8. 5. Moreover in Europe, Demosthenes (xviii. 96, quoted § 16) says, the Spartans at this time maintained harmosts and garrisons in the towns of Euboea, Boeotia, and Megara, and upon Aegina and other islands of the Aegean.

§ 14. ἡδη μεγίστους: ἡδη like δῆ strengthenst the superlative; cp. Thuc. vi. 31 μέγιστος ἡδη διάπλους.

τῶν πώποτε, sc. γενομένων, which is usually expressed: cp. v. 4. 1.
τὸ παντὶ strengthens the comparative ἐρρωμενεστέρως: cp. ii. 3. 22 πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα;

§ 15. Λακεδαιμονίων πλευνεία: the abstract substantive is more emphatic than e. g. ὀβριστικὴ ἀρχὴ.

νειόζομεν ... ἡμετέρα, 'we think that we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for ours'; for the position of μείζω ἄγαθα ... τῇ πόλει cp. § 3 ἀμφισβητησίμων.

§ 16. ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν. For the treaty cp. CIA. ii. 6; Lysias xvi. 13: it was made in the name of the Boeotians, the other Boeotian states acknowledging at the time the supremacy of Thebes. About the same time Athens concluded a treaty with the Opuntian Locrians: cp. CIA. ii. 7.

Θρασύβουλος, last mentioned ii. 4. 40–43.

ἀποκρινόμενος τῷ ψήφισμα, i.e. communicating the decree to the Thebans by way of answer.

ἀτειχιστοῦ ... Πειραιῶς: Dem. xviii. 96, alluding to the same event, Λακεδαιμονίῳ γῆς καὶ θελάτης ἀρχῶτων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἄρμοσται καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπασαν, Μέγαρα, Λέγιναν, Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὗ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον.

§ 17. τὸν κατ' ἐκείνα χωρίων, 'of the places in those parts': repeated, v. i. 7.

ἔφη τὸν Παυσανίαν: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 4.

§ 18. οὐκέτι ... ἔχων ἀνέμενε. The participial clause and verb form one notion, and thus are both negativated by οὐκέτι: 'he no longer waited quietly for': cp. Thuc. i. 141 ὅταν μῆτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνι χρώμενοι παραχρῆμα τῷ ὤξεως ἐπιτελώσι.

ἔπειθεν: 'tried to persuade.'

§ 19. οἱ Θηβαῖοι ... ἐποιήσεων: Plut. (Lys. 28) gives a rather different account. The Thebans had obtained information of his advance from a letter, addressed to Pausanias, to hasten his arrival, which had accidentally fallen into their hands. Thereupon they marched to the aid of the town, part of their forces however remaining some distance outside. Lysander, after waiting the best part of the day for Pausanias, with his army posted on a hill in front of the town, at last advanced towards the wall. While the Thebans outside fell upon his rear, those within together with the Haliartians
suddenly threw open the gates, fell upon Lysander and slew him, and routed the rest with great loss.

οἱ τε ὄπλιται καὶ οἱ ἵππεις: in apposition to οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

ὀπότερα . . . εἰτε . . . εἰτε. The double interrogative is introduced by the usual ὀπότερα, which however is not followed by ἢ, but the two clauses are separately expressed by εἰτε . . . εἰτε: cp. Isocr. xii. 76 ὀπότερον δ' εἰθ' ὕπο πάντων αἱρεθεὶς εἰτ' αὐτῶς κηρηγμένος, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν.

πρὸς τὰς πύλας: the accusative because of the idea of motion implied in ἔστηκε, 'has been stood at the gates.'

ἀποθανόντος: he was slain by Neochorus, a native of Haliartus; Plut. Lys. 29; de Pyth. orac. p. 408 b: cp. Paus. iii. 5. 5.

τὸ ὅρος: the Libethron, a northern spur of Mount Helicon: cp. Paus. ix. 34. 4.

§ 20. ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτῶν: according to Diod. xiv. 81 the main body of the Boeotians halted at the foot of the hill and only two hundred of them continued the pursuit up its steep sides.

οἱ ὀπλιται: the Lacedaemonians.

αὐτῶν: the Boeotians.

πλείουσ ἡ διυκόσιαι: Plut. (Lys. 28) says 300, who were thus in the forefront of the fight to clear themselves from the charge of Laconizing, which had been brought against them.


ἐφασαν, 'people said,' 'it was said': cp. vi. 2. 6; 4. 12; 5. 26.

§ 22. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: under Thrasybulus, to whom the Thebans on advancing to Haliartus had entrusted the defence of their city: Plut. Lys. 28.

τὸ . . . μείζον φρύνημα ἐγένετο: notwithstanding the order of the words, τὸ φρύνημα must be subject, and μείζον predicate.


§ 23. λογιζόμενος . . . ἐλογίζοντο δὲ . . . διὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἐδοξέαν αὐτῶς. An anacoluthon: the participial clause is resumed with an independent sentence ἐλογίζοντο δὲ.

〈οἱ〉 ἐν τέλει: the officers previously mentioned, not the Ephors.

εἰὴ . . . ἀποκεχωρίκοι . . . ἱκολούθουν . . . στρατεύοντο . . . εἰὴ . . . ἔκειντο. The imperfect indicatives are inserted in these dependent clauses because they refer to definite and continuing facts, earlier in time
than that expressed by λογιζόμενος and ἐλογιζόμενο, which in oratio recta could themselves only be expressed by the imperfect tense.

τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγου: for the weakness of the Lacedaemonian cavalry cp. vi. 4. 10.

τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. 1. 22 note.

ῥάδιον εἴη: the optative after ὅστε because it is in oratio oblique: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 605.

§ 24. ἐφ' ὅτε ἀπιέναι. The infinitive is used in its general signification so that no definite subject is added. In 424 B.C. after the battle of Delium the Thebans also refused to deliver up the Athenian corpses except under the like conditions. The Athenians asserted that such a condition was an act of impiety, and successfully maintained their point: Thuc. iv. 98.

ἀθύμως ἀπήσαν: ἀπῆσαν is not idly repeated, because in the second sentence the chief idea is the contrast between ἀθύμως and ἱβριστικὸς.

εἰ καὶ ... ἐπιβαίνῃ, 'if any (Lacedaemonian) trespassed ever so little upon any of the lands by the wayside, they chased him back with blows into the roads.'

§ 25. ὑστερήσειν ... ἐπειράτω. The change of mood is not easily explicable: perhaps Xenophon wished to express that the first charge was more open to doubt; cp. v. 3. 12.

ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὗ μάχη: not σπονδαῖς ἀλλ' οὗ μάχη, because ὑποσπόνδους ἀναρείσθαι is the ordinary technical phrase.

λαβὼν, 'though he had them in his power.' According to Paus. iii. 5. 6 the king was tried on this charge immediately after his return from Athens, and only acquitted by a narrow majority of votes: cp. ii. 4. 39.


ἐτελεύτησε: not before 385 B.C.: cp. v. 2. 3.

ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη: for the events which Xenophon here omits to narrate cp. Introd. p. xxix; Diod. xiv. 82.
BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

§§1-14. Agesilaus ravaged Phrygia, winning many cities over to his side and entered Paphlagonia, where at the instigation of Spithridates he formed an alliance with its king, Olys. He also arranged a marriage between Olys and Spithridates’ daughter. §§ 15-28. Agesilaus wintered at Dascyleum. His foragers were worsted in a skirmish with Pharnabazus. Herippidas, informed by Spithridates that the satrap was encamped at Caue, successfully surprised the camp; but a quarrel over the booty led to the desertion of Spithridates and the Paphlagonians to Sardis—much to the vexation of Agesilaus. §§ 29-41. An interview was arranged between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, from which, though Pharnabazus declined Agesilaus’ offers, they parted mutual friends, the king promising to leave the satrap’s territory. Agesilaus also formed a warm attachment to Pharnabazus’ son.

§ 1. ἀμα μετοπόρῳ. The narrative broken off in iii. 4. 29 is here resumed.

§ 2. Σπιθριδάτου: cp. iii. 4. 10.

τοῦτον ... τοῦ ἀφιστάναι. The infinitival clause stands in apposition to and explains τοῦτον.

§ 3. "Οτος. The name of the king of the Paphlagonians is given as Cotys in Ages. 3. 4 and by Plut. Ages. 9; as Thys by Theopomp. fr. 198; and as Thyus by Cor. Nep. Dat. 2.

καλοῦμενος ... οὐκ ἀνεβεβηκέλ. It appears from Anab. v. 6. 8 that this must have happened before the summer of 400 B.C.

ἵππεας: ἵππεαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βαρβαροὶ νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας ἱππείας, Anab. 1. c.

§ 4. φυγάδος ἀνδρός, sc. τὴν θυγατέρα: Spithridates by joining Agesilaus had become φυγάς.

§ 5. τῶν τριάκοντα, i.e. τῶν περὶ Ἡριππίδαν: cp. iii. 4. 20.

§ 6. τί δ’ οὐ μέλλω, sc. ἑορακέναι, ‘why should I not have seen him?’ i.e. ‘to be sure I have seen him’: cp. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλει; Plat. Phaed. 78 b.
§ 7. οὗ: the antecedent is τὸ ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα καλλίστην ὁδοῖν.
§ 11. βουλομένῳ. The dative of the person after ἔίναι and γίγνεσθαι is followed by the participles βουλομένῳ, ἱδομένῳ, ἀσμένῳ, ἀχθομένῳ instead of a clause with a finite verb: ἐκεῖνῳ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ = ἐκεῖνος βουλεταί. Cp. v. 3. 13 ἣν δὲ οὗ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα.
ὁ Ἡριππίδα: cp. § 5 note.
§ 12. καὶ ἡμεῖς: in opposition to the thirty.
§ 13. τέλος: adverbial: 'in fine,' 'in short.'
§ 14. τίχῳ ἄγαθη, 'cum bona fortuna.'
ἡρος: the spring of 394.
ἡδὴ, 'at once': cp. Anab. i. 4. 16 ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἡδὴ ύμῶς ἐπαίνῳ.
§ 15. ἐπὶ τούτους, 'having shaken hands upon it,' i.e. to seal the compact.
Καλλιάν, also mentioned in Ages. 8. 3.
Δασκυλεῖον: cp. iii. 4. 13.
θηραῖ: the Persian grandees carefully preserved their game: cp. Anab. i. 2. 7; Cyrop. i. 4. 11.
§ 16. παρέρρετο: the imperfect carries the reader back to the time of which the author is speaking: cp. ii. i. 21.
σὺν προνομαίς, i.e. with regularly organized plundering expeditions. σὺν is used in an almost instrumental sense, because προνομαί denotes the troops employed on the expeditions as well as the expeditions themselves: cp. Anab. v. 1. 7 ἄλλα μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαίς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπτίθεθαι, ἄλλος δὲ μὴ πλανάσθαι, ὡς σφάζησθε; Polyb. iv. 73. 4 τὰς μὲν προνομαῖς ἐσπαθῆκε κατὰ τῆς χώρας.
§ 17. ἐσπαρμένοις: cp. iii. 4. 22.
ἀρματα ... δρεπανηφόρα: cp. Anab. i. 8. 10 εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξίων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τούς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐνυγχάνονεν: Cyrop. vi. 1. 30.
§ 18. ὡς εἰς: instead of εἰς: cp. § 19; v. 2. 40.
§ 19. τὸ ἄθροϊν, 'the compact mass,' Dakyns.
§ 20. τρίτη ἤ τετάρτῃ: for the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.
§ 21. ἄλλους, i.e. other than hoplites: cp. ii. 4. 9.
tοσοῦτος, i.e. as numerous as the hoplites.
§ 22. ἐθύτεο, sc. ὁ Ἡριππίδας.
§ 23. οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα: cp. iii. 4. 8, 20. Herippidas was himself one of the commissioners.
§ 24. ἐπιπεσόν ... πολλοὶ ἐπεσον. The nom. absolute ἐπιπεσόν is probably to be explained as an anacoluthon. Xenophon might have written πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε instead of πολλοὶ ἐπεσον: cp. ii. 2. 3.

στρατοπεδεῖα: this form instead of the usual στρατοπέδω is never used by Xenophon elsewhere.

αὐτοί: the men in the camp as opposed to the προφυλακῆ.

アルバム δὴ οία, 'other gear such as a man like Pharnabazus would have,' Dakyns: cp. iv. 5. 4.


§ 26. υποστήσας, as distinguished from ἐπιστήσας, implies not only 'to post,' but 'to post in order to intercept': cp. Anab. iv. 1. 14 υποστήσαντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον.

λαφυροπόλας: Spartan officials: cp. Resp. Lac. 13. 11 ἦν δὲ λήδα ἄγων [τίς ἔλθη], πρὸς λαφυροπόλας [τούτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποσπέμει]

§ 27. Ἀριαῖον: Anab. i. 8. 5; ii. 1. 4; 4. 1: Ariaeus, ὁ Κύρου ἡπαρχος, commanded the Asiatic troops stationed on the left wing at the battle of Cunaxa. After the death of Cyrus, the Greek generals offered to place him on the Persian throne; but he preferred to make his peace with Artaxerxes.

πιστεύσαντες, i. e. trusting that he could make their peace with the king, because he too had once been guilty of the same crime of rebellion.


§ 30. ἥκονσεν, sc. Agesilaus.

παρῆ, sc. Apollophonas.

ὡσπερ εἰχέ, 'just as he was': 'without further ceremony,' Dakyns.

§ 32. φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος: cp. i. 6, 24 for the history of the event alluded to.

ὡσπερ Τισσαφέρνους: cp. i. 1. 31; 5. 9.

§ 33. ὡς ... ἔχω for ὡστε ... ἔχω : cp. iv. 4. 16, &c.

κατακεκομμένα ... κατακεκαυμένα, chiastic: the former refers to δένδρα, the latter to οἰκήματα.
395-394 B.C.  IV. i. 34-40  121

... ἀποδεῖγμαι: 'how this can be the conduct of men who know the meaning of gratitude.' ἀποδεῖγμαι is dependent upon ἐπισταμένων.

§ 34. ἐπισχύνθησαν αὐτῶν, never used elsewhere with an accusative of the person.

καὶ τοῖς ἔξενωμένοις, 'go to war even with their guest-friends.'

§ 35. συνεβούλευον: sc. to make this exchange.

γενομένῳ ... προσκυνοῦντα ... ἔχοντα. The transition from the dative to the accusative is explained by the difference of meaning: γενομένῳ expresses a condition, προσκυνοῦντα ... ἔχοντα together with ἔννυ its results.

§ 36. ὄμοδούλους: cp. iii. 1. 26 note.

ὑπηκόους: used as a substantive: cp. § 37; Cyrop. v. 5. 27.

μὴ οὐχί: the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance implied in τίνος ἄν δεῖσι: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 807.

§ 37. τοιούτων τι ... ἐστίν: a parenthesis: 'so strong, it seems, is the force of honour;' Grote ix. 101.

§ 39. καλὸς ἐτι ὄν: cp. Anab. ii. 6. 28 ἐτι ὥραιος ὃν.

Μέμησόν νῦν: νῦν is rarely used in prose: for another instance after an imperative cp. v. 1. 32 ἔτε νῦν.

ἔχοντας ... Ἰδαίου: genitive absolute: Plut. Ages. 13 calls the secretary Adaeus.

§ 40. Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημία. Pharnabazus was absent from his satrapy a considerable time after the battle of Cnidus in 394-393 (iv. 8. 1-9), and again during the negotiations before the peace of Antalcidas (v. 1. 28) in 388-387: cp. Plutarch (Ages. 13) χρῶνῳ περιόντι τῶν ὅκου ἀποστερηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄδελφῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἵσχυρῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο.

ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ: genitive absolute.

ὅπως ἄν: for the optative with ἄν in a final sentence cp. iv. 8. 16; Goodwin, M. T., App. iv.

di' ἐκείνων, i. e. the Persian.

tὸ στάδιον: accusative of respect after ἐγκριθείη.

μέγιστος ... τῶν παιδῶν. Xenophon evidently means that the boy, although he was too young, was desirous of competing with the men in the stadium race. Plutarch (Ages. 13), mistaking Xenophon's meaning, represents that the boy was so μέγας καὶ
σκληρός, that he was in danger of being excluded from the boys' contest.

394–393 B.C.


Ἀστυρῆς: 70 stades to the W. of Thebe; cp. Strabo, xiii. 613.

παρεσκευαζέτο ... πορευόμενος: without ὡς, as in Thuc. ii. 91 παρεσκευαζόντο δμνούμενου. In all other passages Xenophon uses ὡς with the fut. part. after παρασκευαζότατο.

ἀναφαίται. The march of the Ten Thousand through the enemy's country and his own successes filled Agesilaus with the ambitious dreams of an Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1–8. The Spartans recalled Agesilaus, who with much regret prepared to obey the summons. He left Euxenus behind him with 4,000 men, and set out across the Hellespont at the head of a large and well-appointed army. §§ 9–15. Aristodemus commanded the Spartan army. The enemy assembled at Corinth, and following the advice of Timolaus resolved to advance upon Sparta. But when they had marched as far as the Nemea, the Lacedaemonians were already at Sicyon, and continued their advance till they were only ten stades distant from the enemy. §§ 16, 17. The Lacedaemonians numbered 13,500 foot and 600 horse besides light troops: the enemy mustered 24,000 foot, 1,550 horse, besides a considerable body of light troops. §§ 18–23. Battle of the Nemea—In engaging both armies swerved towards the right. The Lacedaemonians on the right wing far outflanked the Athenians opposed to them and easily defeated them, though all their allies were fairly beaten. The Lacedaemonians, however, successively routed the Argives, Corinthians, and some of the Thebans, as they returned from their pursuit, and thus finally gained the victory.

§ 1. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. At this point Xenophon resums his narrative of events in Greece, interrupted at iii. 5. 25.

tà χρήματα: cp. iii. 5. 1.

tás μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκών: cp. iii. 5. 2 συνιστασαν καὶ tás μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἄλληλας.
§ 2. Ἑπικυδίδαν: if Schneider’s conjecture in v. 4. 39 be right, he was afterwards slain by the Theban cavalry not far from Thespie in 378 B.C. during Agesilaus’ first invasion of Boeotia. Plutarch’s account (Ages. 15) of the message of Epicydidas and the ready obedience of the king is worthy of study.

§ 3. ἀναγκαῖον ... τῇ πατρίδι: Plut. (Apo. Lacon. 41) quotes from Agesilaus’ letter to the Ephors—ἀρχω γὰρ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἀρχάν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις.

οὐ μή: an emphatic negative, the fear expressed by μή ἐπιλάθω-μαι being denied by οὐ: cp. Cyrop. iii. 2. 8 οἱ 'Αρμένοι οὐ μή δέξωται τοὺς πολέμιους: Goodwin, M. T. 296.

§ 5. Ἐθέξενον ἀρμοστήν: cp. iii. 1. 4 Θίβρωνα ἀρμοστήν; iv. 8. 1, 3; and Appendix, p. 348. No further mention is made of Euxenetus and his troops.

οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Although the representatives of the Asiatic allies had voted ἑορθεῖν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, the majority of the soldiers themselves, i.e. the Asiatic contingents and mercenaries, preferred to stay in Asia.

προείπε ... ὡς ... δῶσων: instead of a direct object, e. g. ἄθλα, after προείπε, the participial clause is added for the sake of clearness.

§ 6. εὐκρινεῖς does not occur elsewhere, though the compound διευκρινεῖς, in the sense of ‘to keep in good order,’ is common: cp. Oecon. 8. 6 διευκρινημένους ὀπλίτας. If the reading be retained, the passage must be translated ‘that it was their duty to keep their men on the march in good order.’ Of the conjectures, for which cp. Critical Note, Kurz’s gives the most satisfactory meaning: ὅστις τοὺς στρατευομένους διευκρινεῖ.

§ 7. Ἑλπιτόν: adverbial for ἄπ' ἑλπίτονος, like πλέον, iii. 4. 13.

ἄπο: cp. Anab. i. 1. 9 στράτευμα ἑνελεξέν ἄπο τούτων τῶν χρημάτων.

tοσοῦτων ... κατεσκευάσθη. ‘However, though so large a sum was expended, arms worth a great deal of money were obtained for the expedition.’ Dindorf’s conjecture χρημάτων, πάμπολλα ὀπλα would make the meaning much clearer, which evidently is that the weapons so obtained were worth a great deal more than the cost of the prizes: cp. Critical Note.

§ 8. διῆβη: according to Paus. iii. 9. 12, from Abydos to Sestos.

Μένασκος . . . Ὀρσιππος: nothing more is known of them.
'Hephaistos: cp. iv. 1. 11-20.
eis apó pôleos: distributive like ēna apó phulēs, ii. 4. 23.

βασιλεία, i.e. Xerxes in 480 B.C. : cp. Ages. 2. 1 ἤν ἐναυσίν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτῃ μείον ἢ ἐν μηλὶ κατήρυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

§ 9. ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ, 'meanwhile': Xenophon here returns to events in Greece, which he had left in § 1.


iii. 5. 7.
tou γένους: of the royal family: cp. iii. 3. 3.

πρόδικον: cp. Plut. Lyc. 3 τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὀρφανῶν βασιλέων ἐπιτρόποις Λακεδαίμονι προδικόις ὀνύμαζον.

§ 10. συνεδρεύμενοι: in Corinth, Diod. xiv. 82.

ἐβουλεύοντο: sc. οἱ ἐναντιοί.

§ 11. Τμόλαος: one of the demagogues, who had received the Persian gold through Timocrates, iii. 5. 1.

ὁμοίους . . . ὀπόντης: the same correlative particles are used

Cyrop. i. 4. 11 ; 5. 10.

ἰσχυρότερον: without τοσοῦτο, as ii. 2. 2.

§ 12. ὑθεῖν = ἐκεῖ ἑνθεῖν.

to πῦρ: the article expresses the well-known means of destruction.

§ 13. περὶ ἱγεμονίας: cp. the compromise between the Thebans and the Athenians as to the battle array, § 18.

eis ὀπόσως, 'how many deep': cp. eis δύο, iii. 1. 22.

τὴν ἀμφίαλον: cp. Critical Note. The text seems hopelessly corrupt: ἀμφίαλος is a poetic word, meaning 'sea-girt.' To supply ὀδὼν with Leonclavius is not in accordance with the facts; for the Lacedaemonians evidently marched by the straight inland road through Tegea and Mantinea to Sicyon. No conjecture hitherto made gives a satisfactory meaning: cp. Grote ix. 130.

§ 14. ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ . . . ἐν τῷ Σικυόνῳ, 'in the district near the Nemea . . . in the district of Sicyon': cp. iv. 4. 15 eis Φλιούπτα ἐμβαλῶν ;
v. 2. 25 ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θῆβαις, ἐστρατεύεσθαι ἐξω τῆς πόλεως.
The Nemea is the brook flowing between Corinth and Sicyon.

αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων.

'Επιείκειαι: its situation is doubtful; in iv. 4. 13 Xen. says that it was fortified by Praxitas (in 392 ?) ἵνα φρούριον εἰπὶ πρὸ τῆς φίλιας
394–393 B.C.  

IV. ii. 15–17  

τοῖς συμμάχοις. It must have been on some high ground near the Nemea, not far from the sea.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπερθείων, ‘from above’: cp. vii. 4. 13 ἐξ ὑπερθείου. 

άυτοὺς, i.e. τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιοι. 

§ 15. κατέβησαν: supply οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι. 

οἱ ἔτεροι = οἱ ἄντιπαλοι: so vii. 5. 8. 

ἀπελθόντες: Grote (ix. 129) very properly defends this, the MSS. reading, against the vulgate ἐπελθόντες. After a general advance towards Sicyon, keeping to the high ground, where their light-armed troops came into conflict with the enemy, the Corinthian allies seem now to have retired (ἀπελθόντες), and encamped near the Nemea, some five or six miles from Corinth, still on rough and rocky ground.

τὴν χαράδραν: cp. Dion. xiv. 83 γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως παρὰ τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμὸν: Aeschines ii. 168 τὴν Νεμέαιδα καλούμενην χαράδραν.

§ 16. Ἡλείων . . . Δασσιών: Hence it appears that the arrangements made at the end of the Elean War, 397 B.C., still continued: cp. iii. 2. 30, 31.

Κρήτες τοξόται, mercenaries: cp. Thuc. ii. 9; vii. 57.

Μαργανέων . . . Δετρίων . . . 'Λμφιδόλων: cp. iii. 2. 30 note.

εἰκήσεων, i.e. a holy truce during a festival; from iv. 4. 15 it appears that the governing party at Phlias were not very well disposed towards Sparta, so that the truce was probably a mere excuse, as so often in the case of the Argives: cp. iv. 7. 2.

§ 17. Ὠρχωμένιοι: cp. iii. 5. 6 note.

πλεον ἤν: cp. Critical Note. Some words seem to have dropped out: for ψιλῶν or ψιλῶν without the article can scarcely mean that the light-armed troops together with those of the Corinthians were more numerous than those of the Lacedaemonians. Of hoplites Xenophon’s items give a total to the Lacedaemonians of 13,500, and to the enemy of 24,000. But on the Lacedaemonian side the contingents of some of the states do not seem to be mentioned: for he has not included the Tegeate and Mantinean contingents of which he himself speaks in § 13, nor again the Achaean over against whom the Athenians were at first posted, § 18. Diodorus (xiv. 82) does not help us to solve the difficulty: he estimates the Lacedaemonian infantry at 23,000, and the Corinthian and their allies at only 15,000.

'Ακαρνάνες: Wachsmuth’s conjecture Αἰνιάνες is made extremely
probable by the fact that in the list of allies (iv. 3. 15) who fought at Coronea all these names reappear except the Acarnanians, in whose place stand the Aenianes. In iii. 5. 6 the Aenianes are mentioned in connexion with the Melians.

§ 18. ἡς μὲν ... εἰχον: cp. Introd. p. xxx. Xenophon's narrative is so bald, that the motive of the Thebans is by no means clear. Either the Thebans were afraid of the Lacedaemonians, or the holding of the right wing may have implied the commandership-in-chief for the day (cp. § 13 περὶ ἡγεμονίας διεπράττοντο): against the first hypothesis may be urged the bravery of the Thebans a few weeks later at Coronea in fighting the Spartans hand to hand. Against the second nothing much can be said, except that in the time of Epaminondas at any rate the Thebans peculiarly affected the left wing.

tοὐ εἰς ἐκκαίδεκα, to be taken as a substantive: 'the formation into sixteen deep.' This apparently was the depth agreed upon in § 13 ὅπως μὴ λιαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν. The ordinary depth of the Greek phalanx was eight only: cp. Thuc. v. 68.

βαθείαν παντέλως: for the position of the adverb cp. v. 3. 2 ὀλίγην παντελῶς.

τὴν φάλαγγα: their own division or phalanx.

ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ: Thucydides (v. 71) notices this tendency of all Greek armies, due to the soldiers' desire to keep the right or unshielded side out of reach of the enemy.

τῶν πολεμίων: the genitive depends on ἐπερέχοιεν.

§ 19. ἐπαύωςαν, Sc. οἱ πολέμιοι.

ξεναγοῖ: cp. iii. 5. 7; Appendix, p. 349.

τῷ ἡγομένῳ, neuter: 'the leading company'; cp. Anab. ii. 2. 4.

αἱ μὲν ἐξ φυλαὶ ... αἱ δὲ τέταρται. The Athenian military organization was based on their political division into ten tribes, cp. Thuc. ii. 4. 4; vi. 98. For the article cp. i. 1. 18. Lysias (xvi. 15) tells how specially ill his own tribe fared in this encounter.

394-393 B.C.  IV. ii. 21-23  127

τὴν χίμαιραν: the article expresses the customary nature of the sacrifice.

ἐκατέρων: the partitive genitive stands as subject to ἐπιπτον, as as if it were ἐκατέρω τινές.

§ 21. ὁσον ... τῶν Ἀθηναίων: i.e. the six Athenian tribes opposite to them: the partitive genitive depends on ὁσον.

ἐπορεύοντο, i.e. towards the left.

αὐτῶν, i.e. of the Athenians in the four tribes: the partitive genitive is helped out by the following ἐὰν τις. For ἐὰν τις cp. Anab. v. 3. 3 oi δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπόλοιπο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χίλιοι καὶ ἐὰν τις νόσων.

§ 22. παρεῖναι, from παρίημι: 'Some one, it is said, shouted, "Let their front ranks pass,"' Dakyns.

 eius τὰ γυμνά: their right or unshielded side.

§ 23. τὰ πείχη, i.e. of Corinth, as appears from what follows. Xenophon by ἔπειτα δὲ after τὸ μὲν πρῶτον seems to imply that the first fugitives were admitted, but that soon afterwards the gates were shut. Demosthenes (xx. 53) says that at first the philo-Laconian party refused to open the gates, but that afterwards their opponents ἀνέφει σὰς πύλες ἡμῖν βία τῶν πολλῶν.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1, 2. At Amphipolis Dercylidas met Agesilaus with the news of the victory and was sent by the king to Asia to encourage the allies with these tidings. §§ 3-9. As he marched across Thessaly, Agesilaus was much annoyed by the Thessalian cavalry hanging on his rear. At last he ordered his own cavalry to charge them: they were completely routed, and he then continued his march without hindrance as far as Boeotia. §§ 10-14. On the frontiers Agesilaus heard of the defeat and death of the admiral Pisander at Cnidus. To keep up the heart of his soldiers he announced that Pisander had been killed in the moment of victory. §§ 15-20. Battle of Coronea—The hostile forces met on the plain of Coronea. The Argives fled before Agesilaus, who commanded the right wing, without a blow. Herippidas and the Asiatic allies were victorious in the centre: but on the left the Thebans cut completely through the Orchomenians. Then they tried to make their way to their allies, who had fled to the slopes of Helicon. Agesilaus intercepted them so that only a portion fought their way through. §§ 21-23. Next
day Agesilaus ordered a trophy to be set up, and the Thebans sent heralds to recover their dead. Then Agesilaus dedicated a tithe of his spoils at Delphi, while Gylis, the polemarch, led the army through Phocis into Locri. The Locrians attacked his rear, and slew him and many of his staff.

§ 1. 'O δὲ Ἀγησίλαος; Xenophon here takes up the narrative interrupted at iv. 2. 8.

σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας. According to Plutarch (Ages. 16) the king marched without opposition as far as the country of the Trallians, whose feeble resistance he overcame without difficulty.

Δερκυλίδας, last mentioned as one of Agesilaus’ envoys to Tissaphernes in 396 B.C. (iii. 4. 6). In the interval he must have returned to Sparta.

νικήν, ‘are victorious’: present tense as in § 13.

ὀκτὼ . . . παμπληθεὶς: Ages. 7. 5 ὀκτὼ μὲν Λακεδαίμονιῶν, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τῶν πολεμίων. Diod. xiv. 83 estimates the loss of the Lacedaemonians and their allies at 1,100, and of their opponents at 2,800. According to the Ages. l. c. the king exclaimed on hearing the news, φεῦ, τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὁπότε οἱ νῦν τεβηκότες ίκανοί ήσαν ζωντες νικῶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τούς βαρβάρους.

§ 2. συμπέμπουσαί: for the fact cp. iv. 2. 4.

eἰκὸς . . . εἶναι: for the present infinitive cp. iii. 5. 10 note.

Εὐθυμοτέρους: κατὰ σύνεσιν, as if πολιτις had preceded.

ἐφαμεν: cp. iv. 2. 3.

§ 3. Θεσσαλίαν: cp. Introd. p. xxix. Xenophon has omitted altogether to record the expedition of Ismenias the Theban northwards in the winter months, 395–394. From Diod. (xiv. 82) it appears that Ismenias at the head of 2,000 Boeotians and Argives first helped Medius, the tyrant of Larisa, to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison from Pharsalus, and then marching southwards seized Heraclea, slew all the Lacedaemonians in it, drove out the Peloponnesian colonists and restored the city to the Trachinians (cp. iii. 5. 6 note). Shortly afterwards Ismenias persuaded the Aenianes and Athamanes to revolt from Sparta, and defeated the Phocians under the command of the Lacedaemonian Alcisthenes at Naryx in Locris.

From this section it seems that the appearance of Ismenias in Thessaly had even been more far reaching in its effects than Diodorus records: for the Crannonians and Scotussians as well as the Larisaeans and Pharsalians are called σύμμαχοι Βοιωτοί, and
all the Thessalians, except the exiles, united to harass Agesilaus on his march.

§ 4. ἐν πλαυσίῳ: in a hollow square, the van of which was called στόμα and the rear οὐρά. This was the usual marching order adopted by the Greeks, when they were exposed on all sides to attacks from the enemy. Cp. Anab. iii. 4. 43.

tῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. Probably not the select body of 300 horsemen, who usually formed the body-guard of the king (Her. viii. 124; Thuc. v. 72) but τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν μᾶλα εὐρωστοὺς, whom Agesilaus had enlisted in Asia: cp. § 6; iii. 4. 15; iv. 2. 5.

§ 5. μᾶλα σωφρόνως: for the expression cp. Ages. 6. 7 ἡσύχας δὲ [ἡγε δ’ Αγαμήλαος] ἀσπέρ ἐν παρθένος ἡ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνων.

§ 6. τοῖς ἄλλοις, sc. ἵππευσι.

παραγγέλλειν: διώκειν has to be supplied from the following clause.


τὰ Ἀχαίκα . . . ἀρη: Mount Othrys. Plutarch (Ages. 16, 17) here follows some different authority. At this point, he says, Diph-ridas the ephor met Agesilaus with orders to march immediately into Boeotia. The king at once obeyed, although rather reluctant as he wished for larger reinforcements, passed through Thermopylae, crossed the friendly territory of the Phocians, and finally encamped near Chaeronea. This route agrees with Xenophon.

μέχρι πρὸς: for the double preposition cp. Anab. vi. 4. 26 μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

§ 10. ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπίστωσῃ: the march round the Aegean coast was accomplished μεῖν ἢ ἐν μηνί according to Ages. 2. 1.

μηποιεῖτις: cp. Introd. p. xlv. Xenophon doubtless means to connect the ill omen with the naval defeat.

tῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. The article is noticeable: it seems to imply that the sea-fight off Cnidus is already well known to the reader, although Xenophon has related none of the circumstances that led up to it. In fact not a word has been said about the Lacedaemonian fleet, since Agesilaus appointed his brother-in-law Pisander as its admiral in the summer of 395 (iii. 4. 29). Pisander apparently
(if we follow Diod. xiv. 79, 81, 83) during the next twelve months accomplished absolutely nothing either against Rhodes or against Conon: Conon too was prevented from continuing his successes for want of supplies, until—probably in the winter six months 395–394—he himself undertook a journey to lay his case in person before Artaxerxes at Babylon. His mission was completely successful. The Persian king promised him the necessary money and supplies, and more important still, allowed him to choose whom he would among the Persian officials to collect them. Conon's choice fell upon Pharnabazus, who was at the time smarting under the invasion of Agesilaus. Accordingly next summer Conon and Pharnabazus put to sea with a fleet of more than 90 vessels, and cruised about Loryma in the Cnidian Chersonese, where, on hearing that the enemy's fleet was at Cnidus, they prepared for battle. The Spartan admiral sailed out of Cnidus at the head of 85 vessels and put in to Physcus in the same peninsula. Just outside the two fleets met in battle; Conon was victorious and Pisander himself was slain. Cp. iv. 8. 1; Isocr. v. 61–64; ix. 52–57; Cor. Nep. Con. 3, 4; Justin vi. 3; Ctesias, fr. 62, 63; Paus. iii. 9. 2; vi. 3. 16.

§ 11. ταῖς Φοινίκαις: cp. iii. 4. 1.

Κόνων: this is the first mention of Conon since Xenophon (ii. 1. 29) recorded his flight to Salamis after the battle of Aegospotami.

to Ἑλληνικῶν, sc. ναυτικῶν. Plato (Menex. 245 a) calls these Greeks φυγάδας καὶ ἐθελοντάς. Isocrates (ix. 56) speaks of Evagoras of Salamis as supplying τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην. Cp. Dem. xx. 68.

ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. Diodorus also (xiv. 83) speaks of Pisander as at first successfully engaging with ταῖς προπλεούσαις ναυσὶ: but, when the Persian triremes came up, he goes on to say, the Peloponnesian allies fled to land, and Pisander, left alone, fell fighting bravely. Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians to the shore and captured 50 triremes and 500 men. But most of the crews and the rest of the triremes escaped in safety to Cnidus.

§ 12. ἔλαττόνων ... Ἑλληνικοῦ. Once more the question of numbers presents hopeless difficulties. While Diodorus represents the difference between the two fleets as one of about five ships
only, Xenophon apparently means that Conon’s Greek fleet alone, without the Phoenician ships of Pharnabazus, far outnumbered the Lacedaemonian fleet.

αὐτῷ φέιγεων: a kind of dativus incommodi.

ἐμβόλαις . . . τρίρητε, i.e. with his trireme staved in by the charges of the enemy’s ships.

§ 13. οἶον . . . μετέχευν: οἶον = τοιοῦτον ὄστε: cp. ii. 3. 45 οἷος . . . μεταβάλλειν.

οὐκ ἀνάγχην εἶναι . . . αὐτοῖς: the infinitive, the construction being changed, depends on ἐνεθυμήθη, ‘that there was no necessity for them to share it.’ The dative αὐτοῖς depends on ἀνάγχην.


§ 14. ἀμα . . . λέγων: ἀμα goes with the participle as in iii. i. 20.

eὐαγγέλια: neut. plur. accusative after ἐβουθήτει: cp. i. 6. 37 ἔθνε τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

tῶν τεθυμέων: partitive genitive, serving as object to διε-πεμπτε: cp. iii. i. 4.

tῶ λόγῳ: ‘in consequence of the report,’ Dakyns.

ὄς . . . νικῶντων: for the participial construction cp. iii. 4. 1.

§ 15. Βοωτοί . . . Δοκροί. All these allies fought at the battle of Corinth except the Aenianes, unless indeed Αἰνάων is to be read for Ἀκαρνάνες in iv. 2. 17 (cp. note). The Melians too did not fight at Coronea, probably because Agesilaus had just marched through their territory.

διαβᾶσα, i.e. over the Corinth gulf, because the Isthmus was held by the enemy; cp. iv. 4. 1.

Ὀρχομενοῦ: cp. iii. 5. 6. Lysander had induced Orchomenus to revolt from Thebes, whereupon the Lacedaemonians must have garrisoned the town.

νεοδημώδεις, i.e. the survivors of the two thousand, who had crossed with Agesilaus to Asia in 396: iii. 4. 2.

οὐ . . . ἔνικοι: cp. Ages. 2. 11 ἡσαν δ’ οὐτοί τῶν τε ἡξ οὐκον αὐτῷ συντρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινε: cp. iii. 4. 20.

ἀπὸ τῶν . . . Ἑλληνίδων: cp. iv. 2. 4–8.

αὐτόθεν, i.e. from the immediate neighbourhood.
§ 16. διηγήσομαι. Xenophon, according to Plutarch (Ages. 18), was himself present at Coronea: καὶ παρὴν αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀγγειλαῷ συναγωνιζόμενος ἔξ Ἀσίας διαβεβηκὼς. He makes no attempt, it is to be remarked, to give the exact numbers of the opposing forces: in Ages. 2. 7, 9 we are told that the two armies were about equal.

dεξιῶν: without the article: cp. v. 2. 40 εἰώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων.

tοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, sc. στρατεύματος.

§ 17. ὡς... τριών: to be taken together, 'about three.'

§ 18. ἐξελίξα, 'having deployed': cp. Cyrop. viii. 5. 15.

πρὸς Ἐλικών: the dative expresses that they had not only fled to the mountain, but had come to a halt there.


ἐῳδοῦντο... ἀπέθυσκον: for the ἀσυνδέτων cp. Cyrop. vii. Ι.

38 προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐωθοῦν, ἐωθοῦντο, ἐπιαυνόν, ἐπαιῶντο.

dιαπίπτοι: cp. Plut. l. c. διέστησαν... αὐτοῖς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ
dιέσχον.

§ 20. τετρομένος: According to Plutarch (l. c.), his body-guard (cp. § 4) ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἐκθύμως καὶ προκινήσεωντες ἀτρωτον μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδυνάθησαν φυλάξαι, πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων δεξίμουν εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγᾶς δόρασε καὶ ἐίχεσα μόλις ἀνήρπασαν ἤσσαντα.


tῷ νεῷ: Plut. Ages. 19 πλησίον γὰρ ὁ νεός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἱτανίας Ἀθηνᾶς. The article—the well-known temple, famous as the place of meeting for the Boeotian League (Paus. ix. 34. 1) and for the trophy erected there by the Boeotians after their victory over the Athenians under Tolmides (Plut. Ages. 19).

§ 21. παρατάξαι... τὸ στράτευμα. According to Plut. l. c. βουλόμενος ἐξελέγξαι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὁ Ἀγγεῖλαος, because the victory of the day before had not been decisive. Cp. Polyænus ii. 1. 23 ἦν ἀμφίρροπος ἡ νίκην νυξ γὰρ διελύετο τὴν μάχην: he makes out (doubtless incorrectly) that Agesilaus' order to remove the Lacedaemonian dead within the lines was a stratagem, whereby the Thebans were deceived into believing that their own dead were
much greater in proportion to the Lacedaemonian than they really were, and next morning in this belief acknowledged themselves beaten by sending envoys to recover their dead.

τῷ θεῷ: probably Apollo: cp. infr.

eis Δελφοῖς: Plutarch (Ages. 19) adds ἔπωκαν ἀγομένων. Most authorities are now agreed that the Pythian festival was held in August every third Olympic Year: cp. v. 2. 29 note, and Dict. Antiq. ii. 528.

tῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας . . . ἀπέθυσεν: Plut. l. c. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λυφόρων. For ἀπέθυσεν cp. iii. 3. 1 note.

Γυλίς: Diodorus (xiv. 84) says that at Delphi the wounded Agesilaus τὸν ἐπιμελείαν τοῦ σῶματος ἐποιεῖτο. The indecisive victory at Coronea did not justify any further attack upon Boeotia (cp. § 9 note), so that Gylis now led the army through the friendly district of Phocis into Locri to punish the Ozolian Locrians for siding with the Thebans at Coronea (§ 15), and at the same time to secure a port of embarkation as the Isthmus was occupied by the enemy.

§ 22. τελευταῖον, i.e. bringing up the rear, the allies marching in front as being less reliable troops.

§ 23. παραστατῶν, 'of his comrades in arms.' Cp. vi. 5. 43.

δειπνοῖτες: cp. § 22 note: the allies in front must in the meantime have pitched the camp for the night.

CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. The army was disbanded and Agesilaus sailed home. When the war was renewed, the Boeotians and their allies made Corinth, the Lacedaemonians Sicyon, their headquarters. To prevent the oligarchical party from joining the Lacedaemonians the Corinthian democrats massacred many of them during the Euclea. §§ 4-14. The younger oligarchs mostly escaped. Two of their number secretly admitted Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch at Sicyon, within the Long Walls of Corinth. The democrats and their allies tried in vain to dislodge him. After his victory Praxitas pulled down portions of the Long Walls, put garrisons in Sidus, Cronmyon and Epieicia, and then returned to Sparta. All further operations on a large scale ceased, though the garrisons of the contending parties in Corinth and Sicyon carried on the war vigorously. §§ 15-17. To protect themselves
from the ravages of Iphucrates' peltasts the Philiasians admitted a Lacedaemonian garrison within their walls. These peltasts spread terror everywhere among the Lacedaemonian allies, only the Spartans themselves daring to meet them. §§ 18, 19. The Athenians repaired the Corinthian Long Walls: whereupon Agesilaus, having first ravaged the Argolis, retook them at the same time that his brother Teleutias captured the docks.

§ 1. μετὰ τοῦτο, i.e. August or September, 394.

ἀφείθη. Neither Xenophon nor any other authority state what became of the Cyreians or Agesilaus’ Asiatic allies.


ἐκ Κορινθίων. Lysias (xvi. 16) tells us that after the battle of Corinth the strongholds in the Corinthian territory were occupied by the Corinthians and their allies ὡστε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δίνασθαι προσεύνῃ, and that when the main body of the allies marched northwards to meet Agesilaus in Boeotia, they left detachments behind them to act as garrison: cp. iv. 4. 7.

ἐκ Σικυώνοις. In iv. 2. 23 Xenophon said nothing of what became of Aristodemus’ army after the battle of Corinth. From iv. 3. 15 it appears that one regiment of it (μόρα) joined Agesilaus in Boeotia: probably therefore when it was disbanded, a strong force was left at Sicyon.

ἀποθνῄσκοντας: Stephanus inserts πολλοῦς before ἀποθνῄσκοντας; but if πολλοῦς be omitted (cp. Critical Note), εἰς τοῦν must be taken in the second clause as a kind of partitive genitive, to which τιῶς must be supplied to agree with ἀποθνῄσκοντας: cp. iv. 2. 20. The parallel sentence following with αἰτοῦ... αἰτῶν makes it more probable that some word like πολλοῦς has fallen out.

393–392 B.C.

οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι resumes the subject of the sentence, οἱ Κορίνθιοι, but is only a part instead of the whole. βέλτιστοι is used, as the sequel shows, in its political significance of aristocrats, and Xenophon here claims that they formed the majority of the citizens.

§ 2. οἱ ... μετεσχηκότες. In iii. 5. 1 Xenophon has narrated how Timolaus and Polyanthes in Corinth shared in Timocrates’ Persian gold: but it also appears from iv. 8. 8 that in the spring of 393 Pharnabazus and Conon visited the isthmus and left behind
them a fresh supply of money. In this passage therefore, or ... μετεαχακότες, if the chronology proposed (cp. Introd. p. xlvii) be right, can equally well be referred to both occasions.

παλιων. The reference is probably general, i.e. to the part played by Corinth at the time of the Peloponnesian War, and not to the division of opinion just after the battle of Corinth, when some wished to treat with the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23; Dem. xx. 52.

πρώτον μέν ... ὄσ δὲ (§ 3). The first enormity was the scheme itself; the second the manner of carrying it out.

Εὐκλείων. Pausanias speaks of a temple of Eucleia at Athens (i. 14. 5) and of Artemis Eucleia at Thebes (ix. 17. 1). Plutarch (Aristid. 20) speaks of the identification of Artemis with Eucleia as disputed. Nothing is known as to the date of this festival at Corinth: cp. Introd. p. xlvii.

§ 3. τὸν μὲν τινα ... τὸν δὲ τινα: τις is added to ὁ μέν, ὁ δὲ, to show that the person is indeterminate.

συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, ‘standing talking with a group’: cp. Anab. v. 7. 2 σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνιάσαντο.

κριτής, i.e. a judge of the contests going on in the theatre: cp. Diod. xiv. 86 ἀγώνων ἄντων ἐν τῷ θεατρῷ φόνον ἐποίησαν.

§ 4. Κρανείω: cp. Paus. ii. 2. 4 ἀνιόουσι δὲ ἐσ Κόρυνθου (from Cenchreæ) πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὄνομαζόμενον Κρανείων.

§ 5. τοῦ κίνος: τοῦ is Schneider’s correction for τοῦ: cp. Critical Note. The MSS. all read τοῦ, but no authority throws any light on what famous column Xenophon could have meant, so that he should have used the article.

ιούσαι: for the participle in the sense of ‘coming one after the other’ cp. iv. 8. 5 τοῦς μὲν ἱόντας ἄρμοστας.


τὴν πᾶλιν, i.e. Corinth as an independent sovereign community.

Ἄργος ... ὄνομαζεσθαι: cp. Diod. xiv. 92 Ἀργεῖοι ... τὴν πᾶλιν (i.e. Corinth) ἐξιδισοποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίου χώραν Ἀργεῖων ἐποίησαν. Argos was a thoroughly democratic state (Thuc. v. 31), and the Corinthian democrats, now victorious, apparently hoped to secure their position by a kind of συνοίκισις with Argos. No details
about the interpolitical arrangement between the two cities are known.

πειρωμένους . . . ποιήσας . . . ἀποδειξαί . . . ἂξιον εἶναι . . . γενέσθαι . . . τυχεῖν. The infinitives ποιήσας and ἀποδειξαί depend on the participle πειρωμένους; ἂξιον εἶναι is the infinitive after ἐνόμοσαν: the infinitives γενέσθαι and τυχεῖν depend on ἂξιον εἶναι, and the participle πειρωμένους is in agreement with their subject.

§ 392-391 B.C.

§ 7. Λέχαιον: the seaport of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf was connected with the city by two Long Walls, twelve stades in length, like Piraeus with Athens, and Nisaea with Megara.

διασπραξάμενος ὡστε . . . καταμείναι: usually constructed with the infinitive alone without ὡστε: cp. v. i. 25; 2. 6.

ἐπραττε, i.e. began making preparations for.

§ 8. τὸ τροπαῖον: set up by the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 2. 23.

οὗτος ἀπλῶς, ‘in so straightforward a manner.’

§§ 9-11. The difficulties in understanding the fight between the Long Walls of Corinth are due to Xenophon’s carelessness of writing, or, it may be, to lacunae in the text. He has omitted to state whether the Lacedaemonians drew up in front or behind their stockade. He says nothing as to how the Corinthians from the city, who were posted opposite the Lacedaemonians, fared at their hands. He leaves us to infer that the mercenaries of Iphicrates after their defeat by the Corinthian exiles made good their escape within the city walls. He does not state whether the ladders, whereby the Argives, hemmed in by the Lacedaemonians on one side and the Corinthian exiles on the other, attempted to escape, were laid against the Eastern Long Wall or the city Wall. Finally he does not explain how so many of the Boeotian garrison at Lechaeeum came to be killed.

The solution of all these difficulties is hardly possible, and in any case must involve several assumptions. The Long Walls, it is to be remembered, ran North and South, being about one mile and a quarter in length, and there being a considerable distance between them. To strengthen their position, the Lacedaemonians had hastily built up a stockade with a trench in front, i.e. facing south,
and it is therefore to be assumed that on the day of battle, when
owing to the reinforcements received by the enemy the odds were
still greater against them than at first, they posted themselves
behind the stockade, with their front towards Corinth, the Lacedaemonians
themselves being on the right, the Sicyonians in the
centre, and the Corinthian exiles by the Eastern Wall on the left,
Pasimelus and his handful of horse being probably in the rear on
the right. The enemy took up their position opposite, the Corin-
thians on the West, opposite the Lacedaemonians, the Argives in
the centre, and Iphicrates and his mercenaries on the East. At the
first onset the Argives easily overwhelmed the Sicyonians, broke
through the stockade and pursued their opponents down to the
sea. At the same time, the Corinthian exiles repelled the attack
of Iphicrates, and coming out of the stockade (at least so it is to be
supposed) pursued him and his mercenaries almost up to the walls
of Corinth. The Lacedaemonians meanwhile, we must assume,
these Corinthians not being mentioned again after § 9, had easily
defeated the Corinthians opposed to them, but had not gone out-
side the stockade to pursue them. They preferred to wait for the
Argives; and accordingly before their return left the stockade
(ἐξελθόντες), which was broken in the centre, and formed anew
just outside it with their front facing East ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ
σταύρωμα. The Argives, having overcome the opposition of Pas-
imelus and his dismounted horsemen, hastened back southwards
ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, and thus exposed their unshielded side to the
Lacedaemonians stationed on their flank. Naturally they swerved
in the opposite direction, i.e. eastwards under the Long Wall, and
thus met the Corinthian exiles returning from the pursuit of
Iphicrates’ mercenaries. Their position was now, as Xenophon
describes, hopeless, their only means of escape being the ladders
leading to the top of the Long Wall (for the battle took place, it is
to be remembered, inside the walls). Those who were fortunate
enough to climb on to the wall were no better off than those in the
mêlée below; for they perished in the attempt to jump down the
other side.

Diodorus (xiv. 86) gives a totally different account of the
attack of the Corinthian exiles and their Lacedaemonian allies,
which cannot in any particular be reconciled with Xenophon’s
narrative. Its result, he says, was the capture of Lechaem and the docks.

§ 9. πρὸ αὐτῶν, i.e. facing Corinth towards the south.

ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐαυτῶν. The reflexive pronoun (however grammatically impossible) can here only be referred to the Lacedaemonians themselves: for from what follows it is plain that they were posted near the Western Long Wall, fronting southwards.

Ἰφικράτην. For the restoration of this name in the text instead of the MSS. Φιλοκράτη, Schneider relies upon Diod. xiv. 86 and Polygen. i. 9. 45. Cp. Critical Note.

§ 10. ἐκράτησαν, sc. οἱ Ἀργεῖοι.


tὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, i.e. of the Sicyonian fugitives: horse-soldiers, as a rule, were not armed with shields: cp. ii. 4. 24.

tὰ σίγμα: σίγμα in the best authors is indeclinable. Cp. Critical Note. For similar devices upon shields cp. ii. 4. 25; iii. 4. 17; vii. 5. 20; and for the mistake made by the Argives cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. iii. 8. 16.

σιώ: Doric for θεώ, the two Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

ὑμέ: Doric for ὑμᾶς.

χωρεῖν: infinitive dependent on λέγεται.

§ 11. τοὺς καθ’ αὐτοίς, i.e. Iphicrates and his mercenaries.

ἀνω: southwards towards Corinth.

tοῦ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ κύκλου, the city wall: often, as in v. 3. 22, κύκλος means a line of circumvallation.

κρατοῦμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους. The correctness of this reading, although it involves the interpretation of κατὰ in quite a different sense from what it bears two lines above, seems to be proved by the following βορθοῦσιν; this word is otiose, if Breitenbach’s conjecture κρατοῦντα be adopted, although he is thereby enabled to translate κατὰ, ‘opposite to,’ ‘over against.’ Reading κρατοῦμενα, we must translate τὰ κατὰ κ.τ.λ. ‘the part of the army near the Sicyonians’: cp. Anab. iv. 8. 18 οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδίκῳ πελτασταῖ; Plat. Rep. 435 ε οί κατὰ Θράκην.

ἐξελθόντες, i.e. ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, so that they marched probably through the gap made by the Argives southwards towards the city, and then reformed with their front towards the Eastern Long Wall—ἐν ἀριστερῇ ἐχοντες τὸ σταυρώμα.
392—391 B.C.  

IV. iv. 12

392–39

οπώθεν ὄντας: because the new movement on the part of the Lacedaemonians was evidently meant to cut off the retreat, which had previously been open to the Argives.

ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος, i.e. through the gap which they themselves had made: cp. ἐξελθόντες said of the Lacedaemonians just above.

tὰ γυμνά: the right and unshielded side.

πρὸς τὸ τείχει: the Eastern Long Wall.

tοῖς φυγίσι τῶν Κορυθίων: returning from the pursuit of Iphicrates’ mercenaries.

ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν, ‘they turned back again,’ being hemmed in by the Long Wall on the East, the stockade on the North, the Corinthian exiles on the South, and the Lacedaemonians on the West.

κλίμακας . . . τείχους. It is evident from the context that Xenophon must mean the ordinary ladders or steps leading to the top of the Eastern Long Wall, and not ladders let down by the citizens from the city wall to rescue the fugitives: else why should they have jumped down the other side and been killed thereby? Such headlong haste is only explicable, supposing τοῦ τείχους to mean the Long Wall.

§ 12. οὐδένα τρεπόμενον . . . πάντας . . . ὑπηρετοῦντας: accusatives in a sort of loose apposition to πλῆθος.

οὐτος belongs to πολλοί: cp. ii. 4. 17 note.

ὀι ἐν τῷ λιμέν Ḳ . . . φύλακες. Andocide (iii. 18–20) says that the result of this victory was the capture of Lechaem, and Diodorus also in his confused version of these events (xiv. 86) speaks of the capture of both τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν ναῦσταθμον. Xenophon himself in this same chapter § 17 represents the Lacedaemonians ἐκ τοῦ Λέχαιου ὅρμωμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Κορυθίων φυγίσαν, although he does not relate the capture of τὰ νεώρα till § 19. Again in iv. 8. 10, when he is bringing up the naval events of the war to the same date, he speaks of the Corinthians as masters ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαιαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ, until Teleutias appeared upon the scene. We must assume (cp. Introd. p. xlix) that it was Teleutias’ capture of τὰ νεώρα that made the Lacedaemonians once more masters of the Gulf. There are two ways of reconciling these conflicting statements. Either we may suppose that after the victory of Praxitas the Lacedaemonians occupied Lechaem
(into the heart of which they certainly penetrated even according to Xenophon’s story) σὺν μορα καὶ τοῖς τῶν Κορυθῶν φυγάσα, but were subsequently expelled in some manner unrecorded; for they cannot have been in Lechaem, whilst the Athenians were repairing the Long Walls § 18, or before Teleutias captured τὰ νεώρια § 19. Or we may suppose that Diodorus and Andocides are wrong, and that Praxitas withdrew the whole of his forces after his victory both from the Long Walls and from Lechaem. This second hypothesis necessitates the supposition that Xenophon has related (§ 18) the sally of the Lacedaemonians ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου out of its chronological order, and grouped it with his story about the Mantineans on account of the close connexion of subject; but that the event really occurred after Teleutias’ capture of τὰ νεώρια § 19. Parallel cases for such grouping can be found in vii. chaps. 2, 3 and 4, and this permanent Lacedaemonian garrison of Lechaem reappears iv. 5. 7, 11, 18. Xenophon’s narrative and the confusion of Diodorus at this point seem on the whole to favour the second hypothesis.

Breitenbach’s theory that the Lacedaemonians retained their mastery over the town of Lechaem, but lost the docks, seems to be negatived by geographical considerations. For it appears from Paus. ii. 2. 3 and Strab. viii. 551 that practically there was no town of Lechaem apart from the docks.

§ 13. οἱ σύμμαχοι ... ἐβοήθουν: as expected before the battle § 9. τῶν τεῖχων: for the partitive genitive without τι used as the object cp. iii. 1. 4.

Σιδούντα ... Κρομμύνων, on the S. coast of the Isthmus on the road to Megara.

Ἐπιεύκειαν: cp. iv. 2. 14.

φιλίας: sc. χώρας.

§ 14. στρατιάι ... μεγάλαι ... φρουροὶς ... μισθοφόροις: στρατιάι, armies of citizen troops, are here opposed to μισθοφόροι, and στρατιάι μεγάλαι to φρουροί, small contingents of citizen troops sent as garrisons. The money to pay the mercenaries was doubtless furnished on the Lacedaemonian side by Agesilus’ Asiatic booty, and on the Corinthian side by the Persian gold of Pharnabazus and Conon (cp. iv. 8. 8). The numbers of men willing to serve as mercenaries were continuously on the increase, not only because
the long wars had interrupted trade and commerce, but because the endless political revolutions were always followed by the exile of citizens, who were thus deprived of all other employment. Cp. iii. i. 13 note.

§ 15. Ἰφικράτης. Demosthenes had been the first Athenian general to discover the value of light-armed troops in his Aetolian and Acarnanian campaigns of 426 (Thuc. iii. 94 sqq.), and Cleon brought him some peltasts among the light-armed troops as reinforcements for the attack upon the Lacedaemonians in Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 28). Brasidas in his Thracian campaign had some peltasts in his army (Thuc. iv. 111). Their accoutrement seems to have been of Thracian origin (Her. vii. 75; Xen. Mem. iii. 9, 2; Aristoph. Achar. 159), consisting of javelins (ἀκόντια), targets or small shields (πέλται), and dirks (ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά). Iphicrates increased their efficiency by lengthening the javelin by one half, doubling the length of the dirk, and perhaps in some way modifying the shape or size of the target (Diod. xv. 44; Corn. Nep. Iphic. 1). They were thus enabled to attack not only by throwing the javelin, but with the sword at close quarters, if necessary, and at the same time they could move with as much activity as the ψιλοί, who were armed only with missile weapons and carried no shield. The πέλτη, from which the name πελταστής was derived, seems thus to have been described by Aristotle (frag. 456)—εἴδος ἄσπίδος, ἢ ποὺ ἔχει οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος οὐδὲ βοῶς ἀλλ' αἰγός δέρματι περισταμένη. Arrian (Tac. 3) concisely contrasts the peltasts with the hoplites and light-armed troops: τὸ πελταστικὸν δὲ κουφότερον μὲν τόγχανεν ὅ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ—ἡ γὰρ πέλτη σμικροτέρα τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ ἐλαφροτέρα, καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων καὶ σαρισῶν λειπόμενα—βαρύτερον δὲ τοῦ ψιλοῦ.

Φλειώντα: on the upper Asopus, some 10 miles S. of Sicyon. Polyaenus (iii. 9, 54) gives rather a different version of this exploit of Iphicrates.

τοσούτους: Diodorus (xiv. 91) says 300.
οὗ δεχόμενοι: cp. iv. 2. 16 and note.
κατάγοιε, sc. οἱ Λακεδαμόνοι.
φυλάττειν, infin. of purpose; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 770.
οὖν ἄντερ: in agreement only with τὴν πόλιν, both because ἡ πόλις is the principal word of the sentence and because the word παρέ-
λαβοῦν is only appropriate to πόλις. According to Diod. xiv. 91 Iphicrates immediately afterwards attacked Sicyon, defeated the Sicyonians and slew 500 of them: cp. Polyæn. iii. 9. 24.


ἐκ τοσοῦτον, 'from so great a distance,' i. e. ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος.

οἱ νεῶτεροι: cp. iv. 5. 14 and Appendix, p. 347.

§ 17. ἐπεκδραμώντες πελτασταῖς, 'having sallied out against the peltasts.'

ἐκ τοῦ ... τείχους: cp. §§ 7 and 13. Probably one of the Long Walls is meant.

ὁσπερ μορμόνας: cp. Plat. Crito 46 c ὡσπερ παῖδας ἡμᾶς μορμολύττεται.

ἐκ τοῦ Λέχαίου ὁρμώμενοι: cp. § 12 note.

ἐστρατεύοντο. This, the MSS. reading, seems better than Schneider's ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, because Xenophon evidently means mere marches round the walls of Corinth which were intended to show that the Lacedaemonians still remained masters of the country.


ἐλθοῖεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. The Long Walls blocked the road across the isthmus. Cp. Ages. 2. 17, where Agesilaus, when he took these walls, is described as ἀναπετάσας τὴν Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας.

p 391—390 B.C.

§ 19. 'Ἀργεῖος ... τῷ πολέμῳ. Similarly Andocides (iii. 27) says of the Argives, apparently just before Agesilaus' invasion, that αὐτοὶ ἵδια εἰρήμην ποιησάμενοι τὴν χώραν οὗ παρέχοντι ἐμποδεμέν: cp § 1.

'Ἀγησίλαος. No exploits of Agesilaus have been recorded since his return to Sparta after the battle of Coronea in the autumn of 394: cp. Ages. 2. 16, 17; and Plutarch (Ages. 19, 20), who says that in Sparta προσφυλήσ μὲν ἦν εὗρός τοῖς πολῖταις καὶ περιβλεπτός ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς διαίτης, and that he discovered among the papers of Lysander evidence of a conspiracy against himself, which however he refused to publish.

ὑπερβαλῶν, i. e. across the mountains separating the Argolis from Corinth. The same word is similarly used without an object expressed in v. 4. 41.

κατὰ Τενέαν: cp. Ages. 2. 17 κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον.
Τελευτάς: cp. Plut. Ages. 21 μέγιστον οὖν δυνάμενος ἐν τῇ πύλῃ διαπράττεται Τελευτάν τὸν ὄμομήτριον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ γενέσθαι. This victory seems to be the event alluded to in Xenophon's chronicle of maritime affairs, iv. 8. 11.

τὰ νεώρια: cp. § 12 note.

τὸ πολιτικὸν: opposed to the μαθησιῶν of § 14.

αἰκάδε ἀπῆγαγεν: Ages. 2. 17 αἰκαδε ἀπελθον εἰς τὰ Ἰακύνθια ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παινὰ τῷ θεῷ συνεπέτελε. This festival was celebrated about midsummer.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1–5. On an expedition to Piræum Agesilaus surprised the Argives celebrating the Isthmian games. By a ruse he captured much booty and many prisoners in Piraeum. §§ 6–10. Puffed up with pride he refused to notice some Theban envoys, who had come to ask for peace: just at the moment news was brought him of the annihilation of the Spartan mora. The envoys said no more about peace. Next day Agesilaus marched up to the gates of Corinth and encamped round Lechaemum. §§ 11–17. This Spartan mora was returning to Lechaemum from escorting the Amyclaeanos on their homeward march to take part in the Hyacinthia, when it was suddenly attacked by Iphicrates and his peltasts. The hoplites were no match in speed for the light-armed troops, and their resistance to the onset grew feebler until their discomfiture was completed by the arrival of Callias and the Athenian hoplites. Only a remnant escaped to Lechaemum. §§ 18, 19. Agesilaus retired hastily to Sparta. Iphicrates further succeeded in capturing Sidus, Crommyon, and Oenoe: but the Lacedaemonians held Lechaemum.

? 390–389 B.C.


 cioè ἐν τῇ πύλῃ, i.e. Corinth.

ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ. This τὸ Πειραιῶν must not be confused with ὁ Πειραιῶν of Thuc. viii. 10. As appears from the context and from Strabo viii. 380, Xenophon means the district on the NW. side of the Isthmus terminating in the promontory of the Heraeum. Ages. (2. 18) gives as an additional motive for the expedition ὅτι Βοιωτῶν ταύτη ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὄρμωμεν εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο.
IV. v. 2–5  390–389 B.C.

ο μήν ἐν ὁ Ἰσθμία γίγνεται. The Isthmian games were celebrated every two years, about April in the first and third Olympic years: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

Ἀργοὺς τῆς Κορίνθου: cp. iv. 4. 6 note and Diod. xiv. 92 Ἀργείου ... τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβοντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξιδιοποιησά-μενοι τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν Ἀργείαν ἐποίησαν.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ ίερῷ, i. e. of Posidon.

περιέμενεν. The Corinthian exiles had asked Agesilaus to offer the sacrifice himself, but this he had refused to do, Plut. Ages. 21.

ἐστὶ μὲν ἀ ... ἐκφύγοντας. Tr. 'for some prizes (ἀ accus. of respect after ἐνικήθη) the same competitor was twice vanquished, while for others the same competitors were twice proclaimed the winners.'

§ 3. τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ: the exact details of time and place are noticeable throughout the whole of this expedition.

tὸ ἀστυ, i. e. Corinth.

μετεπέμψαντο: from Piraeum, as appears from Ages. 2. 19 βεβοηθήκατος ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυδία.

τὰ θερμαί. These hot springs are close to the sea near the modern village of Lutraki at the foot of a SW. spur of Mt. Geranea.

§ 4. μικρῷ καθισὼ δέ: for the absence of μὲν cp. Anab. iv. 8. 9 ὁρός μέγα προσβατῶν δέ.

πάνω qualifies ὑψηλῶν: cp. μάλα § 1.

καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν ... σπειρία: parenthetical.

ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δείπνον ἐχόντων, i. e. they had no appetite for their supper.

ἡλείφοντο. Similarly the Cyrians, caught in a snowstorm on the Armenian mountains, πῦρ ἐκαυν καὶ ἐχρίοντο, Anab. iv. 4. 12.

ὁ νέως τοῦ Ποσειδώνος. Either the celebrated temple on the Isthmus near which the Isthmian games were held, or a small temple in the Piraeum not far from the Heraean promontory, which Curtius (Peloponnesos ii. 553) suggests may have been dedicated to Posidon.

§ 5. τὸ Ἡραῖον: a temple of Hera Acraea on the headland formed by the westernmost spur of Mount Geranea.

Οἰνώπυ: a fortress on the north side of the Isthmus which protected the Corinthian frontier towards Megara.
390–389 B.C. III v. 6–10

έντετειχισμένον, i.e. in the district of Piraeum: cp. Ages. 2. 19 τὰ τεῖχ ἃ ἐντετείχιστο. 

τῶν σφαγῶν: for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2–4. 

τοῖς φυγάσι, i.e. the Corinthian oligarchs: cp. § 2. 

πραθήκαι: according to the practice of Greek warfare. Contrast Agesilaus' reply to those same Corinthian oligarchs, when they wished on some other occasion to enslave their own city, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δἐοι Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν, Ages. 7. 6. 

§ 6. πρεσβείαι . . . πολλαί. It appears from Andocides' speech De Pace, the probable date of which (cp. Introd. p. xlviii) is 392–391 winter, that there had already been many but fruitless negotiations for peace: cp. iv. 8. 15 note. 


Φάρακος: perhaps the same Lacedaemonian as the Pharax who had been admiral in 397: cp. iii. 2. 12, 14. 

τὴν λίμνην. There is a lake, now called Buliasmeni, just eastward of the Heraeum: where it adjoins the temple, there are considerable ruins. 

ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, 'from the camp': cp. ii. 4. 6. 

§ 7. τὸ . . . πάθος: the article seems to presuppose the reader's previous knowledge of the disaster: cp. iv. 3. 10 and Introd. p. xxx. The details of the event are given in §§ 11–17. 

τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας: cp. iv. 4. 12 note. 


§ 8. τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν, sc. σκηνήν: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖν, σκηνήν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε. The σύνεργοί of the king were the Polemarchs and three Spartiates, ibid. 13. 1: cp. iv. 7. 4; vi. 4. 14. 

δορυφόροι: cp. iii. 3. 9 and Appendix, p. 347. 

tὸν μὲν: Agesilaus. 

τῶν δὲ: οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν. 

tὰ θερμά: § 3 note. 

ἀγγειομένου εἰσαγαγ, i.e. ὑπόστονδοι: cp. iii. 5. 24, 25. 

Διετίδεσο, i.e. sold them. 

§ 9. εἰς ἄστυ, i.e. to Corinth. 

§ 10. τὸ τροπαίον. Trophies were held sacred. 

XEN. HELL.
Kρεύσιν: the nearest seaport to Thebes on the Corinthian Gulf.

ἐν χώρα, 'on the spot,' i.e. in battle.

λαμπροῖ . . . περιήγαν: cp. the reception at Sparta of the news of the battle of Leuctra, vi. 4. 16.

§ 11. τὰ Ἡακίνθια. 'This festival the Dorian conquerors [of Laconia] took over from the Amyclaeans. It was celebrated at the end of the month Hecatombaeon (July) and lasted three days. On the first day the offering of the dead was brought to Hyacinthus. His urn was opened, and the ashes drenched with wine and milk. The funeral feast was then eaten in solemn silence. On the next day, which was sacred to Apollo, the rites were more cheerful. The day began with a great procession in which all the Amyclaeans, a large portion of the Spartans, and many of the neighbouring population, took part. The procession was accompanied by a poem in anapaestic measures, and ended with the presentation to the god of the robe woven by the Spartan women. The remainder of the day was occupied with a sacrifice and feast and various kinds of amusements. The third day was devoted to games, of which the throwing of quoits formed a large part.' Abbott, Hist. of Greece, I. vi. 22: cp. Her. ix. 7; Thuc. v. 23; Paus. iii. 19. 3; 16. 2; Athenaeus iv. 139.

ἐπὶ τὸν παιῶνα: on the second day of the festival.

κατέλυσε, i.e. before the march to the Isthmus and Piraeum.

tῇ τῶν ἵππεων μόρα: cp. Appendix, p. 347.

§ 12. κατεφρόωνυ: the accusative and infinitive expresses the opinion that they contemptuously held. 'They arrogantly presumed that no one would attack them,' Dakyns: cp. v. 4. 45 μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείβειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις; Her. i. 66 καταφρονή-

§ 13. Καλλίας reappears as the Athenian orator at the Congress in Sparta in 371 B.C., vi. 3. 2. He is one of the interlocutors in Plato's Protagoras: he owned the most splendid house in Athens, and had spent more money on the Sophists than all the rest of the world: Plat. Prot. 337 d; Apol. 20a.

τῇ ὕδα, 'if [the Lacedaemonians] marched along the road.'

eἰς τὰ γυμνὰ: the right unshielded side: cp. iv. 4. 11.

ἀποφυγεῖν: subject, Callias and Iphocrates.
§ 14. ὁ μὲν τες . . . ὁ δὲ: cp. iv. 4. 3 note.

τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς: shield-bearers, mostly slaves, who followed the hoplites even on the field of battle: cp. iv. 8. 39; Anab. iv. 2. 20.

τῇ ἄληβείᾳ ἐσώθησαν, i.e. with honour un tarnished according to Spartan notions: cp. § 17.

τὰ δέκα ἄφ' ἡβῆς: cp. ii. 4. 32 note and Appendix, p. 347.


ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς, i.e. the hoplites could not come within a spear’s throw of the peltasts. The prep. ἐκ is used to denote the distance the pursuers were from the pursued.

καὶ γὰρ . . . ἐκέλευ. This seems to give the reason why the hoplites could not come up with the peltasts, so that the subject to ἐκέλευ must be ὁ Ἰφικράτης and αὐτῶς must mean τοὺς πελταστάς. Breitenbach, however, understands the subject to be ὁ πολέμαρχος, αὐτῶς to be the Lacedaemonian hoplites, and τοὺς ὀπλίτας to be the Athenian hoplites—an interpretation which seems to involve greater difficulties both of translation and meaning. Moreover, Callias and his hoplites were at the time of the first attack a long way off: cp. §§ 14 and 17.

ὁστάχους: the genitive depends on ὁς: cp. ii. 1. 14; iii. 4. 16 note.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐκατέρτου: the prep. ἐκ is accounted for by the following verb ἥκοντι ζοῦ: cp. iii. 1. 22.

§ 16. τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἄφ' ἡβῆς: men between thirty and thirty-five years old.

οἱ ἵππεις, i.e. the escort to the Amyclaeans, § 12.

τοὺς ἐκδρόμους, i.e. the hoplites sent out to skirmish.

τούτους, neuter: the things already described.

καὶ ἄδηλος, ‘again and again.’

§ 17. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δέκατος must mean Lacedaemonians or their allies forming part of the garrison at Lechaeanum, who were not sufficiently numerous to force their way by land past Callias’ hoplites to the assistance of the distressed mora, and therefore attempted to help them by sea.

τοὺς ὀπλίτας: commanded by Callias, § 14.

περὶ πεντάκοντα καὶ διακοσίως: the smallness of these numbers is suspicious, as Xenophon in § 12 estimated the total strength of the mora at 600, and apparently very few escaped alive.
§ 18. ὦτως ἐπέπρακτο. Iphicrates received extraordinary honours from the Athenians for this victory: cp. Dem. xxiii. 198; Corn. Nep. Iphic. 2 moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia.

δινών, i.e. through the towns, as appears from εἰς τός πόλεις.

ἀριθμοῦ ἀναστὰς ἐτὶ σκοταῖος: the difficulty of this passage is that the distance of Orchomenus from Mantinea is seven or eight English miles, in other words two hours' march. If then Agesilaus started at dawn, how could he have passed Mantinea ἐτὶ σκοταῖος? Büchsenschütz's conjecture πρὸ ὁριθμοῦ solves the difficulty. Campe's alteration of the order of the words into ἐτὶ σκοταῖος ἀναστὰς ὁριθμοῦ is not so good, because, as Büchsenschütz remarks, the point emphasized is that Agesilaus marched past Mantinea, not at daybreak, but ἐτὶ σκοταῖος: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκοταῖος: for the adjective in place of an adverb cp. Anab. ii. 2. 17 σκοταῖοι προσώπως.

χαλεπῶς ἄν: to be taken with θεώσασθαι.

tοὺς Μαντινέας. Not only had there been old causes of hostility between the Spartans and Mantineans (cp. iii. 2. 21), but recently the Spartans had taunted them with fearing Iphicrates' peltasts ὄσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια, iv. 4. 17.


ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου: cp. § 5.

ἐλε: for Iphicrates' departure from Corinth cp. iv. 8. 34 and note.

παραπλέοντες καὶ ἐντεύθεν ὁρμώμενοι, i.e. sailing along the coast to Lechaenum and sallying forth from thence: cp. Critical Note.

CHAPTER VI.

§§ 1–12. At the entreaty of the Achaeans, who wished to secure Calydon against the attacks of the Acarnanians and their allies, Agesilaus led an expedition into Acarnania. By a long march into the heart of the country he captured rich booty, but on his return extricated his army with great difficulty from the mountains, inflicting however considerable loss upon the Acarnanians. §§ 13, 14. Discontented at these results the Achaeans entreated Agesilaus to stay longer in the country. Promising a second invasion he retired through Aetolia to Rhium and thence homewards.

τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγώλιας: acc. to Thuc. iii. 102 the ancient name of this district, including Calydon and Pleuron, was Aeolis.

πολίται πεποιημένοι, i.e. admitted to membership of the Achaean League; cp. Thuc. iii. 63, the Thebans said to the Plataeans, ἐγένεσθε ... Ἀθηναίων ἐξιμμάχου καὶ πολίται.

οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες: cp. iv. 2. 17. In the Peloponnesian War they were allies of Athens (Thuc. ii. 9, 68; iii. 105, 114), and sent a contingent to the Athenian expedition against Syracuse (Thuc. vii. 57).

συμμάχους εἶναι; for the alliance cp. iii. 5. 2 note.

§ 2. ἐπόμεθα: cp. iii. 2. 26 against Elis, and iv. 4. 17 at the battle of Corinth.

§ 3. τῶι τὲ ἐφόροις καὶ τὴ ἐκκλησία: cp. Appendix, p. 341.

τὸ μέρος, i.e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies: cp. vi. 1. 1.

§ 4. οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων: Diodorus (xix. 67) represents Cassander as advising the Acarnanians in 314 B.C. ἐκ τῶν ὄχυρῶν καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι.

 eius Στράτων: situated upon the Achelous, the largest city of the Acarnanians. From this passage it appears to have been the place of meeting of the Acarnanian League: cp. Thuc. ii. 80, 82, 102.

ἐαυτοὺς, i.e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. iii. 1. 3.

§ 5. ἃ ... ἃ, ‘either ... or’: σταδίων is the genitive dependent on πλέον: cp. Hipparch. 8. 25 καταλιπῶν ἃ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατιστῶν ἱππῶν.

§ 6. τὴν λίμνην: Xenophon seems here as elsewhere (cp. iv. 5. 7 note) to assume in the reader a previous acquaintance with the facts. Reckoning the distance of Agesilaus’ marches, we may perhaps assume that Xenophon means the largest lake in Acarnania, some seven miles long, to the NW. of Stratus.

dιεπόλει, i.e. to the ἀλφυροπόλει: cp. iv. 1. 26 note.

§ 7. πελτασταί: cp. Thuc. ii. 81 δικοῦσι δ’ οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες κρατίστοι εἰναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν (i.e. σφενδονάν); ibid. vii. 31 ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν χωρίων σφενδονήτας τε καὶ ἀκοντιστάς ξυναγείρων.


dé, i.e. compelled the Lacedaemonian army to come down to the level ground.

στρατιῶται, i.e. the Lacedaemonian soldiers.

§ 8. καταλαβόντες, sc. τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχοντα ὄρη.

§ 9. πρὸς τοὺς ἵσχυροις, i.e. places inaccessible to hoplites and horsemen.

ἐγνω διώκειν, for the infin. cp. iii. 1. 12.

τοὺς ... προσκειμένους, i.e. the Acarnanians who attacked him on the left.

§ 10. μάλα κατείχον, 'were pressing him very hard': cp. Thuc. v. 5 αὐτοῖς κατείχεν ὥ ... τόλμησο; ibid. i. 103 αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι περὶ γῆς ὄρων πολέμῳ κατείχον.

τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἄφι· ἡβης: cp. iv. 5. 14, 16.

§ 11. ἠφίσσαν: imperfect with double augment from ἀφιήμι.

τοῖς δόρασιν: generally used to thrust, not as missile weapons:

cp. ii. 4. 15.

§ 12. τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτον: adverbial='afterwards': cp. vii. 1. 44 τὸ μέχρι τούτου.


§ 14. Ναυπακτοῦ ... ἄπολαβείν. According to Paus. x. 38. 10, at the end of the Peloponnesian War the Locrians regained possession of the town, which had originally belonged to the Aetolians (cp. Thuc. i. 103). In 367 B.C. it was in the hands of the Achaean (cp. Diod. xv. 75) as well as Calydon and Dyme; when however they seized the place, is unknown.

τὸ Ῥίον: at the narrowest point of the Corinthian Gulf, less than two miles from Antirrhium on the Achaean coast.

οἱ Ἀθηναίοι: nothing more is known of the presence of an Athenian squadron in these waters at this time, i.e. about 389, when they were showing great naval activity in the Aegean: cp. iv. 8. 31; v. i. 1-9.

CHAPTER VII

§ 1. The threat of a second invasion speedily induced the Acarnanians to make peace with the Achaean and to enter the Spartan League. §§ 2-7. Aegistopolis headed a second invasion of the Argolis. Before entering the country he consulted the gods in Olympia and Delphi, whether he might
lawfully refuse to acknowledge the Sacred Truce, which on similar occasions the Argives had fraudulently pleaded. Assured that he might, he entered the country and advanced to the very gates of Argos, doing great damage.

§ 1. τοῦ ἡρωδ: cp. Introd. p. xlix.

ἔφαγεν, sc. ὁ Ἀγησίλαος: elsewhere the phrase is used only of the Ephors or the Assembly; cp. Appendix, pp. 337, 342.

ἐν μεσογείᾳ ... τὸς πόλεις: so that no supplies could reach them by sea.

συμμαχῶν: Ages. 2. 20 Ἀχαίων μὲν φίλους ἑποίησεν Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ Αἰτωλοῦς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἐαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους, i.e. the Amphi-locian Argives.

§ 2. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, cp. Introd. p. xlix.

Ἀγησίτολης: cp. iv. 2. 9 and note.

ἐγένετο, ‘were favourable’: cp. iii. 1. 17 note; iii. 4. 3.

τὸν θεόν: Zeus.

ὁσίος . . . ἔχοι—ὁσιὸν . . . εἶη: cp. four lines lower. For the fact cp. iii. 2. 22 note.

οὐχ ὄποτε . . . τῶν μῆνας. Pausanias (iii. 5. 8) in narrating the same incident speaks of πατρῆς δὴ τινας σπουδᾶς ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθεστώτας τῶς Δωρίεσι πρὸς ἄλλης. We may therefore infer that at the time of the Carnean and other such festivals (the plural τῶν μῆνας shows that there were more than one) the various Dorian states felt themselves bound to respect the Holy Truce during their celebration, when it was duly proclaimed. The Argives apparently availed themselves of the chaos of the Greek Calendars, which were reckoned differently in different states, to proclaim such a truce, whenever it suited their convenience (cp. ὁσπερ εἰσδειαν § 3), even when they did not resort to tricks still more disreputable, like that practised in 419, when they invaded the territory of Epidaurus only a few days before the Carnean festival. On that occasion, according to Thucydides (v. 54), instead of keeping the month Carnea, they pretended that they were continuing to keep the 27th day of the preceding month, until they withdrew their forces.

ἐμβάλλειν . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι. No such instances are recorded. Xenophon mentions no such attempt to hinder either of Agesilaus’ invasions: cp. iv. 4. 19.
υπέφερον, 'pretended': cp. Thuc. v. 54 τὸν μῆνα προφασίσαντο.

ἐπεσῆμανεν, i.e. indicated by signs observed in the sacrificial victim. On the other hand, Apollo at Delphi spoke through the mouth of the Pythoness, ἀπεκρίνατο.


§ 4. σπονδόν: for the custom of pouring libations at the end of a meal cp. Sympos. 2. 1 ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἐσπεισαν καὶ ἐπαινισαν.

ο θεός, i.e. Posidon.

τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

ὁντο ἀπείνας, 'thought that they ought to retire.'

Ἄγις: cp. iii. 2. 24.

σέεσει: the optative is used, because a general principle is enunciated.

ἐπικελεύειν: ἐπὶ in composition denotes assent or encouragement: cp. § 2 ἐπεσῆμανεν.

§ 5. οὖ. The MSS. οὖ seems hardly consistent with the context, since it was Agesipolis' ambition to advance farther than Agesilaus had done before him. If it be retained, the statement must be taken to refer strictly to the shortness of that particular day's march. Tillmann's simple conjecture αὖ removes all difficulty.


ὡσπερ πένταθλος. The comparison applies to πάντη: just as the πένταθλος strives to distance his competitor in every one of the five contests, so Agesipolis tried to surpass Agesilaus in every respect. There is no need to discover in this rather comical rivalry traces of political jealousy, as some commentators have done, relying on v. 3. 20.

§ 6. καὶ . . . ποτε introduces one of the instances in which Agesipolis tried to advance farther than Agesilaus: καὶ γὰρ is more usual. Xenophon means that on one occasion Agesipolis had come so near to the walls that he was exposed to the fire of missiles from the towers, which compelled him to retreat.

Δακωνικήν: for geographical reasons Madvig conjectures Σαρωνικήν.
388–387 B.C. IV. vii. 7

προσαραφέναι: a poetical word, never elsewhere used in Attic prose.

οἱ Κρήτες: Cretan archers fought on the Lacedaemonian side at the battle of Corinth: cp. iv. 2. 16.

Ναυπλίαν: a coast town, six miles SE. of Argos.

§ 7. τὰς εἰρκτάς. What this inclosed space was is entirely un-known. Pausanias (iii. 5. 9) says the thunderbolt fell when the king ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος κατεστρατοπεδεῦτο ἡδή τὸ Ἀργεῖων.

πληγέντες . . . ἐμβρονηθέντες: cp. Paus. l. c. καὶ τινὲς καὶ ἀπόλυτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεραυνωθέντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκφρονας ἐποίησαν αἱ βρονταὶ.

παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν. The MSS. of Strabo (viii. 328) have Κηλώσσα, for which Κοιλώσσα and Κοιλοῦσα have been conjectured. It was a mountain in the territory of Phlius.

ἀλοβὰ: cp. iii. 4. 15 note.

CHAPTER VIII

§§ 1–4. Meanwhile after their victory Pharnabazus and Conon expelled the Spartan harmosts from the islands and coast cities. At Ephesus Pharnabazus gave Conon 40 ships and bade him meet him at Sestos, because Dercylidas kept fast hold of Abydos. §§ 5, 6. Dercylidas further secured Sestos, so that Pharnabazus found these two cities unassailable. The satrap left Conon in the Hellespont with orders to collect a large fleet for the next campaign. §§ 7, 8. In the spring Pharnabazus and Conon crossed to Melos, ravaged the Spartan coasts, garrisoned Cythera, and supplied the allies at Corinth with money. §§ 9–11. Pharnabazus returned home, but allowed Conon to remain with the fleet to help the Athenians rebuild their Long Walls and the Wall of Piraeus. This was successfully accomplished. With the Persian gold the Corinthians fitted out a fleet, and it was not until the appointment of Telegoras that the Spartans could regain the mastery of the Corinthian Gulf. §§ 12–15. Alarmcd at Conon’s successes the Spartans sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, at the same time that the Athenians and their allies sent envoys to counteract his influence. The terms that he proposed to the Satrap were for various reasons rejected by all the other envoys. §§ 16–19. Tiribazus, having supplied Antalcidas with money and arrested Conon, went up to the Persian King. His place was taken by Struthas, who vigorously supported the Athenians. The Spartans despatched Thibron to make war upon him: but he soon contrived to surprise
and slay Thibron and to scatter his forces. §§ 20–22. Alarmed lest the Athenians should win over Rhodes, the Lacedaemonians at the entreaty of the Rhodian oligarchs sent out Ecdicus with 8 ships, and at the same time despatched Diphridas to replace Thibron. Diphridas was more successful against Struthas; but Ecdicus, finding the Rhodian democrats too strong, remained inactive at Cnidus. §§ 23, 24. Teleutias was sent to supersede Ecdicus. On his way to Rhodes he captured an Athenian squadron sailing to the help of Evagoras in Cyprus. He brought back his spoils to Cnidus, and then proceeded to Rhodes. §§ 25–30. Hereupon the Athenians despatched Thrasybulus with 40 ships. First he persuaded Medocus, king of the Odrysae, and Seuthes to become allies of Athens. Then he sailed to Byzantium, sold the tolls, and set up a democracy. Next he made friends with the Chalcedonians. Arrived in Lesbos, where only the Mytilenians were friendly, he collected an army, attacked Methymna, defeated and slew the Spartan harmost, and raised a large sum of money, besides winning over some of the other cities. Before sailing for Rhodes he extorted money both from other cities and from Aspendus. In revenge the Aspendians slew him. §§ 31–39. The Athenians sent out Agyrrhius to replace Thrasybulus. The Ephors despatched Anaxibius to supersede Dercylidas at Abydos, where he did much damage to Athenian interests. The Athenians accordingly sent out Iphicrates and his peltasts to the Hellespont. Iphicrates surprised and slew Anaxibius as he was returning from Antandros.

394–393 B.C.

§ 1. ἐν ὧ δὲ ... διηγήσομαι. Xenophon groups together all the most important events that happened by sea between 394 and 387 in iv. 8. i–v. i. 30: cp. Introd. pp. xvii, 1.

γράψω ... παρῆσο: cp. Introd. p. xxix.

τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, i.e. at Cnidus in 394: cp. iv. 3. 11 and notes ad loc.

tὰς νῆσους κ.τ.λ. According to Diod. xiv. 84 Pharnabazus and Conon first caused Cos, Nisyros, and Teos to revolt: then Chios expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison and the like was done by Mytilene, Ephesus and Erythrae—all of which joined the victors. Of the rest some similarly expelled the Lacedaemonian garrisons and asserted their independence, whilst others went further and actively supported Conon: so that the Lacedaemonians ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον. An inscription (Hicks, 70) records the honours paid by the Erythraeans to Conon, and another (CIA. ii. 11) treaties between Athens and Chios and Phaselis.
394-393 B.C.  

IV. viii. 2-5  

τοὺς ... ἀρµοστὰς: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

αὐτονόµους: cp. Tithraustes’ offer to Agesilaus in 395 τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόµους οὕτας τῶν ἀρχαίων δασμόν αὐτῷ (βασιλεῖ) ἀποφέρειν, iii. 4. 25.

§ 2. οἱ δὲ, i.e. the inhabitants of the πόλεις.

§ 3. τεταράκοντα τριήρεις: cp. Diod. xiv. 83. The combined fleet at Cnidus numbered 90 triremes: cp. iv. 3. 11 note.

Σηστὼν. This city had been captured by the Lacedaemonians after Aegospotami (cp. ii. 1. 28 note), and still remained in their hands: cp. infr. §§ 5, 6.

Δερκυλίδας ... πολέμιος: Agesilaus had in the summer of 394 sent Dercylidas to the Hellespont to announce the Lacedaemonian victory at Corinth to his Asiatic allies. The cause of Dercylidas’ personal enmity against Pharnabazus is narrated iii. 1. 9.

τὴν Ἀβύδου ... φίλην: cp. Dem. xxiii. 158 Ἀβύδου τῆς τῶν ἄρρενθ’ ὑμῖν (i.e. the Athenians) χρόνον ἔχθρᾶς.

§ 4. ὑμῖν ... φίλοις οὖσι ... εὐεργέτας. As in iv. 1. 35, the participial clause in the dative agreeing with ὑμῖν expresses the condition, the accusative with the infinitive its result.

ἐστὶ ... ἔχον: cp. Anab. iv. 1. 3 καὶ ἔστων οὖτος ἔχον.

εἰ ... ἐκρατήθημεν: εἰ with the indicative (instead of ὅτι) expresses Dercylidas’ unwillingness to recognize the undoubted fact.


Ἐλληνικῶν ... ναυτικῶν: Xenophon (cp. iv. 3. 11 and note), calls Conon’s division of the fleet τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν, so that Dercylidas must here mean by Ἐλληνικόν a fleet from Greece proper, as indeed appears from Ἡ Ἐλλάς in the context.

§ 5. ἰόντας ... ἐδέχόμεθα ... μετεπέμποντο: the pres. part. and imperf. tenses express repeated action.

διὰ Λακεδαιμονίου: Dercylidas in 398 had secured the Greeks in the Chersonese against the Thracians by rebuilding the wall across the Isthmus: cp. iii. 2. 10.

Ἀσία ... βασιλέως. So iii. 5. 13.

Τῆμως; West of Magnesia on the Hermus.

Ἄγγειας. This place is unknown. Valckenaer’s conjecture is exceedingly probable—Ἄγγει ἐστι, Aegae being a place ten miles north of Temnos: cp. Critical Note.
§ 6. ἐπ’ οἴκου: to Dascyleum: cp. iii. 4. 13.
ἀνθ’ ἐν ἐπεπόνθει: from Dercylidas (iii. 1. 9 ff.) and from Agesilaus (iii. 4. 12 ff.; iv. 1. 1 ff.).

393-392 B.C.

§ 7. ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι: 393 B.C.
διὰ νῆσων: the islands of the Aegean, without the article as in vi. 2. 12: cp. Diod. xiv. 84 τὰς Κυκλάδας νῆσους προσαγαγόμενοι.
kαταπλεύσας, sc. ὁ Φαρνάβαζος.
Φαρῶς: at the head of the Messenian Gulf, the modern Kalamas.

τὰ τῆς βορείας, i.e. the danger of a Spartan force coming to the rescue.

§ 8. ἀρμοστήν. This term, usually restricted to Spartan, Xenophon also uses of Theban governors in vii. 1. 43; 3. 4, 9.
tοῖς συμμάχοις, 'the confederates,' as § 13. There is no trace in Xenophon of any formal alliance either as already existing or concluded at this time between Persia and the anti-Lacedaemonian confederacy (cp. iii. 5. 1, 2), so that Diodorus (xiv. 84) must be incorrect in representing Pharnabazus and Conon at Corinth συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι.


τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη: destroyed by Lysander in 404: cp. ii. 2. 23.
οὗ . . . βαρύτερον: for the importance of these walls to Athens cp. Thuc. i. 69, 93.
χρήματα: cp. Cor. Nep. Con. 4 Conon . . . muros dirutos a Lysandro utroque et Piraei et Athenarum reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

§ 10. ὁρθώσε: CIA. ii. 830, 831, cp. 161; iv. 2, 830 b; Diod. xiv. 85. The first inscription proves that the rebuilding of the Athenian fortifications by Conon was begun in the archonship of
Eubulides (July 394 to July 393) Ἀλγεῖδος τεῖχος[οιοὶ . . . ] ἐπὶ Εὐβοιαν-
λίδου ἄλφ[εβέντες] ... μισ[εωτής] Κόνων: the second shows that the
work went on for some time—at least to the archonship of
Philocles, 391–390. Similarly Diodorus (l. c.) under the year of
Eubulides states—ὅ δ' οὖν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πλήθος τεχνιτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἐκ τῶν πληρωμάτων ὀχλον εἰς ὑπερεπίαν παραδοῦν, ταχέως τὸ πλείστον
μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνυκρόδύμησε.

BOIOUTOI. Contrast their conduct eleven years previously: ii. 2. 19.
§ 11. ἐπιστολεύς: cp. i. 1. 23; 5. 1; ii. 1. 7.
‘Ἡριπίδας: last mentioned as a xenagus at the battle of
Corone; iv. 3. 17: cp. iii. 4. 20 note.
‘Πλον: cp. iv. 6. 14 note.

392–391 B.C.

Τελευτίας, brother of Agesilaus: iv. 4. 19.
ἀδ ... πάλιν: ἀδ to be joined with οὖς, i.e. Teleutias as
opposed to the other admirals; πάλιν goes with ἐκράτει.
§ 12. Τιρίβαζων. Tiribazus, satrap of Western Armenia during
the retreat of the Ten Thousand (Anab. iv. 4. 4) and one of
the royal benefactors (Diod. xv. 10), seems to have succeeded Tithraus-
estes (iii. 5. 1) as satrap of Ionia (v. 1. 28), and as commander of
the Persian forces in Asia Minor (cp. § 17 with i. 4. 3).
‘Ἀνταλκίδαν, son of Leon, is represented by Plutarch (Ages. 23:
cp. Artax. 21) as the personal and political enemy of Agesilaus.
τῇ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι. The middle is used in its reflexive force
‘to make peace for their own state’: εἰρήνην ποιεῖν would mean
‘to bring about a peace in general’: cp. Andoc. iii. 24, 41.
§ 13. μετὰ Κόνωνος. Conon must therefore have remained about
a year at Athens. Not only had he rebuilt the Long Walls, but he
had given his fellow-citizens fifty talents (Cor. Nep. Con. 4), feasted
them at his own expense (Athenaeus i. 5) and erected a temple to
Aphrodite at Peiraicus to commemorate his victory at Cnidus
(Paus. i. 1. 4). The Athenians in gratitude conferred ἀτέλεια upon
him and erected a bronze statue in his honour like those of Har-
modius and Aristogiton, with the inscription ἡλευθέρωσε τῶν
'Ἄθραίων συμμάχων (Dem. xx 70; Isoc. ix. 57; Paus. i. 3. 2).
§ 14. ἕκεῖ: at Sardis.
τῶν ... ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ... πολεων. Tithraustes, the successor of
Tissaphernes, had offered similar terms to Agesilaus in 395: cp. iii. 4. 25.

§ 15. Δήμου κ.τ.λ. These three islands, among the earliest Athenian possessions won by Miltiades (Her. vi. 40) and Cimon (Thuc. i. 98) and the last to be given up at the end of the Peloponnesian War (cp. ii. 2. 15 note), must have recently been recovered through the influence of Conon.

οἱ Θηβαιοὶ κ.τ.λ. Supremacy over the other Boeotian states, the constant aim of the policy of Thebes (cp. Thuc. iii. 65, 66), was only realized for a few years under the leadership of Epaminondas: cp. Appendix, p. 357.

οἱ Ἀργεῖοι: cp. iv. 4. 6.

ἡ εἰρήνη . . . ἀτέλης. It would appear from Andocides' speech De Pace that Sparta shortly afterwards—probably in the winter of 392–391—made another effort to bring about a general peace in Greece, this time without any appeal to Persia. Andocides, one of the Athenian envoys, strongly advocated the peace, the terms of which were according to him peculiarly favourable to Athens. Notwithstanding a general clause to make τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους, the Athenians were to retain possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros and to keep their newly built Long Walls and triremes without interference. The Boeotians were to recognize the independence of Orchomenos and the Argives to give up their hold upon Corinth. Andocides represents the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians as eager for the peace, the Argives and Corinthians as opposed to it. The historian Philochorus (fr. ap. Andoc. de Pace ὑπόθε.), stated that the Lacedaemonian envoys ἀπράκτους ἀνελθεῖν μὴ πείσαντος τοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου: cp. iv. 5. 6 note.

§ 16. λάθρα . . . χρήματα. Doubtless because his neighbour Pharnabazus was, with the approval of the king, supporting the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians. ὅπως ἦν . . . προσδέοντο: πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ stands as pro-tasis to προσδέοντο ἦν: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

Κόνωνα . . . εἰρέτε: cp. Diod. xiv. 85 πρόφασιν μὲν λαβὼν ὅτι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς δυνάμεσι τὰς πόλεις Ἀθηναίων κατακτᾶται, προσαγαγό-μενος δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Σάρδεις συνέλαβε καὶ δήσας εἰς φυλακὴν κατέθετο. This was the end of Conon's public career. Lysias (xix. 39–41) speaks of his dying of disease in Cyprus. Nepos (Conon, 5) mentions
a conflict of testimony, one story being that he was carried up to
Susa and put to death, the other that he escaped from Tiribazus.
Isocrates (iv. 154), like Diodorus, only mentions his arrest, ἐπὶ
θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἑτόλμησαν.

391-390 B.C.

§ 17. τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν, i.e. as κάρανος of Asia Minor; cp. i. 4. 3
ἀρξον πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ; Diod. xiv. 99 'Αρταξέρξης μὲν Στρούθαν
στρατηγὸν καταστήσας ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν μετὰ δυνάμεως Λακεδαι-
μονίως πολεμήσωντα.

Thibron. Apparently the same Thibron who had been superseded
in his command by Dercylidas in 399, recalled to Sparta and punished
with exile for his misconduct towards the Asiatic allies (iii. 1. 8).

διαβάς: this was the first Lacedaemonian squadron to cross
the Aegean since the battle of Cnidus.

Πριήνης . . . Λευκόφρυς . . . 'Αχωλλείον: cp. iii. 2. 17, 19 notes.

§ 18. περιβαλλομένους . . . δύναμιν, 'to surround and carry
off whatever they could'—a hunting metaphor, taken from driving
wild animals into a confined space.

διασκηνών. The verb is used of soldiers leaving their mess and
retiring each to his own quarters: cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 38 διασκηνών-
των μετὰ τὸ δείπνον.

ἀτε λακωνίζον: Thersander was an Ionian: cp. Polyaen. vi. 10.

§ 19. διέγον τοὺς πρῶτους. According to Diodorus (xiv. 99),
Thibron's army numbered 8,000 men.

πλείους . . . βονθείας. However the lacuna be supplied, the
meaning must be that still more escaped with their lives, because
they heard of the engagement too late to take any part in it: cp.
Critical Note.

§ 20. 'Ρωδίων. Xenophon has made no previous mention of
Rhodian affairs, and the antecedent events can only imperfectly
be put together out of Diod. xiv. 79, 97. The revolt of the island
from Sparta and the admission of Conon to the harbour (cp. iii. 4.
28 note) in 395 implied, it would seem, the supremacy of the
democratic party. But in 391 the oligarchs rose against the democ-
crats, expelled them from the city, and defeated them in a pitched
battle. Then further to secure their position they sent envoys to
Sparta peri βονθείας, εὐλαβούμενοι μὴ τινὲς τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσι.
This story of Diodorus explains the small number of the ships which the Spartans sent to aid the Rhodian oligarchs, but it is inconsistent with Xenophon's 

°έκπεπτωκότες 'Ρωδίων ύπο τοῦ δήμου

and with § 25 τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τείχος ἔχοντας (where τείχος can only mean a fort, not the acropolis, as Breitenbach suggests, of Rhodes) and τοὺς σφετέρους (Athenian) φίλους . . . τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείον ὄντας καὶ μάχη κεκρατηκότας. In fact Diodorus seems just to reverse the position of the two parties and in ch. 99 speaks of the democrats as having seized φρούριον τι and as fighting πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

συνθερέσωσι, i.e. 'to allow the Athenians to subjugate Rhodes and unite so great a power with their own.'

ναῦς ὀκτὼ: Diod. xiv. 97 ἐπτὰ τριήρεις.

'Εκδικοῦ . . . Διφρίδαν. Diodorus gives the names of τρεῖς ἀνδρας, Ενδόκιμον, Φιλόδοκον καὶ Διφρίδαν.

§ 22. ἐγχειρητικότερος: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

§ 23. τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δόδεκα ναυσίν: cp. iv. 4. 19; 8. 11 notes, and Introd. p. liv.

eἰς τὴν Σάμον. For the hostility of Samos to Sparta cp. iii. 5. 1 note. According to Diod. xiv. 97, Eudocimus and his colleagues πρῶτον εἰς Σάμον κομισάτες ἀπέστησαν τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναίων.

§ 24. Φιλοκράτει τῷ 'Εφιάλτου. There is no reason beyond the name and date for identifying this Philocrates with the Philocrates accused in Lysias' Oration xxix.

ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγήρου: cp. iii. 4. 1 note. Evagoras had supplied Conon with a large portion of his fleet at the battle of Cnidus in 394 and on Conon's arrival at Athens had been decreed public honours: cp. CIA. ii. 397; Isoc. ix. 57. Not content with the kingship of Salamis, he had attempted to win supremacy over the other states of Cyprus, three of which—Amathus, Soli, and Citium—appealed to Persia for aid. The king charged the Carian prince Hecatomnus and the Lydian satrap Autophrades with the task of checking his ambitious schemes. Evagoras thus finding himself involved in a war with Persia sought help from the Athenians, who out of gratitude and forgetful of their own need of Persian support against Sparta, first despatched this squadron of ten triremes under Philocrates and, again in 388 a second squadron under Chabrias: v. i. 10; cp. Diod. xiv. 98; Isocr. ix. passim.
391–390 B.C.

IV. viii. 25–27

ἀμφότεροι . . . πράττοντες: a kind of nominative absolute, the meaning of which is plain from the context: cp. i. 1. 10.


ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ = ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων πολέμῳ. So iii. 2. 22.

διαθέμενος, i.e. disposed of by sale. So iv. 5. 8.

αὐτῶν, i.e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. Critical Note.

§ 25. πάλιν, i.e. since the battle of Cnidus in 394.

Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρέα: last mentioned iii. 5. 16. The name of his deme is here for the first time added to distinguish him from Thrasybulus ὁ Κολλυτεύς mentioned in v. 1. 26.

σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσῖν. The first fleet of any considerable dimensions sent out by Athens since the Peloponnesian war.

τείχος: cp. § 20 note.

§ 26. εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον. According to Diod. xiv. 94, he went first to Ionia where he raised money παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

οὐδὲν ὡς . . . Παρόντος. Dercylidas was still at Abydos, but had no fleet: cp. §§ 5 and 32.

Ἀμήδους . . . Ἐνδην. Seuthes as a boy had on the death of his father found refuge with Amedocus: cp. iii. 2. 9; Anab. vii. 2. 32.

τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥάκη: the usual expression is τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥάκης (ii. 2. 5 and Thuc. passim) or simply Ῥάκη (i. 3. 10; 4. 9; iii. 2. 9); ὑπὸ is to be understood in its local sense of ‘under.’ Demosthenes (xx. 59) represents as mainly instrumental in τοῦ γενέσθαι σύμμαχον τῶν περὶ Ῥάκην τόπον the surrender of Thasos to Thrasybulus by the party of Ecphantus, who expelled the Lacedaemonian garrison.

§ 27. Βυζάντιον: Dem. l.c. relates that Archebius and Heraclides delivered over Byzantium to Thrasybulus, which made the Athenians κυρίους τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ὡστε τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδάσθαι. Since Aegospotami Byzantium seems always to have remained under Spartan influence: cp. ii. 2. 1; Anab. i. 1. 9; ii. 6. 4; Diod. xiv. 12.

ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην: cp. Alcibiades’ conduct after his victory at Cyzicus, i. 1. 22. Thrasybulus’ ambition evidently was to re-establish the Athenian Empire on its old footing: cp. iii. 5. 10.
§ 28. Καλχηδώνιος: cp. ii. 2. 2.

ἐν τῇ Δεσδῷ: Mytilene had revolted from Sparta immediately after the battle of Cnidus; cp. iv. 8. 1 note.

πρὶν . . . συντάξας . . . προσλαβῶν . . . ὑποθεὶς . . . ταύτα δὲ: an anacoluthion, due to the interposition of the long participial clauses; the particle πρὶν is never used with participles.

πετρακοσίους. The small number of hoplites is perhaps to be explained by Diodorus' story (xiv. 94) that Thrasybulus lost 23 tiremes in a storm off Eresus on the west coast of the island. However, if this had really been the case, Xenophon would hardly have omitted to mention the loss of more than half the fleet. Moreover Diodorus seems mistaken in representing the other Lesbian states, except Mytilene, as having recently revolted from Athens.

προστάται πάσης Δεσδοῦ. Cp. the accusation brought against the Mytileneans just before their revolt from Athens in 428 B.C., (Thuc. iii. 2) ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσι τῇν Δεσδοῦ ἐς τῇν Μυτιληνήν βία.

§ 29. ἀπήντων: the plural instead of the singular, κατὰ σύνεσιν; cp. i. 1. 10.

389—388 B.C.

§ 30. τὰς μὲν . . . τῶν πόλεων: cp. Diod. l. c. τὴν μὲν τῶν Μηθυμναιῶν χώραν ἔφθειρε τὴν δ' Ἔρεσον καὶ τὴν Ἀντισσαν καθ' ὀμολογίαιν παρέλαβε.

ὁπως (δ') ἄν . . . πούρσατο: cp. Diod. l. c. παρὰ τὲ Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναῖων συμμίχων ἄθροισας ναῦς, and iv. 8. 1 note. For ὁπως ἄν with the optative cp. Goodwin, M. T. 330.

ἐξ ἀλλων τὲ πόλεων: Halicarnassus especially suffered and Thrasybulus' colleague Ergocles was afterwards condemned to death for the part that he had played in these marauding expeditions. Lys. xxviii. 8, 12; xxix. 2.

"Ασπενδόν: in Pamphylia.


§ 31. μᾶλα . . . ἀγαθός. On the results of Thrasybulus' attempt to restore the Athenian Empire cp. Appendix, p. 355.

'Αγύρριον: not again mentioned by Xenophon. He first appears
389–388 B.C.  

IV. viii. 32–34  

as γραμματεύς τῆς βουλῆς in 403–402 B.C., CIA. ii. 1 b. Andocides (i. 133) in 399 accuses him of conspiracy with others to contract for the 2 per cent. customs dues for less than they were worth. Demosthenes (xxiv. 134) states that he was imprisoned for many years for embezzling the public money, but does not specify the occasion. He restored the θεωρία and was the first to introduce payment of one obol for attendance at the Ecclesia—probably after Conon’s arrival at Athens—and this he further increased to three obols (Arist. Αθ. πολ. 41 and Aristoph. Eccles. 183–300, exhibited c. 391). Hereby he seems to have gained great influence (cp. Aristoph. Plut. 176, exhibited 389–8), was elected στρατηγός and sent out to succeed Thrasybulus: Plat. Com. fr. 185. Harpocration (s.v.) calls him δημαγωγόν, οὐκ ἀφανής, and Suidas adds στρατηγός ἦν θηλυκριώδης, ἄρες ἐν Λέμυῳ (i), ὃς τῶν μυσθῶν τῶν ποιητῶν συνετείμην.

ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. After Thrasybulus’ death the Athenian fleet sailed to Rhodes to help the Rhodian democrats, Diod. xiv. 99.

πεπραμένη: cp. § 27.

ἐχονεῖ, sc. Ἀθηναῖος: participle dependent on εὖ ἐχονεῖ, for which Madvig proposes to read εὖνοοεῖν.

§ 32. Δερκυλίδα. Since the battle of Cnidus he had with very insufficient forces gallantly maintained himself in Abydos: cp. §§ 3, 26.

Ἀξιός. Xenophon himself had had bitter experience of Anaxibius’ duplicity and intrigues, when the latter was ναύαρχος in 400 B.C.: cp. Anab. vii. 1 and 2.

dιεπραξέατο ὅστε: cp. iv. 4. 7 note.

καὶ πολεμήσει, i.e. would not only hold Abydos, as Dercylidas had done, but would also fight.

§ 33. κατηγεῖν, ‘he brought into port from the high seas’: so v. 1. 28.

tῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων: ἐκείνων is gen. dependent on συμμάχων; cp. vii. 1. 13.

§ 34. Ἰφικράτηρ: cp. iv. 5. 19, where Xenophon records his further successes against the Lacedaemonians after the destruction of the mora.

τῶν ἄργολιζόντων. Diodorus (xiv. 92) agrees with Xenophon, adding, however, that Iphocrates wanted to seize Corinth on behalf of Athens as ἐπηθέδειον οὕσαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἕγεμονιαν, but that the Athenians refused to support him.
ἀπελθὼν: he resigned his command and was succeeded by Chabrias: cp. Diod. l.c.

§ 35. αὖ ... πάλιν: cp. § 11 note.

ἐπανελθὼν: in a pregnant sense, 'having gone to the mountains and up them'—ἐπὶ, of the object aimed at, and ἀνά, upwards; cp. infra, ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι.

τῆς ἀνω, sc. ὁδοῦ, i.e. towards Proconnesus, § 36. This genitive instead of acc. with verbs of motion is rare even in Attic poetry (cp. Aesch. Choeph. 710; Soph. O. T. 1478) and extremely rare in prose; cp. Thuc. iv. 47 ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον προσίωντας; Anab. i. 3. ἵνα τοῦ πρῶσῳ.

§ 36. ὡς μέν: without any corresponding δέ.

οὐδὲ ... γεγενημένων, 'the victims having proved unfavourable': cp. iii. i. 17 note.

τῆς ἐπὶ Προκονήσου, sc. ὁδοῦ.

§ 37. ἀφηγούμενοι, 'in the van.'

Κρεμαστὴν: on the river Rhodius, about nine miles south-east of Abydos. The gold mines were at Astyra in the mountains still further to the south-east; Strabo xiii. 591; xiv. 680.

§ 38. ἐπὶ πολύ τε ... ἐκτεταμένων, 'extended over a long and narrow way.'

καλὸν ἀποθάνειν. The admiration with which Xenophon relates the story of the noble death of his old enemy Anaxibius (cp. Anab. vii. 1) is good evidence of the historian's truthfulness and impartiality.

§ 39. ἰπασπιστοῦ: cp. iv. 5. 14 note.

ἐν χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ: cp. Cyrop. vii. 1. 23 αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ, 'there on the spot.'


ἄρμοστήρων. This Ionic form for ἄρμοστῶν is only used by Xenophon in this passage. These harmosts had taken refuge with Dercylidas at Abydos, § 5.
BOOK V

CHAPTER I

§§ 1–5. In revenge for acts of piracy encouraged by the Spartans, the Athenians blockaded the Aeginetans and fortified a post upon the island. Teleutias raised the blockade. Hierax, his successor, sailed to Rhodes leaving his secretary Gorgopas at Aegina, who forced the Athenians to abandon their post. The Aeginetans then renewed their depredations. §§ 6–9. Antalcidas sailed to Ephesus to replace Hierax, and sent his secretary Nicolochnus to the Hellespont. Gorgopas surprised an Athenian squadron off the Attic coast, capturing 4 ships. §§ 10–12. Chabrias on his way to Cyprus to help Evagoras defeated and slew Gorgopas, whereupon the Aeginetans stopped their depredations. §§ 13–24. Teleutias was reappointed admiral, much to the joy of the Peloponnesian sailors at Aegina. He made a sudden descent on Piraeus, and with the rich booty taken thence, and the capture of many cornships and merchantmen amply provided for his sailors. §§ 25–28. Antalcidas came down with Tiribazus, bringing terms of peace from the king. He went to Abydos to relieve Nicolochnus, who was blockaded there by the Athenians, surprised an Athenian squadron, and being joined by Syracusean and Italian ships gained full command over the sea. §§ 29–31. The Greek states, all for various reasons eager for peace, gladly obeyed the summons of Tiribazus to listen to the terms dictated by the king; viz. that the Greek states in Asia should belong to Persia, and that the Greek states in Europe should all be autonomous, except the Athenian possessions, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros. §§ 32–36. All the states agreed to the terms except the Thebans; but on the threat of an invasion they submitted. Agesilas also compelled the Corinthians to dismiss their Argive garrison. All armed forces were disbanded. Sparta reaped great advantages as champion of the King’s Peace.

§ 1. πάλυν. Xenophon has told us nothing of any previous visit of Eteonicus, the omission is probably due to carelessness, cp. vii. 1. 41 αδύνα τ’ Ἑπαμεινώνδας and Introd. p. xxix.

ὁ Ἑτεόνικος. Possibly the same as the Eteonicus, who was
harmost of Thasos in 410 B.C. (i. 1. 32), who was stationed at
Mytilene at the time of the battle of Arginusae in 406 (i. 6. 35–38),
did good service in Chios in 405, and after Aegospotami re-
organized the coast towns of Thrace on Lacedaemonian principles
(ii. i. 1–6; 2. 5).

καὶ = καὶπερ.

ἐπιμειζιὰ ... τῶν Ἀλιγυντῶν: for the old hostility between
Athens and Aegina cp. ii. 2. 3 note.

τῶν πρόσθεν χρόνον, as the context stands, is ambiguous. It
may either mean before the arrival of Eteonicus, or before the
assumption of open hostilities at sea (ἐπετέλ. κ.τ.λ.).

ἐπετεὶ ... ἐπολεμεῖτο: states the reason for the sudden change of
attitude on the part of the Aiginetans.

συνδύασιν: accus. absol.: cp. iii. 2. 19 note; Goodwin, M. T. 851.

λήξεσθαι: between the distinction between πολεμεῖν and λήξεσθαι
cp. Thuc. v. 115 Λακεδαίμονιοι δὴ αὐτὸ τὰς μὲν σπονδάς οἶδ’ ὃς ἀφέντες
ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς, ἐκήρυξαν δὲ ἐ’ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους
λήξεσθαι.

§ 2. Πάμφιλον. Probably the same as the Pamphilus alluded
to by Aristophanes (Plut. 174, date c. Feb. 388), ὁ Πάμφιλος δ’ οὐχὶ
diὰ τοῦτον (τῶν πλοίων) κλαίσται; he is closely coupled in this
passage with Agyrrhius: cp. iv. 8. 31.

ἐπετείχισαν: cp. iii. 2. 1 note: the verb is similarly used with-
out an accusative in vii. 2. 20.

Τελευτίας: last mentioned as sailing to Rhodes—probably in
the autumn of 391: cp. iv. 8. 24.

τυχών ... ἀφιγυμένος. If the reading be correct (cp. Critical
Note), the meaning must be, ‘having chanced to arrive at one of
the islands.’ ἐπὶ τῶν νῆσων τοι = ἐπὶ τῶν νῆσων τυνός: for the
supplementary participle with τυχῶν cp. Goodwin, M. T. 887.

κατὰ χρυμάτων πόρον: cp. i. 1. 8 ἔπ’ ἀργυρολογίαν.

ἀπίλασε, i.e. Teleutias drove away the Athenian blockading
squadron.

§ 3. οἶδίς ... ὃς οὐκ, i.e. every one without exception.

ἐστεφάνωσεν ... ἐταυκίσσεσ: cp. the honours paid to Brasidas
by the Scioneans, Thuc. iv. 121 διμοσιὰ μὲν χρυσὸ στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν
ὡς ἐλευθερώντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἱδία δὲ ἐταυκίσσε τε καὶ προσῆρχοντο
ὡσπερ ἀθλητῆ.
389–388 B.C.

*δμως καὶ = δμως καῖπερ*. The particle *δμως* is similarly placed before the limiting clause in vi. 4. 14.


§ 5. ἀδ ... πάλιν: cp. iv. 8. 11, 35: ἀδ is to be taken with ‘Ἰέραξ, as opposed to Teleutias: πάλιν means simply ‘back again to Rhodes,’ which had previously been Teleutias’ headquarters (iv. 8. 25).

Γοργόφαν ... ἄμοστὴν. Xenophon does not state what was the relation of Gorgopas to Eteonicus, who reappears after the death of the former, § 13. For ἐπιστολέα cp. i. 1. 23 note.

οἱ ἐν τῇ πάλιν, i.e. the Aeginetans.

πέμπτῳ μηρί: in the fifth month since the building of the ἐπιτείχισμα, § 2. For the omission of the article cp. i. 6. 20.

τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρονίμου: for the preposition cp. iii. 1. 22 note.

πάλιν ἀδ: ὁδ here simply strengthens πάλιν: contrast supr. ἀδ ... πάλιν.

Εὐνομον: possibly the same as the Eunomus mentioned by Lysias (xix. 19) as a friend of Dionysius of Syracuse, and sent by Conon as an envoy to that monarch.

ναῦαρχον ἐπ’ αὐτᾶς: the same phrase is used of Teleutias, § 13: for ἐπι cp. iii. 4. 20. Xenophon here and apparently in i. 6. 29 and perhaps too infr. § 13 uses ναῦαρχος in its generic sense: usually he limits the term to the Spartan admiral.

388–387 B.C.

§ 6. Ἀνταλκίδαν ... Τιριβάζω: cp. iv. 8. 12 note.

εἰς "Εφεσον. It first appears from § 25 that from Ephesus Antalcidas went to Sardis to meet Tiribazus, and that the two then travelled together up to Susa.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις: 25 in number, § 7: ἐπι is here used with the dative, but in ii. 1. 12 ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηπάρχους ἐπέστησε.

Ἀβδηνοῖς: threatened by Iphicrates and the Athenians, cp. iv. 8. 39; v. 1. 7, 25.

§ 7. οἱ ... στρατηγοὶ: including Iphicrates and Diotimus, § 25.

Σαμοθράκης ... χωρίων: cp. Appendix, p. 355, and iv. 8. 26 note: for κατ’ ἐκείνα cp. iii. 5. 17.

ἐκ Χερεννήσου. The Chersonese was the headquarters of

dύο, dative: here as often un declined.

§ 8. ὡσπερ νομίζεται: ‘as is usual’: so ii. 4. 36.

λίθων . . . φωνής. For the use of the voice cp. Sil. Ital. vi. 360:

‘Mediae stat margine puppis
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus
Et remis dictet sonitum.’

For the use of stones cp. the Roman ‘portisculus,’ a hammer or truncheon, with which the boatswain marked the time for the rowers.

παραγωγή, i.e. making the oar strike the water at an angle instead of at right angles—a method known in rowing circles as ‘slicing the oar.’

§ 9. Ζωστήρια: a promontory on the west coast of Attica, now Cape Kavouras.

οἱ δὲ: as if οἱ μὲν had preceded.

πρὸς τὴν σκλήρυν: for the preposition cp. Oecon. 16. 13 ὀπτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἕλιον.

§ 10. Χαβρίας. On the recall of Iphicrates from Corinth (cp. iv. 5. 19; 8. 34) Chabrias had been despatched by the Athenians to succeed him (Diod. xiv. 92). It may therefore be conjectured that Corinth was the starting-point of his Cypriot expedition, as he is in this passage said to have received reinforcements καὶ Ἀθηνᾶδεν, which seems to imply that he was sailing from some port other than Piraeus: cp. Corn. Nep. Chab. 2, ‘publice ab Atheniensibus Euagorae adiutor datus.’ Xenophon says nothing of Chabrias’ splendid achievements in Cyprus, for which cp. Dem. xx. 76; Corn. Nep. l. c.

Εὐαγόρα: cp. iv. 8. 24 note.

καὶ Ἀθηνᾶδεν implies either that Chabrias put in to the Piraeus to get reinforcements, or that they joined him on his voyage to Aegina.
αὐτὸς ... τοὺς πελταστὰς, i.e. without the hoplites.
τοῦ Ἡρακλείου: the site has not as yet been identified.
Δημιουργόν: mentioned again, § 26.
ἔπεξενα: 'beyond the Heracleum,' the distance being reckoned
apparently from the town of Aegina.
ἐνθα ... καλεῖται = ἐνθα ἔστιν ἡ Τριπυργία καλομένη: cp. Oec. 4.
6 ἐνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλεῖται. The position of the Tripyrigeria—
apparently some hill—is uncertain.
§ 11. μετὰ ... σῦν: μετὰ, as distinguished from σῦν, here
implies that the Aeginetans were the main force accompanying
Gorgopas, in which the marines and eight Spartans were only
small items.
Σπαρτιστῶν ... ὁκτὼ, i.e. σῦν ὁκτὼ, οἱ Σπαρτιστῶν ἔτυχον αὐτῶθι
παρόντες.
ἀπὸ: similarly used v. 4. 15.
ἐλεύθεροι: cp. vii. 1. 12, where Cephasodotus says of the Lacelo-
daemonian naval forces, οἱ δὲ ναύται δῆλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἡ Ἐιλώτης ἡ
μυσθοφόροι.
§ 12. ἀτε ... ἑδρῶν ὄντος, 'as there was no close order': cp.
iv. 1. 19.
καταδεδραμηκότες means apparently—'who had hastily put
in to shore and disembarked' in the manner above described: cp.
iv. 7. 6.
§ 13. τὸ Ἐτεονίκφ. Xenophon has said nothing of the move-
ments of Eteonicus since § 1.
ἐμβάλλειν: the full phrase is κώπῃ χείρας ἐμβάλλειν.
ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναύς ναύαρχον: cp. Critical Note. The sphere of
Teleutias' admiralship is limited to these ships in Aegina (cp. § 5
ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτὰς). He had already once held the office of High
Admiral, either in 392–1 or 390–89 (Introd. p. li), and at the
present time Antalcidas was High Admiral, §§ 5, 25.
§ 14. εἰ δὴ ἢ ἢστε without ὅτι is usually parenthetical as iii. 5. 11.
But it is similarly used vi. 1. 15.
ἡ καὶ: for καὶ after a comparative with a negative cp. vi.
5. 39.
τὰ ἐπιτίθεται: object to ἔχειν.
αὐτὸς ... ὤμας: cp. ii. 1. 26 note.
§ 15. ἵεσθε ... καρπεῖν, ‘think that you also must put up with’: cp. iv. 7. 4; Appendix, p. 360.

§ 16. τὰ γαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλά. A similar expression is used of the Spartans in Plat. Alcib. ii. 148c Δακεδαμώνει ... ἵδια καὶ δημοσία ἐκάστοτε παραπλησίων εὐχὴν εὐχονται τὰ καλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς διδόναι κελεύοντες αὖ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

§ 17. κολακεύειν ... ἕνεκα μισθοῦ: cp. the words of Callicratidas, i. 6. 7.

§ 18. ἀπερ καὶ ὃς ἐμελλετε, ‘as doubtless you were so minded already’: for καὶ ὃς cp. Cyrop. vi. 1. 17 ἢμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπείπερ καὶ ὃς οἰκοθεν ἀποδημοῖμεν, φρονηθέων ύμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία: cp. however Critical Note.

προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι, κ.τ.λ., ‘and next provide yourselves, please, with one day’s food’ (Dakyns). μοι is the ethical dative: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

§ 19. κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος, sc. τοὺς ναῦτας: i.e. ‘setting the sailors to work at the oars.’ Liddell and Scott seem to interpret the verb ‘to approach the shore.’ Madvig proposes προκομιζόμενος in the sense of ‘advancing.’

δώδεκα: the original number left by Hierax in charge of Gorgopas, § 5.

ἐπὶ ... κεκτημένους, ‘against men who had many ships’: the participle is used substantively in an indefinite sense: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 827.

§ 20. ἄλλοθι δέκα, i.e. ἐπὶ δέκα ἄλλοθι οὖσας: ἐξώ, ‘in a foreign harbour,’ in the next sentence corresponds to ἄλλοθι.

κατὰ ναῦν ... σκηνῆσειν, ‘the sailors would be quartered each on his own ship.’

§ 21. ἀνέπαυεν, sc. τοὺς ναῦτας as in § 19.

ὑπέρθανεν: cp. iii. 4. 16 note.

tαῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱαυσίν: dat. of the instrument, constructed with both καταδύεσθαι and λυμαίνεσθαι.

πειράσθαι: infinitive, as if ἐκέλευε had preceded: cp. Her. viii. 104 οὐκ ἐόν fεῖγεν ὀδύχεν πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἄλλα μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι (sc. κελεύων).

ἐκ τῶν μειζόνων, sc. πλοίων: to be connected with λαμβάνειν.

Δένυμα: the quay on the west side of the harbour, where merchants set out their wares for sale.
§ 22. ἄστυ, i.e. Athens.

§ 23. ἀτε...πλέων: this clause explains why so many fishing and ferry boats were captured: they had no suspicion of Teleutias' ships, because they sailed out of Piraeus.

ἀπὸ νῆσων: without the article, as in iv. 8. 7.

§ 24. προέδωκε, 'paid in advance': cp. i. 5. 7.

πλήρωσ...ἐπρέφη, 'kept the ships fully manned': cp. i. 5. 5.

387-386 B.C.

§ 25. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας: cp. § 6. According to Plutarch (Artax. 21, 22) Antalcidas had succeeded in personally ingratiating himself with Artaxerxes, notwithstanding that monarch's great dislike to the Spartans in general as ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀναιδεστάτους (cp. iv. 8. 17). It was, moreover, obviously to the interest of Persia to make peace at this moment. For not only had the Athenians recovered their Hellespontine province and some of the islands (cp. Appendix, p. 355), but they had actively supported Evagoras in his revolt against the Great King (iv. 8. 24; v. i. 10). Evagoras had just reached the highest point of his success, having subjugated almost the whole of Cyprus, captured Tyre, ravaged Phoenicia, and raised a rebellion in Cilicia. He had too made alliances with and received reinforcements from Acoris, king of Egypt, Hecatomnus, a Carian chieftain, the king of the Arabians, and other rebellious princes, so that it was necessary for Artaxerxes to collect the whole force of the Empire against him: cp. Isocr. ix. 62; Diod. xiv. 110; xv. 2; Justin. vi. 6. 2.

συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα. Even Agesilaus, the opponent of Antalcidas, acquiesced: cp. Plutarch's story (Artax. 22) ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγγησίλαος, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπότα: 'Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥσπερ μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Δίκαιοι.' 'Οὐ μᾶλλον,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσιν.'

'Αθηναίοι: for the pre-eminent position of Athens cp. Appendix, p. 355-

τῇ εἰρήνῃ: the principal conditions are given § 31.

Νικόλοχον: cp. § 7.

ὡς μεταπεμπομένων: gen. absol. with ὡς: 'a report that (literally, 'as though') the Chalcedonians were inviting him': cp. iv. 3. 14; Goodwin, M. T. 917, 918. Thrasybulus had two or three years before won the Chalcedonians over to the Athenian side, iv. 8. 28.
ēn Περκώτη: on the south coast of the Hellespont, about eight miles north-east of Abydos.

§ 26. αἴσθόμενοι: Foucart (Rev. Archéol. xviii. p. 408) refers with great probability to this deception of the Athenian generals an inscription (CIA. ii. 38) recording an Athenian decree, whereby Phanocritus of Parium, on the Asiatic coast, some thirty miles east of Percote, was rewarded for certain information given to the Athenian generals, which εἰ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπίθωντο, ἐάλωσαν ἄν αἱ τρίτης αἱ πολέμων.

Δημαίνετον κ.τ.λ.: cp. § 10: the other Athenian generals are not otherwise known, unless there be an allusion to this Dionysius as an injurer of the Athenian state in Dem. xix. 180. In 378–7 he was chosen as one of three envoys to Thebes, CIA. ii. 17.

τὴν ἑπὶ Προκοννήσου, sc. ὅδου as in iv. 8. 36.

τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακοσῶν: cp. § 28 note. Polyxenus was a kinsman and trusty counsellor of Dionysius the Elder: Diod. xiv. 8, 62.

Θρασύβουλος: ὁ Κολλυτέας is added to distinguish him from his more famous namesake Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στεφεῖος. This Thrasybulus seems to have been punished for the loss of his ships on this occasion: cp. Dem. xxiv. 134 Θρασύβουλον τὸν Κολλυτέα πάντες μέμνησθε δι’ δεδέντα καὶ κριθέντ’ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς κρίσεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατοι τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς κατὸς Φυλῆς οὕτος ἦν.

§ 27. προσπληρώσασθαι... καταλειπομένων, ‘having ordered them to make up any deficiency there might be in their crews from the ships left behind (at Abydos).’

† τῶν βραδυτέρων: cp. Critical Note.

§ 28. αἱ τε ἐκ Συρακοσῶν νῆς εἰκοσίων. This was the first occasion that Dionysius the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, sent help to the Lacedaemonians in return for their previous support. For other occasions cp. vi. 2. 33, vii. i. 20, 28. The Lacedaemonians had in 404 B.C. sent an envoy Ariston and shortly afterwards no less a person than Lysander himself to strengthen Dionysius on his newly won throne: ἐλπίζων γὰρ συγκατασκευάζοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπῆκον ἐξειν τῶν Διονύσιον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας (Diod. xiv. 10; Plut. Lys. 2). Again in 398–7 they had supplied him with mercenary soldiers to use against Carthage (Diod. xiv. 44); and two years later the Lacedaemonian Pharacidas, the commander of 30 ships from his allies in Italy and Peloponnesus, had saved the tyrant, when he
was reduced to the last extremity by the Carthaginians without the walls and his rebellious subjects within (Diod. xiv. 63–70). αἱ τε ... δὲ καὶ αἱ: this irregular combination of particles seems due to the repetition of ἡλθον.

Ἰωνίας, ἄγη ... Τιρίσαζος: must mean the portion of Ionia recovered by the Persians after the battle of Cnidus, iv. 8. 1, 2. For Tiribazus cp. iv. 8. 12.

ἐκ τῆς Ἄριοβαρζάνους: Ariobarzanes was now, it would seem, in addition to his own districts, administering the satrapy of the absent Pharnabazus, which included Aeolis and the Lesser Phrygia; cp. iii. i. 10; 2. 1. Xenophon has mentioned him once previously (i. 4. 7) as an official subordinate to Cyrus the Younger.

ζένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ. This explains the assistance now given to the Lacedaemonians from this satrapy; whereas Pharnabazus had been Sparta’s bitterest enemy.

τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα: Apame, cp. Plut. Artax. 27.

ὁ δὲ ... ἐκράτει: an independent sentence, instead of an apodosis, due to the length of the parenthetical remarks between it and the original protasis introduced by ἐπεί δὲ ἡλθον.

ὁγδοίκοντα: the largest fleet collected by the Spartans since the battle of Cnidus.

τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, κ.τ.λ.: especially cornships: cp. i. i. 35.

εὐαρῶν: for the plural cp. iv. 6. 4.

κατηγοῦν: i.e. compelled them to enter the harbours of the Lacedaemonian allies and there discharge their cargo.

§ 29. οἱ ... ’Αθηναῖοι. Thus it was that with only 32 ships (§ 7) to meet Antalcidas’ 80 the Athenians found themselves, for fear of a repetition of their disasters at Aegospotami and afterwards, obliged not only to give up all dreams of further extension of their empire, but to abandon the greater part of what they had already won back: cp. Appendix, p. 356.

ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν: cp. § 24.

οἱ ... Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Though the Lacedaemonians were now masters of the sea, they owed this supremacy chiefly to the aid given them by Artaxerxes and Dionysius; while on the other hand this paragraph plainly shows that by land in Greece proper they had made no progress since 390: cp. iv. 5. 19.

ἐν Λεχαίῳ: cp. iv. 5. 18.
\(\text{ἐν' Ὁρχομενῷ} \) in Boeotia: cp. iv. 3. 15.

\(\text{πράγματα . . . Κόρινθων.} \) This exact repetition of the language of iv. 5. 19 shows that no events of importance had occurred in the war in Greece between 390 and the present date, 387.

\(\text{o} \ldots \text{'Αργείω} . . . \text{ἐποφορή.} \) It thus appears that the invasion of the Argolis by King Agesipolis in 388 or 387 had led to no definite results: cp. iv. 7. 2–7.

§ 30. \(\text{παρεγένοντο:} \) probably at Sardis.

\(\text{σημεῖα:} \) cp. i. 4. 3 \(\text{ἐπιστολὴ} . . . \text{τὸ βασιλείου σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν,} \) and vii. 1. 39 \(\text{δεῖξας τὴν βασιλείαν σφραγίδα.} \)

\(\text{εἶχε δὲ ὁδε.} \) It appears from the inscriptions (CIA. ii. 15, 17, 17 b) that Xenophon has not, as Grote and others have imagined, given the exact text of the ‘Peace,’ but only the more important conditions. These inscriptions seem to prove that the phrase used in the original was \(\text{ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀυτονόμους} \) and not merely \(\text{ἀυτονόμοις}. \)

§ 31. \(\text{ἐαντοῦ εἶναι.} \) A similar clause had appeared in the third treaty of the year 412 between the Spartans and King Darius: (Thuc. viii. 58) \(\text{χώραν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστὶ, βασιλεῖος εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαντοῦ βουλευτῶ βασιλεὺς ὅπως βουλεύεται:} \) and thus the Lacedaemonians were now obliged to take less than the terms offered to Agesilaus by Tithraustes in 395—(iii. 4. 25) \(\text{τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους ὄψις στὸν ἄρχαίον διαμόον αὐτῷ ἀποσφέρειν:} \) and even less than the terms previously offered by Antalcidas to the king on his mission of 392 B.C., iv. 8. 12–15: cp. § 36 note.

\(\text{Κλαξομενᾶς:} \) a little island between Smyrna and Erythrae. Shortly before this time a dissension had broken out among its citizens (Arist. Pol. v. 3. 13), in consequence of which some of them had migrated and settled at Chyton on the mainland. To strengthen their position, the remaining citizens entered into a treaty with Athens, wherein they agreed to pay \(\text{ἡ ἐπὶ ὘ρασοῦ-βούλου εἰκοστή,} \) on condition that the Athenians did not interfere with their internal affairs or occupy their city with a garrison against their will (CIA. ii. 14, 14 b). The date of the inscription is the archonship of Theodotus, 387–6, which proves that Antalcidas cannot have become master of the sea before July, 387. Cp. Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. arch. Instit. vii. 174.

\(\text{Κύπρον:} \) cp. § 25 note.
πόλεις... αὐτονόμους: for the formula cp. Thuc. v. 77 τὰς δὲ πόλις τὰς ἐν Πελοποννᾶσῳ καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτοιόμους ἔμενεν.
Αἴμνου... τὸ ἀρχαῖον... Ἀθηναίων: cp. Appendix, p. 354.
ὀπότεροι, i.e. of the two contending parties in the Corinthian war.
ἐγὼ. It is curious that here there is the same change from the third to the first person as in the correspondence of Xerxes and Pausanias; Thuc. i. 128, 129.
μετὰ τῶν ταύτα βουλομένων. For the meaning cp. Diod. xiv. 110 τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθεὶσι καὶ μὴ προδεχομένοις τὰς συνθήκες διὰ τῶν εὐδοκούντων πολεμήσεων: 'with those who share my views' (Dakyns). For the advantages which the vague wording of this clause gave to Sparta cp. § 36 note.
§ 32. ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν: cp. Appendix, p. 357. It had always been the Theban ambition to form a συνοικισμός of all the Boeotian states similar to that attributed to Theseus in Attica; but the scheme had never been successful. Plataea, supported by Athens, had always and obstinately maintained her independence: cp. Her. vi. 108; Thuc. ii. 2; esp. iii. 61 ἡμείς (the Thebans) δὲ αὐτῶς (the Plataeans) διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι ἡμῶν κτησάντων Πλάταμαν ὑστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας καὶ ἄλλα χώρια μετ' αὐτῆς, ἀ ἑμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες ἐσχορεύον, οὐκ ἡζίουν οὖσοι, ὡσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἐξα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν, παραβιάσαντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσπαθεῖ ζηύτω, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. Similarly the jealousy of her powerful rival Orchomenus had always hampered Thebes in Eastern Boeotia; cp. iii. 5. 6 note. The Thebans now wished to swear as if Thebes were ἡγεμόν of ἕκαμαχοι ὑπίκουι, whereas Sparta, although ἡγεμόν of the Peloponnesian confederacy, always professedly recognized the liberty and autonomy of her allies (cp. Thuc. v. 79 τὰ... πόλεις ταὶ ἐν Πελοποννᾶσῳ κοινανεύτων τὰν σπούδαν καὶ τὰν ἑμμαχίαν αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις, κ.τ.λ.), and seriously consulted them on questions of peace or war: cp. ii. 2. 19 ff.; iii. 4. 2; v. 2. 11, 20, 37 κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
ὁ δὲ Ἀγειλαῖος. Notwithstanding that the peace proposals had emanated from his political opponent Antalcidas, and that by them his own efforts to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor were deliberately abandoned, Agesilaus saw in the Peace an instrument whereby to humiliate the Thebans, the real cause of Sparta's troubles in Greece and of his own recall from Asia, and accordingly
showed himself foremost in enforcing its provisions: cp. §§ 25, 36
notes; Plut. Ages. 23.

déξασθαι: for the aorist instead of the future cp. i. 6. 14 and
Thuc. v. 22 ὅπερ ἕφασαν δέξασθαι: Goodwin, M. T. 127.

ἀυτονόμοις εἶναι: the ininf. present denotes the actual fact
produced by the royal mandate: cp. i. 3. 9; vi. 5. 3. It is noticeable
that Agesilaus does not quarrel with the Theban envoys for
wishing to swear ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν—Sparta indeed had done the
same in behalf of her allies—but for refusing to recognize them as
ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι.

οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥηβαίων πρέσβεις: these words and the context seem
to imply, as Grote and other historians assume, a second congress
of Greek envoys at Sparta, summoned for the purpose of swearing
to the Peace.

"τε νῦν: cp. iv. 1. 39 note.

§ 33. ἐθύται, i. e. the sacrifice preliminary to crossing the frontiers
on a campaign against the Thebans.

ἐγένετο: cp. iii. 1. 17 note.

τῶν ... ἵππεων: partitive genitive as iii. 1. 4.

ἐνεναιοις: cp. iii. 5. 7, where the manner of summoning the
contingents is the same.

οἱ Θῆβαιοι ... αὐτονόμοι. This seems to imply that the
Thebans did indeed swear ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν, only that now they
recognized them as ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι instead of σύμμαχοι
ὑπήκουοι.

§ 34. τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν: cp. iv. 4. 6; 5. 1 note: the
Corinthian democrats are meant.

αὐτῇ ἐφ’ αὐτῆς, i. e. the political union with Argos was given up:

cp. iv. 4. 6.

οἱ σφαγεῖς: for the massacre cp. iv. 4. 2–4. After capturing
the Heraeum Agesilaus had delivered all among his prisoners, who
were implicated in it, over to their political opponents, iv. 5. 5.
The remainder now sought refuge at Athens, Dem. xx. 54.

αὐτοὶ γνώντες, 'of their own accord.'

οἱ δ’ ἀλλοι πολίται ἐκόντες. This statement can only be
harmonized with Ages. 2. 21 ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέ-
μοι ἐπροσβλέψαντο, Ἀγγθώλαος ἀντείπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἦτο τοὺς διὰ Δακεδα-
μονίους φυγόντας Κορηθίων καὶ Θῆβαιον ἴνα γκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκατε
καταδέξασθαι, by referring the latter to the time, when Agesilaus
was bringing pressure to bear upon the Corinthians in general,
before the withdrawal of the extreme democrats.
§ 35. διελύθη ... διελύθη: for the ἀναφορά cp. ii. 3. 55; vii. I. 2.
Λακεδαιμονίως ... Ἀθηναῖως. This passage proves once more
that the Peace of Antalcidas was primarily aimed against Athens:
τῆς καθαιρέσεως: genitive dependent on ὅστερον: for the order
of the words cp. iii. 2. 30.
§ 36. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ... πράσσετε, 'In the war the Lacedae-
monians had rather been evenly matched with their opponents,
but &c.' μᾶλλον, i.e. in comparison with the advantages of their
diplomatic success.
ἐπικυδέστερος. The direct advantages reaped by Sparta were
(1) the check imposed upon the Athenian efforts to regain their
maritime empire; (2) the separation of Corinth from Argos with the
consequent weakening of both those states, Corinth once more
entering her Confederacy; (3) the isolation of Thebes and the
annihilation of her supremacy over the other Boeotian towns.
τῆς ἐπ 'Ἀντάλκιδου εἰρήμης. This is the usual name given by the
Greek historians to this Peace: ἐπὶ is temporal, 'in the time of.'
For the date cp. Introd. p. l.iv.
προστάται, 'champions,' rather than executors or guarantors.
The term implies no legal or other right, but only a dignified posi-
tion: cp. Holm, Greek History, iii. 451. The Spartans abused this
championship to their own advantage: Polyb.iv. 27. 5 πάλιν ἐκήρυττον
ἀφιεναι τάς πόλεις ἐλευθεράς καὶ αὐτοῦμοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἐπίτδου
γενομένην εἰρήμην, τούς δ' ἀρμοστὰς οὐκ ἐξήγγειλεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: cp.
vi. 3. 8.
Κόρινθων σφετεριζομένους: cp. iv. 8. 34.

CHAPTER II

§§ 1–7. Wishing now to punish her disaffected allies Sparta first sent
Agesipolis against Mantinea. He compelled the Mantineans to surrender
and to live for the future in villages. The lives of the democratical leaders
were spared at Pausanias' intercession. Under the new aristocracy the
Mantineans were more happy than heretofore. §§ 8–10. Next the
Phliasian exiles asked the Spartans to procure their recall. This was accordingly effected, with the understanding that their goods should be restored to them. §§ 11-19. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia came to Sparta to seek help against the growing Olynthian Confederacy which threatened their independence. The Acanthian Cligenes addressed the Spartan assembly and allies. §§ 20-24. The Spartans and their allies voted to send an army of 10,000 men against Olynthus, but on the urgent representations of the envoys consented to despatch at once a small preliminary force. Eudamidas accordingly with 2,000 men hurried off to Thrace. §§ 25-31. Afterwards his brother Phoebidas set out with the rest of Eudamidas' troops. While he was encamped at Thebes, the Boeotarch Leontiades offered to betray the Cadmea. Phoebidas was accordingly introduced into the citadel during the Thesmophoria: whereon Leontiades announced the fact to the Council, arrested his colleague Ismenias, and on the flight of 300 of his opponents to Athens repaired to Sparta. §§ 32-36. Many at Sparta were opposed to Phoebidas' action, but Agesilaus maintained that the real question at issue was its utility. Leontiades then enlarged upon its advantages. The Spartans resolved to retain the Cadmea, and bring Ismenias to trial. He was condemned for Medism and put to death. §§ 37-43. The Spartans now pressed forward their Olynthian expedition. Teleutias, being appointed harmost, marched slowly forwards, collecting forces from every quarter (the Thebans being specially zealous), as far as Potidea. He ended the campaign with an indecisive victory at the gates of Olynthus.

§ 1. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων. These words seem to cover nearly a year's interval between the acceptance of the Peace and the attack upon Mantinea: cp. Introd. p. lviii.

ἐπέκεντο, 'had been hostile': so vi. 5. 35; vii. 2. 10.

ὁς μὴ δύναντο: for this exceptional use of ὁς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

ἀπιστείν = ἀπείθειν, 'to disobey.'

τὸ τεῖχος. The Mantineans originally dwelt in five villages in the northern plain of Arcadia, wherein they also held a stronghold on a hill known in later times as πτόλις. Afterwards a συνοικισμός took place at a date which cannot be determined, but which Bursian (Geogr. ii. 209) conjectures to have been just after the Persian wars, when at the instigation of the Argives the Mantineans built themselves a city on the banks of the Ophis just to the south of the πτόλις: Strab. viii. 337; Paus. viii. 8. 7; 12. 7.

περιαρείν: cp. Diod. xv. 5 προσέταττον τὰ μὲν τεῖχη καθελεῖν,
387–386 B.C.  V. ii. 2–4  179

αὐτὸς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κώμας, ἐξ ὑπ' εἰς τὴν Μακτίνην τὸ παλαιὸν συνόρημαν. Χενοφόν, more correctly, represents the second condition as an additional demand made by the Lacedaemonians when the town was on the point of being captured.

οὐκ δὲ πιστεύσειν... γενέσθαι, 'they could not otherwise trust them not to side with their enemies,' Dackyns.

§ 2. ἐκεχειρίαν, i.e. a holy truce during a festival: cp. the excuse of the Phliasians (iv. 2. 16) and of the Argives (iv. 7. 2).

ἐφηδομένους, e.g. after the destruction of the Lacedaemonian mora, iv. 5. 18.

αἱ σπονδαὶ... ἔτει: for the chronology cp. Introd. p. lvi.

§ 3. τῷ πατρί. Archidamus: the war alluded to is the so-called Third Messenian War of c. 464 (Thuc. i. 101, 103; Diod. xi. 64), but the particular circumstances are unknown. The pretext going back to an event nearly eighty years before seems to point to some ulterior motive on the part of Agesilaus. But whether the motive was merely to avoid a thankless task, or to excite odium against his colleague Agesipolis, is a matter of mere conjecture. Xenophon seems to cite the similar difficulty felt by Agesipolis to show his own approbation of the latter's strict obedience to the commands of the Spartan government.

Παυσανίον: for his exile since 395 B.C. cp. iii. 5. 25; and for his democratic tendencies cp. ii. 4. 31.

προστάτας: cp. i. 7. 2 note.

385–384 B.C.

§ 4. πρῶτον μὲν... ἐδήνου. Pausanias (viii. 8. 4; ix. 13. 1) and Plutarch (Pel. 4) speak of a pitched battle, of which Xenophon and Diodorus (xv. 5, 12) know nothing. But Plutarch's story (reproduced by Pausanias probably from the lost 'Life of Epaminondas') that on this occasion Epaminondas saved the life of Pelopidas, both being present as members of a Theban contingent on the Spartan side, will hardly stand criticism: cp. Stern, pp. 36, 37. Diodorus relates that the Mantineans sought aid from the Athenians, who, not wishing παραβαίνειν τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας, refused it.

τοῖς... προκαθήμενοι... ἔργαζομένους: datives of the instrument (the so-called military dative): cp. iii. 5. 9; Anab. vi. 4. 27 φυλαστόμενοι ἰκανοὶ φύλαξι.
τῶν ταφρευόντων: genit. dependent on πρὸ in composition.

τρύχειν...τὴν πόλιν, i.e. the Spartan state.

ρέοντα...διὰ τῆς πόλεως. Xenophon here, as in § 6, conceives the success of Agesipolis' device to have depended on the river flowing through the town, but Diodorus (xiv. 12) and Pausanias (viii. 8. 7) on diverting the stream, which flowed past the town, and bringing it by canals against the sun-dried bricks of the walls. At the present day the river Ophis is at a considerable distance from the ruins of Mantinea, as it was rebuilt in 370 b.c. (vi. 5. 5).

The ancient authorities can be reconciled by supposing that in 385 the Ophis actually did flow through the city, but that the authority of Plutarch and Pausanias was only acquainted with Mantinea as it stood subsequently to 370 b.c., and hence made his account of the stratagem square with the then existing state of things.

§ 5. πλίνθων: cp. Paus. viii. 8. 7 τὸ τεῖχος ὀμῆς ψφιστομεμένου τῆς πλίνθων: bricks, Pausanias states, offered a better resistance to siege engines than stone.

ὡς μὴ πίπτοι: cp. § 1 note.

ὁ πύργος, i.e. the tower in connexion with that part of the wall which was sinking.

§ 6. τῶν ἄργολιζόντων. As in 420–418 (Thuc. v. 29 ff.), the Mantinean democrats looked to democratic Argos for support: cp. § 2; iii. 5. 11–25.

ὁ πάτηρ: Pausanias: cp. § 3.

ὁι βελτιστοί: cp. iv. 4. 1 note.

§ 7. διφκισθῇ...τετραχῇ. Ephorus (fr. 138), Diodorus (xiv. 5), and Strabo (viii. p. 337) state that Mantinea was split up eis πέντε κόμας. Modern historians try to reconcile this statement with Xenophon by supposing that the latter has not reckoned in the fifth of the Mantineans, who were allowed to remain on the site of the city itself.

ὁι ξύνοντες τὰς οὐσίας = ὁι βελτιστοί.

ηδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις: but after the battle of Leuctra, the Mantineans immediately rebuilt their city: cp. vi. 5. 3; Introd. p. lxvii.

οὐ καθ’ ἐν...ξεναγὸν, 'not as a single state but four, one for each village': cp. § 16 τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθηναι ὅπως μὴ καθ’ ἐν ἐι. For ξεναγὸν cp. iii. 5. 7 note.

προδημότερον: cp. the conduct of the Phliasian (§ 8) and Theban oligarchs (§ 37).
385–384 B.C. V. ii. 8–12 181

τὸ . . . ποιεῖσθαι, acc. of respect, 'not to conduct a river through city walls': for δίὰ τεῖχῶν cp. § 4 note. For the contemporary feeling condemning the Spartan treatment of the Mantineans cp. Isocr. iv. 126; viii. 100.

§ 8. οἱ δ’ ἐκ Φλεισούντως φεύγοντες. The Phliasians had refused to send a contingent to the Lacedaemonians at the battle of Corinth 394 (iv. 2. 16), but some two years later, after suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Iphicrates (iv. 4. 15), had invited a Lacedaemonian garrison which had in course of time been withdrawn without restoring the oligarchical exiles or in any other way interfering with the internal affairs of the city. Again c. 387, just before the Peace of Antalcidas, king Agesipolis (iv. 7. 3) had made Phlius the place of rendezvous for his army, with which he was about to invade the Argolis. Now, however, that Sparta appeared to be so much stronger, these exiles saw their opportunity for restoration.

§ 9. τῶν ἐνδοθέν = τῶν ἐνδον, cp. iii. 1. 18 note.

εὑμενεῖς, sc. τοῖς φεύγονσι.

οἷα δῆ, 'as is usual.'

τὴν φυγή = τοὺς φυγάδας, the abstract for the concrete, as συμμαχία iv. 8. 24; vi. 1. 13.

§ 10. τὰ ἐμφανή κτῆματα, 'undisputed property,' Dakyns.

ἀδ: with reference to the Mantinean affair and the general policy of Sparta towards their allies cp. § 1.

382 B.C.


§ 12. διὶ μὲν: there is no corresponding δὲ: cp. vi. 3. 15; 4. 20.

"Ολυνθός. The pre-eminence of Olynthus, situated at the bottom of the Toronean Gulf a little distance from the sea, had in the first instance been due to a συνοικισμός of the coast towns brought about by Perdiccas, king of Macedon, at the time of the revolt of Potidaea from the Athenian Confederacy 432 B.C. The Olynthians revolted at the same time, and never again acknowledged the supremacy of Athens (Thuc. i. 58; v. 18, 39). Shortly after the Peloponnesian war the Olynthians and some of the neighbouring Greek states formed a confederacy known as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, wherein
they enjoyed the same laws and shared in the same πολιτεία (cp. Corinth and Argos, iv. 5. 1; 8. 34) and in the rights of ἐπιγαμία and ἕγκτησις (§ 19).

τῶν πόλεων: for the partitive genitive without τῶν cp. iii. 1. 4 note. Cp. Critical Note.

τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ... ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου. Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas' brother Arrhidaeus, had seized the Macedonian throne about 390 B.C. In order to maintain his position he had shortly afterwards entered into a defensive alliance with the Chalcidian League, whereby certain commercial advantages were to be secured by the contracting parties (Hicks, Insc. 74). Notwithstanding this alliance he was in 385 expelled by the Illyrians, who placed the pretender Argeus upon the throne. Thereupon the Chalcidians took advantage of the confusion to secure—really for themselves, though nominally in the name of their ally Amyntas—
tὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις: and when two years later in 383 Amyntas was suddenly restored to his throne by the Thessalians, they refused to give up these towns, which had meanwhile entered their Confederacy. Cp. Isocr. vi. 46; Syncellus, p. 260 b; Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 223.

Diodorus (xiv. 84, 89, 92; xv. 19) follows a different and in many respects inconsistent tradition. The author of a recently discovered letter to Alexander the Great (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, i. 13) makes the exaggerated statement Θηβάνων γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν 'Ἀμύνταν τὸν πατέρα τὸν Φιλίππου μετ' Ὀλυνθίων ἐπεχείρησαν ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀποστερήσας δὲ τῆς βασιλείας: it is plain from Xenophon (§§ 13, 38) that the proposed alliance between the Olynthians and Thebans, if ever formally concluded, was never really effective.

§ 13. Πέλλαν: the capital of Macedonia.

δόσον οὐκ ... ἡδή, 'already all but expelled': cp. vi. 2. 16.

§ 14. αὐτοπολίται εἶναι, opposed to συμπολίτευσιν of § 12, 'citizens of an independent state': cp. Thuc. v. 79 αὐτόνομοι καὶ αὐτοπόλεις.

† ὀκτακοσίων, evidently too small a number for so strong a confederacy: cp. Dem. xix. 263 (referring to this time) ἐκεῖνον γὰρ (οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι) ἡμίκα μὲν τετρακοσίους ἵππεας ἐκέκτησαν μόνον, καὶ σύμπαντες οὐδὲν ἦσαν πλείους πεντακισχιλίων τὸν ἄριβμον, ὡπω Χαλκιδῶν πάντων
382 B.C.  

V. ii. 15–20

... in συνφασίμενον, Δακεδαμορίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντων κ.τ.λ.; but no great reliance can be put on this statement of the orator, and there exist no other means of correcting this manifestly corrupt number: cp. § 24; Diod. xv. 21; and Critical Note.

§ 15. Δῆραι καὶ Βοιωτῶν, against whom the Peace of Antalcidas had been especially directed.

όρατε, 'take care' = φυλάττεσθε.

Ποσείδαιων, only six miles south of Olynthus: cp. § 24.

§ 16. καθ' ἐν: cp. iii. 4. 27 note: for the breaking up of the Theban Confederacy cp. v. i. 32, 33 notes.

ξύλα ... ναυπηγήσιμα: cp. Hicks, Insc. 74 b (treaty between Amyntas III and the Chalcidian League) ἔγχυμος ὄντος πίσως καὶ ξύλων οἰκοδομητρίων πάνω, ναυπηγήσιμων θάλην ἐλατίνων.

γε μὲν, stronger than a mere repetition of δὲ: πολυανθρωπία is named last as the result of the other material advantages.

§ 17. Θράκες οἱ ἀθανίλευτοι, as opposed to the Thracians in the NE. districts: cp. iii. 2. 9; iv. 8. 26. Similarly Thuc. ii. 29 ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ πρῶτος Ὀθρύσας τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεον τῆς ἄλλης Θράκης ἐποίησε: πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομον ἐστὶ Θρακῶν.

πολλὴ ... δύναμις the predicate, ἀνὴρ being the subject.

τῷ Παγγαῖῳ, in the territory of the Edones, NW. of Thasos.

χεῖρα ... ὑρέγοι, 'would stretch out a helping hand': a curious metaphor with an inanimate subject.

§ 18. τῆς πολιτείας: cp. § 12 note.

§ 19. ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεις: ἐπιγαμία = jus connubii: ἐγκτήσις, i.e. γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, the right of possessing landed property and houses in the dominions of another state.

ἐὕλυτα ἐσταί: subject, τὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, opposed to δυσπάλαιστὸς ἐστίν of § 18.

§ 20. ἐδίδοσαν ... λόγον, i.e. gave them permission to speak.

στρατιῶν ποιεῖν, 'to create an army,' an unusual expression for the more common στρατιῶν συλλέγειν or παρασκευάζειθαι, or φροθωράν φαίνειν.

χαρίζεσθαι. According to Diod. xv. 19 king Agesipolis and his supporters were steadily adverse to these efforts of Sparta to aggrandize herself at the expense of the other Greek states.

τὸ εἰσ τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα ... πόλιν, i.e. that each state should
send its proportional contingent necessary to make up the total of
ten thousand men: cp. § 37 τὴν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν.

§ 21. τριῶβολον: three obols (i.e. half a drachma), on the Aeginetan
standard, are equivalent to sixpence; so that twelve obols, or a
didrachma or stater, would be equivalent to two shillings, reckoning
silver at five shillings an ounce Troy. About 377 when Sparta
reorganized the system on which she summoned contingents from
her allies, this ratio of hoplites to horsemen was still maintained:
Diod. xv. 31 ἡν δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν ὀπλίτης πρὸς δύο ψιλοὺς τεταγμένος, ὁ δ' ἵππεις πρὸς τέταρας ὀπλίτας ἵσαξόμενος: cp. v. 4. 37 note.

§ 23. στήναι ἄν, 'would be brought to a standstill,' Dakyns. The
metaphor is similar to that contained in προσκεκχωρηκώιας.

382–381 B.C.

§ 24. νεοδαμώδεις: cp. i. 3. 15 note.

Σκιρτῶν. The men of the Sciritis, the frontier district between
Lacedaemon and Arcadia. They always fought on the left wing of
the Spartan army, and were specially charged to give assistance to
any troops hard pressed in the fight: cp. v. 4. 52; Thuc. v. 67;
Xen. Cyrop. iv. 2. 1; Diod. xv. 32; Appendix, p. 348.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία: cp. iv. 8. 26 note.

ἐκείνων, i.e. the Olynthians: cp. § 15.

§ 25. ὁ . . . Φωβίδας. Diod. xv. 19, 20 erroneously represents
him as the original commander of the expedition against the Olynthians,
and as removed from his command after the capture of the
Cadmea in favour of his brother Eudamidas.

οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες: from § 37 it appears that Xenophon means
the remainder of the troops assigned to Eudamidas, not those
required to make up the total of 10,000: cp. §§ 20, 24.

τὸ γυμνάσιον. Pausanias (ix. 11. 7 and 23. 1) speaks of two
gymnasia at Thebes, the first near the Heracleum (τοῦ δὲ Ἡρακλείου
gυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ σταύριον, ἀρμφύτερα ἐπώνυμα τοῦ θεοῦ), to the south
of the Cadmea, the other outside the Proetidian gate (πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν
ἐστὶ τῶν Προετίδων καὶ τὸ Ἰολάου καλούμενον γυμνάσιον καὶ σταύριον). As
Phoebidas was marching from the south, the former is the more
probable site of his camp.

πολεμαρχοῦντες. The Polemarchs, the chief officials at Thebes
both in peace and war, were in most, if not all, Bocotian states
three in number, assisted by a secretary (cp. v. 4. 2): whether in this year there was a third polemarch or not cannot be determined from the context: cp. Appendix, p. 358; Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 441.

'Isμηνίας, one of those who had received the Persian gold of Timocrates (iii. 5. 1), and who was famous for his wealth: Plat. Men. 90 a; Rep. 336 a.

Λεοντιάδης (called Λεοντίδης by Plut. Pel. 5) came of a family always closely connected with Sparta: Her. vii. 205, 233; Thuc. ii. 2; ps.-Dem. l ix. 99.

τῶν ἐταυριῶν. These were political clubs or secret societies, organized for party purposes, ἐπὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀρχαῖος, and naturally were most active in times of στάσεις: cp. Thuc. iii. 82; viii. 54; Plat. Rep. 365 d; Theat. 173 d; Laws 636; Arist. Pol. ii. 8. 2.

§ 27. ἀποκεκάρυκται: cp. § 15; this shows that the democratic party were in the ascendant.

τῷ ἀδελφῷ: Eudamidas.

§ 28. λογιστικὸς ... φρόνιμος: cp. Introd. p. xxxi.

ἐκέλευσεν, sc. ὁ Λεοντιάδης.

§ 29. ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοῖ: to the north of the Cadmea, the usual place of meeting.

θέρους ... ὁντος: cp. Introd. p. lx.

ἀποστρέφει: from the course of his march.

βαλανάγραφ: the key or rather hook inserted through a hole in the door to take the bolt-pin out of the bar across it on the inside.

§ 30. λαμβάνω ... 'Ισμηνίαν: cp. the similar procedure of Critias against Theramenes ii. 3. 51, 54.

οῖ λοχαγοί: nominative with the article, instead of the vocative.

ἐνθα ἐίρηται: cp. ii. 3. 55 οὐ δεῖ.

§ 31. ἀπεχώρησαν. Diodorus (xv. 20), with rhetorical licence, represents these three hundred as formally banished by Phoebidas after that he had defeated them in a battle.

'Ανδροκλείδα: like Ismenias, he too had shared in the Persian gold: iii. 5. 1.

§ 32. πολέμαρχον ... ἄλλον. Archias: cp. v. 4. 2; Plut. Pel. 6; Ages. 23.

οὐ προστασθεῖτα. Whether Phoebidas acted in accordance with secret instructions from Sparta, as Diodorus represents (xv. 20
έν ἀπορρήτους; cp. Oxyrh. Pap. i. 13 and § 12 note), or whether he yielded merely to the temptations of Leontiades, must of necessity remain an open question. Some commentators have urged against Xenophon's view of the circumstances, that the mere presence of Phoeibidas at Thebes at all, which is out of the direct line of march towards Olynthus, is a sufficient evidence of the preconcerted nature of the affair: but Thebes is so short a distance out of the direct line, that the advantage of Phoeibidas appearing in person to receive the Theban contingent, evidently expected for the Olynthian campaign, is quite a sufficient motive to explain his détour. It is curious, however, that Xenophon should wholly have omitted the story of his punishment with a fine of 100,000 drachmae, which is too well attested by Plutarch (Pel. 6; Ages. 24), Diodorus (l. c.), and Nepos (Pel. 1) to admit of doubt. The punishment can have been little more than nominal: for in 378 he reappears as harmost of Thespiae (v. 4. 41).

§ 33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: cp. § 11 and ii. 4. 38.

δισμενείσι: used as a substantive with the possessive pronoun: cp. iv. 1. 36; Apol. Socr. 27 τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὖνοις.

οὐκ ... οὐκ ἤθελησαν. The first οὐκ introduces the question, the second negatives ἤθελησαν: cp. Anab. vii. 6. 24 οὐκ ... οὐκ ἐλα ...; for the event in 403 cp. ii. 4. 30; iii. 5. 8.

Φωκείσι. In 395 Androclides and his party persuaded the Thebans to help the Locrians against the Phocians: iii. 5. 4.

§ 34. ἑποιούντο, imperfect of endeavour: for the alliance does not seem to have been actually formed: cp. § 12 note and § 15.

τότε μὲν, i. e. before the seizure of the Cadmea, as is plain from νῦν δὲ ... τάδε.

πότε ἀκούσεις; cp. Appendix, p. 360.

σκυτάλη: cp. iii. 3. 8 note.

ἐκείθεν: from Thebes.

§ 35. ἐδοξε ... φυλάττειν: cp. Plut. Pel. 6 ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀκαδαιμώνιοι Φοιβίδαι μὲν ἄφειλεντο τὴς ἁρχῆς, καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυρίας ἕξημίωσαν (cp. § 32 note), τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν οὐδὲν ἠττον φρονήματα κατέσχον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἐλληνες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν ἄτοπιαν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πράξαντα κολάζουσι, τὴν δὲ πράξιν δοκιμάζουσι.

κρίσιν ποιήσαι, i. e. 'to bring Ismenias to trial.' In iv. 2. 6 τὴν κρίσιν ... ποιήσεσθαι is used in a different sense.
πέμπουσι, i.e. to Thebes: whereas Plut. (Pel. 5) states that he was carried to Lacedaemon and condemned there.

καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλης: cp. Thuc. i. 125 ψήφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἀπαύσων ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἔξῆς, καὶ μείζον καὶ ἐλάσσον πόλει.

Βαρβαρίζοι ... ἕνος τῷ Πέρσῃ. This accusation, coming from the Spartans and the philo-Laconian Thebans, sounds strangely after the Peace of Antalcidas.

παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων: cp. iii. 5. 1.

τῆς ... ταραχῆς πάσης: this, the so-called Corinthian War, was doubtless the real cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

§ 36. τὸ μὴ ὦ ... εἶναι. The infinitival phrase constitutes the object to ἐπειθὲ: the double negative μὴ ὦ is due to the negative οὐκ ἐπειθὲ: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 794, 814.

κατεφυσίαθη. At the same time, according to Plutarch (I. c.), Πελοπίδας καὶ Φερεύκος καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας μετὰ συχνῶν ἄλλων φεύγοντες ἐξεκηρύχθησαν, Ἕπαμεινώδας δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ὡς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὡς ἀδύνατοι.

εἶχον ... τὴν πόλιν. In the winter 379–378 the Spartans had a garrison of 1,500 Lacedaemonians and allies in the Cadmea (Diod. xv. 25; Plut. Pel. 12, 13) under three harmosts.

§ 37. συνασπέστελλον: for the date cp. Introd. p. lxi; the preposition σὺν denotes that it was a joint expedition of the Spartans and their allies.

Τελευτίων: last mentioned, when he led the attack upon Piraeus: v. i. 13 ff.

τὴν ... σύνταξιν: cp. § 20.

ἀπαντάς: no satisfactory emendation for the MSS. ἀπαντάς has yet been proposed: cp. Critical Note. Breitenbach, adopting this reading, interprets it to mean that now the Spartans sent all their troops, required to make up their contingent towards the 10,000, in one body and not in detachments, as previously under Eudamidas and Phoebidas.

οὐκ ἄχριστος: for the character of Teleutias cp. v. i. 3, 13, 18 and Diod. xv. 21 βαυμασώμενος ἐπ' ἄρετή πορὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

ἀδελφόυ: cp. iv. 4. 19.

προβάτως: because of the debt of gratitude which the Theban oligarchs, now in power, owed to Agesilaus: cp. § 7.

§ 38. καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύντα. Hence it appears that the efforts of the
Apolloniates and Acanthians had induced Amyntas to become an ally of the Lacedaemonians: cp. §§ 11, 12. Diodorus (xv. 19), who knows nothing of their embassy, represents the Lacedaemonians as persuaded to send the expedition solely by Amyntas.

ος ... είναι: ος with the infinitive here expresses purpose: cp. i. 6. 20; iii. 4. 27; Goodwin, M. T. 608.

'Ελυμίας: the district in the SW. of Macedonia on the borders of Epirus.

§ 39. τήν έαυτῶν συμμαχία, sc. πόλιν: for the plural έαυτῶν (i.e. Lacedaemonians) cp. iv. 8. 24.

συνταξάμενος. The συν in composition may imply a junction of Teleutias’ forces with those of Eudamidas, who had made Potidaea his head quarters (§ 24); but in an analogous passage (Cyrop. ii. 4.32) Xenophon uses the term merely of marshalling soldiers in close marching order, ready for immediate action—αὐτός δὲ συνταξάμενος, ἡ ἀρμοστὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτευν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἶ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. Diodorus (xv. 21) adds that Teleutias assumed the command of Eudamidas’ troops and ravaged the country.

§ 40. ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα: in order to prepare his troops for battle.

ἐνώμυμον ... αὐτὸς ἐξών: instead of the right wing, which was the traditional post of the Lacedaemonians in battle: cp. Her. ix. 28.

ος εἰς: cp. iv. 1. 18.

ος ... παρεῖ, sc. ο Δέρδας, ‘partly as a mark of courtesy to Dardas which should make him not regret his coming,’ Dakyns.

§ 41. κατὰ τοὺς Δάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς: obviously the Lacedaemonian and Boeotian cavalry are meant.

τὸ ... ἱππικόν, i.e. including the Macedonians.

τὸ ἐχόμενον ... αὐτῶν: αὐτῶν depends on ἐχόμενον: cp. iii. 4. 1.

§ 43. ἀπιῶν ἐκοπτε: cp. § 39.

τοῦτο ... τὸ θέρος: cp. Introd. p. lxi.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1–6. The next campaign opened with skirmishes: in one the Olynthian cavalry suffered considerably, in another they enticed Teleutias with his whole army close to the walls of the city. Teleutias was slain with many others, and the whole besieging forces were obliged to disperse. § 7. Xenophon’s comment on the disaster. §§ 8–9. The Spartans undismayed sent against
Olympus an armament under Agesipolis still larger than before. §§ 10-17. The returned exiles at Phlius, unable to recover their goods, appealed to Sparta. The Ephors declared war upon the other Phliasians, and despatched Agesilaus against them. He met all their overtures for peace with the demand that they should surrender the citadel. On their refusal he laid siege to the city. §§ 18-20. After some small operations in Olynthian territory and the capture of Torone, Agesipolis died of fever, much to the grief of Agesilaus. He was replaced by Polybiades. §§ 21-25. After a prolonged siege the Phliasians at last applied to Agesilaus for leave to send envoys to Sparta to arrange terms. Highly indignant he persuaded the Ephors to leave the matter to him: he set up a provisional government to draw up a constitution, and after leaving a garrison in the city disbanded his army. § 26. Polybiades starved the Olynthians into coming to terms: they agreed to enter the Spartan Confederacy. § 27. Thus everywhere Sparta seemed to be stronger than ever.

381-380 B.C.

§ 1. ἀμα...τῷ ἢρι: cp. Introd. p. lxi.

ἀμβάτας: elsewhere only used in the active in this sense: cp. iii. 4. 16.

ἀμβάτας: this, the Ionic and poetic form of ἀναμβάτας, is Dindorf's correction: cp. Mem. iii. 3. 2 and Critical Note.

§ 2. ἐλέγετο: for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

ὁλίγην παντέλος, 'a very small part of their territory': for the position of the adverb cp. iv. 2. 18.

§ 3. ὅς...φθείρωι: for the final use of ὅς cp. Goodwin, M. T. Append. iv.

τὸ ἐναντίον στράτευμα = τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα.

§ 4. φεύγοντι: dative of the participle after ἐπιδίασθανον.

§ 5. μὲν ὄνω: introduces a general observation applied by καὶ... δέ to the particular case.

τοῦ καυροῦ = ἢ ὁ καιρὸς ἤν, genitive of comparison: cp. ii. 3. 24.

§ 6. τοὺς ἰππεάς: they must therefore have retreated within the walls.

Σπαρτώλου, five miles due west of Olympus.

ὁτιπερ ὀφελοὶ ἤν, 'the serviceable part of the army': cp. vi. 2. 23. Diodorus (xv. 21) states that more than 1,200 Lacedaemonians were slain.

§ 7. ἀτάρ: emphatic: cp. v. 4. 17.

ἀπρονόητον: for the neuter without ἔστι cp. De Re Equest. 6.
13 ἀπονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὅρη, ὡστε πολλάκις ἐξεργᾶται δων μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη.

§ 8. ὡσπερ Ἀγησιλάου: the preposition μετὰ is not repeated, because μετ’ αὐτοῦ here precedes the object with which it is to be compared.

τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν: cp. iii. 4. 2 note.

§ 9. ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων: strangers who, like Xenophon’s own sons (Diog. Laert. ii. 54), went through the course of Spartan discipline.

νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, sons of Spartans by helot women; it is doubtful, whether they are to be identified with the μόθαικες or μόθωνες: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. i. 446.

τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν, i.e. the course of Spartan discipline, and the rights and privileges assigned to men so trained: cp. v. 4. 32, 33. ταῦτα πράττων, ‘far ing so,’ ‘under these favourable circumstances.’

§ 10. ἐπαινεθείσα: for the friendly relations between Phlius and Agesipolis cp. iv. 7. 3.

χρήματα. The money was probably paid as a substitute for personal service under the regulation cited v. 2. 21.

ἀμφότερον . . . ἔξω Σπάρτης. There was nothing very unusual in the two kings being absent from Sparta at the same time: thus Pausanias in 395 marched into Boeotia, while Agesilaus was in Asia, iii. 5. 17: cp. Appendix, p. 338.

τῶν δικαίων: cp. the decree which the Phliasians had passed, c. 384, when they restored their oligarchical exiles, v. 2. 10.

ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, where the democrats still controlled the government and apparently nominated the judges. Later Agesilaus set up a court composed of fifty of the returned exiles and fifty democrats: cp. § 25.

dικη: without the article as predicate: cp. v. 2. 17.

§ 11. τῶν οἰκοθεν: for the adverb in -θεν cp. iii. 1. 18.

§ 12. Λακεδαιμονίως ἀπέκλεισαν: cp. v. 2. 8.

βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδίδοναι, ‘refused with violence to repay’: for the inf. cp. Thuc. vii. 79 ἐβιάσαντο πρὸς τὸν λόφον ἐλθεῖν.


§ 13. φρουρῶν ψαίνουσιν: cp. iii. 2. 23 note.

άχθομένῳ: for dative cp. iv. 1. 11 note. For Agesilaus’ conduct cp. Ages. 2. 21 εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλη πὴ ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἄλλ’ οὖν φιλε-
tauría ye prochényta fanevá èstì; and Isocrates' remark (v. 87) on his desire tovs étaírons eis tás póleis tás aítōn katagagéen kai kuriōn poišsai tòv pragmatów. sunēbainen oûn èk mèn tís pragmatelaiás tís úpér tòvn étaíron en kakaís kai kivdúnois eînai toús "Ellhνas.

'Arxídáwv : cp. v. 2. 3 note.

aǐtō : cp. v. 2. 9.

Προκλεά : cp. vi. 5. 38 ; Podanemus is not again mentioned.

§ 14. tòv diabatērion : cp. iii. 1. 17 ; 4. 3 notes.

eididosan : imperf., 'offered.'

§ 15. tò próteorin : v. 2. 10.

prósathen ... poišsantes : cp. iv. 4. 15.

§ 16. èvébale : Diodorus (xv. 19) compresses his account of the Phliasian affair into two lines : étéran dè dúnai evi Φλειοντίων èkpeîmèntes kai máchn vikèmèntes, ἡνάγκασαν ὑποταγίσαι τούς Φλειοντίων tois Lakedaimoníois.

πολλών ... Lakedaimoníon : cp. § 13 note.

πλέον : without ἤ, cp. iv. 5. 4.

ἐν tò fanevò tois èξώ, 'in a place visible to the besiegers outside the walls.'

ὁ μέντοι : an easy anacolouthon due to the intervening clauses ὡς ... ἐκκλησίαζον.

§ 17. èξiócvn : without a definite subject expressed : sc. tòv Phleiiošíon tìnès.

eídáskse, sc. tòv φυγάδας, to which aítōn must be referred. The meaning seems to be : 'The king instructed the exiles to form their kinsmen into messes with themselves (aítōn) and to give such as were willing to undergo training, enough to provide necessaries.'

ἀρίστα ... èxōntas = ἀρίστοις ὄντας : ἀρίστα is adverbial, as appears from iii. 4. 16 ἀρίστα σωμάτων èxōi and Occon. 21. 7 oȋ ἐν aítōn ἀρίστα to ἱλόμα ἐχωσι—tà sōmata being the accusative of respect.

380–379 B.C.
ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς: Diodorus (xv. 93) relates that the corpse of Agesilas, who died in Cyrene, was embalmed in the same manner.

τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς: cp. iii. 3. 1 note.

§ 20. ὡς ἀντιπάλω: cp. Diod. xv. 19 κατὰ δὲ τούτον τὸν χρόνον (since 383) οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διεφέροντο ταῖς αἱρέσεσιν Ἀγγείστολις μὲν γάρ, ἐιρήνικὸς δὲν καὶ δίκαιος, ἕτε δὲ συνέσει διαφέρων, ἐφ' ἐνε ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὄρκοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας μὴ καταδού- λοῦσθαι τοὺς "Ελλήνας . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀγγείσλαιος, ὃν φύσει δραστικὸς, φιλο- πόλεμος ἥν καὶ τῆς τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀντείχετο. For the more pleasant and social traits in the character of Agesilas cp. Ages. 7. 2.

συσκκηνοῦσι: cp. Resp. Lac. 15. 4 and Plut. Ages. 20 συνοσι- τούσι γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶντες φιδίτον, ὅταν ἐπιδημῶσιν.

§ 21. ὅσον: genit. dependent on σῶτος: cp. § 25 μισθὸν ἐξ μηνῶν;

Thuc. ii. 23 χρόνον . . . ὅσον ἔλχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

τοσοῦτον . . . διαφέρει, ‘self-restraint is so superior to appetite’: cp. Critical Note.

tελεῖ, ‘to pay,’ ‘to serve out rations.’

tοῦ εἰκότος: genit. of comparison: cp. § 5 τοῦ καυροῦ.

§ 22. εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς . . . καίναι, ‘to go to their posts,’ ‘to mount guard.’

φυλακᾶς, ‘posts of the enemy.’

tοῦ . . . κύκλου, ‘of the line of circumvallation’: genit. dependent on ἄλλη.

§ 23. οἱ ἐπιλεκτοὶ, i.e. ‘the three hundred.’

σπείσασθαι πρεσβείαι . . . οὐσί, ‘to give pledges of safe conduct to those going on an embassy’: cp. Critical Note and § 24 ἔσπεισατο τῇ πρεσβείᾳ.

χρήσασθαι . . . Βούλοντο: cp. ii. 4. 37.

§ 24. ἄκυρον. Constitutionally the Phliasians were right, as appears from the instances of Agis and Lysander in the negotiations with the Athenians in 405-404; politically of course they made a mistake: cp. Appendix, p. 339.

τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: cp. iii. 1. 18, 22 and v. 1. 5 τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου.

στιγματίας, ‘a branded slave’—a word used by Xenophon only in this passage.

§ 25. πεντήκοντα μέν: cp. the earlier demand of the returned oligarchical exiles, § 10.
τῶν οἶκοθεν: the democrats, as in § II.

έως δ' ἂν ... διασπάζωνται: for the subj. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 614.

τοῖς φρουροῖς: cp. the similar treatment of Athens in 404; ii. 3. 1–14. Phliasian exiles are mentioned (vii. 2. 5; 4. 11, date 366–365) as unable to effect their return to the henceforth oligarchically governed state.


κακῶς ἔχοντας: cp. Diod. xv. 23 ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνημερῶν καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις νικήσας, συνέκλεισε τοὺς 'Ὀλυμβίους εἰς πολιορκίαν.

τὸν αὐτὸν ... Λακεδαιμονίων, the regular formula sworn to by members of the Spartan Confederacy: cp. Diod. (l. c.) ἕγγραφετων δὲ τῶν 'Ὀλυμβίων εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. Thus in 377 Olynthian horse served under Agesilaus in Boeotia: v. 4. 54.

§ 27. Προκεχωρικότων. If the passage be genuine (cp. Hartman, ad loc.), Xenophon here sums up Sparta’s successful championship of the Peace of Antalcidas; cp. v. 1. 36. For the genitive absolute without a subject cp. ii. 4. 29.

Θῆβαιοι ... καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς: cp. v. 2. 36.

Κορινθιοὶ: cp. v. 1. 34.

Ἀργεῖοι: cp. v. 1. 29, 34.

diὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἱπποφόραν Breitenbach, &c., condemn as an interpolation from v. 1. 29.

Ἀθηναῖοι: cp. v. 1. 29, 35 notes, and Appendix, p. 355.

συμμάχων κεκολασμένων: Mantinea, v. 2. 1–7; Phlius, v. 2. 8–10 and 3 passim.

ἡ ἀρχή: cp. the parallel passage in Diod. xv. 23 διὸ καὶ κατὰ τούτοις τοὺς καρπῶν πλείστον ἵσχυσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἵσχυν τὴν ἥγεμονιν κατὰ γῆν ἀμα καὶ κατὰ βάλλοντα. Θῆβαιοι μὲν γὰρ ύπήρχον ἐμφροσύνη, Κορινθιοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τοὺς προγεγορούσας πολέμους ύπήρχον τεταυκομένοι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν πολεμομένων κληρονομίας ἥδον ἔν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ... διότι οἱ μεγίστοι τῶν τότε δυναστῶν, λέγο τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Σκελίδας δυνάστην Διονύσιον, ἐθεράπευσαν τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἥγεμονιν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐσπευδοῦν συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Similarly Isocrates (iv. 126, date c. 380) sums up the case: τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὴν Θήβαιοι καὶ Καμείαν κατελάβον, καὶ νῦν Ὀλυμπίους καὶ Φλειασίους πολιορκοῦν, Ἀδυνάτα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασι-
CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Xenophon's comment on the story of Sparta's downfall. §§ 2-9. The scribe Philidas conspired with the fugitive Melon at Athens to put down the Theban despots. Melon thereupon with six comrades entered Boeotia by night, passed the day in a deserted spot, and the next night and day in Charon's house in Thebes. By a stratagem they succeeded in killing the polemarchs; then they slew Leontiades. Next they released the prisoners from the gaol, armed them, proclaimed that Thebes was free, and sent the news to two Athenian generals on the frontier. §§ 10-12. The Spartan harmost in the Cadmea sent to Plataea and Thespiae for help, but in vain. He then agreed to evacuate the citadel on the promise of safety. The Thebans however cruelly massacred many of their political opponents. §§ 13-18. The Spartans put their harmost to death and declared war against Thebes. Agesilaus declining to serve, the Ephors sent Cleombrotus at the head of the expedition. After a few desultory operations in Boeotia, he returned home, leaving Sphodrias with a garrison in Thespiae. § 19. The Athenians in alarm put to death their two generals, who had been privy to Melon's conspiracy. §§ 20-24. Sphodrias, persuaded by the Thebans, attempted to surprise Piraeus, but being overtaken by daylight at Thriae returned to Thespiae, committing sundry depredations on his march. The Athenians thereon arrested three Spartan envoys, who were in the city, but on their protesting their ignorance of the plan soon released them. Sphodrias was brought to trial for the outrage, but was acquitted. §§ 25-33. The real reason of Sphodrias' acquittal was the friendship of his son Cleonymus with Archidamus the son of Agesilaus; for Archidamus interceded with his father for his life. §§ 34-41. The Athenians strengthened Piraeus, built ships, and supported the Boeotians. The Spartans again collected an army against Thebes. Agesilaus, being overpersuaded to lead the expedition, having first secured Cithaeron, took up his quarters at Thespiae, and ravaged Boeotia with varying success. At last he fortified Thespiae, left Phoebidas as harmost, and returned home. §§ 42-46. After many skirmishes Phoebidas was slain and his troops routed. The Thebans regained their courage and attacked the neighbouring cities. The Lacedaemonians sent a polemarch with a mora by sea to guard Thespiae. §§ 47-55. In the spring Agesilaus once more led an expedition against Thebes: though on one occasion he penetrated nearly to Thebes, no decisive action was fought. At the end of the campaign after ending a dissension at Thespiae, he retired homewards. §§ 56, 57. Hard pressed by these two invasions the Thebans bought corn

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from Pagasae, which on its way fell into the hands of the Spartan command-
dant at Oreus. The crews of the cornships, being left unguarded, induced the
city to revolt from Sparta, and so the Thebans recovered their corn. §§ 58–
61. Next spring the Lacedaemonians once more assembled an army against
Thebes. Agesilaus being ill, Cleombrotus commanded the expedition, but
being unable to cross Cithaeron, which was guarded by the Thebans and
Athenians, he at once disbanded his army. Their allies being discontented at
the length of the war and the growing power of Athens at sea, the Spartans
manned a fleet of 60 triremes with their admiral Pollis at its head. Pollis
cut off the Athenian corn supply, but was soon defeated by Chabrias.
§§ 62–66. At the request of the Thebans, the Athenians sent Timotheus with
60 ships round the Peloponnesus. The Thebans, being thus left at peace,
recovered many of their neighbouring cities. Timotheus won Coryra over to
the Athenian side, and defeated the Spartan admiral Nicolochus at Alyzia.
Being further reinforced he became complete master of the sea, yet was obliged
to send to Athens for money.

§ 1. μέν οὖν ... γε μήν: cp. v. 3. 5 note.
oi oμόσαντες: cp. v. 1. 32.
aυτῶν μόνων, 'single-handed,' Dakyns.
πρώτον = πρώτερον: cp. Hiero, 4. 2 καὶ τούτων πρῶν ἀπάρχεσθαι
tois theois, tois diakōnous prōtōn keleuōsun ἀπογεύσασθαι.
oiδ' ἵφ' ἐνός, stronger than ὑπ' οδδενός: cp. ii. 2. 10 οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ
ἐκολάσθησαν: cp. Diod. xv. 1 βιαίως καὶ χαλεπῶς χρόμενοι τοῖς
συμμάχοις, ἔτι δὲ πολέμους ἀδίκους καὶ ὑπερηφάνους ἐνιστάμενοι πρὸς
tous Ἔλληνας, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀπέβαλον τὴν ἄρχην διὰ τὰς ἑδίας ἄβουλιας.
ἐν γὰρ ταῖς συμφοράσι αὐτῶν τὸ μίσος τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐλαβε καιρὸν
ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς προηδικηκότας.
tῶν πῶποτε, sc. γενομένων: cp. iii. 5. 14.
toūs ... εἰσαγαγόντας ... βουληθέντας ... ἄρχην, accusatives after
καταλῦσαν. The sentence is very irregular; αὐτοὶ is in the nominative
case, as if a relative sentence, οἱ ... εἰσήγαγον, had preceded
the antecedent τούτων, instead of the participial clause τοὺς ... 
βουληθέντας.
ἐπτά: cp. § 3 notes.

379–378 B.C.

§ 2. ἐγγραμμάτευε: cp. Plut. Pel. 7 Φιλίδας δὲ διεσπάζατο τῶν περὶ
'Αρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον γραμματεύε γενέσθαι πολεμαρχοῦντων.

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περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πολεμαρχοῦσι. It is curious that in v. 2. 25 Xenophon
should mention only two polemarchs and that Plutarch on
this occasion should speak only of Archias and Philip as polemarchs,
and yet that both authors should use the phrase οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν
πολέμαρχοι, which in classical Greek cannot be used of less than
three persons. It is tempting therefore to suppose that in Thebes,
as in most Boeotian towns, there were three polemarchs (cp. v. 2.
25 note), and that Xenophon has, from some reason or other—per-
haps from ignorance—omitted to name the third. In support of
this hypothesis it may be remarked that he does not even call
Philip one of the polemarchs (τὴν περὶ Φιλιππον τυραννίδα), although
Plutarch throughout so styles him; that in §§ 5, 6 he speaks of three
of the conspirators dressed up ὡς δεσποίνας and of their sitting
παρ' έκάστῳ (i.e. of the polemarchs?); and that in vii. 3. 7 he speaks
of the assassination of οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Υπάτην, although here he
never names Hypates, and it is only from Plutarch that we learn
the manner of his death. Plutarch moreover is not consistent: in
the Life of Pelopidas and the Daemonion Socrates he calls only
Archias and Philip polemarchs, but in the Life of Agesilaus 24,
he says, τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ τὸν Δεοντίδαν ἀπεκτόνεσαν . . . πολεμάρχους
ὅντας, although it seems to follow from Xenophon's narrative
(especially § 7 παρὰ τὸν πολεμάρχου), as indeed from his own, that
Leontiades was not polemarch at the time. On the whole, there-
fore, it seems easier to suppose that there were three polemarchs
than that Xenophon has used the phrase οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολέμαρχοι

ἀφυγμένος Ἀθήνας. Plutarch knows nothing of Phillidas' visit
to Athens.

Μέλων. It has been objected against Xenophon that he says
nothing of the part played by Pelopidas in the liberation of Thebes.
It is remarkable, however, that though in his Life of Pelopidas
Plutarch (cp. Corn. Nép. Pel. 2 dux erat Pelopidas) represents the
leading part as taken by that hero, yet in his Dem. Socr. Melon
occupies the more prominent place.

tὸν Ἀθήνας πεφυγώτων. Plutarch (Pel. 6) relates that the
Lacedaemonians had formally demanded the expulsion of these
exiles, but that the Athenians in gratitude for the kindness shown
by the Thebans to Thrasybulus and their democratic exiles in 404–403 (cp. ii. 4. 1) had refused to comply; whereupon the Theban oligarchs had secretly plotted against the exiles and had procured the assassination of Androclides, one of their leaders (cp. iii. 5. 1, 4; v. 2. 31, 35).

τὰ περὶ . . . τὴν περὶ . . . τυραννίδα. This strangely-worded distinction between Archias and Philip seems to show that Xenophon did not regard Philip as holding office at the time. The repetition of the article and irregular sequence of καὶ after τὲ seems to denote that the different action of the two men in their respective spheres combined to produce one tyranny. In both Xenophon and Plutarch, Archias appears as the chief figure among the Theban oligarchs, and next to him Leontiades: cp. §§ 6, 19; Plut. Pel. 10, 11; Daem. Socr. 576, 577, 596, 597; Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

αὐτὸς = ἕ αὐτῶν.


τὴν χώραν, Boeotia: Plutarch (Pel. 8) speaks of a considerable body of exiles under the command of Pherenicus waiting on the frontier ἐν τῷ Ὀρισσοίῳ, whilst the twelve conspirators headed by Pelopidas made their way into Thebes. In the Daem. Socr. 576, 594 he is less exact, and speaks only of the twelve crossing Cithaeron in the guise of huntsmen.


ὡς δὴ ἕξ ἄγροι. Plut. Pel. 9 ἐσθήτως γεωργῶν μεταλαβόντες, whereas in ch. 8 he had spoken of their being disguised as huntsmen: cp. Daem. Socr. 576 μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα βηρεῖσας. Nepos (Pel. 2) combines the two versions: cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter.

οἱ . . . ὑψαῖταιοι, sc. ἄπιοντες ἤλθον. Plut. (Daem. Socr. 594) adds that a snowstorm assisted their entering unnoticed.

Χάρων τιμ. According to Plut. Pel. 7, when Pelopidas first
conceived the scheme of attack upon the polemarchs, and sent notice of it to his friends at Thebes, Charon, δηπερ ἦν ἐπιφανε-στατος, agreed to offer his house: but in Daem. Socr. 576 Charon only offers his house on the receipt of a message from Pherenicus that the twelve youths had already started. On their arrival their friends met them at the several gates—so Plutarch says in both narratives—and conducted them to the house of Charon, where ἑγένοντο σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι πεντῆκοντα δυνῶν δέοντες (Pel. 9).

τῆν ἑπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν. Plutarch makes the attack follow immediately on the arrival of the twelve: Pel. 9; Daem. Socr. 594, 596.

§ 4. τὰ ἄλλα, ‘in all other respects’: adverbial accusative, as in iv. 1. 40, &c.

ἐπεμελεῖτο. According to Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) the conspirators, to whom Phillidas was a party, had previously agreed upon a day and Phillidas arranged his feast to suit them: οὐκόνω, εἴπεν (ὁ Φυλλίδας), ὡρῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν παρασκεύακα σήμερον, ὡς δεξόμενος Ἀρχῖαν, καὶ παρέξον ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθη τοῖς ἀνδράσι εὐχείρωτον. Rather inconsistently, Plutarch adds that an additional motive for haste was the fear lest the polemarchs should give orders for the immediate execution of Amphitheus, a democratical leader then in prison: cp. l. c. 594.

Ἀφροδίσια: to be understood, not as a festival in honour of the goddess, but in the same sense as in Plut. Comp. Cim. et Lucul. i τὸ δ’ ἐφ’ ἢδονήν, ὡς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἑδι λουσών Ἀφροδίσια τῶν πολέμων καὶ στρατηγικῶν ἄγοντα παῖζεν καὶ τρυφᾶν, κ.τ.λ.

ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἄρχης. The Boeotian official year began with the new moon after the winter solstice: cp. Böckh. CIG. i. p. 732.

§ 5. ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν. According to Plutarch a warning reached Archias and his boon companions—οὗπω πάνω πόρρω μέθης οὕσιν—whereupon he summoned Charon to his presence. On his arrival Archias and Philip went to the door to meet him, but he and Phillidas contrived to disarm them of their suspicions. Again, a letter from Archias the Athenian hierophant, giving all the details of the conspiracy, was put into the hands of the polemarch, but he thrust it away under his pillow, exclaiming οὐκόνω εἰς αὖριον τὰ σπουδαία: cp. Pel. 10; Daem. Socr. 594–596.

τρεῖς μὲν: cp. § 2 note.
§ 6. οὐκ ἄν ... ἐσωτε ... δοὺς οἶνον. Plutarch says nothing of this precautionary measure of the conspirators.
eis éνός, sc. οἶκον or δομάτιον.

§ 7. ὅς κωμαστάς ... ἀποκτείναι. Plutarch rather combines the two stories. Pel. I. Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλεππον, ἐσθήτας ἐπενδεδυμένοι γυνακείας τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασείς στεφάνους ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης περικείμενοι κατασκιάζοντας τὰ πρόσωπα. Daem. Socr. 596 Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ... ἡμιθράκια ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασείς ἔχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης, οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἔννοι δὲ καὶ χτωνα τῶν γυναικῶν ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύνοντας ἀπομοιοῦμενοι κόμῳ χρωμένους μετὰ γυναικῶν. In the Daem. Socr. Plutarch describes the fight between the polemarchs and the conspirators at some length. First Melon slays Archias, then Charon wounds Philip, who is despatched by Lysitaurus. Theopompos kills Cabirichus, the sacred archon. A few of the servants are also slain, the rest are locked up within the house.

λαβὼν ... τρεῖς. Plutarch represents the conspirators as dividing themselves into two bodies, of which the one headed by Charon and Melon attacked the polemarchs, the other led by Pelopidas and Damoclidas—ἐν ἰματίοις ... ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἔτερον τῶν ὀπλῶν ἢ μάχαιραν ἑκατός—made at the same time for the house of Leontiades; with this second party Phililidas had nothing to do.

παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων. Plut. Daem. Socr. 597 οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν ... ἔβασαν ἕκειν Ἀθηνηθεν γράμματα Λεωντίδη παρὰ Καλλιστράτου κομίζοντες. In Pel. II they simply burst in as soon as the servant opened the door.

χωρίς. Plutarch (Daem. Socr. 577) says that Phillidas had been anxious to invite Leontiades also to the feast but had been prevented by Archias, ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐξιώματε γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τηρικαῦτα πρὸς αὐτῶν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τῶν Λεωντίδην.

τῶν μὲν ἀποκτείνατες. Plutarch (Pel. II; Daem. Socr. 597) describes a long hand-to-hand fight between Leontiades and the conspirators. Leontiades cuts down Cephisodorus, who first entered the room, and is at last overcome in single combat by Pelopidas.

τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα. Plutarch says nothing of the wife.

ἐξιώντες. Pelopidas and his party hastened on, says Plutarch, to the neighbouring house of Hypates, whom they slew as he was attempting to escape over a roof into his neighbour's house. Xeno-
phon has for some reason or other omitted to describe the death of Hypates, though, as appears from vii. 3. 7 τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην... ἐνεμφύησασθε, he was well aware of the fact.

κεκλείσθαι, 'to be kept shut': the action was to be decisive and permanent, hence the perfect; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 110.

§ 8. ἡλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον. In the Daem. Socr. 598 Plutarch represents the two parties of the conspirators as uniting before they went to the prison: in the Pelopidas he says nothing of the prison incident. For ἀνάκειον cp. Critical Note and Suidas. Harpocratio read ἀναγκαῖον.

eἰπε... δεο. Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 ἐκκάλεσας δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρκῆς ὁ Φιλλίδας, Ἀρχίας, ἔφη, καὶ Φιλιππος κελεύουσαί σε ταχέως ἄγειν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀμφίδεον: on the jailor's refusing, Phillidas cuts him down. The conspirators then release Amphitheus (cp. § 4 note), and afterwards the other prisoners.

τοὺς δεσμώτας: cp. § 14 ὡς περὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Plut. l. c. here gives many picturesque details.

tὸν... ὀπλον, partitive genitive, used as object: cp. iii. 1. 4; Plut. Daem. Socr. 598 ὀπλα παρείχον αἰ τε στοάι πλῆρει οὕσαι παντο- διπῶν λαφύρων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντον ἐγγαστήρια μαχαιροποιῶν: so Pel. 12.

τὸ Ἀμφείον: the shrine of Amphion, probably just to the north of the Cadmea: cp. Paus. ix. 17. 4.

§ 9. ὡς... τεθνεῶτον, 'because, as they said, the tyrants were dead': cp. Goodwin, M. T. 864.

ἐξεβοϊθοῦν. Plutarch (Pel. 12) adds that the conspirators sent a messenger to summon the main body of exiles assembled on the Attic frontier (cp. § 3 note), and that ἦκον βοηθοῦτες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινόνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοὺς βελτίστους (Epaminondas, according to the Daem. Socr. 576, had refused to take any part in the conspiracy from reluctance against shedding citizen blood, but was ready to join the conspirators afterwards, should they be successful). Plutarch goes on to say ἀμα δὲ ἦμέρα παρῆσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ φυγάδες ὄψιμοι, συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δῆμος. εἰσῆγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν Ἐπαιμεινόνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων περιεχομένους στέμματα προτειόντων καὶ παρακαλοῦντων τοὺς πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θείοις βοηθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία ὅρθη πρὸς τὴν
379–378 B.C.  V. iv. 9

Undoubtedly there is here a lacuna of unknown dimensions, in which Xenophon probably explained how these two Athenian generals came to be on the frontier. Even as it stands, from Xenophon’s narrative it is evident that these two generals were privy to Melon’s plot (§ 19), that they acted on their own responsibility in giving assistance to the conspirators, and that they were afterwards condemned by the Athenians to avoid all appearance of a breach of the peace between themselves and the Lacedaemonians (cp. § 20). Diodorus (xv. 25, 26) gives an utterly inconsistent narrative, which is demonstrably false: the conspirators, he says, sent envoys to Athens to remind the Athenians of their past indebtedness to Thebes at the time of the Thirty, and to ask their assistance πανδημεί. The Athenian Assembly therefore voted, and immediately despatched the general Demophon at the head of 5,000 hoplites and 500 cavalry, preparing at the same time πανδημεί στρατεύει εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. But a little further on (c. 29) Diodorus, dealing with the events of the following year, states: τοῖς δὲ Λακε
daiomônios καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σπουδὰς πεποιημένοι εἰν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέβαινε μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην μέχρι τῶν ἑκατὸν καυρῶν. Naturally he makes no allusion to the condemnation of the two Athenian generals, which evidently belongs to a totally different story. His own story, probably taken from Ephorus, seems to have arisen from the garbled versions of the Athenian orators, who, to gratify the national vanity, ante-dated the enthusiasm against Sparta caused by the affair of Sphodrias (§ 34), and mixing up the unauthorized help lent the Theban patriots by the two Athenian generals on the frontier with the measures then adopted against Sparta on the proposal of Cephalus, represented a large force as sent out by the formal vote of the Athenian Assembly: cp. Deinarchus, i. 39 ταύτι τα μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡλικίας γεγενη
dένα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Ἐρχιών τοῦ Ἐρχιών καὶ Ἡλίου
Φορμίσιον καὶ ἐτέρων ἄνδρων ἄγαθον, διὸ ἐνίαν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἥν τὰ σώματα.
τούτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς Καδμείας βοηθή-
santes tois eis Θήβας katiouşi tōn fugádōn tois idious kudónois ἥλευθε- ρωσαν πολὺν ἀστυγείτονα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον δουλεύονσαν, οἱ δὲ πείσαντες ἐξέλθειν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους, Κεφάλου τοῦτον ψήφισμα γράφαντος, ὡς οὐ καταπλαγεῖς τὴν Ἀλακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν, οὔδε λογισάμενος ὅτι τὸ κυνδυνεύει καὶ τὸ γράφειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισφαλές ἐστιν, ἔγραψεν ἐξιέναι ὑπῆργος Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς κατειληφόσι τῶν φυγάδων Θῆβας· καὶ ἐξελθόντων ἐκείστε τῶν ὑμετέρων πατέρων ὁλίγας ἡμέρας ἐξεβλήθη ὁ τῶν Ἀλακεδαιμονίων φρουράρχος, ἥλευθεροῦντο Ἡθαιοί, διεσπέρακτο ἡ πόλις ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀξία τῶν προγόνων: cp. Grote, ix. 313 note, 507 note. Owing to the lacuna τὸ πράγμα κ.τ.λ. cannot be explained.

§ 10. ὃ ... ἀρμοστῆς. Diod. xv. 27 speaks of τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς φρουρᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας, and Plut. Pel. 13 calls them all harmosts. Probably, however, Lysanoridas alone was the proper harmost, the two others were subordinate generals: cp. Daem. Socr. 576 Λυσανορίδαν τρίτον αὐτῶν.

Πλαταιάς καὶ Θησείας. These towns, like Tanagra, had been guarded by Lacedaemonian garrisons since the Peace of Antalcidas: cp. Isocr. xiv. 13.

toûς Πλαταιὰς. After their town was destroyed by the Peloponnesians in 427 (Thuc. iii. 68) the Plataeans had sought refuge in Athens, until they were restored to their city by the Spartans after the Peace of Antalcidas: cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

§ II. ὁλίγη ὄντες: participial construction, as with αἰσθάνεσθαι, dependent on ἐγρωσαν: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 884. Their numbers were 1,500, if Diodorus and Plutarch be correct, to which must be added the oligarchical refugees.

τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων. Diodorus (xv. 26), following a different version (cp. § 9 note), estimates the besieging force at 12,000 hoplites and 2,000 cavalry, including a large Athenian army. He says that the garrison at once despatched messengers to Sparta for help, and meanwhile defended themselves vigorously against their assailants: but that the Spartans were so long in sending the necessary aid, that the garrison was obliged to surrender just before the reinforcements arrived. So according to Plut. Pel. 12, 13 Cleombrotus’ army of rescue had already reached Megara, when the garrison surrendered. Both these stories are wholly inconsistent with Xenophon, who evidently means that the garrison surrendered the day after the assassination of the polemarchs.
ἀναβάσιν, i. e. εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
§ 12. τῶν ἐχθρῶν, i. e. the Theban oligarchs.
ἀπέκτειναν... ἀπέσφαξαν. The other authorities do not mention this cold-blooded massacre: cp. the fears of such excesses felt by Epaminondas, Plut. Daem. Socr. 576; and the similar incident at Mantinea, v. 2. 6.
§ 13. τῶν μὲν ἀρμοστῶν... ἀπέκτειναν. According to Plutarch (Pel. 13; Daem. Socr. 598) and Diodorus (xv. 27) the Spartans put two of the commanders to death, Herippidas and Arcissus, and punished the third (Lysanoridas) with a fine and exile, the latter not having been present in the Cadmea at the time: cp. § 10 note.

tετεπαράκοιτα ἄφι ήβης: cp. ii. 4. 32.

λέγον... παρέχοι: cp. the similar reproaches made against Agesilaus in the affair of Phlius, v. 3. 16 and 27 note, and Plut. Ages. 24 Ἀγησίλαος... ἐφυγε τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην, ἀίσχυνόμενος, εἰ Φλεισάιοις ὀλίγον ἐμπροσθεν ἕπερ φυγάδων πεπολεμηκῶς αὐτίς ὄφθησεται Θηβαίους κακῶς ποιῶν διὰ τοὺς τυράννους.

Βουλευσθαί. Isocrates’ statement (xiv. 29) that the Theban patriots immediately sent envoys to Sparta with offers of submission is scarcely credible: cp. Grote, ix. 310 note.

§ 14. Κλεόμβροτον, succeeded his brother Agesipolis: cp. v. 3. 19.
μάλα κειμῶνος: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2.
Χαβρίας: cp. v. 1. 10, 12. According to Diod. xv. 29 he had been recently recalled from Egypt by the Athenians at the request of Pharmabazus from the service of the rebel king Acoris, whose forces he had commanded.

οἱ πελτασταῖ, i. e. of Cleombrotus.
ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ, i. e. of Mount Cithaeron.
τοῖς... λελυμένοις: cp. § 8.
ἐτὶ φιλίας οὖσας: cp. § 10 note and § 48: some time before 374 Plataea was subjugated by Thebes, vi. 1. 1.

§ 15. Кυνός κεφαλάς: a village, said to have been the birth-place of Pindar: the site is unknown.
Σφοδρίαν, a personal friend of Cleombrotus, § 25.
ἀπό: cp. v. 1. 11.

§ 16. τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος, sc. ὀδόν: on the sea coast at the foot of the west spur of Cithaeron.

τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, sc. πόλιν οἴ γῆν.
204

V. iv. 17–20

379–378 B.C.

ελάχιστα κακουργήσεις: cp. Polyb. ix. 23 Λακεδαίμονίων δ’ ἠγου-μένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὡσα μὲν διὰ Κλεομήροτον τοῦ βασιλέως πράττουτο, πάντα συμμαχικὴν εἰ, τὴν αἱρεσίν (policy), ὡσα δὲ δὲ Ἀγγειάλαιον, τοῦπαντίον: also infr. § 25; vi. 4. 5 and Plut. Ages. 26 τοῦ Κλεόμ-βροτον οὐ ... πρὸβυμον ὡστα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις.

§ 17. σημαίνειν ... μελλόντων: σημαίνειν = σημείον εἶναι: cp. Arr. Anab. vii. 22. 5 τούτο τε οὖν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημάνηται: τῶν μελλόντων refers to Leuctra.

ἀτάρ: cp. v. 3. 7.

αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, 'baggage and all': cp. i. 2. 12.

§ 18. τῆς Μεγαρίκης ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις, south of Mount Cithaeron on the coast: cp. vi. 4. 26.

§ 19. ὅρωτε ... ὅμων. This shows that Cleombrotus' expedition in the dead of winter was not without its effect; not only had he strengthened the Spartan garrison in Boeotia, but he secured the neutrality of Athens. Sphodrias' rash attempt on Piraeus spolit it all. For the totally inconsistent narrative of Diodorus cp. § 9 note.

ἐν Κορίνθῳ, i.e. before the Peace of Antalcidas, when the Spartans were unable to cross the isthmus unhindered: cp. iv. 4. 13.

κρίναντες: cp. § 9 note. This is alluded to by Plutarch, who, however, combines it with the erroneous narrative given by Diodorus: Pel. 14 ἐπεὶ τοῖς ὁμιλοῦσι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαίμονίων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαιστήριον παρα-γαγόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ’ ἐφυγόδευσαν, τοὺς δὲ χρήμασιν ἐξημίσαν, κ.τ.λ.: cp. § 34 note.

378–377 B.C.

§ 20. οἱ ... Θηβαιοὶ ... μαχαίμα. Plutarch (Pel. 14, so also Ages. 24) follows Xenophon: ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου βοιωταρ-χῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ συγκρούσαται πάλιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς Λακεδα-μονίοις τοιοῦτε τῷ, μαχαίμα. Diodorus (xv. 29) regards Cleom- brotus as the instigator: Σφοδρομάδου τοῦ Ἐπαρτιάτου τεταγμένου μὲν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας, φύτει δ’ οὖντος μετέφητον καὶ προπετοῦ, ἐπεισαγναί τοῦ Κλεομ- βροτος ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἀνευ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐφόρων καταλαβέσθαι τῶν Πειραιά. Diodorus' view has found little favour with modern commentators, who point to the good understanding
just arrived at between Sparta and Athens and to the political views, so far as known (cp. § 16 note), of Cleombrotus; probably it arose from the fact that Sphodrias was a friend of Cleombrotus (§ 25). Xenophon’s view, reproduced by Plutarch, has found many supporters, including Curtius; but the arguments of Grote (ix. 315) against it are exceedingly strong: they are (1) that the plans, if successful, would have ruined the Theban cause; if however the Thebans meant it to fail, they would have given notice to Athens, which apparently they did not; (2) that, if the Spartans had punished Sphodrias, no breach between Sparta and Athens would have ensued; (3) that Agesilaus with his hatred of Thebes would never have voted for the acquittal of Sphodrias, had there been any suspicion that he had been bribed by the Thebans; (4) that in iii. 5. 3 Xenophon, with just as little cause, had imputed to the Thebans a similar refinement of stratagem in leading up to the outbreak of the Corinthian War. He thinks it therefore more in accordance with the facts to suppose that Sphodrias’ personal ambition was simply fired by the past success of Phoebidas, and in support of this view may be added Plutarch’s description of his character—Pel. 14 εὐδόκιμος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ λαμπρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνωτέρω μεστὸς: cp. Ages. 24 οὐκ ἄτολμος μὲν οὔδ’ ἀφιλότιμος ἄνηρ, ἀν’ ἐλπίδων μάλλον ἢ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστὸς. οὗτος ἐπιθυμῶν ὀνόματος μεγάλου καὶ τῶν Φαιδίδων νομίζων ἐνδοξὸν γεγονέναι καὶ περιβόητον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Θήβης τολμήματος, κ.τ.λ. : cp. Callisthenes, frag. ap. Harpocr. τοῖς Σφοδρίαν] εὑρίθη τε εἶναι λιῶν καὶ κούφων πρός τὰς ἐλπίδας.

On the other hand Xenophon’s statement—if we leave out altogether the suspicion of bribery—is very definite; the Theban patriots were in a desperate position, and may have calculated, that, even if Sphodrias’ attack were successful—of which, if the character attributed to him be true, there was after all little chance—they had more to gain than to lose from embroiling Athens in the quarrel with Sparta.

χρήματα δόντες: cp. Plut. Pel. 14 πρὸς τοῦτον ὑποπέμπουσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν Πελοπίδων (Ages. 24 adds Melon) ἵδια ἐμπορὸν τινα τῶν φίλων χρήματα κομίζοντα καὶ λόγους, οἱ τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτῶν. ἀπόλωτος. This shows that Conon’s restoration of the fortifications of Piraeus had never been completed: cp. iv. 8. 10 note.
καθαυόσειν, sc. τὴν ὁδὸν: cp § 49.

§ 21. Ὄριασι, an Attic deme near Eleusis, which gave its name to the Thriasian plain.

ημέρα ἐπεγένετο: cp. Plut. Ages. 24 ἡμέρα γὰρ αὐτόν ἐν τῷ Ὄριασιφ πεδίῳ κατάλαβε καὶ κατελαμψεν ἐπισίναυτα νυκτὸς προσμήνων τῷΠειραιεῖ καὶ φῶς ἀφ’ ἱερῶν τεινόν Ἐλευσινόθεν ἰδόντας λέγοντι φριζάι καὶ περι-
φόβους γενέσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας.

οὗθ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησεν ὡστε λαθεῖν. If this reading be adopted (cp. Critical Note), it must be taken to mean, that notwithstanding his failure, Sphodrias now took no measures to conceal his rash inroad, but committed open acts of aggression.

στράτευμα πάμπολο: Diod. xv. 29 στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων
—evidently a great exaggeration.

§ 22. καὶ πρέσβεις. The object of this embassy is unknown: Grote (ix. 318) suspects that it was to demand satisfaction for the part played by the two Athenian generals in the liberation of Thebes.

Καλλία, son of Hipponicus, hereditary torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries (cp. vi. 3. 3), noted for his wealth and patronage of the Sophists as well as for his philo-Laconian tendencies: cp. iv. 5. 13; Plat. Apol. 20 a; Theaet. 165 a; Protag. 337 d.

Ἐστυμοκλῆς: cp. § 32 and vi. 5. 33.

"Ωκυλλός: cp. vi. 5. 33.

ὡς . . . παρέιχον = ὡστε . . . παρέιχον: cp. iv. 1. 33.

καὶ ταύτα, ‘and that indeed,’ ‘especially’: cp. ii. 3. 53.

§ 24. καίστηρ ὡν ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν: a pregnant construction involving the idea of ἐαυτὸν παρέχειν, ‘although he did not obey the summons to appear at the trial, he was acquitted.’

§ 25. ἑταῖροι . . . τῷ Σφοδρία, i.e. belonging to the same political party: cp. Plut. Ages. 25 ἤν γὰρ ὁ Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῶν διαφόρων τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου.

ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐξον, ‘were disposed to acquit him’: Plut. Cic. 30 συμβατικῶς ἔχειν; Pel. 15 τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς ἔχοντας.

τοὺς διὰ μέσου: those who stood midway between the party of Cleombrotus and that of Agesilaus: cp. Thuc. viii. 75 ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου καλλιθέντες.

§ 28. φιλίτιον: the place where the common meals of the Spartan citizens were held: cp. Resp. Laced. 3. 5: cp. Critical Note.
παρίει ... αὐτῷ, ‘he would allow them to talk with him.’

§ 29. ἱόντα, sc. πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον: cp. iv. 4. 5.

ἐν παινὶ ἡσαν, ‘in the greatest terror’: the meaning is helped out by μῆ ... εἰη: cp. vi. 1. 12 εἰς πἀν ἀφίκετο.

§ 30. ἀπεκρίνατο: Plutarch (Ages. 25) gives the king’s answer differently: οὐ μὴν (ὁ Αγγείλαος) ἐνέδωκε τῷ τότε χρηστῶν ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐλπίσαι δεομένῳ τῷ παιδί, σκέψασθαι δὲ φήσας, ὃ τι καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ πρεπόντως, ἀπῆλθεν.

ἀνδρά μῆ ... τῆς πόλεως, ‘not condemning a man for committing acts of injustice whereby he gained profit for himself to the injury of the state.’ ὑπαγωγόνων is here constructed in a very unusual manner with the accusative and infinitive: cp. i. 7. 20 εἰς καταγωγόνῳ ἄδικείν. ἄδικείν ois = ἄδικείν ἄδικηματα ois. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 31. ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου: cp. v. 2. 5 ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος.

ἡδικεῖ ... ἡδικήκε τι: the first is general: ‘were not in the wrong,’ the second is special: ‘has done something wrong.’

ὑπὸ σοῦ: cp. Mem. iv. 8. 10 ἐπιμελείας τεῦξομαι ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων.

§ 32. Ἑτυμοκλῆι: cp. § 23.


§ 33. ὡς ... αἰσχυνθῆ: for this Xenophonite use of ὡς with subj. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Λεύκτροις: cp. vi. 4. 14.


ἡμᾶσε: i. e. by his death.

τοιοῦτο ... τρόπῳ: cp. Diod. xv. 29 συναγωγιστὰς ἔχον τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελύθη.

§ 34. οἱ βοιωτιάδοις: one of their leaders was Cephalus: cp. Paus. iii. 9. 4; Diod. xv. 25, 26; Deinarch. i. 39.

οὐχ ὡπο ... ἀλλὰ καὶ, ‘not only not ... but even’: cp. ii. 4. 14; cp. Goodwin, M. T. 707.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ... ἐβοίβουν. Diodorus’ story (xv. 25, 26) of the large forces, which the Athenians voted to aid the Boeotians in capturing the Cadmea, seems to have arisen from the national
pride of the Athenian orators. To exalt the part played by the Athenians in the overthrow of the Spartan domination they ante-dated the measures here described in brief by Xenophon, and represented Athens as joining the Thebans immediately after the assassination of the polemarchs (§ 9 note). This activity of Athens showed itself in the next year in the formation of what is known as the Second Athenian Confederacy, cp. §§ 60, 61 note. Even in the present year several alliances, besides that with Thebes, were already formed. Isocrates (xiv. 28) goes so far as to say that after the Peace of Antalcidas Χίου μὲν καὶ Μυτιληναίου καὶ Βυζάντιοι συμπαρέμεινον (i.e. faithful to Athens), and monumental evidence in a great measure confirms this statement: for CIA. ii. 15 (which Köhler dates at about 386 but Hicks at 378-377) proves that a defensive alliance was formed with the Chians on the basis of the king’s peace ἃς ὁμοσει βασιλεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἐλληνες; and CIA. ii. 18, 19 show that similar treaties of alliance were formed in the present year 378 with Mytilene and Byzantium. To the same year must belong the despatch of envoys mentioned by Diodorus (xiv. 28) ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεταγμένας πόλεις, παρακαλοῦντες ἀντέχεσθαι τὴς κοινῆς ελευθερίας, which that historian incorrectly puts before the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus. Diodorus goes on to say—διότερ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τεταγμένων ἀπέκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χίου καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ρόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναίοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὸς νησιωτῶν’ ἂεὶ δὲ μάλλον αὐξημένης τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὁμοίης πολλαὶ πόλεις προσέθεντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. The details which he then gives about the terms of the Confederacy belong to the following year: cp. Plut. Pel. 15 ἐκ τούτου (Sphodrias’ attempt) πάλιν προθυμότατα Ἀθηναίοι τοῖς Ὁθῆβαιοι συνεμάχοι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ περιώντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ προσήγοντο τοὺς ἀποστατικοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔχοντας.

ναῦς ... ἐναυσηγοῦντο: cp. Diod. xv. 29 κρίναντες δὲ πολεμεῖν αὐτούς, στρατηγοὺς τρεῖς εἶλοντο τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Τιμόθεου καὶ Χαβρίαν καὶ Καλλίστρατον. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ στρατιώτας μὲν ὀπλίτας καταλέγει δισμυρίους, ἑπτεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, ναῦς δὲ πλη-ρώσαι διακοσίας. Polybius (ii. 62) halves these numbers: μυρίους μὲν ἐξεπεμπον στρατιώτας ἐκατόν δ’ ἐπιλήμου τριήμεις. To meet the
necessary expenditure the Athenians reorganized their system of finance, once more imposing the ἐλφοφόρα or income-tax upon their own citizens, but levying it by a new system of συμμορίαι: cp. Dict. Antiq. s.v.

§ 35. σφίσι: for the dative with ἡγεῖσαι cp. iv. 2. 9.


§ 36. Κλητορίους ... Ὁρχομενίους: two towns in northern Arcadia.

§ 37. πρῶτον, i.e. as his foremost duty.

catā τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. Diodorus (xv. 31) states that the Lacedaemonians, fearing the spread of rebellion amongst their allies, now ἐπάυσαντο τῆς προνταρχοῦσις βαρύτητος καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέροντο: and that at the same time they reorganized their confederacy, dividing it into ten parts: the first composed of themselves, the second and third of the Arcadians, the fourth of the Eleans, the fifth of the Achaeans, the sixth of the Corinthians and Megarians, the seventh of the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the states of the Acte, the eighth of the Acarnanians, the ninth of the Phocians and Locrians, and the tenth of the Olynthians and Thrace-ward allies. Diod. xv. 32 estimates Agesilaus' forces at more than 18,000 hoplites, of whom 2,500 were Lacedaemonians, divided into five morae, and 1,500 cavalry.

§ 38. εἰς Θεσπιάς, where he rested his men several days; Diod.xv. 32.

Θῆβαιων χώραν. The campaign is summarized in Ages. 2. 22 εὐρών δὲ ἀποσταθρεμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρομένα ἀπάντα, ὑπερβᾶς τῶν Κυνὰς κεφαλᾶς ἐδόμην τήν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχως καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη μάχεσθαι Θῆβαιοι, εἰ βούλουτο.

ἀποσταθρεμένον. Diod. xv. 32, 33, says nothing of this trench and stockade; he together with Polyaeus (ii. 1. 2) and Nepos (Chabrias i) represents the poor success of Agesilaus as mainly due to the generalship of the Athenian Chabrias, who joined the Thebans with 15,000 foot and 200 horse: the Thebans and their allies could not be dislodged from their various advantageous positions, and on one occasion, when Agesilaus was marching up against them to force them to give battle, Chabrias gave orders to his men τὸς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὸ γόνυ κλίναντας ἐν ὀρθῷ τῷ δόρατι μένειν—

XEN. HELL.

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a manœuvre which compelled the Lacedaemonians to retire; Chabrias afterwards chose this attitude for a statue, which the Athenians erected in his honour. Many commentators have seen in this omission of Xenophon's—if omission it be—evidence of the anti-Athenian tendencies of the author. Stern (p. 74) suggests that the story was afterwards invented to account for the peculiar attitude of the statue. Cp. Dem. xx. 76.

τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ: the parts of the country on his own side of the stockade: if the reading be correct, πρὸς is here used in the sense of local direction, and the genitive σταυρομάτων is dependent on the local conception implied in the phrase πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ; cp. § 49 πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως.

§ 39. τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, sc. ὅδον.
οἶα δὴ: in this sense ἄρ is more common.
συσκευασμένων: preparing the meal, i. e. τὸ δεῖπνον.
ἐτι καταβηθηκότων, if the reading be retained, must mean 'still dismounted' in the sense of ὁπω ἀναβηθηκότων, as opposed to those caught in the act of mounting their horses—ἀναβαινόντων: cp. Critical Note.

Ἐπικυδίδαι: cp. iv. 2. 2.
§ 40. τὰ δέκα ἄφ' ἡβης: cp. ii. 4. 32.

ὑποπεπωκόσι: cp. what Xenophon says of the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra: vi. 4. 8 ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τῶν οὖν παροξυνοί τι αὐτῶς ἔλεγον. The point of the comparison lies in the Theban horse failing to judge the distance between themselves and the Lacedaemonians rightly.

τοῖς ἐπελαύνονσιν: this use of the dative after ὑπομένω finds no parallel: cp. vii. 5. 12 τοῖς ἀπονενημένοις οὕτε ἄν ὑποσταῖν.

ἐκ τοσοῦτον, 'from so great a distance,' i. e. so great that their spears did not carry so far.

αὐτῶν δῶδεκα limits the extent of the subject implied in ἀναστρέφοντες: cp. vi. 3. 19 ἀπογραφάμενοι . . . οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσέλθόντες . . . οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκελέον.

§ 41. καὶ οἱ πολέμοι, i. e. also like himself: cp. § 38.

δ' ἔρημας, sc. τῶν πολεμίων: cp. iii. 4. 21.

ἀποχορῆσα: cp. Diod. xv. 33: when Agesilaus' counsellors expressed their surprise at the king's not forcing on a battle, he replied νῦν μὲν ἀκινδύνως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νενικηκέναι' πορθομένη γὰρ τῇ
χώρα μὴ τετολμηκέναι τοῦς Βοιωτούς βοηθήσαι· εἰ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων παρακεχωρηκότων τῆς νίκης ἐβίασατο τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπομένειν τὸ δεῖνόν, ἵσως ἂν διὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης ἐδύναντο καὶ πταίσαι κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ταύτης ἔδοξε μετρίως κατεστοχάσθαι τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποβῆναι, ὡστέρον δὲ (i.e. after Leuctra) διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θέων τινα χρησμὸν εἰρήκεναι.

Φουβίδας: cp. v. 2. 32 note.

ὑπερβαλὼν, i.e. over Mount Cithaeron: cp. iv. 4. 19.

tο πολιτικόν: cp. iv. 4. 19 note.

§ 42. ἐπει ... ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. Diod. xv. 33 adds τήν προφυλακὴν οὐσαν ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων ἀνέιλου.

τῇ ἐμβολῇ: Jacob’s conjecture τῆς ἐμβολῆς—the genitive of comparison after θάττονα—removes all difficulty.

§ 44. ἀποχωροῦντες. Polyaeus (ii. 5. 2) represents the Theban commander Gorgidas as only pretending flight in order to entice Phoebidas out of the rough ground into the plain.

§ 45. ὁ ... Φουβίδας: cp. Diod. xv. 33 Φουβίδας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀξιολογοῦν ὕψους ἐν ταῖς Θεσπίασι έξων, ἐκχυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπετῶσ τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσι Θηβαίοις ἐπιθέμενος, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλε πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἐναντίοις τραύμασι περιπετεύων ἡρωικῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

οὐ πολλοὶ: contrast Diod. l.c.

§ 46. πάλιν αὖ: αὖ following merely emphasizes the πάλιν: contrast v. 1. 5 note.

ἀλλας ... πόλεις, e.g. Plut. Pel. 15 says that Pelopidas routed the Lacedaemonian garrison at Tanagra and slew their harmost Panthoidas.

ὁ ... δῆμος ... ἀπεχώρη: a kind of συνοικισμός, which must greatly have strengthened the democrats at Thebes: cp. Mantinea, v. 2. 1 note.

δυναστεία: the unconstitutional rule of the few, like that of Archias and Leontiades at Thebes: cp. v. 2. 36; 4. 2; Arist. Pol. iv. 5. 2. So the Theban orator in 427 says that at the time of Xerxes’ invasion δυναστεία δλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα (Thuc. iii. 62).

κατὰ θαλασσαν: across the Corinthian Gulf to avoid the dangerous passes of Mount Cithaeron. This confession of weakness shows the ill success of Agesilaus’ expedition.
§ 47. ἵππερ τὸ πρῶτον: cp. § 35.
πρὶν καὶ, 'even before,' contrasted with his procedure in the previous campaign, § 37.

§ 48. ἐγένετο. Diodorus (xv. 34) πάλιν τῶν Ἀκεδαμιονῶν τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει στρατευόμενον ἐπὶ Θῆβας.

πάλιν belongs to εἰς τὰς Θεσσαλίας πρῶτον ἔρχον: cp. § 38.

τὰς προσβείας: cp. Polyae. ii. 1. 11 'Αγγέλλαν ποιόμενος Ῥηβαίους τὴν κατὰ Σκόλον πάροδον φυλάττειν, πάσας ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν 'Ελλήνων προσβείας ἐν Θεσσαλίας ἀναμένειν συνεταξαίνα, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ συντά τῆς στρατιᾶς συνομοίζειν ἐκεῖσε. Θηβαίοι ταύτα ποιόμενοι μετήλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Θεσσαλία πάροδον καὶ ταύτῃ παρεφίλησον. Αγγέλλαν δυῶν ἡμέρων ὄδον ἀνύσασε ἡμέρα μαί τὴν κατὰ Σκόλον πάροδον ἐρήμην εὑρὼν ἀνεν μάχης διήλθεν.

τὴν . . ἐμβολήν, 'the pass': so iv. 3. 10.

§ 49. ὁς στρατεύματι: explanatory of δυῶν ἡμέραν ὄδον, 'as reckoned for an army.'

Σκόλον, north of the Asopus, four and a half miles from the road between Thebes and Plataea: its exact site has not been discovered: cp. Paus. ix. 4. 3.

ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς . . . εἰσῆλθε, 'from the watch-post whereby he had entered the time before': cp. § 41.

πρὸς ἐν τῆς . . . πόλεως: cp. § 38 note.

ἐτὸς γὰρ τὸτε: cp. § 46 note, whence it appears that notwithstanding the death of its harmost Panthoidas, Tanagra still remained faithful to Sparta.

τὸ τεῖχος, i. e. of Tanagra.

§ 50. Γραῶς στήθει: a hill SW. of Tanagra, so-called after Tanagra or Graia, the wife of Poemander, the founder of the city: cp. Paus. ix. 20. 2; Polyae. ii. i. 12.

ἐπιεικῶς, 'fairly,' 'rather,' qualifying στενῶν.

ἐπισιμώσας: cp. Polyae. ii. i. 12 οἱ Θῆβαιοι κατελάβοντο λόφον ὕπερ τῆς ὀδοῦ δύσβατον, καλούμενον Γραῖας ἔδος, ὥστε ἐν καὶ τὸ παρατάσσεσθαι δύσμαχον καὶ τὸ προχωρεῖν ἀδύνατον. προσποιεῖται δὴ [ὁ 'Αγγέλλα] λοξώσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἅγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Θῆβαιοι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐρήμοις ἐξεστρατευόμενοι ἀπάντων, Θῆβαιοι περὶ τῆς πόλεως δείσαντες τὸν λόφον καταλιπόντες ἡπείγοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυν. 'Αγγέλλας τὸν λόφον ἀκωλύτως διήλθεν.
§ 51. ἔνθα = τῶν τόπων ἐν ἕ.  
Ποτὶς: the temple was on the roadside 10 stadia south of Thebes: Paus. ix. 8. 1.  
ἀσφαλεστέρα, i.e. than the more direct road: it lay over rougher country.  
ἀπαγαγὼν, sc. τῶν στρατῶν, 'while retiring at a distance from the enemy.'  
§ 52. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ λόφου: means apparently the last of the row of hills along which the Thebans had been running.  
Σκιρίται: cp. v. 2. 24 note.  
§ 53. τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. Diod. xv. 34 gives a rather exaggerated description of this battle, as is shown by the fact that at the time the city was destitute of troops (cp. § 51, Polyaen. l. c.): γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἠχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἶ περὶ τὸν Ἀγριόλαον ἐπιρρήτῳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Θηβαίων ἐκχυθέντων πανημεί, θεωρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιρρεώντων ὁ Ἀγριόλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σύλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. οἶ δὲ Θηβαίοι δόξαντες τότε πρῶτος μὴ καταδεικτέρους ἐαυτοὺς εἶναι Δακεδαμονίων τροπαίων τε ἔστησαν καὶ τὸ λωπὸν κατεδάρρησαν τῆς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν δυνάμεος.  
§ 54. ἀπῆγαγε. The retreat seems to have been hastened by the discontent of the allies: cp. Plut. Ages. 26 ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἐπαχθῆς ὁ Ἀγριόλαος, ὃς δὲ ἐγκλήμα δημόσιον, ἄλλα θυμῷ τινι καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπολέσατι ζητῶν. οὖν οὖν ἔλεγον δεόμενοι φθείρεσθαι δεύορο κάκεισε καθ' ἐκατον ἐναντίον ὀλίγους τοσοῦτοι συνακολουθοῦσε. Details of their discontent are also given by Polyaenius ii. 1. 7, 18, 20, 21.  
τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας, sc. ὀδόν.  
τῶν Χαβρίων: cp. §§ 14, 38 notes. Chabrias, it seems, must also have commanded the Athenian forces in this second year's campaign.  
κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους. For the terms cp. v. 3. 26; also cp. § 37 note.  
καθάπερ ἥκολούθου, sc. οἰ πελτασταί.  
§ 55. τοὺς ἐναντίους. For the strength of the oligarchs at Thespiae cp. § 46 and vi. 3. 1.  
§ 56. δυοῖν ἑτῶν, genitive of space of time: cp. Anab. i. 7. 18  
βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖτα δέκα ἡμέρων.  
Παγασάς: in Thessaly at the head of the gulf of that name.  
'Ορεών: also called Hestiaea, at the north end of Euboea.
Shortly before, the Spartans had assisted the Oreites to expel their oppressive tyrant Neogenes, and out of gratitude the inhabitants had remained faithful to Sparta and had refused to admit Chabrias, the Athenian general, when he induced most of the Euboean states to join the new Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 30.

'εν δ', temporal, 'while.'


§ 57. ἀκολουθοῦντος, i.e. 'always at his heels;' 'in close attendance upon.'

περὶ τοῦτον ἡν, 'was wholly wrapt up in him' : cp. vii. 4. 28

περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰχον.

376-375 B.C.

§ 58. ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος, opposed to οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, § 59.


ὁποία δή : a relative clause without a verb used as an indefinite pronoun, 'some vein or other.'

τὸ ὑγίες σκέλος : the other leg was lame : cp. iii. 3. 3.

ἤρρωστει : cp. Plut. Ages. 27 πολὺν χρόνον ἔσχεν ἄρρωστως καὶ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀδυνάτως ; vi. 4. 18 ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὕτω ἵσχυε, i.e. in 371.

tο ... λοιπὸν θέρος, i.e. of 377.

§ 59. ἔρα, i.e. 376.

Θησαίων ... καὶ Ἀθηναίων. This would seem to prove that the Lacedaemonian garrisons in Boeotia were by this time not strong enough to spare some of their troops to command the passes of Cithaeron, as they had done in the previous year (§ 47) by order of Agesilaus : cp. however § 37.

ἀδυνάτων νομίσας. For Cleombrotus' want of zeal cp. § 16 note.

§ 60. ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων : ἀπὸ denotes the source of origin : cp. Thuc. viii. 93 ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς λόγων γιγνομένων.

διὰ μαλακίαν. For the discontent of the allies cp. § 54 note, and the saying of Antalcidas against Agesilaus quoted in Plut. Ages. 26 ἦ καλὰ τὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θησαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις μὴ βουλομένους μηδὲ ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας.

πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων : cp. § 34 note. The renewed activity of Athens in naval affairs had culminated in the spring of
the preceding year in the definite founding of a new Athenian Confederacy, some account of which—in defiance of chronology—is given by Diodorus (xv. 28–30), but for which monumental evidence remains in the original decree (CIA. ii. 17) proposed by Aristoteles—ο πολιτευσάμενος Ἀθήνης, says Diogenes Laertius (v. 35) οὗ καὶ δικαιοὶ φερόνται λόγοι χαρίεστε—in March 377. According to this document an alliance was to be formed between the contracting parties on the basis of the Peace of Antalcidas, which secured freedom and autonomy for the separate states of Greece: and their object was to be to secure this independence against the encroachments of Sparta. The official title of the League was οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: the Athenians promised in no way to interfere with the constitutions of the allied states, to send no garrisons, and to exact no tribute (φόρος). The Athenians also gave up all ἐγκτήματα, whether public or private, that they at the time possessed in any of the allied states—any violation of this clause was to be tried by the συνέδριον τῶν συμμαχῶν. The allies were to form a συνέδριον in Athens, in which Athens herself was to have no representation. Whatever this συνέδριον approved was to be laid before the Athenian Assembly, which could either accept it or reject it; and the συνέδριον was at liberty to deal in the same way with the proposals of the Athenian Assembly. A list of allies is subjoined, apparently in chronological order of admission: the first to join were the Chians, Mytileneans, Methymnaeans, Rhodians, and Byzantians (cp. § 34 note): then the Tenedians, Thebans, Chalcidians, and many of the Euboan states, cp. § 56 note: the rest follow, as the alliance continually extended: cp. Hicks, Inscript. p. 141. The omission of this important measure by Xenophon makes it difficult to understand from his pages alone the course of succeeding events. It appears that a few years later συντάξεις (such was the new name invented by Callistatus for the old thing), or contributions were paid by some, though not all, of the allies: but for this cp. vi. 2. 1 note.

ἐλεῖν λιμῷ, as in 404, cp. ii. 2. 21; and as threatened in 387, cp. v. i. 29.

dιαβεβάξειν, i. e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

Κρείσσιος: cp. iv. 5. 10.

§ 61. ἐξήκοντα . . . ἐπλήρωσαν. This change in policy was not so
much due to the illness of Agesilaus, whose hatred against Thebes had for years been the leading motive of Spartan policy, as necessitated by the formation of the new Athenian Confederacy, of which Thebes was now a member.

Πόλλις, secretary to the admiral Podanemus 393–392; cp. iv. 8. 11: no Spartan admiral has been mentioned since Antalcidas.

ἐπολιορκοῦντο: similarly used in the sense of a blockade by sea in iv. 7. 1; v. 1. 2.

Γεραστών: the southern point of Euboea.

αὐτοί, i.e. the citizens themselves, as opposed to allies or mercenaries.

τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. Xenophon seems to use the article here, as in his allusions to the sea-fight at Cnidus (iv. 3. 10; 8. 1) to imply that this battle at Naxos in 376 was well known to the reader. Diod. (xiv. 34, 35) gives a long but not very intelligible account of the battle. According to him, Chabrias, to create a diversion, sailed with his whole fleet to Naxos and laid siege to the city. Pollis was thereby obliged to leave his blockade of the Attic coasts and sail to the relief of the island. Between Paros and Naxos with 65 ships under his command he fell in with the Athenian fleet of 83 vessels, and inflicted great loss on the Athenian left wing, killing its commander Cedon. Thereupon, however, Chabrias came up and changed the defeat into a victory, sinking many triremes, capturing others, and taking much booty; but was afraid to follow up the pursuit, whereby he might have captured the whole Lacedaemonian fleet, remembering the fate of the Athenian generals at Arginusae; he therefore stopped to pick up the survivors of the 18 ships that he had lost himself and to bury the dead. This was the first victory that the Athenians had won by sea with their own fleet since the Peloponnesian War. Dem. (xx. 77) estimates the Lacedaemonian loss at 49 triremes and 3,000 prisoners. After this victory many more of the islands, including Naxos, joined the new Athenian Confederacy. Cp. also Plut. (Phocion 6, 7; Camill. 19) who puts the date of the battle on the 16th of Boedromion, c. Sept. 10. Chabrias sailed back to Piraeus, laden with the spoils of victory. The people voted him extraordinary honours (Dem. xx. 84–86).
§ 62. διαβιβάζειν: cp. § 60.
οἱ Θηβαῖοι. Xenophon, it is to be noticed, attributes the instigation of the Athenian expedition round the Peloponnesus to the Thebans, at the same time that he omits altogether the simultaneous expedition of Chabrias to Abdera and the Thracian coast (Diod. xv. 36). Both expeditions were the direct outcome of the victory at Naxos.

πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς, i. e. against the Thebans.

§ 63. τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον: cp. § 34.
ἐξήκοντα: cp. Isocr. xv. 109 εἰς τὸν περίπλουν τὸν περί Πελοπῶν-νησον τρία καὶ δέκα μοῦν τάλαντα δοῦσις αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τριήμεις πεντήκοντα.

Τιμώθεον, Conon’s son: he had already been elected general in 378: cp. § 34 note.

ἐτεί. For the chronology cp. Introd. p. lxiv.

ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι. Xenophon has here omitted to give any account of the famous fight at Tegyra, where Pelopidas at the head of the Sacred Band of 300 and a few horsemen defeated in fair and open fight a superior force of Lacedaemonians, which formed the garrison of Orchomenus, but happened to be returning from an expedition against the Opuntian Locrians: cp. Diod. xv. 37; Plut. Pel. 16, 17. In vi. 4. 10 Xenophon has an obscure allusion to this and similar battles—διὰ τὲ τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπίους.

ἀνελήμβανον: cp. vi. 1. 1 note.

§ 64. Κέρκυραν . . . ἐποίησατο. An inscription (CIA. ii. 49) records the incorporation of the Corcyraeans, Acarnanians, and Cephalenians into the Athenian Confederacy in the archonship of Hippodamos 375–374: cp. CIA. ii. 17, 1678; Corn. Nep. Timoth. 2 Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit sociosque idem adiunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae mare illud adiacent; and Diod. xv. 36 πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Κεφαληνίαν τὰς τ’ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις προσηγάγετο καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ’Ακαρνανίαν ὄροις ἔπεισεν ἀποκλίναι πρὸς ’Αθηναίους. ’Αλκέταν δὲ τὸν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα φίλον κατασκευάσας καὶ καθόλου τὰς πλείστας τῶν περὶ τούς τόπους ἐκείνους πόλεων ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος, ἐνίκησε ναυμαχία τοὺς Δακεδαμονίους περὶ Λευκάδα.
οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ... μετέστησεν: cp. Isocrates' panegyric on his actions xv. 115-127 esp. ὄσπερ οἰκουμένας αὐτὰς (τὰς πόλεις) ἐισίων κατέλαβεν, οὕτως ἐξίων κατέλειπεν ... ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατηγίας οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτ' ἀναστάσεις εὑροὶ γεγενημένας οὔτε πολίτειῶν μεταβολάς οὔτε σφαγάς καὶ φυγᾶς οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀνηκέστων.

§ 65. Νικόλοχος: formerly secretary of the admiral Antalcidas:
cp. n. i. 6.

ἐν Ἀλνζείᾳ: in Acarnania, opposite the island of Leucas. Polyaen. (iii. io. 4) dates the battle on the feast of Scira (June?): cp. Introd. p. lxiv.

§ 66. εἰς Κερκύρας ἄλλας. According to Isocr. xv. 109 the Corcyraeans then possessed 80 triremes.

ὑπερεῖχε: cp. Isocr. xv. 110 Δακεδαμονίων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου τῶν χρόνων μηδ' ύψι ἐνὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μάλεας περιπλέουν, κ.τ.λ.

πολλῶν ... ἐδείτο: cp. § 63 note and Isocr. xv. 120 συνίστασι (οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι) γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχάς τῶν πολέμων διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐνδείας καθιστάμενον: cp. Arist. Theon. ii. 24. 2.
BOOK VI

CHAPTER I

§ 1. Cleombrotus was despatched to the aid of the Phocians, who were now being attacked by the Thebans. §§ 2–16. Polydamas, the Pharsalian, arrived in Sparta and in a lengthy speech asked for help against the ever-increasing power of Jason of Phraca. §§ 17–19. After three days' deliberation the Lacedaemonians were obliged to confess that they were unable to help him. Pharsalus at once submitted and Jason was acknowledged Tagus of all Thessaly.

§ 374–373 B.C.

§ 1. κατεστρέψαντο, i.e. they compelled τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις once more to enter the Boeotian League, but no longer on terms of equality. Henceforward they bore the same relation to Thebes as the demes of Attica to Athens or the Laconian and Messenian towns to Sparta: cp. Isocr. xiv. 8 τὰς μὲν ἱδίας ἡμῶν (the Boeotians in general) ἐκόστων πόλεις ἀφαινίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν δεσμένους κοινωνείν ἀναγκάζουσι. Some states, however, like Plataea and Orchomenus (Diod. xv. 46, 57; cp. vi. 4. 10) still maintained their independence.

eἰς τὴν Φωκίδα: for the long standing hostility between Thebes and Phocis cp. iii. 5. 4.


μὴ πείδεσθαι: μὴ οὐ is more usual; cp. Critical Note: for the two negatives each having its force cp. v. 2. 1; Cyrop. iii. 3. 24 ὥρα ... μήτε τοὺς ἡμετέρους φοβομένους μὴ ἀντιπροσιέναι.

τέτταρας μόρας: there were six morae in all: cp. vi. 4. 17.

τὸ μέρος, i.e. proportionate contingents from the Spartan allies, as in iv. 6. 3.

§ 2. τὸ κοινὸν: probably the Spartan assembly, exclusive of the allies: cp. vi. 3. 3.
τῇ πόλει: Pharsalus.

στασιάσαντες. Before the Corinthian War Pharsalus had been occupied by a Lacedaemonian garrison (Diod. xiv. 82) which was expelled by Medius, tyrant of Larisa, when he captured the town. In 394 the Pharsalians did their best to hinder Agesilaus’ march through Thessaly, cp. iv. 3. 3, 8. Now the philo-Laconian party seem once more to have been in the ascendant, and applied for help to their old allies. In Aristotle’s time the Pharsalan constitution was a harmonious oligarchy: Pol. v. 6. 10 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλῶν κύριοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ χρήσθαι σφίσων αὐτῶι καλῶς.

ὁσα . . . νόμοις: the relative sentence constitutes the object of ἀναλίσκειν.

§ 3. τὴν ἄκραυ, i.e. τὴν ἄκροπολιν.
ἐνδείκτεις, impersonal, ‘whenever there was a deficit.’

τῆς προσόδου: a kind of participial genitive: cp. ii. 3. 14; Cobet adds τι: cp. Critical Note.

Θεσσαλικὸν τρόπον: cp. Athen. xiv. 662 ὡμολογοῦνται δὲ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πολυτελεστατοί τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενήθσαι περὶ τὲ τὰς ἐσθήτας καὶ τὴν διασταὶ; and xii. 527 Φαρσάλιοι δὲ πάντων . . . ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυτελεστατοί.

§ 4. εὐεργέτης: cp. i. 1. 26; Vectigal. 3. 10; Dem. xx. 60: this, like πρόξενος, was a title of honour given by states to aliens, who had done them good service.

ἐκ . . . προγόνων: ἐκ is temporal, ‘since,’ ‘from’: the phrase may be paraphrased—‘titles borne by all our ancestors within our memory.’ For the omission of the article cp. Cyrop. i. 3. 7 πᾶντα ἀ ἔλαβε κρέα.

ἐδ οἵδ’ ἂτι: parenthetical, as in § 10.

Ἰάσωνος. Jason was following in the footsteps of his predecessor Lycophon who in 404 aspired ἄρξαι δῆλης τῆς Θεσσαλίας (ii. 3. 4). Ten years afterwards we read in Diod. xiv. 82 of Lycophon’s being at war with Medius, tyrant of Larisa. The earliest known exploit of Jason himself is the assistance that he gave to Neogenes, when the latter made himself tyrant of Oreus in Euboea shortly before 378 B.C. (cp. Diod. xv. 30 and v. 4. 56). Meantime he had seized advantage of the troubles in Greece to increase his own dominions.

σπονδάς πουησάμενος, ‘having made a truce’: cp. § 5 ὑμῶν . . . στρατευομένων.
§ 5. Ὅτι μὲν has no corresponding δὲ: the thought is resumed in § 7 κρείττων μοι δοκεῖ.

τὰ ἔναντία, adverbial: cp. iii. 5. 11.

ξένους ... μισθοφόρους, i.e. aliens, not drawn from Thessaly: cp. Appendix, p. 360.

τὰ ... στρατεύματα, i.e. citizen troops, often called τὰ πολιτικὰ: cp. iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25.

σωμασκούσι γε ... μᾶλα ὀλίγοι: cp. § 3 note.

§ 6. αὐτός, i.e. Jason.

σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς, i.e. fully equipped with heavy armour.

διμορίαις, i.e. with double pay.

νόσων γε θεραπείαις: this is the first recorded instance of measures taken to care for sick soldiers.

§ 7. εἰδότι, ‘though I was well aware of it already.’

Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοτες: the Maraci are probably the same as the Maraces, whom Pliny (iv. 3) mentions together with the Dolopians as a people of Aetolia.

Ἄλκέτας: king of the Molossians, who had been induced by Timotheus in 375 to join the Athenian Confederacy: Diod. xv. 36; CIA. ii. 49: vi. 2. 10.

ἄν ... ἄν: ἄν is repeated to emphasize the conditional nature of the whole sentence, including the participle: ‘what should I fear so as to think that I could not,’ &c.

§ 8. τὰ δεύτερα, ‘the second place.’

πόλεων, sc. προσγεγομένων.

ταγός Θεσσαλῶν ἀπάντων. The office of ταγός, called by Pollux (i. 128) ἱδιὸν Θεσσαλῶν, seems to have represented the power of the older kings, of whom we hear down to the middle of the fifth century (Thuc. i. 111), in their military capacity. The Tagus was elected by a majority of the Thessalian states and commanded the whole of their military forces (§ 9). He also assessed the contributions to be levied from the different states for military purposes: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 755.

ὁς γε μὴν: apparently correlative to τούτο μὲν: cp. iii. 1. 7; iv. 2. 17; Appendix, p. 360.

οἱ ἵππευνοντες: for the fame of the Thessalian cavalry cp. v. 3. 9.


§ 9. οἱ ταύτῃ, i.e. πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη.
§ 10. ὅσοι ... πολεμοῦντες: without εἰς, as in De re eq. 11. 12 πάντες ὅσοι συμπαρεπόμενοι ἐξισθεάτοι ἄν φαίνοντο, and vi. 2. 27, 30. ὑπάρχουσι ... σύμμαχοι. Nothing is known of any previous relations between Jason and the Thebans, except the obviously mythical story in Plutarch, Daem. Socr. p. 583.

εὐ οἴδ᾽ ὅτι: parenthetical, as in § 4.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς φίλιαν. However, in the following year he was already an ally of Athens, Dem. xlix. 10.

§ 11. εἰ δὲ ... λογίζομαι, 'as to whether my calculations are reasonable,' &c.: for the construction cp. ii. 3. 27.

τὰ ἔνα: cp. v. 2. 16 note.

πενέστας: cp. ii. 3. 36 note.

ἄν μὴ πρώνται: cp. i. 1. 35; v. 4. 61.

§ 12. νησιόδρια: diminutive to show contempt for the islands contrasted with ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη.

ὑπῆκον ποιῆσασθαι. Isocrates (v. 119) attributes similar designs to Jason: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οἴδεν τωδέν ὄιων αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος τῆς Καρακασάμενους μεγίστης δόξης ἐτυχεν, οὐκ εἰς δὲν ἐπράξεν, ἀλλ᾿ εἰς δὲν ἐφησὲν εποίητο γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ὡς εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον (Ἀσία) διαβησάμενος καὶ βασιλεῖ πολεμῆσαι.

διωκείαν: in relation to the king of Persia all his subjects were regarded as slaves: cp. iii. 1. 26; iv. 1. 36.

τῆς μετὰ Κύρου: cp. iii. 1. 1 and Anab. i. 7. 10.

τῆς μετ᾽ 'Αγγειλάου: cp. iii. 4. 2–4, 11.

εἰς πάν ἄφικετο: cp. v. 4. 29 note.

§ 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ ... ο δὲ ἐπανέσας: though the meaning is plain, the grammatical construction is involved: ἐπεὶ δὲ introduces the protasis, to which ὁ δὲ ἐπανέσας κ.τ.λ. forms the logical apodosis; the irregularity is due to the interpolated τοῦτ᾽ ἐφην, which causes ἀπορῶν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι to be treated as an independent principal sentence in Direct Narration, instead of dependent (as it should be grammatically) on ἀπεκρινάμην.

ἐκτέον μοι εἰ, 'he must cling to me all the more, because,' &c.

didōσω, sc. οἷ Ἀκαδημάμωνι, 'allow you to persuade them': for σοι Cobet proposes θεοὶ, Dobrée σοι θεοί, Voigtlander οἱ θεοί; but though these proposals yield a much better sense, it is awkward grammatically to change the subject again at δοκῶσω: cp. Critical Note.
374-373 B.C. VI. i. 14-18

συμμαχίαν: abstract for concrete, as in iv. 8. 24. ώς ἐμοὶ πολέμειν: ώς with the infinitive to express purpose, as in v. 2. 38.

τούτω ... πολέμον, 'we must put up with any result that war may bring.'


οὐ πράττεις τὰ κράτιστα: 'if you too should do the best for your country;' or reading οὐ πράττεις, 'where you fare so well,' Dakyns: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 360.

§ 14. ώς εἰ ... δοκεῖν: the sentence, as it stands, is untranslateable. Stephanus' remedy reading δοκοῦσαι for δοκεῖν seems the simplest: cp. Critical Note.

νεοδαμώδεις ... ἰδιώτην: a tacit reference apparently to the procedure of the Spartans in the case of Olythus: cp. v. 2. 24.

§ 15. φρόνιμος μέν: the μέν is correlative to καὶ μήν ἐγκρατέστατος § 16. ώς for ὡςτε.

λαυθάνειν ... βιάζεσθαι: for a similar collocation cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 19 α δὲ ὕμθη χρῆται λαϊδεῖν ἢ φθάσαι ἢ ἀποβιώσασθαι, οὐδὲν τούτων ἰκανός γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι.

νυκτὶ ὀσαπέρ ἡμέρᾳ: cp. Cyrop. i. 5. 12 νυκτὶ ... ὀσαπέρ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρᾳ δύναισθ᾽ ἀν χρῆσθαι and Ages. 6. 6 νυκτὶ μὲν ὀσαπέρ ἡμέρᾳ ἐχρῆτο, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ὀσαπέρ νυκτὶ.

ἐκπλήσαι τὰς γνώμας, 'to satisfy their wishes': Anab. i. 7. 8 ὅ δὲ ἐμπιπτά τάσεις τῶν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε.

§ 16. τὸ μῆ [eis τὸ] πράττειν: dependent upon ἀσχολίαν, as containing a negative conception. Dindorf deletes eis τὸ as unintelligible.

τὸ δεόμενον, sc. πράττεσθαι: cp. Cyrop. ii. 3. 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένον.

§ 17. τὰς ἔξω μόρας: cp. § 1; four μόραι had been sent into Phocis under Cleombrotus.

τὰς περὶ ... τριήρεις, i.e. the μόραι employed in defending the Laconian coast against the 60 Athenian triremes under Timotheus; cp. v. 4. 63: ἔξω must be a dittograph from the line above: cp. Critical Note.

πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πολέμον: an exaggerated statement, as the Lacedaemonians had as yet no war nearer than Thebes and Athens.

§ 18. τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασφῆ, 'preserve it for those who had entrusted it to his keeping': cp. § 2.
CHAPTER II

§§ 1-7. The Athenians, alarmed at the growth of Thebes, made peace with the Lacedaemonians, and accordingly recalled Timotheus from Corecyra. On his way home he replaced some Zacynthian exiles. The Lacedaemonians, thinking this a breach of the peace, despatched 60 ships under the admiral Mnasippus to Corecyra. He ravaged the country and blockaded the city. §§ 8-14. The Corecyreans sought help from the Athenians, who first sent 600 peltasts under Ctesicles across the continent to the island, and voted to equip a fleet and chose Timotheus to command it. Being unable to equip the ships properly, he lingered round the islands. Angry at the delay, the Athenians replaced him by Iphicrates, who took strong measures to make the ships ready. §§ 15-26. The Corecyreans were so hard pressed by famine, that Mnasippus relaxed his watchfulness and neglected to pay his mercenaries. His troops were defeated and he himself slain. Soon afterwards his secretary sailed to Leucas with the remnant of his forces. §§ 27-31. Iphicrates on his voyage to Corecyra showed great ingenuity in training his crews. At the time of Mnasippus' death he was at Sphagiae, but he first got certain news of it in Cephalenia. § 32. Xenophon's comment. §§ 33-38. After subjugating Cephalenia Iphicrates arrived in Corecyra; there he captured 10 triremes, which in ignorance of his death were sailing in from Dionysius to the aid of Mnasippus. Iphicrates maintained his armament, partly by allowing his sailors to cultivate the fields for the Corecyreans, partly by hiring out his troops to friendly cities on the mainland. Then he exacted money from the Cephalenians and prepared to renew the war with the Lacedaemonians. § 39. Xenophon's comment on Iphicrates' choice of Callistratus and Chabrias for his colleagues.

§ 1. συνελέγουτο. Four morae and contingents from the allies under Cleombrotus had been conveyed across the Corinthian Gulf into Phocis, vi. 1. 1.
auξανομένους ... δαὶ σφᾶς: cp. v. 4. 62 ff.
χρήματα ... εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν. In Aristoteles' decree of the year 377 (cp. v. 4. 60 note) there is no provision for any money contributions on the part of the allies; and in line 23 there is the express statement μὴτε φόρον φέροντι, so that the συντάξεις proposed by Callistratus (cp. Harpocrat. s. v.) instead of the φόρος must have been of later institution, and very probably, as in the earlier empire, were only paid by some of the allied states in commutation of their contingents of ships or troops: cp. Isocr. vii. 2 τῆς πόλεως (i.e. Athens) ἐτὶ συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλούς μὲν τοὺς ἐτοίμως ἡμῖν, ἢν τι δἐῃ, βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προστατάτομενον ποιοῦντας. Xenophon in this passage must therefore mean that though the Thebans were bound as members of the Confederacy to render assistance against Sparta, as a matter of fact they did so neither by sending men or ships, nor by contributing money: hence the Athenian discontent. Cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 443.

εἰσφοράς: taxes on income, only levied in times of war by special vote of the Assembly. The method of assessment had been altered in the archonship of Nausinicus, when the system of συμμορία was first introduced: cp. Gilbert, Gk. Antiq. p. 364 ff.

ληστείαις ἢ Αἰγίνης. Sufferings from this same cause had in 387 inclined the Athenians towards peace: cp. v. i. 29.

πρέσβεις: Callias was among their number: cp. vi. 3. 4.

εἰρήνην ἐποίησαντο. What the actual conditions of this Peace may have been, cannot in the conflict of evidence be determined; its duration was so exceedingly short, that it was of little practical importance. Isocrates (xv. 109), writing more than twenty years later, speaks of it in exaggerated terms—τὴν εἰρήνην, ἡ τοσάντην μεταβολήν ἐκατέρα τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν, ὅσθ' ἡμῖς μὲν ἄπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν αὐτὴν καθ' ἐκατόν τῶν ἐναυτῶν ως οὐδεμίᾶς ἄλλης οὕτω τῇ πόλει συνενεγκούσης, Δακεδαμονίων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον μηδ' ὕψ' εἶνος ἐωρᾶσαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μᾶλεας περιπλέειν μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον δι' Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον. Similarly Demosthenes (xxii. 15) says—εἰρήνης ἐτύχεθ' ὑποίκαι τινὸς ἡβουλεύσει. The Peace must therefore have contained some provision recognizing the powerful position of Athens at sea: cp. Cor. Nep. Timoth. 2 Lacedaemonii ... sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum con-
cesserunt, pacemque iis legibus constituerunt ut Athenienses mari duces essent. quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum. This view is confirmed by the silence of Xenophon, who habitually neglects all operations by sea and has given no account of the growth of the Second Athenian Empire; and by a statement of Diodorus (xv. 38)—which occurs outside the limits of the passage, which has excited such controversy and of which more hereafter—Δακεδαμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, διὰ παντὸς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενοι, παρεχώρουν ἄλληλοις, οἱ μὲν τῆς κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατὰ θαλατταν ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι κρανόμενοι. Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Nepos all agree in describing Athens and Sparta as the only parties to the Peace.

Diodorus in the passage above referred to (xv. 38) ascribes the Peace, which he puts a year too soon, to the intervention of the Persian king, Artaxerxes, who hoped to hire large numbers of Greek mercenaries for the war against his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The Greeks, weary of the long wars, gladly accepted his intervention, and all agreed, with one exception, ὅστε πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτόνομους καὶ ἀφρούρητους εἶναι. The Thebans alone refused the terms, wishing to sign the conditions in the name of all the Boeotians, and thus they became ἐκστούνδοι. This seems to be an obvious duplicate of the history of the Peace of Callias in 371, and to be inconsistent with the context in Diodorus himself and with the other authorities. For (1) Isocrates in his Plataean oration (373 B.C.) § 41 says that for a long time the Persian king had taken no part in Greek affairs; (2) if all Greek states were to be αὐτόνομοι and ἀφρούρητοι, the Peace could hardly at the same time have recognized the ἡγεμονία of Athens by sea and of Sparta by land; (3) the Thebans so far from being ἐκστούνδοι in the years 374–371 remained members of the new Athenian Confederacy, supplied their contingents of ships and claimed pay from the Confederate Chest for the same (Dem. xlix. 10, 11, 21, 49). For a full discussion of this curious duplicate cp. Stern, pp. 93–99.

§ 2. τῷ Τιμοθέῳ: somewhere on the Acarnanian coast: v. 4. 66. τῶν τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγῶν: evidently democratical exiles: Diod. xv. 45 mistakenly calls them aristocrats.

eἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν: cp. CIA. ii. 17, where they appear among
the Athenian confederates as Ἰακύβων ὁ ἄνομος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήσῳ; and Diod. xv. 43 διώκει τοιαύτας εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατελάβοντο χωρίων ἄχρον παρὰ θάλασσαν οἱ προσηγήγοροι Αρκαδίαν. Bursian (Geogr. Gr. ii. 379) thinks that Arcadia was the name of the fort, Nellus of the hill on which it stood.

§ 3. οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: cp. iii. 1. 22.

ἐδοὺς . . . κατεσκεύαζον: Diod. xv. 45 adds that the Lacedaemonians first sent ambassadors to Athens to complain; then seeing that the Athenians sided with the exiles, sent a fleet of 25 triremes under Aristocrates to help the Zacynthians. At the same time in response to the appeal of the Corcyraean oligarchs, they despatched 22 triremes under Alcidas to that island—on the ostensible pretext of sending them to Sicily. Diodorus never relates what were the fortunes of these two squadrons; but in ch. 47 tells how the Lacedaemonians appointed Mnasippus general and despatched him to Corcyra with 65 triremes and 1,500 soldiers. As it is not to be supposed that the Lacedaemonians had at this time 112 triremes at sea, we must presume that Mnasippus incorporated the two previous squadrons with his own fleet. Diodorus puts Mnasippus’ departure after that the Athenians had despatched Ctesicles.

συνετάττοντο: cp. v. 2. 20 note.

§ 4. πρὸς Διονύσιον: cp. v. i. 28; 3. 27 notes. This application to Dionysius probably explains Diodorus’ story of the despatch of Alcidas to Corcyra on the pretence of going to Sicily; cp. § 3 note.

χρήσιμον εἰ: cp. § 9.

§ 5. καὶ μισθοφόρους . . . πεντακοσίων: Diod. (l. c.) sets the total number at 1,500.

§ 6. ἀπέβη. Diodorus relates that he sailed into the harbour, seized four Corcyraean triremes, while the Corcyraeans themselves were forced to burn three more, and defeated the enemy also by land.

ἐφασαν: cp. iii. 5. 21.

οὐκ ἐθέλει. οὐ, not μη, because the infinitive is only due to the oblique narration. Cp. Goodwin, M. T. 594.

ἀνθρώπινα, sc. ὁ ὅδος.

§ 7. εἰς τὰ πέ ρα, ‘on the other side’: cp. vii. 4. 30.

ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι: probably the outer harbour on the NE. side of the town, mostly used by merchantmen. The inner harbour on
the SW. side seems to have been reserved for vessels of war; and, if Diodorus’ account be correct (cp. § 6 note), must have been in the hands of the Peloponnesians.

§ 9. πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Diod. (xv. 46) puts the application before the arrival of Mnasippus.

ἐδίδασκων ... παράπλου: cp. the parallel passage in Thucydides (i. 32–36), where the Corcyraeanc envoys speak in similar terms. Thus (a) ὡς μέγα ... προσβάλουεν recalls in ch. 36 τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς "Ελλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ’ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἣμετέρου καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων, τούτων δ’ εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορινθίων ἥμας προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἀμα ναυμαχή-σετε' δεξάμενοι δὲ ἥμας ἐξετε πρὸς αὑτοὺς πλείοσι ναῦσι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι: (β) ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ... γενέσθαι recalls in ch. 33 ναυτικῶν τε κεκτημέθα πλήν τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν πλείστον: and (γ) ἐτε δὲ κεῖσθαι ... παράπλου recalls in ch. 36 τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται.

ἐν καλῷ ... κόλπῳ, ‘in a good place as regards the Corinthian Gulf.’ For the genitive cp. iv. 5. 15 ὡς τάχους ἔκαστος ἔξεν and Thuc. iii. 92 τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὑτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι.

§ 10. πέμπονσι χτησικλέα. Xenophon evidently means that Ctesicles marched by land through Thessaly and Epirus. Diodorus makes him proceed to Corcyra by sea, and gives a double and confused version of his appointment: in xv. 46 he says that the Athenians on receiving the application of the Corcyraeans immediately despatched Ctesicles (Stesicles) to Zacynthus before the appointment of Mnasippus by the Spartans: and again in xv. 47 he represents them after the appointment of Mnasippus and the return of Timotheus from Thrace as choosing Ctesicles as general κατὰ τὸ πυρὸν and hurriedly sending him with 500 soldiers to Corcyra. Xenophon’s account is evidently to be preferred: cp. Grote, ix. 364, 371, who conjectures with great ingenuity and some small probability that Timotheus conveyed Ctesicles and his troops northwards to Thessaly, made an alliance with Jason of Pherae, and thus procured the safe conduct of Ctesicles’ troops through Thessaly. This conjecture is, however, scarcely consistent either with Xenophon or Diodorus.

‘Ἀλκέτου: cp. vi. 1. 7 note, where Jason calls him his ἵππος.
It is noticeable that at that time (374) Jason was not yet an ally of Athens: he certainly was so in Nov. 373 (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 10): hence Grote (l.c.) conjectures that it was at this time that the alliance was effected (cp. § 12 note); basing his conjecture on the strong personal interest that Jason manifested in the fate of Timotheus at his trial in November, and on Diodorus’ statement that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Ὁράκης.

§ 11. διακομισθέντες ποιν: ποιν, not ποι, because διακομισθέντες implies the landing of the troops as well as their conveyance across the strait.

ἐξῆκοντα. So Diod. xv. 47; Dem. xlix. 11: this included contingents from the Boeotians and other allies: cp. Dem. l. c. § 14.

Τιμόθεου: he had therefore returned to Athens from Zacynthus: cp. § 2.

373-372 B.C.

§ 12. αὐτόθεν, i.e. from Athens.

ἐπὶ νήσων, i.e. the islands of the Aegean, as in iv. 8. 7: he sailed in the month of Munychion (April) 373 (ps.-Dem. xlix. 6). Diodorus (xv. 47) states that Timotheus sailed ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ πολλᾶς πόλεως ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν προκαλεσάμενος προσέθηκε τριάκοντα τριήρεις: cp. § 10 note.

οὐ φαῦλον . . . περιπλεύσαι, ‘considering it to be no small matter casually to sail round Peloponnesus to attack (ἐπὶ) a well disciplined fleet.’ For συγκεκριτήμενα ναῦς cp. Thuc. viii. 95 ἀξιγραπτῶς πληρώμασι χρήστασαί: the ships are of course those of Mnasippus at Corcyra.

§ 13. ἀναλῶν: older form of ἀναλίσκεων: so Hiero ii. 1; Thuc. iii. 81.

τὸν τῆς ὁρᾶς . . . χρῖνον. Apollodorus (cp. ps.-Dem. xlix. 9 ff.) describes the disorganization, due to want of money and supplies, of the allied contingents assembled at Calauria off Troezen, which Timotheus had appointed as the place of rendezvous.

παύσαντες . . . στρατηγίας. According to ps.-Dem. (l. c.) he was recalled from Calauria, being denounced for his delay by Iphicrates and Callistratus. This probably took place about June: but he was not actually tried until November, when he was acquitted, chiefly—according to the same authority—owing to the appearance
of his powerful friends Jason and Alcetas as witnesses in his behalf. Diodorus' account is inconsistent both with Xenophon and Demo-
stenes: he states (xv. 47) that Timotheus was first deprived of his command, but when he appeared at Athens bringing with him many ambassadors with offers of alliance, 30 additional triremes and abundant supplies, he was reappointed, and shortly before the defeat and death of Mnasippus set sail for Corcyra with Iphicrates as his colleague. For criticisms of Diodorus cp. Grote, ix. 371 and
Stern, 110–113.

'Ιφικράτην: last mentioned in v. i. 25 as blockading Nicolocho
in Abydos in 387 B.C. In the interval he had about 377 been sent
by the Athenians at the invitation of Pharnabazus to assist that
satrap in his campaign against Acoris the rebel king of Egypt;
he had however quarrelled with Pharnabazus, and consequently
returned to Athens in the year 374: cp. Diod. xv. 29, 43.

§ 14. ἴπνάγας, i.e. compelled the trierarchs to do their duty, for
which cp. Dict. Antiq. ii. 890.

Πάραλον ... Σαλαμνίαν: cp. ii. i. 28 and note.

§ 15. ἐν ... χρόνῳ: about September 373: cp. Introd. p. lxvi.

πεπρᾶσθαι: the perfect tense denotes the permanent state
resulting from the act of being sold: cp. Dem. lxx. 17 [ὁ νόμος]
πεπρᾶσθαι κελεύει: cp. Critical Note.

tελευτῶν: equivalent to an adverb: cp. v. 3. 15.
oi ... ἣνθεθεν: cp. iii. 1. 18 note.

§ 16. ὄσον οὐκ ἤδη: cp. v. 2. 13, and § 24.


tοὺς μέν τινας ... ἀπομίσθους, 'some he had discharged from
his service.' To make a real opposition with τοῖς δὲ μένουσι,
ἀπομίσθους must be understood in the sense of 'paid off,' 'dis-
charged,' as in Dem. xxiii. 154 ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπόμισθος γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ
Τιμοθέου, and not in that of 'unpaid,' as in Dem. iv. 46 ἀθλίων
ἀπομίσθοις ἐνον.

ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνθρῶν: for these money contributions cp. v.
2. 21; 4. 37 and notes.

§ 17. ἐσπαρμένους. So iii. 4. 22.

§ 18. ἀπασίου, 'with all the hoplites he had.'

§ 19. τάπιτηδεια, i.e. the pay with which the soldiers supplied
themselves with provisions.
τῷ στύρακι: the spike at the butt-end of the spear: cp. Anab. ii. 3. 11 [ὁ Κλέαρχος] ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δύσν έχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν κ.τ.λ.

§ 20. κατὰ τὰς πύλας, 'opposite the gates.'
ἀνεστρέφοντο, 'faced about': i.e. the Corcyraean fugitives: cp. Critical Note.

μνημάτων. It was the Greek custom to bury the dead outside the city in tombs along the road side.

tοῖς ἐσχάτοις, i.e. the Peloponnesian troops at the end of the wing, whether left or right is uncertain.

§ 21. ἐπ’ ὄκτῳ: the ordinary depth of the phalanx: cp. iii. 2. 16.

tὸ ἀκρὸν: the ἐσχάτοι of the previous section.

ἀναστρέφειν. Xenophon seems to mean that some of the ranks in the centre of the phalanx faced about in order to march to the relief of the distressed wing, thus weakening the centre; and that then, when the Corcyraeans charged the weakened place in the phalanx, though the ranks thus detached stopped their projected manoeuvre (οὐκέτι ἐπανόστρεφαν), the whole line was unable to resist the charge. Cp. Cyrop. vii. 5. 2, where Cyrus employed the opposite manoeuvre, strengthening his centre by forming the wings behind it.

§ 22. ἄει: to be taken with ἔλαττος.

§ 23. τῶν ἀγοράιων . . . ἥχλον: cp. i. 6. 37; vi. 4. 9. Greek armies had no organized commissariat: they purchased their provisions from tradespeople, who followed them about under the superintendence of ἀγορανόμοι. Cp. Anab. v. 7. 2, 23, 29.

ὀφελός τι, i.e. 'thinking that there was some profit to be got out of them': cp. v. 3. 6.

§ 24. ἐν πάσῃ δῇ: δῇ emphasizes πάσῃ.

ὁσον οὐκ ἡδή: cp. § 16.

καὶ . . . ἐπιλήρουν is added as an anacoluthon, not being dependent on ἔλεγετο.

§ 25. ἑπιστολαφάρος: ἄπαξ λεγόμενον: elsewhere called ἑπιστολεύς: cp. i. 1. 23.

χαράκωμα: cp. § 7 and § 23.

§ 27. ἡρετο: cp. § 14.

ὁσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν, sc. ἐστί: repeated § 30: cp. vi. 1. 10.

μεγάλα ἰστία: cp. i. i. 13 note.

αὐτοῦ, i.e. at Athens.
τοῖς ἀκατίοις: the sails on the ἰστός ἀκατείος or smaller of the two masts usual in a trireme.

ὅλιγα: adverbial like ὅσαπερ in vi. 1. 15.


ἀμεινον ... ἔχειν = ἀμεινον εἶναι, τὰ σώματα being the accusa-
tive of respect: cp. v. 3. 17.

§ 28. ἐπανήγαγεν ἄν: for the aorist with ἄν to denote repeated
action cp. Anab. i. 9. 19; ii. 3. 11; iii. 4. 22, &c.; Goodwin, M. T.
162. The meaning is that Iphicrates put his vessels out to sea
(ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς) in column (τὸ κέρας = ἐπὶ κέρως) opposite the place
(κατὰ ταύτα τὰ χωρία) where he meant to land; and that then he
wheeled his vessels into line (ἀντιπρόφορος) parallel with the shore
before he gave the signal for the race shorewards.

ἐπιστρέψας ἄν: cp. Critical Note.

ὑδὼρ λαβεῖν κ.τ.λ., 'to get water (i.e. on shore) or whatever
else they needed.'

τοῦτος: neuter, referring to ὑδὼρ, &c.

ἀμα, i.e. at the same time as the first comers.

σημήνειε, sc. ὁ σαλπιγκής: cp. § 34; Anab. i. 2. 17; iii.
4. 4.

§ 29. ἀφόμενος ... ἰστός, i.e. he raised the masts, which were
lowered whilst the triremes were being rowed, in order to set a
lookout at the masthead (καρχήσιον).

πολύ: to be taken with πλέον.

ὀποὺ ... προσιῶν: cp. Anab. vii. 2. 18 [ὁ Ξενοφῶν] κατέμαθεν,
ὅτι τοῦτο ἐνεκα παρὰ κεκαμεῖνα εἴη τῷ Σεῦθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων,
ὀποὺ οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὅρωντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὃς μὴ ὄποιοι μήτε
ὀποὺ εἶν οἱ δὲ προσιῶντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἄλλα διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς
εἶν: so Cyrop. iii. 3. 25.

θέουντες, 'sailing', as opposed to ἐλαύνοντες, 'rowing': cp.
Aristoph. Eccl. 109 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὔτε θέουν οὔτε ἐλαύνομεν.

§ 30. ἐπὶ κέρως ... ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, 'in column' ... 'in line.'

ὅσα ... ναυμαχίαν: cp. § 27.

τὰ ... πολλὰ: adverbial, 'mostly.'

τὰς βοηθείας ... ἀναγόμενος, i.e. he put out to sea before the
enemy's forces could reach him.

ἐπέραινε, sc. τῆν ὀδόν: so καθανύσειν, v. 4. 20.
§ 31. τὰς Σφαγίας: three islands, including Sphacteria, off the promontory of Pylos in Messenia.

τὸν Ἴχθον: a promontory of Elis some eight miles west of the mouth of the Alpheus.

tà peri tou Mnasipou: cp. i. 6. 38.

§ 32. ὅσος ... ἀφικέσθαι: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The infinitive, which seems really due to a mixture of two constructions, finds a parallel in Oecon. 7. 29 προστέτακται ύπο τοῦ θεοῦ περιῶσθαι, ὅσος ὡς βελτιστα τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάτερον ἣμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. Cp. infin. with ὃτι ii. 2. 2, and with ὅς vi. 5. 42; vii. 4. 39.

§ 33. πρῶτον μέν corresponds to ἐπεὶ δὲ § 34.

παρὰ Διονυσίου: cp. § 4.

τῆς χώρας: partitive genitive dependent on ὅθεν.

eἰς τὴν πόλιν: placed between σημαίνοντας and καταφαίνεις, because the guards on the watch to give the signal to the city must necessarily be visible from it: εἶναι depends on δυνατῶν ἦν.

§ 34. προσπλέωντων ... ὄρμουντων, sc. τῶν πολεμῶν: for the omission of the subject with the genitive absolute cp. i. 1. 26, 29.

κηρύξειν, sc. ὁ κήρυξ: cp. § 28.

προείπε ... δίκην, 'forewarned him not to find fault with the penalty': for the phrase cp. Her. viii. 106 ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέ σοι ἐσομένην δίκην, and Plat. Leg. 716 b ὑποσχόν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν.

οὐδεὶς ... οὗτος οὖ: cp. v. i. 3.

eἰς τὰς ναύς, i.e. their ships were drawn up on the beach of the look-out post.

§ 35. ἐνθα ἦσαν: according to Polyaeon. iii. 9. 55, Iphicrates surprised the Syracusans at anchor off a desert island, and captured ten (Diodorus xv. 47 says nine), while one escaped. Diodorus (xvi. 57) inserts a story—ἀ προφος of the Phocians seizing the Delphic treasure in 353 B.C.—how Iphicrates, whilst stationed at Corcyra captured some vessels of Dionysius laden with treasures for Delphi and Olympia. If the story be true, obviously it cannot refer to the incident here related by Xenophon and by Diodorus himself in xv. 47.

§ 36. ἀκρωτηρισάμενος, 'having cut the beaks off the prows,' Dakyns. Cp. ii. 3. 8 and Her. iii. 59 τῶν νηῶν κατρίους ἔχουσέων τὰς πρόφας ἡκρωτηρισάσαν καὶ ἀνεθεσάν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας.
συνέβη, ‘he agreed.’

ὡς ... ὡς. The particle ὡς is also repeated, but not in quite parallel constructions in iii. 5. 5; v. 2. 2, 8.

ἀφήκη. Diodorus (xv. 47) says that Iphicrates sold his prisoners and raised thereby more than sixty talents, with which he paid his soldiers and sailors.

372–371 B.C.

§ 37. γεωργοῦντας: cp. the similar device of Eteonicus, ii. 1. 1.

φιλίας πόλεως: cp. v. 4. 64 note: the cities in these regions had been received by Timotheus into the New Athenian Confederacy in 375.

Θυριεώσι: the inhabitants of Thyreum, a town in the north of Acarnania near the Ambracian Gulf.

μάλα: emphasizes both ἀλκίμως and καρτερόν.

§ 38. ἐνεψαυτα: for the number cp. v. 4. 66.

tὸν ἄλλων: the story told by Polyaen. (iii. 9. 39, 48) of Iphicrates’ attack upon Epidaurus may perhaps be referred to this time.

κατ’ ἐκείνα: cp. iii. 5. 17.

τοῖς ... πελθομένοις: a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν.

§ 39. Καλλιστρατοῦ: cp. v. 4. 34, 60; vi. 2. 1 notes. Callistratus had been the colleague of Chabrias in 378 and had taken an active part in the formation of the New Athenian Confederacy, for the συντάξεως of which he was responsible. He had been foremost in procuring the deposition of Timotheus in the previous June, and now reached Athens in time for that general’s trial in November (§ 13 note). Timotheus was indeed acquitted, but Callistratus procured the condemnation to death of his paymaster Antimachus. For the part that Callistratus played in the negotiations with Sparta in 371 cp. vi. 3. 1–17.

οὐ μᾶλα ἐπιτήδειου ὄντα, ‘not a very suitable colleague’: this probably has a political reference, Iphicrates being in favour of pressing on the war against Sparta, whereas Callistratus advocated the policy of recognizing Sparta’s hegemony by land side by side with Athens’ hegemony by sea. It is however possible to interpret the phrase of Callistratus’ inferior military qualifications: cp. Grote, ix. 368.

Χαβρίαν: cp. v. 4. 61.
μάλα στρατηγόν: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 4. 2; v. 4. 14.

σώφρον, is harsh without τι: but cp. Mem. ii. 7. 13 θαυμαστόν.

οὔτω δρασέως: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361: the text seems to be corrupt, though the meaning is tolerably plain. Xenophon wishes apparently to remark that if Iphicrates regarded his colleagues as rivals, he was so sure of his own skill and competence as a general as to feel confident that they would be unable to use their position as a handle against him. Of the proposed emendations Jacob’s οὔτος ἐθάρσει (rather ἐθάρρει) μὴτε ... φανεῖσθαι seems therefore to be the best, though the same meaning can perhaps be extracted out of the MSS. reading by supplying ἐβουλέτο with φανεῖσθαι. Hertlein’s ἐδρασέν ὡς or Keller’s ἐπραττεν ὡς can hardly stand, as the reference must evidently be to Iphicrates’ motive in making the appointments, not to his action after the appointment was made.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1–3. The Athenians, displeased at the conduct of the Thebans, more especially towards Plataea and Thespiae, invited them to send envoys to Sparta to negotiate a general peace. §§ 4–9. Callias first addressed the Spartans and their allies, advocating peace: then Autocles, complaining that Sparta had violated the terms of the King’s Peace. §§ 10–17. Finally Calliststratus made a conciliatory speech. §§ 18–20. The Lacedaemonians accepted the conditions proposed, agreeing that should these terms be violated, any state might aid the injured party, but there should be no compulsion so to do. The Spartans swore to the Peace both for themselves and for their allies, the Athenians and their allies swore severally. The Thebans, having first signed their own name, claimed next day to swear for all the Boeotians. Agesilaus disallowed the claim, and the Theban envoys retired disheartened.

371–370 B.C.

§ 1. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ... ὀρῶτες: cp. vi. 2. 1 for the similar state of things in 374.

ἐκπετωκότας ... Πλαταίας: cp. v. 4. 10, 14. The reason for their expulsion is given by Diod. xv. 46. They had doubtless, along with the other Boeotian states, been forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes in 376, 375 (cp. vi. 1. 1; Isocr. xiv. 9);
and now they were detected in an intrigue with Athens, meaning to hand over their city to their old supporter. The Boeotarchs however anticipated the attempt, and seized the city, whilst the men were away working in the fields; they then razed the city to the ground, allowing the inhabitants to retire in safety to Athens, where they were once more welcomed and admitted to ἰσοπολιτεία. This event happened in 372, cp. Paus. ix. 1. 3.

Θεσπιᾶς...ἀπόλιδας. Thespie shared the same fate just afterwards (Diod. xv. 86) except that its inhabitants were not so fortunate as to find a refuge at Athens. They continued to live in Boeotia—probably κατὰ κόμας: for they were present in the Theban army at Leuctra, being however allowed to withdraw just before the battle: cp. vi. 4. 9 and note; Paus. ix. 14. 2. After the battle they seem to have retired, in fear of Theban vengeance, to an ancient stronghold of theirs, called Ceressus, from which they were then expelled by Epaminondas: cp. Paus. ix. 14. 4.

στρατεύοντας: cp. vi. 1. 1.

φίλους ἀρχαίους. For some considerable time the Phocians had rather favoured the Spartan side: cp. iii. 5. 3; iv. 3. 15; vi. 1. 1; but in 456 the Athenians had made themselves masters of Phocis, and in 448 had entrusted the Delphic shrine to their keeping (Thuc. i. 108, 112). Again in 426 they are described as ready προθύμως...κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀεὶ ποτὲ φιλίαν ἔστρατεύειν ἡ κάν βία προσαχθήναι (Thuc. iii. 95); and in 404 they had resisted the Theban and Corinthian proposal to wipe Athens out of the map of Greece: cp. ii. 2. 19; Dem. xix. 65; Plut. Lys. 15.

πόλεις πιστᾶς. The Plataeans alone had fought with the Athenians at Marathon (Her. vi. 108), and the Thespians alone had remained to the last with the Spartans at Thermopylae (Her. vii. 222, 226), when the Thebans had medized eagerly.

§ 2. ἡφισιάμενος...ποιεῖσθαι. The motives, which induced the Athenians to take the initiative in negotiations for peace, are so clearly stated by Xenophon that it seems impossible to accept Diodorus' version (xv. 50) of the affair—which (as has already been pointed out, cp. vi. 2. 1 note) is a curious duplicate of his account of the Peace of 374—that the impulse came on this occasion also from the King of Persia. Diodorus does indeed receive some confirmation from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Lys. 12)—μετὰ γὰρ
'Αλκισθένευν ἄρχοντα ἐφ' οὖ (i.e. 371) τὴν εἰρήνην Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ
Ασκαδαμινίων καὶ βασιλείων ᾧμοσαν—whose authority on such a
matter is very slender: but the reasons for such a misconception
are apparent; viz. that the Peace of Antalcidas was taken as the
basis for the new arrangement, as is manifest not only from
Callistratus' allusion to Antalcidas in § 12, but from the conditions
of the Peace itself in § 18: cp. Grote, ix. 374 and Stern, p. 120
for the opposite view.

παρακαλοῦντας. Thebes was still a member of the Athenian
Confedery, cp. § 19 and vi. 2. 1, 11 notes.

Καλλίας: cp. iv. 5. 13; v. 4. 22.
Κηφισσοῦδοτος: cp. vii. 1. 12 ff.: he was one of the σύνδικοι, who
defended Leptines; Dem. xx. 146, 150 οὔτος ἐστίν οὐδενὸς ἤτοι τῶν
λεγόντων δεῖνος εἰπεῖν.

§ 3. Καλλιστρατος: cp. vi. 2. 39.
ἐὶ αὐτὸν ἀφεῖ, i.e. to Athens, cp. vi. 2. 39 note.
χρήματα πέμψειν: for the pecuniary embarrasments of Iphirates
cp. vi. 2. 38.

ὁ δεδούχος. One of the four officials, who conducted the
Eleusinian mysteries: the office was hereditary in the family of
the Ceryces: cp. ii. 4. 20. Xenophon seems to have inserted the
epithet to explain the pompous style of Callias' speech.

§ 4. τὴν ... προφετίαν: cp. v. 4. 22.
στρατηγοῦν ήμᾶς. Xenophon speaks of only one command held
by Callias himself, iv. 5. 13.

εἰρήνησθοιο ... πρόσθεν δί: cp. vi. 2. 1: the other occasion
cannot be determined.

§ 5. τῇ ... ἀναιρέσει: cp. § 1.
ἐἰ ... ἀναρεῖσθαι: for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.
τῶν βαυμαστῶν: partitive genitive, used predicatively: 'would
it not be very extraordinary': cp. Mem. iv. 6. 10 ἄνδριαν ... ἁρα
tῶν καλῶν νομίζεις εἶναι;

§ 6. λέγεται μὲν: the correlative clause is rhetorically suppressed.

Τριττόλεμος ... Δήμητρος ... Κόρης: the three deities most
prominent in the Eleusinian mysteries: cp. § 3.

'Ἡρακλῆ: the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings: cp.
Her. vi. 52; ix. 26.
Διοσκόρου ... πολίται: sons of Tyndareus, king of Sparta: Hom. Od. xi. 300.

τοῦ Δῆμητρος ... δωρήσασθαι. Isocrates (iv. 28–31) after narrating the story at length tells us that it was customary for the various Greek states to send firstfruits of their harvest to Athens and that the Pythoness often reproofed such states as omitted to do so.

ἡμᾶς τε. τε after ἡ, though found perhaps in Aesch. Eum. 523 and elsewhere, seems to occur nowhere else in Xenophon. The nearest parallel is the converse—ἡ after τε—in Mem. i. 7. 3; Oecon. 20. 12.

μὴ οὐχὶ: the double negative because πῶς δικαῖον = οὐ δικαῖον.

ἐκθέων: for ἐκ instead of ὑπὸ to express the source of the action, cp. iii. 1. 6.

καταλύεσθαι, sc. τῶν πόλεων: for καταλύεσθαι in the middle instead of the more usual καταλύειν in this sense, cp. Andoc. iii. 17 ἐνθυμήθητε οὖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς μέγιστα τίνι τρόπῳ τῶν πόλεων καταλύσται.

§ 7. οὔτινες ... διαμέεναι, διδακτέον, sc. τοῦτοι.

αὐτονόμους: in v. 1. 36 Xenophon called the Lacedaemonians προστάται τής ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης.

συντιθεσθε ... ἀκολούθειν ... ἡγησθε: instances are Athens in 403 (ii. 2. 20) and Olynthus in 379 (v. 3. 26).

§ 8. οὔκ ἀνακοινώμενοι. Xenophon records several such instances—Mantinea, v. 2. 1; Thebes, v. 2. 35; Phlius, v. 3. 13; Athens, v. 4. 20. For the word cp. i. 1. 30.

δεκαρχίας: cp. iii. 5. 13 note.

τριακονταρχίας: as the Thirty in Athens.

ἐδίκατε ... ἡδόμενοι: if the reading be correct, a parallel for the nominative participle may be found in Mem. iv. 3. 8 ταῦτα παντάπασιν ἐοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεκα γεγ ρομένα: cp. Critical Note.

πολιτείας, i.e. any form of free constitution.

§ 9. προσέταττεν: cp. v. 1. 31 and Isocrates' (iv. 176) reproach against the Peace of Antalcidas as προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας.

ἑάσουν: for the fact cp. v. 1. 32.

τὴν Καδμείαν: cp. v. 2. 25 ff.

ὁπως ... πλείστα: ὁπως used with the superlative and δύνασθαι, like ὤς.
§ 10. ἄφ ἡμῶν: cp. v. 4. 60 note.

ἐπηρότεροι, 'more tractable.' Büchsenschütz, however, interprets 'cleverer,' comparing Oecon. 9. 5 οἱ ποιηταὶ (οἰκέται) συγγενεῖς εὐπορότεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν γίγνονται. Hartman proposes to read ἐμπειρότεροι.

ἡμεῖς, 'we Athenians.'

§ 11. τῶς ... τὰς πόλεις ... γεγένηται. The text is evidently corrupt: cp. Critical Note and Append. p. 361. The meaning is evident: 'The very cities, which you were so anxious to be free, have all again, since your unjust treatment of the Thebans, fallen under their power.'

ἡμᾶς, i.e. Spartans and Athenians.

§ 12. ἀ δὲ ... διαβάλλοντον, ὡς, 'but as for some people slanderously asserting that,' &c.: for ἀ δὲ cp. ii. 3. 45.

'Ἀνταλκίδας. It seems more consistent with the context to interpret this as a mere reference to the circumstances preceding the Peace of 387–386 than to suppose, with Grote and others, that Antalcidas had now a second time been sent as envoy on a similar mission. Even if the passage be so interpreted, it implies that Antalcidas had not yet returned, so that the conditions of the proposed Peace would have to be discussed in ignorance of Persian wishes. The fact that the Peace of 387–386 was taken as the basis of the Peace of 371 is in itself sufficient to account for Diodorus (xv. 50) speaking of Persian intervention on this occasion. Cp. v. 1. 29. Plutarch's story (Artaxer. 22) of a second visit of Antalcidas to the Persian court to get money after the battle of Leuctra might of course be taken as a confirmation of Grote's views, though unfortunately the biographer unites it with an obviously wrong statement that Agesilaus was at the same time despatched by the Spartans to Egypt for the same purpose.

ἐγραψέ: cp. v. 1. 30 and vi. 3. 9.

§ 13. οὗκ ἀποροῦντες, sc. ἦκομεν.

ἡτί μὴ ἐστιν ... ἐπιδεῖξαι. The text seems to be altogether corrupt, and as there is no direct reference to it in the context, satisfactory emendation seems to be impossible. Xenophon after ητί μὴ ἐστιν, must have given what Callistratus represented as the real reason of the Athenians appearing in Sparta—apparently the behaviour of certain of the allies, meaning the Thebans, with
which they were displeased (οὐκ ἄρεστὰ... ἡμῖν). Callistratus seems to say that obviously such behaviour must be equally displeasing to the Spartans. I would propose then as a desperate remedy to read οὐδ' ἵμιν ἄρεστὰ πράττουσιν. Cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361.

ἄρθρος ἐγνωμεν seems inexplicable. Hartman proposes ὅσ ἄρθρος ἐγνωτε with the meaning, 'that you were right in your reasons which led you to save us,' i.e. after the surrender of Athens in 404: cp. ii. 3. 25, 41 and vi. 5. 35.

§ 14. αἱ μὲν... φρονοῦσαι: cp. Isocr. iv. 16 τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ύφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Δακεδαμιόνιος εἰσίν' αἱ γὰρ πολιτείαι, δὲ δὲν οἰκοῦσι τὸς πόλεις, οὕτω τοὺς πλεῖστοις αὐτῶν διειλήφασι.

ἡμεῖς, i.e. Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

§ 15. δεί μὲν: without a corresponding δεί δὲ, as in v. 2. 12.

ἡ ὄψι: in negative sentences μᾶλλον can be followed either by ἡ or ἡ οὐ, so that there is no need to alter the reading here, because the interrogative has a negative force: cp. Thuc. ii. 62 εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν μᾶλλον ἡ ὁλγορήσα, and iii. 36 τόλιν ὀλην διαφθείρα μᾶλλον ἡ οὖ τοῖς αἰτίοις.

§ 16. τὴν ἀσκησιν continues the metaphor from athletics, begun with ἄγονοσταταί: 'until through defeat they have lost their skill in war.' For the meaning of ἀσκησις cp. Mem. iii. 14. 3 εἰν τις ἀνεν τοῦ σίτου τὸ ὄβον αὐτῷ ἐσθήσῃ, μὴ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἥδονης ἑνεκα, πότερον ὄφοφάγος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ οὖ;  

§ 18. εἰ δὲ τις... ποιώ. Herein lies the great difference between this Peace of 371 and the Peace of Antalcidas of 387–386 (cp. v. 1. 31, 36), the provisions of which Sparta had enforced in her own interests. Under the new treaty such enforcement was made anybody's business, in other words, nobody's business. Any state might encroach upon its neighbours without much fear of interference. Probably too Athens foresaw further troubles between Sparta and Thebes, from which she herself was anxious to be free; nor would Sparta be averse to such neutrality on the part of Athens, which would leave her freer to deal with Thebes (cp. Stern, p. 122), however much she might dislike the proclamation of autonomy applied to her own Peloponnesian Confederacy as well as to the Boeotian Confederacy of Thebes.

§ 19. Δακεδαμιόνιοι... ἐκαστοι. Sparta always professed to
acknowledge the autonomy of the allies in her confederacy, so that her action was not, as Grote seems to suppose (ix. 384), inconsistent with the terms of the Peace τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἔαν (cp. v. 1. 31 note). She was the head of an old established confederacy, and her relations to its several members were traditional and well known. Athens on the other hand had only just succeeded in forming a new maritime confederacy (cp. v. 4. 60 note), and could not pretend in any way to guarantee the acquiescence of its members in her wishes, so that they gave in their adhesion separately.

οἱ Ῥήβαιοι. Stern (p. 130) supposes that on the first day the Thebans swore as a separate member of the Athenian Confederacy, which they had joined simply as Thebans before they had re-asserted their supremacy over the other Boeotian states (cp. CIA. ii. 17 and v. 4. 60 note); and that then, having reflected that the Peace was practically but a reassertion of the Peace of Antalcidas, under which they had been forced to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states (cp. v. 1. 33), on the next day they came forward with their new proposal, which amounted to a recognition of the whole of Boeotia as a single state, like Athens with her demes, or Sparta with her Laconian and Messenian towns.

οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν: for a similar duplication of the subject cp. iv. 4. 1; v. 4. 40. According to Plutarch (Ages. 27, 28) and Pausanias (ix. 13. 2), who wrongly refers his story to the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, Epaminondas was among their number and made a bitter speech against the Spartans. Grote and other modern historians have preferred Plutarch's version to Xenophon's; but Stern (p. 126 ff.) shows almost conclusively that his story will not bear serious criticism, and that Xenophon's account has at least the merit of being logical and self-consistent.

ἀντὶ Ῥῆβαῖων Βουοτῶν. Cp. their similar behaviour in 387–386 (v. 1. 32 note) οἱ δὲ Ῥῆβαιοι ἥξιον ὑπὲρ πάντων Βουωτῶν ὀμνύαν. Then Agesilaus refused to accept their oath, unless at the same time they swore αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλην πόλεις, and after some opposition they were obliged to submit—αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βουωτίας πόλεις. Now that they had made themselves masters of all or nearly all the other Boeotian towns (vi. 1. 1) this request amounted to a demand for the legal recognition of their actual supremacy in Boeotia.

XEN. HELL.
CHAPTER IV

§§ 1-3. The Athenians scrupulously carried out the conditions of the peace: the Lacedaemonians withdrew their harvests and garrisons, but notwithstanding the remonstrances of Prothous, ordered Cleombrotus, then in Phoci, to march against the Thebans. The king eluded the Theban army by marching through Thisbe to Creusis, where he captured 12 triremes. §§ 4-8. Then he encamped at Leuctra. The Thebans encamped on the opposite hill. Cleombrotus, urged by friends and foes alike, was eager to fight. The Theban generals had many reasons for wishing for a battle. Omens and fortune favoured the Thebans. §§ 9-12. Battle of Leuctra.—First the Lacedaemonian auxiliaries drove a train of stragglers back to the Boeotian camp. The cavalry on both sides were posted in front, the Theban being much superior. The Lacedaemonians were drawn up 12 deep, the Thebans on the left wing 50 deep. §§ 13-16. Then the cavalry engaged, and the Lacedaemonians, easily worsted, fell back in disorder upon their own infantry. On the right wing Cleombrotus fell, and the troops around him were pressed back by the heavy Theban phalanx. Then the left wing gave way. The Lacedaemonians retreated no further than their original camp. The polemarchs refused to renew the combat, and sent a herald to recover the corpses. The Spartans at home received the news in true Spartan fashion. §§ 17, 18. The Lacedaemonians sent out reinforcements under Archidamus, many of their allies showing great zeal. §§ 19-26. The Theban herald of the victory met with a bad reception at Athens; but Jason of Pherae on hearing the news marched hastily into Boeotia. Arrived at Leuctra he dissuaded the Thebans from attacking the Spartan camp, and advised the Lacedaemonians to come to terms. A truce was made; the Lacedaemonian
army retired by night and fell in with Archidamus in the Megarid. §§ 27–32. Jason returned to Thessaly at the summit of his glory and power. He was engaged in making magnificent preparations to attend the Pythian games, when he was assassinated by seven youths. Such of his assassins as escaped were held in high honour among the Greeks as tyrannicides. §§ 33–37. His brothers Polydorus and Polyphon were appointed Tagi in his place: Polydorus died suddenly, murdered, it was thought by his brother. Polyphon reigned tyrannically for a year, when he was murdered by Alexander, who ruled with equal ferocity. He too was murdered by his wife’s brothers at the instigation of their sister. Tisiphonus, the elder of them, succeeded him.

§ 1. ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, e. g. the subjugated cities of Cephalenian and the neighbourhood: vi. 2. 33, 37, 38.

'Ιφικράτην: cp. vi. 2. 38.

ἡγάγκασαν, i. e. to prevent a repetition of such events as led to the immediate renewal of hostilities in 374: cp. vi. 2. 3.

§ 2. τὸ ἐν Φωκείσι στράτευμα. It appears from vi. 3. 1 that the Thebans were once more threatening the Phocians, and it follows from this passage that this year also, as in 374, Cleombrotus had been despatched with an army to their assistance. The article with στράτευμα may be due either to an oversight of Xenophon, who has not mentioned it before, or may simply imply that this was the famous army which fought at Leuctra. Beloch, however (Gr. Gesch. ii. 244 note), supposes that Xenophon has erroneously in vi. 1. 1 antedated the expedition of Cleombrotus.

τὰ οἰκοὶ τέλη, the Ephors: cp. iii. 2. 6.

Κλεόμβροτον ... λέξαντος, an anacoluthon: the sentence is interrupted by the speech of Prothous, and resumed with a different construction in § 3 ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ.

συμβαλέσθαι. Prothous’ proposal that voluntary contributions, to be deposited at Delphi, should be made by such states as were willing to enforce the conditions of universal autonomy against any encroachment, recalls the συντάξεις paid at Callistratus’ proposal by the members of the New Athenian Confederacy: cp. vi. 2. 1 note.

§ 3. τὸ δαίμόνιον: for the comment cp. v. 4. 1.

ἡσθετο: according to Diod. xv. 51, before he entered their territory, Cleombrotus sent envoys to the Thebans to ascertain whether they would recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian states
and restore Plataea and Thespiae; and these envos were answered with a blunt refusal. Xenophon's narrative too implies some such sort of ultimatum.

οὐχ ὅπως ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ: cp. ii. 4. 14.

η ... ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 74, 'an army invading [Boeotia] from the north is obliged, by the nature of the country on the east side of Copais, to pass along the west shore of that lake, along i.e. that narrow strip of land between the foot of Helicon and the lake.'

ἐπὶ στενὸ τινί: cp. Diod. xv. 52 τὰ περὶ Κορώνειαν στενὰ and Paus. ix. 13. 3.

dιὰ Θεσβῶν: cp. Diod. l.c. διεξελθὼν τὴν παραβαλαττίαν ὅδεν χαλεπῆν οὐδαν; and Paus. l.c. ἐπὶ Ἀμβρόσιου τρέπεται τῆς Φωκέων' ἀποκτείνας δὲ Χαρέαν, ὡς φυλάσσειν διετέτακτο τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἄλλους τοὺς σίν αὐτῷ Ἐθησίους, ὑπερέτη, καὶ ἐς Δεύκτρα ἥφικνεῖται τὰ Βοιώτια. This road over Helicon was almost impassable for an army and at places easily defensible by a mere handful of men.

ἐπὶ Κρένων: the possession of Creusis secured his communications with the Peloponnesus.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρῶν λόφῳ: cp. Grundy, l.c. 'The position was one of considerable strength, but not comparable in this respect with that of the Spartans and their allies on the opposite side of the valley. The hills whereon the Spartans stood are higher than those which face them, and their slope towards the plain is much more steep.'

οὐ τοῦδε διαλείποντες: less than 3/4 mile.

ἀλλ' ἡ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. Diod. xv. 52 puts the Theban numbers at 6,000 all told; and Plutarch (Pel. 20) estimates the Spartan at 10,000 hoplites and 1,000 cavalry: but no trust can be put in these figures.

§ 5. ὅτε: for ὅτε so used after a verb of remembering cp. vi. 5. 46 and Cyrop. i. 6. 12 οὗ γὰρ μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἕλθον ἐπὶ ἀργύριον.

οὐδὲν ... ἐδήσωσα: cp. v. 4. 15, 16.

ὅτε ὑστεροῦν: cp. v. 4. 59.

τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, i.e. do not wish to be exiled.

κύδεται τῶν Ἐθησάιων. For Cleombrotus' policy cp. v. 4. 16 note.
§ 6. ταῦτα ἄκουὼν ... συνάπτειν: cp. Cic. de Offic. i. 24. 84 cum Cleombrotus invidiam timens temere cum Epaminonda confluxisset, Lacedaemoniorum opes corruerunt. Diodorus (xv. 50–54) gives an account of the circumstances leading to the battle different in all respects. According to him a whole winter intervened between the negotiations for the Peace and Cleombrotus’ campaign. In the following year after collecting large forces the Lacedaemonians sent ambassadors to Thebes with an ultimatum, which was rejected. Thereupon Cleombrotus advanced as far as Coronea, where he formed a camp and waited for belated contingents from the allies. Meantime Epaminondas with 6,000 Thebans and Boeotians advanced from Thebes and occupied τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενὰ. Finding his communications thus cut off Cleombrotus marched round through Phocis and entered Boeotia once more by the sea coast route, taking up his position at Leuctra, where the Thebans advanced to meet him. The six Boeotarchs in command were equally divided on the question of battle or retreat, until Epaminondas, one of the number, persuaded the seventh Boeotarch on his arrival in the camp to vote for battle. At this juncture, however, Jason arrived with 1,000 Thessalian foot and 500 cavalry and persuaded his allies, the Thebans, to make a truce with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly Cleombrotus left Boeotia, and shortly fell in with large reinforcements under Archidamus, son of Agesilaus. Confident in their numbers the Lacedaemonians now returned to Leuctra in defiance of the truce. Then followed the famous battle.

This account conflicts not only with Xenophon, but with Isocrates, who puts words into the mouth of Archidamus (vi. 9, 10, 111) which are absurd, if he himself were present in the battle. It does not satisfactorily explain Cleombrotus’ circuitous march through Coronea, Phocis, and Creusis to Leuctra. It accuses the Spartans of one of the most flagrant violations of good faith possible, and yet this violation is not even alluded to by any other ancient authority. It represents the Spartans as making the most elaborate preparations for the campaign during a whole winter, and as collecting contingents from their allies in a manner forbidden by the newly-signed peace of 371. In fact Diodorus’ version is so utterly improbable that it has been generally abandoned:
cp. Grote, ix. 409; Stern, 142-148, the latter of whom would trace it to a Boeotian source.

οἱ προεστῶτες: the seven Boeotarchs, among whom was Epaminondas: Pelopidas was commander of the ἱέρος λόχος.

ἐλογίζοντο: the fullest account of their deliberations is given by Diod. xv. 53 and Paus. ix. 13. 6, 7: cp. Plut. Pel. 20.

μαχοῦτο: Goodwin (M. T. 689. 3. 2) adheres to the MSS. μάχοιντο, explaining it ἐὰν μὴ μαχόμεθα, ἀποστήσονται.

πολυορκήσωσο: used passively, as in vii. 5. 18.

πεφυγότες πρόσθεν: cp. v. 4. 2.

§ 7. ὁ χρησμός. According to Diodorus and Plutarch (ll. c.) the oracle was made known to the Thebans by Leandrias (? Candidas), a Spartan exile.

τῶν παρθένων. Diodorus calls them the daughters of Leuctrus and Scadasus: this story is told at length with some variations by Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias (ll. c.): so too the other prodigies mentioned.

ἐκόσμησαν . . . μημα: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 6 τότε δὲ ὁ Ἑπαμεινώνδας Σκεδάσω καὶ ταῖς παισὶν ἐνηγαζέτε τε καὶ εὗχετο, ὡς οὐ μάλλον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θησαίου ἥ καὶ τιμωρίας ἐκείνων τὸν ἀγώνα ἐσόμενον; Plut. Pel. 21.

τεχνάσματα. Diodorus (l. c.) attributes them to Epaminondas:

cp. Polyaeon. ii. 3. 8.

§ 8. ἐναντία: adverbial with ἐγγίνετο.

ἐν τῇ μεσημβρία: cp. v. 4. 40.

ὑποπυνώντων: genitive absolute without the subject: cp. ii. 4. 1.

§ 9. τῶν . . . παρεκκευακότων: cp. vi. 2. 23.

τῶν οὐ βουλομένων: cp. Polyaeon. ii. 3. 3 ὡς μὴ ταράττοι ἡ τάξις ἐν τῷ καὶ τῆς μάχης, Ἑπαμεινώνδας ἐκήρυξε Βοιωτῶν ἀπείναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξέστω, Θεσπεῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁπλω ἀπηλλάσσοντο: Paus. ix. 13. 8.

τοῦ Ἴρεων: perhaps the same as the Spartan mentioned by Plut. Pyth. Orac. 397 b.

πολὺ μὲν, repeats the μὲν of πρῶτον μὲν.

ἀθροώτερον. It seems strange to reckon this deepening of the Theban line with unwilling allies as one of the disadvantages of the Spartans.

§ 10. πρὸς Ὀρχομενίων: not otherwise mentioned by Xenophon, but described by Diodorus (xv. 37) and Plutarch (Pel. 16).
πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς: cp. vi. 3. 1 and Diod. l. c.


§ 11. ο συντεταγμένος, i. e. the trooper, appointed to serve and to whom a particular horse was assigned.

§ 12. ἐφασαν: for the imperfect cp. iii. 5. 21.

eἰς τρεῖς, i. e. three files abreast: cp. iii. I. 22.

τὴν ἐνωμοτίνων: cp. Rep. Lac. II. 4; 13. 4: there were about twenty-four men in each enomoty.

ἀσπίδων: cp. ii. 4. 11.

συνεστραμμένοι: expresses the denseness and compactness of the array: cp. Diod. xv. 55 τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διὰ τε τὴν ἄρετὴν καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς τάξεως πλευροκτούντων. Only the Theban left was drawn up in this dense array: cp. Plut. Pel. 23; Diod. l. c.

tὸ περὶ τῶν βασιλέα, i. e. Cleombrotus' right wing.

§ 13. ἐνεπετάκλεσαν. A clearer idea of the general course of the battle can be gained from a comparison of Plutarch and Diodorus (ll. c.). The Lacedaemonian cavalry, it would appear, were driven back upon their own centre, so that the infantry were compelled to advance in μηνοείδες σχῆμα. Then Cleombrotus, seeing the depth of the Theban left, attempted to outflank it by deploying a portion of his own right wing: before, however, this manoeuvre was completed Pelopidas with his ἱερὸς λόχος was upon them, and threw them into some disorder. He was closely followed by Epaminondas with the main body. Cleombrotus was wounded, and the Spartans fought so desperately round their wounded king that ἵσορροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη, until at last the weight of the Theban phalanx began to tell. The Lacedaemonians, so long as their king was living, gave ground but slowly, but after his death ἐγένετο παντελῆς τροπῆ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, and the Spartans fled back to their camp on the slope of the southern hills. The whole struggle was fought out on the Spartan right, and the troops in the rest of the line do not seem to have been seriously engaged. In fact Epaminondas had given orders to his right wing φυγαμαχεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγου ὑποχωρεῖν.

αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 10 παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
VI. iv. 14–16  371–370 B.C.

αἰσχυστὸν ἐδεδόκτο ἦνα βασιλέως νεκρὸν ἐτί ἀνράσι πολεμίων γενόμενον περισσότεραι; and Diod. xv. 55 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο; cp. Plut. Agis, 21 πολλῶν γεγονότων Λακεδαίμονιοι ἀγώνων πρὸς "Ελλήνας εἰς μόνος βασιλεὺς ἀνηρέθη πρὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δόρατι πληγεὶς περὶ Δεύκτρα Κλεόμβροτος.


§ 14. Δείνων ... Σφοδρίας ... Κλεώνυμος: cp. v. 4. 33.

ὁ πολέμαρχος ... τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν: cp. iv. 5. 8 note.

†μὲν ῥποί ... συμφορεῖς: Schenkl supposes that the MSS. μὲν ῥποὶ conceals some Dorian technical term. Madvig conjectures μινῖποι: cp. Critical Note.

tοῦ εὐωνύμου: cp. § 13 note.

δόμος δὲ: cp. v. 1. 3.

ἐτυχεν οὖσα, i.e. it was a natural trench, not one sunk for purposes of defence.

πάνω qualifies ἐπιτεδῷ.

πρὸς ὅρθω: cp. Grundy, 'Battle of Plataea,' p. 76: 'The Spartan camp stood probably on the north face of the Grey Slope Hill, and any one who has seen the ground will have little difficulty in understanding the unwillingness of the Theban commanders to attempt its assault.'

§ 15. χιλίους: so Plut. Ages. 28; according to Paus. ix. 13. 12 more than 1,000 Lacedaemonians, and only 47 Thebans: Diod. xv. 56, 4,000 Lacedaemonians and 300 Thebans. It is noticeable that Xenophon and Pausanias speak only of the Lacedaemonians themselves; indeed the latter states that of the allies not a single man fell.

οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους: cp. Paus. ix. 13. 9 ὡς δὲ ἐς χεῖρας συνήσαν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαίμων, ἀτε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι, τὸ ἔχοις μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυτο, οὕτε κατὰ χόραν μένειν ἐθέλουν, ἐνδιάοιτε δὲ ὀπὴ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμιοι προσφέροντο.

tοὺς ἐπικαιριστῶτοὺς: cp. iii. 3. 11.


μὴ ποιεῖν κρανγήν. Contrast the reception of the tidings of Aegospotamii at Athens, ii. 2. 3.
371-370 B.C.       VI. iv. 17-22

δὲν μὲν ... προσήκοντες: cp. iv. 5. io. Plutarch (Ages. 29) enlarges on Xenophon’s description.

ζώντες. According to Plutarch (Ages. 30) the law condemning the survivors of a defeat to ἀγμαία was on the proposal of Agesilaus suspended on this occasion—doubtless owing to the increasing διηγανθρωπία: cp. Arist. Pol. ii. 6. 12.

§ 17. ταῦτα ... μάραυ. As there were six μωρας in all, Cleombrotus must have taken four with him into Phocis, as in 374 B.C.: cp. vi. i. 1.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν, i.e. the four on foreign service were reinforced by the despatch of the more elderly men attached to them, who had previously remained at home: οἱ τετταράκοντα ἂφ᾽ ἡβῆς were the oldest liable for military service.

ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖα, i.e. to fill the public offices.

§ 18. ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας: cp. v. 4. 58 and vi. 3. 19.

Ἀρχιδάμων: Diodorus (xv. 54) says that he commanded the right wing at Leuctra—an obvious mistake, for which cp. § 6 note.

οἱ περὶ Στάσισπου: for their fate cp. vi. 5. 6-10.

ἐκ τῶν κοιμῶν ... ἀριστοκρατοῦμενοι: cp. v. 2. 7.

διαβιβάζειν, i.e. across the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 19. ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει, i.e. for crossing the Spartan frontier: the more usual phrase is τὰ διαβαστήρια θύεσθαι: cp. iii. 4. 3.

τιμωρήσασθαι: constructed with accusative of person and genitive of thing, as in Anab. vii. i. 25; 4. 23.

§ 20. ἐπὶ ξίναια: cp. Aristid. Leucr. i. 88 ὡστε μήτε εἰς τὸ πρυτανείου καλέσαι μήτ᾽ ἀλλο μηδὲν φιλάνθρωπον ἐνδείξασθαι; and Pollux, ix. 40 πρυτανείου καὶ ἑστία τῆς πόλεως, παρ᾽ ἡ ἑστιόντο οἱ κατὰ δημοσίαν πρεσβείαν ἱκοντες.

σύμμαχον ὄντα: cp. vi. i. 10.

§ 21. ἀκριβῶς πολέμῳ, i.e. a war in which all negotiations are broken off; cp. Anab. iii. 3. 5.

διενεργεῖθη, i.e. through Phocis.

§ 22. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίως, i.e. in their camp at Leuctra.

ἀνωθεν, i.e. from the top of the hill on the slope of which the Lacedaemonian camp was pitched: cp. § 14 note.

ἀπέτρεπεν: for Diodorus’ version of the part played by Jason cp. § 6 note.
§ 23. ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζην: if the MSS. reading be retained, it can only be translated with ἀναγκάζωμεν—‘if they should be compelled to depart from this life.’ It is better with Madvig and Keller to omit ἐκγενέσθαι as a dittograph of ἐγένεσθε just above, and to construe τοῦ ζην with ἀπονοηθέντας=‘despairing of life.’ Dindorf (2nd edition) brackets ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζην: cp. Critical Note.

§ 24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι: if the reading be right, it can only mean ‘if you wish to forget the past defeat’ in the sense of redeeming it in such a way that forgetfulness might be possible. Keller accepts Madvig’s conjecture ἐξιάσασθαι: Dindorf (2nd edition) conjectures ἀναμάχεσθαι, Liebhold ἐπανάγεσθαι, and Tucker ἐπαναθέσθαι: cp. Critical Note.

eis μάχην ἠναὶ = μάχεσθαι and therefore with the dative, like eis χείρας ἠναὶ in Cyrop. viii. 8. 6.

toῦ πατρὸς: Jason’s father is unknown: many have assumed without sufficient reason that it was Lycophron, the tyrant of Pherae mentioned in ii. 3. 4; neither is it known how Jason obtained the Spartan προξενία; indeed in vi. 1. 10 he is represented rather as hostile than as friendly to the Lacedaemonians.

§ 25. καὶ ὀφτο: there seems nothing in the context to explain the addition of καὶ: cp. Critical Note.

ai σπονδαί: for Diodorus’ account of Jason’s negotiations for a truce, which, however, he puts before, not, as Xenophon, after the battle of Leuctra, cp. supra. § 6 note.

συνεκευάσθαι, ‘that all should be ready’: for the perfect passive cp. vi. 2. 15 ἐκήρυξεν πεπρασθαι.

πρὶν καθεύδειν ... τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος. Xenophon seems to mean that the polemarchs, suspicious of the Thebans, issued orders for a midnight march along the road through Platea to Mount Cithaeron, and then instead of this hurried their men at nightfall without any sleep along a different road—that through Creusis and along the sea coast to Aegosthena—a road which Cleombrotus had taken in 378: cp. v. 4. 16.

§ 26. οἶα δὴ: used like ἀτε, as in v. 4. 39: cp. Goodwin, M. T. 862.

χαλεπὴν ὁδόν: in 378 the wind had blown much of Cleombrotus’ baggage and many of his beasts of burden into the sea.

§ 27. Υμμολιτῶν: in NE. Phocis.

tο Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος: cp. Diod. xv. 57 τὴν μὴν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν
'en Τραχύνα διὰ προδοσίας ἐλών ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὴν χώραν Οἰταίους καὶ Μηλιεύσιν ἐδωρήσατο. The Heracleots had fought on the Spartan side at Leuctra; cp. § 9. The town, some two or three miles from the shore of the Meliac Gulf, commanded the only available road from Thessaly into Greece.

μὴ...πορεύσουτο: for the future opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 131.


eἰ ποι...πορεύεσθαι: cp. vi. i. 10 for Jason’s ambitious projects.

§ 28. μέγας...μείζων...μέγιστος: cp. vi. 5. 47.

tὸ νόμῳ...ταγός: cp. vi. i. 18 ὁμολογουμένως ταγός.

μεθοδόρους πολλούς: cp. vi. i. 5.

ὡς ἄν...εἰὲν: for this peculiar use of ὡς ἄν with opt. instead of ὁποῖος cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

τῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν, ’of the men of his time.’

§§ 28–37 are a digression on Thessalian affairs between 371 and 358 B.C., which shows that it did not fall within Xenophont’s purpose to tell of the Theban invasions of Thessaly, once (vii. i. 28) casually alluded to as a well known fact.

370–369 B.C.

§ 29. Πυθίων: celebrated about August every third Olympic year, this year being 370.

ὡς εἰς: cp. iii. 4. 11.

ἔφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

ἐπαγγελλομένως, sc. τῷ ἱόρᾳ: but see Critical Note; with Schneider’s ἐπαγγελλομένων βοῶν must be supplied.

βοῶν ἥγεμόνα: to head the procession: cp. a Deipthic inscription (CIG. i. 1688) τοῦ βοῶς τιμὰ τοῦ ἱόρου ἐκατόν στατηρίοις Ἀλμιναίοι.

§ 30. παρῆγγελε δὲ...παρασκευάζεσθαι. Construe παρῆγγελε δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι εἰς τῶν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον ὡς στρατευσόμενοι. As the next sentence shows, it was doubtful, whether Jason made this military display merely, as was said, to enhance his own magnificence at the Pythian games, or whether he really had some warlike intentions: cp. vi. i. 10, and Diod. xv. 60 ἔπεισε τοὺς Θεσσαλούς ἀντιποιείθαι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας.

αὐτῶς διατιθέναι. Jason would naturally be the representative of the Thessalians, one of the twelve Amphictyonic tribes, even if he did not arrogate to himself all their functions.
τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων: the treasure in Delphi.

αὐτῷ μὲν ἑξελεῖ: for a similar answer cp. Her. viii. 36.

§ 31. ὕπο νεανίσκον ἔπτά. So too Diodorus (xv. 60) on the authority of Ephorus, giving as their motive δόξης ἐνεκα, though he mentions a different story that Jason's own brother and successor, Polydorus, was the murderer. Valerius Maximus (ix. 10. 2) relates that the motive was revenge for a punishment imposed on the youths by Jason for beating their gymnasium master.

§ 32. ὃποι ... τῶν ... πόλεων: the genitive is dependent on ὃποι = εἰς ἀντινας πόλεως.

ἐτιμήντο, i.e. as tyrannicides: this shows the extent of the fears which the Greeks felt for Jason's ambitious schemes.

§ 33. Πολύφρον: Diodorus (xv. 61) knows nothing of Polyphron, but says that Polydorus was murdered by his brother Alexander. Plutarch (Pel. 29) agrees with Xenophon.

§ 34. ἔνιαυτόν: apparently 369.

τῶν Πολυδάμαντα: cp. vi. 1, 2, 8, 18.

§ 35. Ἀλεξάνδρων. It appears from Plutarch (l. c.) that Alexander was the son of Polydorus and nephew of Polyphron.

Θετταλοῖς: Plutarch (Pel. 26) gives some details.

Θηβαίοις: for the history of Thessaly from the first interference of the Thebans in Thessalian affairs in support of Larisa (c. 369) till the Peace of 364 B.C. cp. Diod. xv. 67, 80; Plut. Pel. 26, 35; vii. 1. 28 note.

Ἄθηναῖοι: after the peace of 364 (cp. Diod. xv. 95; Polyacen. vi. 2, 2), when he became the ally of Thebes.

ληστῆς: cp. Diod. l. c.; Dem. xxiii. 120; li. 8.

358 B.C.

ἀποθνῄσκει: Diodorus (xvi. 14) puts his death in the year 357: but according to xv. 61 Alexander reigned eleven years, and it appears from Xenophon that he came to the throne in 369, so that his death would fall in the year 358. This is the last event alluded to by Xenophon: cp. Introd. p. xiv.

τῆς γυναικός. Thebe by name, a daughter of Jason: Plut. Pel. 28; Diod. xvi. 14.

§ 36. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄδελφοις: Plutarch (Pel. 35) gives the same story with some variation of detail.
CHAPTER V

§§ 1–3. After Archidamus had disbanded his forces, the Athenians held a congress at which all the states present, with the exception of Elis, swore anew to the King's Peace. §§ 4, 5. The Mantineans seized the opportunity to rebuild their city, much to the chagrin of the Spartans. §§ 6–9. At Tegea the party of Callibus and Proxenus were in favour of a Pan-Arcadian league, the party of Stasippus against it. In the first encounter Stasippus slew Proxenus and a few others. Then, the Mantineans coming to the support of Callibus, Stasippus and his party took refuge in the temple of Artemis, whence they were driven out and put to death. §§ 10–14. 800 survivors fled to Sparta. The Lacedaemonians sent out Agesilaus against the Mantineans, who waited in Eutaea for Polytropus' mercenaries, whilst the other Arcadians, except the Orchomenians, were collecting against him at Asea. The Mantineans were repulsed in an attack upon Orchomenus, but in their retreat slew Polytropus. §§ 15–22. Thereupon Agesilaus marched into the territory of Mantinea: he was unable to prevent the junction of the other Arcadians with the Mantineans, but was himself reinforced by some Orchomenian peltasts and Phliasian horse. For several days Agesilaus offered battle, but the Mantineans refused to engage, in obedience to the advice of the Eleans to wait the arrival of the Thebans. Agesilaus marched hastily homewards. The Arcadians then ravaged the territory of the Heraeans. §§ 23–25. When the Thebans arrived at Mantinea, they found no enemy to meet them, and prepared to return. They were however overpersuaded to attempt an invasion of Laconia, especially on hearing, that the perioeci were
likely to revolt. §§ 26–29. Accordingly the Thebans entered Laconia through Caryae, the Arcadians through Oenoe, the latter overpowering the garrison at Oenoe. After sacking Sellasia the two united armies encamped in the precinct of Apollo, but did not dare to cross the bridge into Sparta. In alarm the Spartans enrolled 6,000 helots on promise of liberty: reinforcements too arrived from various allies. §§ 30–32. The invaders crossed the Eurotas at Amyclae, whence for three or four days they threatened the city. Finally, however, they marched southwards, burning the unwalled cities, and for three days they assaulted Gythium, aided by some of the perioeci. §§ 33–36. The Athenian Assembly now met to consider what should be their attitude towards Sparta. Certain Lacedaemonians reminded the people of past occasions, when Athens and Sparta had helped each other. §§ 37–48. The assembly being divided, Cleicles of Corinth called upon the Athenians to help punish the aggressions of the Thebans upon Corinthian territory. Finally Procles of Phlius entreated the Athenians to prevent a Theban domination and to come to the rescue of Sparta, who had deserved so well of Greece. §§ 49, 50. The Athenians voted to aid Sparta, and appointed Iphicrates general, who led his forces as far as Corinth. Meanwhile the Arcadians and other allies in the invading army were melting away and provisions had become scarce, so that the Thebans were anxious to retire. §§ 51, 52. Xenophon here severely censures Iphicrates' generalship, because, when he might have embarrassed their passage across the isthmus, he let the Thebans pass as they pleased.

371–370 B.C.

§ 1. ἐπάνειμι, i. e. to vi. 4. 26.
ἐνδυχηθέντες . . . διέθεσαν, i. e. the Peloponnesians, in the opinion of the Athenians, by sending contingents to Archidamus' army, had shown that they still considered themselves bound to obey the summons of Sparta as Hegemon, notwithstanding the provisions of the Peace of 371, which guaranteed complete autonomy to each single state: cp. vi. 3. 18; 4. 10. Διέθεσαν probably also refers to the fact that while Athens and her allies had sworn to the peace separately, Sparta had sworn as the representative of the whole Peloponnesian Confederacy, vi. 3. 19.

μεταπέμποντας, i. e. invited deputies to a congress at Athens.
τῆς εἰρήνης: the Peace of Antalcidas, 387–386; which had practically been renewed by the Peace of 371: cp. v. 1. 30; vi. 3. 18.

§ 2. Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. Büchsenschütz thinks that by τῶν συμμάχων only the allies of Athens are meant, but it seems more in harmony with the context to interpret it (with Breitenbach)
to include all who agreed to take the oath, which made them *ipsa facta σύμμαχοι.* The ψυφίσματα referred to are unknown.

*εάν δὲ τις ... σθένει:* this was a most important addition to the oath of 371; but, as a matter of fact, it was never put into practice.

*οἱ ... ἄλλοι πάντες* cannot include the Thebans, who were excluded from the former Peace, nor yet, it would seem, the Spartans; for it is difficult to suppose that they would have consented to an arrangement so obviously meant to work against them: moreover the two passages in this chapter §§ 10, 36, which some commentators have thought to imply their adhesion, may better be interpreted of the Peace of 371.

'*Ἡλεῖοι:* they had in 397 been obliged by Sparta to recognize the independence of these towns, and must now, since Leuctra, have seized the opportunity of regaining their supremacy over them: cp. iii. 2. 30.

§ 3. *οἱ Μαντινεῖς.* The defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra seems to have been the signal in the Peloponnesus for a general rising of the democrats against the oligarchs, who had previously been supported by the Lacedaemonians. Such risings took place, besides in Mantinea and Tegea—the only two mentioned by Xenophon—in Argos, Phigalia, Corinth, Megara, and Phlius: cp. Diod. xv. 40, 58; Stern, p. 155, note 2; Introd. p. xxxii.

*συνήλθον ... πάντες,* i.e. not only the inhabitants of the five villages into which Sparta had in 385 divided the city of Mantinea, but the democratic exiles as well: cp. v. 2. 6, 7.

§ 4. *πατρικὸς φίλος:* cp. v. 2. 3 and note.

*ἔσοιτο:* cp. Appendix, p. 361.

§ 6. *τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν.* Xenophon perhaps relates the disturbances in Tegea in detail, because it led to the appearance of the first Theban army in Peloponnesus.

*οἱ περὶ τῶν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον.* Callibius is not mentioned by any other authority: Proxenus appears in Pausanias as one of the Tegetate founders of Megalopolis.

*ἐνίγγον, sc. τοὺς Ἀρκάδας.* Xenophon omits altogether to state that this effort towards union resulted in the foundation of Megalo-
polis by the concentration in one city of some forty Arcadian villages. The new city, 50 stadia in circumference, was built in the SW. of Arcadia to serve as a fortress against Sparta: the date of the building is variously given between 371 and 368 B.C., though probably 371–370 is the right date. Within its walls were to assemble the Ten Thousand (πᾶν τὸ Ἀρκάδικόν, τὸ κοινόν)—including apparently all Arcadian citizens who chose to attend the meetings: and a kind of standing army of 5,000 was collected, known as ἐπάρτιοι cp. vii. 4. 22, 34: but the Μεγαλοπολίται, mentioned in vii. 5. 5, are evidently the ordinary inhabitants of the new city: cp. Diod. xv. 59 Δυκομήδης ὁ Τεγεάτης [a mistake for ὁ Μαντινεύς] ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθήναι καὶ κοινήν ἔχειν σύνοδον συνεστώσαιν εἰς ἀνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τοὺς ἔξυπνοις ἔχειν περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰληφῆς βουλεύσθαι: also cp. 72; Paus. viii. 27. 1–8; Plut. Pel. 24; Arist. frag. 91.

νικώθη, 'was carried': so vii. 1. 28.

κυριόν εἴη: the infinitive is dependent on the notion of 'proposing,' implied in ἐνήγον ἐπὶ τό.

οἱ . . . περὶ τῶν Στάσισιππον: cp. vi. 4. 18.

ἐὰν . . . κατὰ χώραν: hence it appears that Callibius, Proxenus, and their democrats proposed that the Tegeates too should migrate to Megalopolis.

§ 7. θεωρόις. Doric form of θεωροῖς: 'in the meeting of the Theorí': magistrates with this title appear also in Mantinea (Thuc. v. 47) and among the Locrians (CIG. 1756); their functions are unknown.

ἐκφέρονται: cp. iii. 2. 28.

§ 8. καὶ τὰς πύλας, i.e. the gates in the northern wall, looking towards Mantinea.

§ 9. τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον κ.τ.λ. Pallantium was a town to the west of Tegea: cp. Paus. viii. 43. 1.

τῆν ἄρμάμαξαν, i.e. the wagon brought for that purpose (cp. iii. 3. 9): this would imply that the number of refugees was small. Diodorus (xv. 59) speaks of 1,400 fleeing, some to Sparta, others to Pallantium, and of the latter being delivered up to their pursuers and massacred.

§ 10. κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους . . . παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, i.e. the oath to the Peace of 371: cp. vi. 3. 18.
370-369 B.C. VI. v. 11-16

ως ... ἐλημυθότων αὐτῶν: genitive absolute with ως, instead of accusative in agreement with Μαντινέας: cp. iii. 5. 8.

'Αγησίλαον ... ἕγειοθα: cp. § 4.


'Ορχομενίων: cp. Diod. xv. 62 'Ορχομενόν τῶν 'Αρκαδικῶν ... τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οἰκεῖος διακειμένην πρὸς τούς Σπαρτιάτας. The town was formerly (394 B.C.) garrisoned by a Spartan mora: iv. 3. 15; 5. 18.

ξενικὸν ... Πολύτροπος. Diodorus (xv. 62) is obviously mistaken in representing him as the commander of 1,000 Lacedaemonian hoplites. At such a crisis Sparta could not have spared so many of her citizen troops.

toύτων, i.e. the Orchomenians and their mercenaries.

Ἡραῖς: cp. iii. 2. 30.

Λεπρεάται: cp. iii. 2. 25.

§ 12. τὰ διαβατήρια: cp. iii. 4. 3.

Εὐταίαν: one of the Maenalian towns, which had joined the new Arcadian league: Paus. viii. 27. 3.

eἰς τὸ 'Αρκαδικῶν, i.e. to Asea.

ἐλάμβανον, i.e. Agesilaus and his army.

§ 13. οἱ Μαντινεῖς. According to Diod. xv. 62 the Arcadian general, Lycomedes of Mantinea, marched against Orchomenus with 5,000 men and slew Polytropus and 200 of his Lacedaemonians (cp. § 11 note): notwithstanding this success the Arcadians did not venture on war with Sparta, but looked about for allies: cp. § 19 note.

'Ελυμία: evidently between Mantinea and Orchomenus, but never mentioned elsewhere.

ως ... οἷ: for the same pleonasm cp. vi. 4. 37.


§ 15. οὗτω: cp. iii. 2. 9.

τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὀρεστ, known as the Maenalian mountains: cp. vii. 5. 21.

§ 16. τῇ ἰστεραίᾳ: the third day.

ἐχόμενοι τῶν ... ὀρῶν, 'skirting the mountains,' i.e. on the east, so as to keep their right flank covered from attack.

XEN. HELL.
καὶ γὰρ: gives the reason why the Arcadians were so anxious to increase their numbers by a junction with the Mantineans; and why too Agesilaus was advised to attack them before such a junction.

κατὰ κέρας: in the flank.

§ 17. οἱ δ' . . . πελτασταῖ: these must be the remnants of Polytropus' mercenaries, § 14.

πρὸς τὰ ὑπλα, i.e. to the camp: cp. ii. 4. 6.

σύνεγγυς, to be taken with ὅρη ἔχοντα: lit. 'having mountains very close and all round'; for σύνεγγυς, a word only used by Xenophon in this passage, cp. Thuc. iv. 24.

§ 18. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ: the fourth day.

εὐαυτῶν, i.e. the Lacedaemonians: cp. iv. 8. 24.

eἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶς ἀφηγοῖτο. Xenophon seems to mean that Agesilaus found his army formed in column cooped up in a narrow valley, running north and south, at the entrance of which he stood himself, while his rear was at the end of it. Then he observed the enemy passing him on the east slope of the valley and collecting in order to attack his rear. Accordingly he turned the front or southern half of his army from column into line (τὰ ὑπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων) so as to face the enemy passing him on the east, while at the same time he ordered his rear to turn to the right ἀναστρέψαντας . . . εἰς δόρυ, march a few paces to the west, then turn into column again to the left, and march on towards the entrance of the valley ἐπισθεν τῆς φαλάγγος, on the right of which he himself was standing. Thus, if the rear, as soon as it marched up in column level with Agesilaus himself on the right (ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν), turned into line again to the left, ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ. Then he ordered his double phalanx once more to turn into column and οὔτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ advanced into the plain, where he once more turned his column into line of the usual depth (ἐπ’ ἐννέα ἡ δέκα): cp. Anab. iv. 3. 29.

§ 19. ἐπ’ ἐννέα . . . ἄσπίδων, 'nine or ten men deep': cp. ii. 4. 11; vi. 4. 12.


οἱ ’Ηλείοι . . . οἱ Θηβαῖοι. According to Diod. xv. 62 (cp. § 13 note) the Arcadians first sent ambassadors to Athens to ask for assistance against the aggressions of Sparta, who, meeting with
a refusal, at once went on to Thebes, and persuaded the Thebans  
συμμαχίαν συνθέται κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμόνιων. Diodorus' version 
agrees with the facts presented by Xenophon, except in the time 
of the embassy: if this be put a few weeks earlier, a consistent 
story can then be made out. The Arcadians, fearing attacks 
from Sparta, we must suppose, looked around for allies. Naturally 
they appealed first to their nearest neighbours known to be hostile 
to Sparta, Elis and Argos, and then to Athens, who had just taken 
upon herself the championship of the King's Peace against all 
aggressors (cp. Dem. xvi. 12). Athens refusing all assistance, 
Thebes was next appealed to. The Thebans, having overcome 
the last vestiges of resistance to their supremacy in Boeotia by 
expelling the Thespians from Ceressus (vi. 3. 1; 4. 9, io note; 
Paus. ix. 14. 4), and by admitting the Orchenomians as allies 
(Diod. xv. 57), and being freed by the death of Jason from all fear 
of a Thessalian invasion, readily listened to the Arcadian appeal, 
and despatched an army under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, 
supported by Phocian and Locrian contingents, into Peloponnesus: 
cp. Xen. Ages. 2. 23 ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῇ ἐν Λεύκτρωι συμφωρᾶς γεγενημένης 
kataκαλοῦσιν τοὺς ἐν Τεγέα φίλους καὶ ἔσσους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντιπάλοι σὺν 
Μαντινεύσι, συνεστηκότων ἢδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ 
Ἔλεων, στρατευεὶ (i.e. Agesilaus) κ.τ.λ.

§ 21. τὰ πυρὰ ... ἰδεῖν: the subject to ἰδεῖν must be Agesilaus 
and his army; it appears that the Arcadians and their allies must 
have followed the Lacedaemonians southwards.

ἀνιληψέναι: cp. Plut. Ages. 30 ἐδών δὲ πολίχνην τινὰ (i.e. 
Eutaea) τῶν Μαντινεῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἑπιδραμόν ἑλαφροτέραν ἐποίησε 
tαις ἐπίσι καὶ Ἦδος τὴν πόλιν ὅσ οὖ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωσμένην.

ἀπέλυσεν: the mercenaries from Orchenomenus however remained 
in Sparta, cp. § 29.

§ 22. Ἡραῖας ... Λακεδαιμόνιων: cp. § 11.

§ 23. ὅμω ἐγένοντο. Plutarch (Ages. 31) estimates the Theban 
avmy at 40,000 hoplites, and Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined 
forces at more than 70,000 men.

ἐγεῖσοντο: cp. Diod. xv. 50 ἐν τῇ γὰρ τοῖς γυμνασίοις συνεχῶς 
διατρίβοντες ἐφεύροντο τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπηρχον καὶ φύσει φιλοπόλεμοι 
καθεστώτες, ὁδεγός ἔθνος Ἑλληνικοῦ ταῖς ἀνθρείαις ἔλειπότοντο.

Φωκεῖς ὑπηκοοί: cp. Diod. xv. 57 Φωκεῖς καὶ Ληστολοίς καὶ Δοκρούς
260 VI. v. 24 370–369 B.C.

φίλους ποιησάμενοι. Later in 362 the Phocians refused to follow the Thebans into Peloponnesus on the ground that their alliance was only defensive: cp. vii. 5. 4.

Εὐβοεῖσ: their names appear among the members of the New Athenian Confederacy in 377, CIA. ii. 17: they must have become allies of the Thebans after Leuctra.

'Ακαρνάνες ... Ἱπακλέωται ... Μηλεῖσ: The Heracleots fought on the side of Sparta at Leuctra vi. 4. 9. Nothing is known of the manner in which these peoples were induced to join the Theban alliance: cp. Hicks, Inscr. 83; CIA. ii. 49.

οὐνιδάμενοι, cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361: the subject is oî 'Αρκάδες.

τὴν ... ἔρημιαν: cp. Diod. xv. 63 oî δὲ Λακεδαίμονοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν νέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Δεύκτρα συμφορᾷ, οὐκ ὅλγοι δέ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἤτται ἀπολοκεκότες, καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἰς ὅλγοις πολιτικοῖς στρατιώται ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης συγκεκλεισμένοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν συμμάχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ὁμοίας αἰτίας ὅλγανδροντων, εἰς πολλὴν ἁμηχανίαν ἔπιπτον.

πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν: for the infin. cp. Goodwin, Μ. Τ. 629.

§ 24. Θηβαίοι. Xenophon’s view that the Thebans entered the Peloponnesus without any previous intention of invading Sparta is confirmed by Plutarch’s story (Pel. 24) that they anticipated being in the country so short a time that they had made no provision for prolonging the tenure of the Boeotarchs’ command, which terminated about the time of the winter solstice. Epaminondas and Pelopidas, however, Plutarch goes on to say, persuaded their colleagues (or colleague: Corn. Nep. Fp. 2) to disregard this law, the penalty for which was death, and accordingly on their return to Thebes four months after the appointed time they were both accused by their political enemies on the capital charge and were only acquitted with some difficulty.


Σκιρίτιδος: cp. v. 2. 24: the village of Oeum has not been identified.

νεοδαμώδεις: cp. iii. 1. 4.

Δεύκτροφ, on the frontier near Megalopolis: Plut. Pel. 20;
Paus. iii. 26. 4; 21. 7. Μαλεάτις must be the district of Μαλαία in S. Arcadia mentioned by Paus. viii. 27. 4.

ός καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ... μᾶχεσθαι ἂν: the participial construction after ἐλογίζοντο is in the second clause changed for the accusative and infinitive: τοῖτο introduces the object which is explained in these two clauses: cp. Cyrop. iii. 1. 39 oὐ τοῦτο αὐτίω-μενοι αὐτοῦς κατακτεῖνουσιν, ὡς ἄφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναῖκας.

§ 25. ήκον ... λέγοντες: without τινός, as iii. 1. 19.

Καρνών: apparently east of the Sciritis on the road between Sparta and Thyrea: cp. Thuc. v. 55; Paus. iii. 10. 7.

τῶν περιοίκων: for the disaffection of the Peirœcæ and Helots cp. § 32 and vii. 2. 2; 4. 21.

καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι, i.e. summoned to resist the threatened invasion.

αὐτοὶ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες. Diodorus (xv. 64) makes the allies enter Laconia in four divisions, the Boeotians by the straight road to Sellasia; the Argives along the mountains of Tegea (i.e. more to the east), where they fell in with a Spartan post under Alexander, whom they defeated and slew; the Arcadians across the Sciritis, where they fell in with Ischolus; and the Eleans by other more open roads: all four divisions united at Sellasia. Xenophon in this passage speaks of the march of the Thebans and Arcadians only, but later on (§§ 30, 50) he speaks of Eleans and Argives in Laconia, so that there is no real inconsistency between him and Diodorus.

§ 26. τὰ δύσβατα: to the north of Oeum.

ἀποθημάκει. Diodorus (xv. 64) compares Ischolus’ defence to Leonidas’ defence of Thermopylae, and has accordingly dressed up his narrative with rhetorical details: for Ischolus cp. Polyaen. ii. 22.

§ 27. Σελλασίαν: cp. ii. 2. 13.

ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ: on the left bank of the Eurotas, opposite Sparta: this temple of Apollo is mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 14. 6).

τῆς γεφύρας: over the Eurotas.

τῆς Ἀλέας: a title of Athena: on the road from Sparta to Therapne; cp. Paus. iii. 19. 7.

διασαχθεῖς: for the singular cp. Anab. vii. 3. 47 oι ἵππεις
ὁχονται μοι ἄλλος ἄλλη διώκων.

ἐφύλαττων. According to Plutarch (Ages. 32) the defence of
Sparta was organized by Agesilaus. He not only defended the
city against the enemy, but found means to check the disaffection
that threatened to spread among the Spartiates themselves, nipping
two dangerous conspiracies in the bud: cp. esp. ch. 33 τὸν ἐν
σωμήνα τῇ Σπάρτῃ τότε πάντες αἵτινον ὀμολογοῦσι γενέσθαι τὸν
Ἀγησίλαον, ὅτι τῶν ἐμφύτων αὐτῷ παθῶν, φιλονεκίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας,
ἀποστάσει ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀσφαλῶς: cp. § 23 note, and
the conspiracy of Cinadon iii. 3. 5 ff.; Corn. Nep. Ages. 6. 2, 3; Polyæn.
i. 1. 4; Valer. Max. vii. 2.

ὡς ... ἐσομένους: accusative absolute: cp. ii. 3. 19 δισπέρ τὸν
ἀριθμὸν τούτων ἔχοντα τινὰ ἀνάγκην: this extreme measure was
necessitated by the defection of the Perioeci: cp. § 25 note, and
Plut. Ages. 32 πολλοὶ τῶν τεταγμένων εἰς τὰ ὅπλα περιοίκων καὶ εἰλώτων
ἀπεδιδρασκὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεος πρὸς τοῖς πολέμιοις.

§ 29. ἔξακισχιλίους. Diodorus (xv. 65) must be mistaken in
putting the number at 1,000 only and in making their enrolment
take place after Epaminondas’ retirement from Laconia into
Arcadia. In any case it is impossible to reconcile this enrolment
of Helots with Xenophon’s general statement in vii. 2. 2 ἀποστάντων
πάντων τῶν εἰλώτων, when he is commenting on the desperate
position of Sparta after Leuctra.

οἱ ... μισθοφόροι: cp. § 21 note.

ἄλλα ... πόλεων: enumerated vii. 2. 2.

§ 30. Ἀμύκλας: some three miles south of Sparta.

ταῖτη διεβαίνον: cp. Plut. Ages. 32 ἔρρη ἐπὶ πλεῖστος ἐαυτῷ καὶ
μέγιστος τὸτε ὁ Εὐρώτας, χώνων γενομένων, καὶ τὸ μένα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
ψυχρότητος ἡ τραχύτητος ἐγένετο σκληρῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν τοῖς Ῥηβαῖοις.
Diodorus (xv. 65) represents Epaminondas as descending the slopes
of Mount Taygetus (1) to the Eurotas and there suffering a severe
reverse from Agesilaus. It is, however, difficult to believe that
the philo-Laconian Xenophon would have passed over a Spartan
victory in silence.

τούτων τε ... καταλείπουτες δὲ: for τε ... δὲ cp. i. 1. 34; iv.
5. 15.

Γαυαῖχος: this temple of Poseidon, mentioned by Pausanias
(iii. 20. 2) was between Therapne and Amyclae. Pausanias (iii. 14. 6) also mentions a hippodrome in this neighbourhood.

§ 31. φαινόμενοι: opposed to ἑνέδραν ποιήσαντες.

ἑνέδραν: ascribed to Agesilaus and described at length by Polycaen. ii. 1. 27.

ποιήσαντες: the subject must be οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι in general, who are then divided into parts οὗτοι μὲν . . . οἱ δ' ἵππεις: cp. iv. 4. 1.

ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνθαριδῶν, sc. οἰκία: in Amyclae ; cp. Paus. iii. 16. 2.

§ 32. τὸ μὲν μη . . . θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι, lit. 'that the Thebans would no more advance against the city now seemed to be a matter for greater confidence': i.e. the Lacedaemonians now saw less reason to fear any further attempt upon their city.

"Ελος καὶ Γύθευν: the former at the mouth of the Eurotas, the latter on the west side of the bay.

προσέβαλλον: the tense seems to imply that the attempt was unsuccessful.

περινίκων: cp. §§ 25, 28 notes.

§ 33. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: cp. §§ 2, 19 and notes. The Athenians now found themselves obliged to give up their policy of peace at any price: it was obviously not their interest to see the Spartans humbled too far and to allow the Thebans to assume in their place the headship of a larger and stronger Land Confederacy than the Spartan Confederacy had ever been.

πρέσβεις Δακεδαιμονίων. Xenophon, perhaps out of partiality for the Spartans, represents the initiative as coming from the Athenians: but it is hard to see, what could have been the mission of these Lacedaemonian envoys, except a request for assistance: cp. Callisth. fr. ap. Euistrat. p. 54 b.

ὑπολοίπων . . . αὐτοῖς: for a list of the allies remaining faithful to Sparta cp. § 29 and vii. 2. 2. For the order of the words cp. iii. 3. 5.

ὅθεν δὴ, i.e. in consequence of the perplexity of the Athenians.

"Ἀρακός: if this conjecture be right, perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned ii. 1. 7, iii. 2. 6: cp. Critical Note.

"Οὐκλὸς: mentioned together with Eymocles iii. 2. 12.

Φάραξ: perhaps the same as the admiral mentioned v. 4. 22.

tois τυράννους. King Cleomenes expelled the Pisistratidae in
511: Her. v. 64.
υπὸ Μεσσηνίων. The Spartans were hard pressed by a Helot
revolt, c. 464-462: cp. Thuc. i. 102; Plut. Cim. 16.
§ 34. τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, i.e. the φόρος assessed in 478 B.C. by
Aristides for the Delian Confederates: cp. Thuc. i. 96; Arist.'Αθ. πολ.
23. 5.
τῶν Λακεδαίμων . . . συμβουλομένων: cp. Thuc. i. 95 τοὺς
'Αθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανούς εξηγείσθαι καὶ σφίσων ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι
ἐπιτηδείους. The author of the 'Αθ. πολ. 23. 2, and Isocrates (xii. 52)
give the opposite version—άκοντων τῶν Λακεδαίμων.
§ 35. δεκατευθύναι: cp. the same expression vi. 3. 20.
ἐπεκείντο: similarly used v. 2. 1.
ἡμῖν: a sudden transition from indirect to direct narration.
αὐτοῖς, i.e. the Athenians.
ἀναστάτους: for the facts cp. ii. 2. 19; vi. 3. 13.
†σφίσων: cp. Critical Note: σφίσων for αὐτοῖς may perhaps be
paralleled in i. 7. 5, though there the usage is not quite so harsh.
§ 36. πλείστος . . . λόγος, i.e. the Lacedaemonians urged most
especially.
κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους . . . παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους must be referred, not to
the renewal of the King's Peace, made at Athens (§ 2), but to the
Peace of 371 (vi. 3. 18): cp. § 10 note.
σφών, i.e. the Lacedaemonians.
ἐπιστρατεύων: this use of the optative in oblique narration
may be paralleled by iii. 2. 23 ἐπιληφθας γὰρ ἔχοιν τὰς πόλεις:
Goodwin, M. T. 675. For the facts alluded to cp. § 10 ff.
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις: instead of σφίσων for the sake of clearness.
τοῖς περὶ Προξενῶν: cp. § 6 ff.
§ 37. διοριζομένων: apparently means 'while these distinctions as
to the justice or injustice of the Mantineans' action were being drawn
by the assembly.'
παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους: as appears indeed from the context, the
Corinthian speaker is thinking of the Athenian renewal of the
King's Peace, cp. § 2.
ταύτα . . . ὄρκῳν: the construction is harsh, 'and that too
against those very oaths which you yourselves, &c.'
ός . . . εἰρηκότος: for the participial construction with ὃς cp. ii. 4. 1.
VI. v. 38–46

370–369 B.C.


§ 38. Ἑράκλης: he was the great friend of King Agesilaus (v. 3. 13), and a few months later advocated in a speech, which Xenophon reports at length (vii. 1. 2–11), this same policy, maintaining that the only security for Greece was for Sparta to hold the Hegemony by land and Athens by sea.


§ 39. ὅποτε . . . ἔχετε: the comparison would have been more exactly expressed, had Xenophon written ἵ τὸ πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους (i.e. the Lacedaemonians) ἔχεων.

§ 40. εἰ δὲ . . . φοβοῦνται: an answer to § 35 ἐπέκειντο ἣμῖν.

τῶν προπεσονημένων: a kind of genitive of content: 'in order that they may have a succour in what their past labours have obtained for them.'

§ 42. ὅσ . . . γενήσεσθαι: for ὅσ with infinitive instead of ὅτι with a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27. But see Critical Note.

§ 43. ὑπὸ βαρβάρων: for ὑπὸ cp. Dem. xlix. 50 οὕδεις κίνδυνος ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἦν.


ἐπεισφρέσθαι: cp. Critical Note. A word used elsewhere in this sense of 'introducing' only by Euripides and by him only in the active voice.

πῶσ ὦν οὐ . . . παρέχεσθαι: construe: πῶσ ὦν ὦ δίκαιον (ἐστὶ) καὶ ἴμας καὶ ἴμας παρέχεσθοι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοῖς, ὦ τε ἐνεκα (i.e. τούτων τε ἐνεκα ὦτι) ἐγένετο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ὦν (sc. ἐνεκα) ἐλπίς (ἔστι) καὶ ἄθις γενέσθαι (αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς);

§ 44. παρῶντων . . . αὐτοῖς: the dative is dependent on παρῶντων: for the order of the words cp. § 33.

§ 45. ἀκούων . . . ὥτι . . . ἦκονον. The dependent clause repeats the participle, which is placed first to emphasize the contrast with παρῶν ὅρω.

ἐπικοινωνίας: for the sentiment cp. Isocrates, iv. 52 [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινῷ τὴν πόλιν παρέχουσε καὶ τοῖς ἄδικονεμοίους ἀν ὅτω Ἐλλήνων ἐπιμάνουσαν.

§ 46. Ὑθέλαιοι: for the Theban party at Athens, on whom these envoys must have placed their hopes, cp. v. 4. 34.
τότε: cp. ii. 2. 19 for the fact.

καλὸν λέγεται, 'of your ancestors a noble deed is told': ὅτε
... γενέσθαι is the subject to λέγεται; for ὅτε cp. vi. 4. 5.

ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ. The story, also told by Isocrates (iv. 55), was
that after the defeat of the Seven against Thebes, the Thebans
refused to allow Adrastus the Argive king to bury his dead:
thereon he applied to Athens for help, and the Athenians sent an
army which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial.

§ 47. σχόντες, 'checking.'

διεσώσατε. The Heraclidae, according to the legend, driven
from the Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, sought refuge at Athens.
The Athenians assisted them, defeated Eurystheus, and restored
them to the Peloponnesus: cp. Her. ix. 27; Diod. iv. 57. It is a
curious coincidence, almost too remarkable to be merely accidental,
that Isocrates (iv. 54–60) in supporting the same thesis tells these
two same legendary stories to the credit of the Athenians. Isocrates
wrote this Oration about 380, so that it may very well have been
known to Xenophon.

tοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. vi. 3. 6 and note.

ψῆφῳ ἄκουσω: in 404 the Spartans were strong enough to
have nothing to fear from any opposition on the part of their allies.

§ 48. ὅποτε... ἀγαλλόμεθα: Hertlein strikes out οἱ before
συναγορεύοντες: then the meaning will be 'seeing that we too
pride ourselves on advocating aid, &c.' ὅποτε is causal: cp. Cyr.
viii. 3. 7; Critical Note.

§ 49. τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων: cp. ps.-Dem. lix. 27 ὅτε γὰρ Δακεδα-
μονίους ὑμεῖς ἐσώξετε πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Καλλιστράτου, τότε ἀντιπών
[ὅ Σεινοκλείδης] ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῇ βοσθείᾳ, ἑωνεμένος τὴν πεντηκοστὴν τοῦ
σιτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνη, καὶ δέον αὐτῶν καταβάλλει τὰς καταβολὰς εἰς τὸ βου-
λευτήριον κατὰ πρυτανείαν, καὶ οὕσης αὐτῷ ἀπελείας ἐκ τῶν νόμων, οὐκ
ἐξελθὼν ἑκείνη τὴν στρατείαν, γραφεῖς ὑπὸ Στεφάνου τούτου ἀστρατείας
καὶ διαβληθείς τῷ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἦλω καὶ ἤτιμωθη: for Calli-
stratus cp. vi. 2. 39; 3. 1-17.

ἐψηφίσαντο: cp. Diod. xv. 63 ὃ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμος, μεγαλό-
ψυχος ὄν καὶ φιλανθρωπός, τὴν μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἰσχύν οὐ κατεπλάγησαν,
τοῖς δὲ Δακεδαμονίοις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρατοδυσμοῦ κυνονεύουσιν ἐψηφίσαντο
βοσθεῖν πανδημεῖ. Dem. xvi. 12 οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεισαν ὑμᾶς,
πάντων Πελοποννησίων ἐλθόντων (for the embassy cp. § 20 note) ὃς
370–369 B.C.

VI. v. 50, 51

'Ιφικράτης: last mentioned, vi. 4. 1.

ἐγένετο: cp. iii. 1. 17.

ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ: cp. ii. 2. 8.

ἐφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.

προθύμως: cp. Diod. xv. 63 Ἦφικράτης μὲν οὖν, προθύμως ἔχων τοὺς στρατιώτας, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ σπούδην.

§ 50. ἀπεληλύθεσαν: cp. § 30.

ἀγοντες ... φέροντες: the former of living animals, the latter of goods and chattels: the usual combination is φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν: cp. iii. 2. 2, 8, 11, 14, 30.

χειμῶν: cp. Introd. p. lxvii: the length of the Theban invasion is variously stated: according to Diod. xv. 67 it lasted 85 days, but according to Plutarch (Ages. 32) three months or (Pel. 25) four months.

§ 51. ἀπεχώρον: Plutarch (Ages. 32) mentions a story of the scandal-monger Theopompos, that after the Boeotarchs had already determined to retire, Phrixus came from Agesilaus with 10 talents as a bribe to hasten their departure.

ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, i.e. from Messenia: Xenophon (cp. Introd. p. xxxii, and vii. 1. 27, 28) here omits altogether the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus, which was the revival of the Messenian state and the building of a new city, called Messene, under Mount Ithome, of which Epaminondas was the founder. The Messenian exiles gathered from Italy, Sicily, Libya and elsewhere, where they had found refuge, to take part in the new foundation: cp. Diod. xv. 66; Paus. iv. 26, 27; Plut. Pel. 24, Ages. 34.

ἄλλο τι: cp. iv. 5. 13.

οὖ ψέγω. Grote (ix. 457) with justice sees in this passage evidence of Xenophon’s philo-Laconism, pointing out that the main object of the Athenian expedition, the retirement of the Thebans, was effected, and that the despatch by Iphicrates of all his cavalry must have been meant, not merely for reconnoitring purposes, but to harass the Thebans’ march: cp. Stern, p. 180.
tā μὲν μάτην: cp. Diod. xv. 65 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθηναίοι μὲν, ὑστερηκότες τῶν καιρῶν, ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐδὲν πράξαντες μνήμης ἄξιον.

ἐπὶ τὸ Ὀνείῳ: this mountain, 1600 ft. high, stands about three miles SW. of Corinth.

Κεγχρεῶς. The sea-port of Corinth on the east side of the isthmus.

§ 52. ἰδεῖν ... ἰκανοί. Xenophon enlarges on this notion in the Hipparchus 7. 6; 8. 12.

δέοι ... ἀποχωρήσαι: for the moods cp. Goodwin, M. T. 555.

ἀπώλοντο. Plutarch (Pel. 24) seems to exaggerate this reverse: ἀπιόντες δ’ ἐπ’ οἰκου διὰ Κεγχρεῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀψιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν. For the still more exaggerated story in Paus. ix. 14. 3, cp. the criticisms of Grote (ix. 457) and Stern (p. 180).
BOOK VII

CHAPTER I.

§§ 1–14. Ambassadors from Sparta and her allies came to Athens to arrange the terms of the new alliance. After many speeches, Procles of Phlius supported the proposal of the Council, that the Athenians should hold the command by sea and Sparta by land. The Assembly preferred Cephasodotus’ proposal, that the two powers should exercise the supreme command by turns of five days each. §§ 15–17. The allied forces guarded the Isthmus at Oneum. The Thebans, however, surprised the Lacedaemonian and Pellenian detachments, whereon the Spartan commandant foolishly made a truce, allowing them free passage. §§ 18–22. The Thebans with their Peloponnesian allies attacked Sicyon and Pellene and ravaged the Epidaurian territory: then they fought several skirmishes before Corinth, wherein some reinforcements sent by Dionysius did prodigies of valour against them. The Thebans soon turned homewards. Dionysius’ troops after an attack on Sicyon returned to Syracuse. §§ 23–26. So far the Thebans and the revolted allies of Sparta had worked heartily together. Now Lycomedes of Mantinea pointed out to the Arcadians that they were likely to become the tools of the Thebans just as formerly they had been of the Lacedaemonians, whereas the supremacy over the Peloponnesus rightly belonged to them. Just then certain successes won against Chabrias and the Lacedaemonians increased the pride of the Arcadians. Thus distrust arose between them and the Thebans and Eleans. § 27. Ariobarzanes’ envoy, Philiscus, summoned the Greeks to Delphi to make a general peace. The attempt failed because the Thebans refused to recognise the dependence of Messene upon Sparta. §§ 28–32. With the help of the second reinforcements from Dionysius, which the Athenians wished to use against the Thebans in Thessaly, Archidamus took Caryae, and ravaged Parrhasia. The Arcadians and Argives attempted to cut off the Sicilian troops on their return to Sparta: but Archidamus coming to their aid, gained a complete victory without the loss of a man. The Thebans were not displeased at the tidings. §§ 33–38. Following the lead of Thelos, who wished thereby to gain the supremacy in Greece, many states sent envoys to the Persian Court. Pelopidas was held in highest honour, and at his proposal the king dictated as terms of peace, that Messene should be independent and that Athens should haul up her ships. On their return the Athenians put Timagoras, one of their envoys, to death: the Elean
envoy approved of the terms, but the Arcadian spoke contemptuously of the king's wealth and power. §§ 39, 40. The Thebans summoned deputies to hear the king's terms: the deputies, however, refused to swear to them. The Arcadians were the first to leave, the rest followed. Then the Thebans sent round messengers to the separate states to induce them to swear. The Corinthians refused, and all the rest copied their example. §§ 41-43. Epaminondas invaded Achaean, and without introducing any political changes persuaded the Achaean to join the Theban Confederacy. His policy was, however, soon reversed. The Thebans sent out harmosts, who expelled the aristocrats and set up democracies in the Achaean states. The aristocrats quickly effected their return, and zealously supported Sparta. §§ 44-46. At Sicyon Euphron with the help of the Argives and Arcadians effected a democratic revolution. At first he himself and four others were elected generals; then he got rid of his colleagues, and by the help of mercenaries made himself tyrant.

? 369-368 B.C.

§ 1. πρέσβεις ... αὐτοκράτορες: cp. Diod. xv. 67 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παραδόξως ἀποτετριμένοι τοὺς πολέμιους ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀδήνας τοὺς ἐπίφανες τῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡστε τῆς μὲν θάλαττης ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐν ἄρμοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποιήσαντο κοινὰς τὰς ἡγεμονίας.

ἡ συμμαχία: cp. vi. 5. 49, when the vote of the Athenians to aid the Lacedaemonians πανδήμει amounted practically to an alliance; now the exact terms on a more permanent footing had to be settled.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἱσοῖς καὶ ὁμοίοις: for the formula cp. §§ 13, 45 and Thuc. v. 79.

Προκλῆς: cp. vi. 5. 38.

§ 2. τὴν ... βουλὴ: the Athenian Council of Five Hundred: cp. i. 7. 7.

τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ... τὴν κατὰ γῆν: for the doctrine cp. Introd. p. xxviii; vi. 5. 38.

§ 3. πρῶτον μὲν ... τοῦτο: the maritime advantages of Athens are similarly stated in ps.-Xen. Rep. Athen. 2.

οἰκονομία: intrans. of states, as in iv. 8. 26; vii. 5. 5, in the sense of 'to be situate.'

§ 4. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ δὲ: elliptical, sc. e.g. ἐνθυμήθητε.  
πρῶς γὰρ ... συλλέγοντα, 'all men most gladly gather round the power which has first become strong.'
§ 5. αὕτη ἡ ἐπιμέλεια, i.e. this care for the sea.
§ 6. ἐπολέμουν, i.e. in the Peloponnesian War 431–404.  
kρατοῦντες τὸς χῶρας: by five invasions in the first seven years of the war, and in the last ten years by the occupation of Decelea.  
κατὰ διάλασται: at Aegospotami, ii. 1. 28.
§ 7. οὕτως ... πεφυκότων: for the absence of the subject cp. i. i. 26; ii. 2. 16; 4. 29.
§ 8. τὸ πείθεσθαι: accusative of respect: for the sentiment cp. Mem. iv. 4. 15 [ὁ Λυκοῦργος] τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλιστα ἐνειργάσατο αὐτῇ [τῇ Ἀμαρτῇ]; and ibid. iii. 3. 15, where a contrast is drawn between Spartan discipline and Athenian laxity, except on the sea, § 18. οὐχ ὅρασ, says Socrates, ὡς εὐτάκτων μὲν [οὐ Ληθναῖοι] εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, εὐτάκτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἄγωσι πείθουσι τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδεσστέρον ἐν τοῖς χαροῖς ὑπηρετούσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις;
§ 9. πλείστοι καὶ τάξιστα: cp. vi. 5. 37.
§ 10. ἄπαξ, i.e. at Leuctra.
§ 11. ἀλλοις μὲν ... αὐτοῖς δὲ: the two clauses are correlative rather in form than in thought.
§ 12. Κηφισόδοτος: cp. vi. 3. 2.  
ἡδη: 'ἔροσεκτο,' i.e. according to the Council's προβούλευμα so generally approved.
ἐπιβάτας ... ναῦται: cp. v. i. 11.
§ 13. ὀπλίται ... ἵππεας, who would be taken from the muster roll of Athenian citizens.
ἐκείνων: genitive dependent on δούλων; cp. iv. 8. 33.  
ποιούμενος: for the present, rather than the future, cp. vii. 4. 5  
βοηθῶν παρεῖπ.  
Εἰπον ταῦτα: Timocrates' answer.
§ 14. 'Εστιν οὖν ... ἵσαίτερον, 'is there then a fairer plan than that, &c.': for the neuter without τι cp. vi. 2. 39 σώφρον.  
τοῦτων: plural after εἰ τι ἄγαθον: Oecom. 7. 37 ὡς ἄν κάμη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται.  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ... ἐνήφισαντο: cp. de Vettigal. 5. 7 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιν οὐ βιασθέντες ύπ' ἡμῶν ἀλλ' εἵ πάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν
VII. i. 15–18
369–368 B.C.

'Αθηναίοις περὶ τῆς ἥγεμονίας θέσθαι ὅπως βούλαιντο: cp. Diod. xv. 67 quoted § 1. No opposition seems to have been offered to Cephisodotus' foolish proposal, which rendered any consistent policy in a campaign impossible.

§ 15. στρατευομένων δ' . . . "Ονειον. According to Diod. xv. 68 Chabrias advanced to Corinth, where he gathered round him an army of 10,000 men, made up of Athenians, Megarians, Pellenians, and Corinthians, and where he was joined by the Lacedaemonians and their allies to the number of 10,000 more. The allied armies then fortified the isthmus from Cenchreae to Lechaen with palisades and trenches to check the passage of the Thebans under Epaminondas.
oi Θήβαιοι: according to Diod. (l. c.) invited by the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, and numbering 7,000 foot and 600 horse.

Πελληνεῖς: for their bravery cp. iv. 2. 20.

ήνικ' . . . καθανώσαι: construe ήνικα with φοντο, ἀν with καθανώσαι: for καθανώσαι cp. v. 4. 20.

ἀμα κνέφη, 'at dawn.' Diod. (l. c.) represents Epaminondas as first challenging the Lacedaemonians to open fight in the plain and then forcing their position by assault: cp. Polyaen. ii. 2. 9.

§ 16. ἀνίσταντο = 'had arisen and were going': the same phrase is used in ii. 4. 6.

§ 17. ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος: so iv. 4. 4.

τῷ . . . πολεμόρχῳ. It may be conjectured that neither Agesilaus nor his son Archidamus would care to submit to the commands of an Athenian general under the arrangement of § 14.

ἐκ τοῦ . . . βλέποντος, i.e. from the side of the hill facing Sicyon: cp. vii. 2. 6 τοῦ τεῖχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ όρῶντος.

πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, i.e. northwards.

πρὸς Θήβαιον, 'in favour of the Thebans.'

ἐισάγων: for the plural cp. iv. 8. 24.

§ 18. εἰδὼς . . . πρὸς Σικυώνα. According to Diod. xv. 69 Epaminondas first made unsuccessful attempts upon Troezen and Epidaurus before he marched upon Sicyon and forced it to join the Theban side. From a comparison with §§ 22, 44; vii. 2. 2; 3. 2 it appears that on this occasion the Sicyonian Assembly passed a formal resolution renouncing the Lacedaemonian alliance and joining the Thebans.
Πελλίνην. Probably the attack was successful: for in vii. 2, 11 we find the Pellenians on the Theban side, which, however, they soon left again for the Lacedaemonian: cp. vii. 4. 17.

αὐτῶν, i.e. the Epidaurians.

ὑπερτοπτικῶς: for the adverb with the objective genitive dependent on it cp. v. 4. 25 ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ ἐξον: the construction, however, is harsh without ἐξοντες. Trans.: 'in a manner showing their utter contempt of all their enemies.' Cp. Appendix, p. 361.

τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειώντα λόμτι, 'the door you pass on your way to Phlius': cp. Thuc. i. 24 'Επίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τῶν Ἴοννος κόλπων.

§ 19. ψηλοί. According to Diod. xv. 69 the fighting was on a much larger scale: first the Boeotians drove the Corinthians, who had come out to meet them, back into the city, some of them even venturing in the heat of their pursuit within the walls. There they were met by Chabrias and his Athenians, who slew some of them and forced back the rest. The whole Boeotian force then came up to their support, but the Athenians ἐκ τόπον ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι repulsed them with considerable loss. Plutarch (Mor. 193 f quoted below), however, confirms Xenophon's narrative as to the small scale of the operations.

tῶς ἐπιλέκτοις. The famous ἱερὸς λόχος of 300 ἐπιλέκτοι seems to have been first organized by Gorgithas after the freeing of Thebes in 379-378; it continued unconquered until its destruction by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea 338.

tὰ μνήματα: cp. iii. 2. 14; vi. 2. 20.

τροπαίον: cp. Plut. Mor. l. c. τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθου ὀλίγους τίνας τῶν Ἡθβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη ψιλομαχοῦτας καταβαλόντος καὶ στῆσαντος τροπαίου, ὁ Ἐσαμενώνδας καταγελών ἔφη, Ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὖ τροπαίον, ἀλλὰ Ἐκατήσιον ἐστάναι τὴν γὰρ Ἐκάτην ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἱδρύοντο τριόδοις.

§ 20. Ἡ... βοήθεια: for the relations between Sparta and the elder Dionysius cp. v. i. 28 note. The use here of the definite article is not very intelligible: it may simply refer to the succours as well known (cp. v. 4. 61), or it may be that Xenophon has forgotten to mention any definite application of the Spartans for aid.

Κελτοῦς... ἰβηρας: cp. Diod. xv. 70 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σικελίας Κελτοὶ XEN. HELL. t
καὶ ἑδρεὶς διοικίαι κατέπλευσαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰς μήνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰλιφθέτες. Diodorus goes on to say that they much distinguished themselves and were highly honoured by the Lacedaemonians. It appears too from CIA. ii. 51 that at the same time the Athenians, anxious once more to renew their attempt (cp. § 28) to gain Dionysius’ favour, voted him a golden crown.

τὸ πεδίον: between Corinth, Sicyon, and the sea.

§ 21. ὁρμῶν, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

§ 22. οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . οἰκαδε. According to Diod. xv. 72 the Thebans were so dissatisfied with the small results of this campaign that on his return home they listened to the charges of treachery brought against Epaminondas by his enemies, and acted on them so far as to deprive him of his Boeotarchship.

εἰς Σικυώνα, ‘into the territory of Sicyon’: cp. iv. 4. 15 εἰς Φλειωντα. This incursion proves that the Sicyonians had joined the Thebans: cp. § 18 note.

Δέρας: the site of this fort is unknown.

πρῶτη: cp. § 28 δευτέρα βοηθεία; Xenophon must mean the first and second occasions of assistance given to the Lacedaemonians against the Thebans, as in v. 1. 28 and vi. 2. 33, 35. Dionysius had already in 387 and 373 sent similar succours to the Lacedaemonians.

ἀπέπλευσεν probably marks the end of the summer 369: cp. Diod. xv. 70 and Introd. p. lxviii.

§ 23. Ἀνκομῆδης: for the part played by Lycomedes as one of the founders of Megalopolis, and afterwards as a general of the new Arcadian League cp. vi. 5, 6, 13 notes and Diod. xv. 67.

ἐνδείξις: for the positive, where the comparative as in iv. 1. 6 would be expected, cp. Thuc. i. 70 τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδείξη πρᾶξαι.

αὐτόχθονες. So Herodotus (viii. 73) calls the Arcadians and Cynurians the only autochthonous peoples of the Peloponnesus living on their original territories: cp. Thuc. i. 2.

πλεῖστον . . . φύλον: so Polybius, ii. 38; iv. 32.

ἐπικούρων. Herodotus (viii. 26) speaks of certain Arcadians ἔτοιμοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ offering their services to Xerxes, when he was marching against Greece: they frequently appear as mercenaries in the Peloponnesian War; cp. Thuc. iii. 34; vii. 57.
369-368 B.C. 

VII. i. 24–27

εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας: cp. § 22 εἰς Σικυόνα.

§ 24. σωφρονίτε: transition to oratio recta without ἐφη, as in § 44.

catā μέρος, 'by turns.'

§ 25. ἐμβαθάλμων... 'Ἀργείων. Schneider supposed that this was an incident of the Theban attack upon Epidaurus narrated in § 18: but Grote (x. 19) is probably right in regarding it as a separate expedition. Indeed, according to Diod. xv. 67, the Arcadians immediately after the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus had in a similar manner under the leadership of Lycomedes stormed the Lacedaemonian town of Pellene some ten miles north of Sparta on the river Eurotas; and too § 26 compared with § 22 implies that it was a later expedition.

Χαβρίων: cp. § 15 note.

χρώμενοι, i.e. 'although not only the men they had to face, but the country they had to cross, was hostile to them.'

'Ασίνης. Strabo (viii. 363) also speaks of an Asine in Laconia on the west coast of the Laconian Gulf between Gythium and (Ps)amathus: cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. It is however difficult to believe, notwithstanding Xenophon's encomium, that the Arcadians would have ventured at this time to penetrate far into the southernmost peninsula of Laconia. Grote accordingly supposes that the Messenian Asine is meant (cp. Smith's Dict. of Geography). If his hypothesis be right, it follows that Asine had not been incorporated in the new independent district of Messenia.


§ 26. ἀπαίτούντες: cp. vi. 5. 2.

ἀς...ἀθηρεθησαν: in 397 B.C., cp. iii. 2. 30.

αὐτοῦς, i.e. τοὺς 'Αρκάδας.

'Αρκάδες...ἐίναι: cp. Polyb. iv. 77 ἡ (Τριφυλία) τῆς μὲν προσηγορίας τέτευχε ταύτης ἀπὸ Τριφυλίου τοῦ τῶν 'Αρκάδων παῖδων ἐνός. 

dυσμενῶς εἴχον: actual hostilities did not break out till 365: cp. vii. 4. 12.

§ 27. Φιλίσκος...παρ' 'Αρταβαρζάνου: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Φιλίσκος μὲν ἐπ' 'Αρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέσις κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆν τιν

\"368-367 B.C.\"
VII. i. 27

Ελλάδα, παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας διαλύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμους, εἰρήνην δὲ κοινὴν συνθέσθαι. It is difficult to suppose that the Persian, whether the king or the satrap, took the initiative: Grote accordingly (x. 20) conjectures that it was at the instance of the Athenians: Stern (p. 191) with more probability supposes that the Spartans, remembering the Peace of Antalcidas and its renewal in 371, now tried to effect once more by foreign aid what they could not gain by their own prowess. The latter hypothesis is to some extent confirmed (1) by the part which Dionysius of Syracuse, the warm ally of Sparta, seems to have played in the congress (cp. CIA. ii. 51 and Köhler’s comments on it in Mitth. d. arch. Instit. i. 15); (2) by Philiscus’ raising mercenaries apparently to aid the Lacedaemonians; and (3) by the Thebans sending ambassadors to Susa in the following year to counteract the influence of the Spartan envoy Euthycles at the Persian Court, § 33.

χρήματα...πολλά, i.e. to hire mercenaries: v. infr.

συνήγαγε. It is to be supposed, whether Philiscus’ mission emanated from the king or from Ariobarzanes, that the meeting of deputies from the various Greek states, including the Lacedaemonians and their enemies the Thebans, could be convened under no less authority than that of the Great King himself: cp. v. i. 30. The general change in the posture of affairs in Greece is marked by the congress meeting at Delphi instead of Sparta or Athens.

ὅπως ἄν...γένοιτο: for ὅπως ἄν with opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.

Μεσσήνην. It is in this casual manner that Xenophon first notices the foundation of Messene, which was the most important result of the first Theban invasion of the Peloponnesus: cp. vi. 5. 51 note. Also according to Isocr. vi. 11 the allies in their anxiety for peace were eager for the Spartans to abandon their claim to Messenia: but according to Diodorus (xiv. 70) the negotiations failed, as in 371 B.C., because the Thebans once more refused to recognize the autonomy of the Boeotian cities.

ξενικῶν...Δακεδαμονίων. Xenophon makes no further mention of these mercenaries. Diodorus (l. c.) states ἀπογραφθέεισθαι δὲ τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην ὁ μὲν Φιλίσκος καταληπτῶν τοῖς Δακεδαμονίοις δισχίλιον...
368–367 B.C. VII. i. 28

\[ \text{ἐπιλέκτους µισθοφόρους ἐχόντας τοὺς µισθούς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν;} \]
but he too says nothing more about the mercenaries. The motives therefore, whether of Ariobarzanes or Artaxerxes, remain quite in the dark: for it is difficult to suppose that Ariobarzanes was already meditating his revolt from Darius, which did not take place till 362 B.C. It must have been at the time of the Delphian Congress that the Athenians honoured Ariobarzanes and Philiscus with the citizenship: cp. Dem. xxiii. 141. It does, however, appear from the last words of the sentence that Persia still meant to support Sparta: cp. § 33.


Ἀθηναίων. According to Diodorus it was not till later in the summer that the Athenians became the allies of Alexander of Pherae, after that he had seized Pelopidas and Ismenias: but monumental evidence (CIA. ii. 52 and 52 b c) shows that in this year Athens formed an alliance with Dionysius of Syracuse, and tried to strengthen her power in Mytilene and Leucas, while later on Iphicrates was sent (Aeschin. ii. 29) with a squadron into Macedonian waters; so that we must suppose, that the successes of the Thebans in the North in 369 had already roused the Athenians to make every effort to counteract them.


Θεσσαλίαν . . . Θησαίοις. This is the only hint that Xenophon, whose narrative becomes more and more a Peloponnesian, not to say a Spartan, Chronicle, gives us of the Theban interference in Thessalian affairs, although in vi. 4 he went out of his way to insert a digression on Thessalian affairs, describing the death of Jason and the fortunes of his successors down to the reign of Tisiphonus in 358 B.C. It appears, however, from Diodorus (xv. 67, 71), Plutarch (Pel. 26–29), and Pausanias (ix. 15) that the first Theban expedition into Thessaly under Pelopidas was simultaneous with the second invasion of the Peloponnesus in 369, and was sent in response to an invitation of the Thessalians to liberate them from the tyranny of Alexander of Pherae, who had shortly before murdered his kinsman Polyphron, the Tagus of Thessaly, and attempted to succeed him in that office. Pelopidas seized Larisa and Crannon, limited the powers of Alexander to Pherae only, and reorganized the whole Thessalian constitution. He also interfered
in Macedonian affairs in favour of Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was a claimant for the throne. At the end of the season he returned to Boeotia.

'Αρχίδαμος: cp. vi. 4. 18-26.
Καρύς: cp. vi. 5. 25; Polyaen. i. 41. 5.
μετ’ αὐτῶν, i.e. with Dionysius' contingent and τὰ πολιτικά.
Μηλέας: this is Müller's conjecture for Μηδέας: for the situation of Malea cp. vi. 5. 24.

§ 29. ὑπετέμοντο... ἐπὶ στενῶν: pregnant construction, 'cut him off in a narrow defile into which they had forced him': see Critical Note.
οἱ Μεσσήνοι: cp. § 27 note.
ἐγένοντο, i.e. the united forces of Archidamus and the Sicilian mercenaries: cp. § 31.

ἐν ... ἐκτροπῇ, i.e. in the place where a cross-road turns off to the territory of the Eutresii. The Eutresian villages a few miles north of Megalopolis are enumerated by Pausanias (viii. 27. 3).
eἰς τὴν Δάκαναν, the destination of their expedition: the battle was fought in Arcadia.

ἐκβάσα, i.e. out of the narrow defile into the χωρίον ἐπίπεδον.

§ 30. ἑφασαν: for the imperf. cp. iii. 5. 21.
ἀναβλέψωμεν: cp. Plut. Ages. 33 πρότερον γέ (i.e. before this 'Tearless Victory) φασιν οὐδε ταῖς γυναιξιν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἀνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐφ' οἰς ἐπτάσαν.

§ 31. αἰσιοῦ, i.e. on the right-hand side.
[oὐ... λέγεται]: struck out by Cobet, Breitenbach, &c. as the interpolation of some scholiast who wished to recall the Heraclid descent of the Spartan kings: cp. Critical Note.

δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυν: having waited for the enemy till they came within spear throw: iv. 3. 17 εἰς δόρυν ἀφικόμενοι.

Κέλτων: cp. § 20.


ἄρξαμένους... ἑφόρων πάντας, i.e. 'from the least to the greatest.'
klaiein: this victory was known as ἡ ἀδακρυς μάχη: cp. Diod. l.c.  
χθουτο: for this feeling cp. §§ 22, 23.

367–366 B.C.

§ 33. ὡπος ἄν... λάθοσ: for opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. App. iv.  
γεμονίαν... Ἐλλάδος. This phrase exactly represents Xenophon's attitude towards the Thebans: in his view they simply wanted to supplant the Spartans, and take from them their rightful and hereditary Hegemony. If the Spartans with all their traditional claims could not effectively exercise this, no other state, he thought, possibly could fill their place.  
ἐν ἐκείνῳ: Morus reads παρά, i.e. with the King of Persia: cp. § 34.  
The MSS. ἐν yields no satisfactory meaning: cp. Critical Note.  
Εὐθυκλῆς... βασιλεί: cp. § 27 note and Plut. Pel. 30 οἱ δὲ Ἐθσαῖοι παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαίμων καὶ τῶν Ἰαθναίων αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τῶν μέγαν βασιλεῖα πρέσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας ἱπὲρ συμμαχίας ἐπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαι. No other authority throws any further light on these negotiations of the Spartans certainly and probably of the Athenians also, which we may naturally conjecture arose out of Philliscus' mission of the previous year.  
Πελοπίδαι. This is the first mention in Xenophon's narrative of the great Theban liberator: cp. § 28 note. In 368 the Thessalians had again complained at Thebes against Alexander of Pherae, when Pelopidas, relying on the reputation he had gained in Thessaly the previous year, ventured northwards without an army to act as mediator: after many adventures he was seized by Alexander and kept as a prisoner, and only rescued by Epaminondas at the head of a powerful Theban army shortly before this embassy to Persia: cp. Diod. xv. 71; Plut. Pel. 27–29.  
Ἀντίοχος. Pausanias (vi. 3. 9) also speaks of an Antiochus, a παγκρατιαστῆς, whose statue he had seen at Olympia, but represents him as a native of Lepreum.  
Ἀρχιδάμος: possibly the same as the Olympic victor mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 1. 3; 17. 5.  
Ἀργείου: probably the same as the Elean democrat mentioned vii. 4. 15. Stern (p. 201), however, arguing that the other Theban allies, viz. the Argives and Messenians, must have sent envoys at the same time, conjectures that a line must have fallen out of the
text in which the names of the Argive and Messenian envoys were given: cp. Grote, x. 37.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: for the interests of Athens at stake cp. § 36 note.

§ 34. ἐκεί ἐγένετο. The presence of all these envoys from the various jealous and hostile Greek states is paralleled by the instance of 409: cp. i. 3. 13.

ἐπλεονέκτει. Plutarch (Pel. 30) tells the story with the most elaborate details.

μόνοι, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι: cp. Her. ix. 31.

συνεμάχοντο . . . στρατεύσαντο: the indicative expresses a definite fact, the optative the reflection of the speaker: cp. however Goodwin, M. T. 672.

οὐκ ἐθελήσανε: for the facts cp. iii. 4. 3 ff.: for the opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 693.

§ 35. συνεβάλλετο: cp. Plut. l. c. οὐ γὰρ ἦρεμα δύκτο τῆς Ἀσίας οἴ. ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἢ δόξα τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἅγων, ἀλλ', οὐς πρῶτος περὶ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος, δεῖ τινος κανοῦ προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτω κατέσχεν.

ητημένοι: cp. § 30.

Τιμαγόρας. Demosthenes (xix. 137) says that the king gave him 40 talents: cp. Plut. l. c.

§ 36. γραφήναι: so v. i. 30 τὰ γεγραμμένα and vi. 3. 12 βασίλεις . . . ἔγραψε of the Peace of Antalcidas.

Μεσσήνην . . . ἱέναι. Grote (x. 38) with great probability conjectures that these are not the exact words of the treaty, but that there was also included a clause assigning Triphylia to Elis (cp. §§ 26, 38), and another recognizing the autonomy of Amphipolis (cp. Dem. xix. 137) at that time threatened (cp. following note) by the Athenians. But the whole point of the treaty was that it really made Thebes the προστάτης of the new Peace in the same way as the Spartans in 386 had been προστάται . . . τῆς ὑπὸ βασίλεως καταστραφθείσης εἰρήνης (v. i. 36).

ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναύς. The activity of the Athenians at sea at this time has to be gathered rather from monumental than literary sources: thus CIA. ii. 52 c is a decree of 368–367 praising the Mytileneans ὅτι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συνεπολέμησαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν παρελθόντα (against the Lacedaemonians [?] 378–371); CIA. ii. 52 b is a decree of the same year recording negotiations between Athens
and Leucas; and CIA. ii. 52 is a decree of 368–367 recording an alliance of Athens with Dionysius I of Syracuse. Moreover, Diodorus (xv. 71) speaks of an Athenian expedition of 30 ships under Autocrates as sent out in 368 to assist Alexander of Phereas against Pelopidas; and it appears from Aeschines (ii. 29 ff.) that about the same time the Athenians despatched Iphicrates to Amphipolis ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ μᾶλλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ πολιορκία τῆς πόλεως: cp. Corn. Nep. Iphic. 3. Altogether, therefore, the Thebans had good reason to fear the growing maritime activity of Athens: cp. §§ 27, 28 notes.

§ 37. ἀπήγγειλεν, i.e. interpreted.

ἐξέρειοκε: perhaps out of the cabinet, where the scribe wrote out the Terms of the Peace.

eὶ δὲ τι . . . διδάσκειν: the content of the προσγεγραμμένα.

§ 38. Τιμαγόραν: cp. Dem. xix. 191 Δέων Τιμαγόρου κατηγόρει συμπεπρεπεσθενος τέτταρ' ἔτη, and 137 [βασιλεὺς] ἐξαπατηθεῖς ὑπὸ Τιμαγόρου καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλανθ' ὃς λέγεται δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ . . . πρῶτον μὲν Ἀμφίπολιν πάλιν ὑμετέραν δοῦλην κατέπεμψεν, ἣν τότε σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλην ἐγράφεσαν εἰτ' οὐδενὶ πόσοτ' ἔδωκε χρήματα τοῦ λοιποῦ. Plutarch (Artax. 22) says that the condemnation of Timagogas was due to his taking bribes, but in Pel. 30 adds that it was rather due to exasperation ὅτι Θηβαῖοι ἐγεγόνει πάντα—a reason which agrees better with Xenophon's μετὰ Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοντο.


προνύμουσε . . . ἡλπττοῦτο: cp. § 36 note.

τῶν μυρίων: the Pan-Arcadian assembly at Megalopolis: cp. vi. 5. 6 note.

οἷς γε, emphatic: cp. Resp. Athen. ii. 17 ἄρεσκει οἷς γε [ἐμούγε Kirchhoff] and Anab. i. 1. 8 δοθήναι οἷς ταύταις τὰς πόλεις: otherwise rare in Attic Greek except as an enclitic.

πλάτανον: given to Darius Hystaspes by Pythius the Lydian: Her. vii. 27.

§ 39. συνεκάλεσαν, i.e. to Thebes, as appears from the context.

ὁ Πέρρης . . . σφαγίδα: cp. the similar conduct of Tiribazus in 387, v. 1. 30; cp. i. 4. 3.

ταύτα, i. e. τὰ γεγραμμένα: a rather unusual construction.

Δυκομήδης: cp. § 23.
τὸ συμμαχικὸν, i.e. the terms of the alliance between the Thebans, Arcadians, Eleans, &c.: cp. § 32.

§ 40. ὑπέστησαν, 'resisted': cp. Anab. iii. 2. 11.

περιβολή: cp. the Latin ‘affectatio imperii’; and for the fact

§ 33.

§ 41. Ἐπαμεινώνδας. This is Xenophon's first mention of the great Theban general: cp. Introd. p. xxviii.

προσαγαγέσθαι: cp. Diod. xv. 75 Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ’ ὁ Θηβαῖος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον τοὺς Ἀχαίους καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας πόλεις προσηγάγετο, Αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδώνα φρουροῦμένην ὑπ’ Ἀχαίων ἠλευθέρωσεν: cp. iv. 6. 14. Epaminondas thus secured the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf on both sides in the Theban interest, and thereby a safe approach by sea to the Peloponnese.

ὅπως . . . νόν: the object of this expedition evidently was to effect by force what the Thebans had just failed to effect by negotiations.

σφίσι, i.e. the Thebans.

τὸ Ὀνείον: cp. § 15.

§ 42. προσπεσόντων, 'having supplicated.'

φυγαδεύσαι: the subject must be τοὺς Ἀχαίους, the Achaean democrats.

§ 43. ἀντιστασιωτών. It is not quite clear, whether Xenophon means the Achaean democrats or the Theban opponents of Epaminondas: but the former is more probable, as ἔδοξε Θηβαῖος follows immediately.

κατεσκευάσκως: for the meaning cp. ii. 2. 5.

ἀρμοστὰς: cp. vii. 3. 4, 9 and iv. 8. 8: the Thebans imitate ever more closely the old imperious policy of Sparta.

οὐκέτι ἐμέσευον, 'no longer remained neutral' as before.

§ 44. Ἀρχαῖος νόμος, i.e. under an oligarchy: hence it appears that when two years earlier (§ 18) Epaminondas had forced Sicyon to join the Theban side, he had permitted the oligarchical constitution to stand unaltered.

ὁ Εὐθρῶν: cp. Diod. xv. 70 Εὐθρῶν ὁ Σικυώνιος, διαφέρων θράσει καὶ ἀποικία, συνεργόνως λαβὼν Ἀργείους ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τὴς ἐπιβολῆς τετεπάρκοντα τοὺς εὐποροποιότας τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐφυγαδεύσε, δημεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων κυριεύσας μισθοφόρους
367–366 B.C. VII. i. 45, 46

ἡδροσε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἑδυνάστευσεν. Diodorus antedates the affair some three years.

μέγιστος: cp. vii. 3. 8 φιλαίτατος ὄν Δακεδαμονίωις.

τύχη, impersonal: ‘when a chance offers.”

ἀσμενος . . . ἀποφυγόν, i.e. ἀσμενος ἄν ἀπέφυγον [πάλα] εἰ δυνατόν ἦν.

§ 45. ἐπὶ τοῖς . . . ὅμοιοις: cp. § 1.

§ 46. πιστοὺς: to be construed with ἐποιήσατο.

χρημάτων: cp. vii. 3. 8.

ὅπως . . . διεπράττετο: διαπρατέσθαι is constructed with the infinitive, more usually without, but sometimes with ὅστε: cp. iv. 4. 7.

ὅπως is here used, because the dependent clause also depends on συνηκολούθει.

τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δὲ, adverbial: ‘partly . . . partly.” It appears from vii. 2. 11 that a Theban commandant and garrison must have been present in Sicyon during the whole course of Euphron’s proceedings.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1–9. Though hard pressed by the Argives and Sicyonians, the Phliasians persisted in their friendship with the Lacedaemonians. They had already proved their fidelity at the time of the Theban invasion of Laconia; and again, when the Thebans were once more about to enter Peloponnesus, they delivered their city from the Argives and their allies, even after a traitorous party had actually seized the acropolis. §§ 10–16. Next year the Phliasians again repelled an attack of the Argives and Arcadians. At another time the Theban governor of Sicyon together with Euphron and the Sicyonians and Pelleneans entered the Phlian territory on a marauding expedition, but was speedily driven out with considerable loss. Again the Phliasians released a Pellenean prisoner without a ransom. §§ 17–23. The Phliasians were hard pressed for provisions: some they got by forays, some by purchase from Corinth. Chares acted as escort of their convoys. On one occasion he was persuaded to join them in an attack upon the Sicyonians, who were fortifying the outpost of Thyamia. The enemy were taken by surprise, and the Phliasians made the outpost into a fort of their own.
366-365 B.C.

§ 1. ἐπίτετελεῖχικότων: cp. iii. 2. 1 note.
Τρικάρανον: cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρικάρανον, φρούριον τῆς Φλεια-
σίας; it is the hill with three low summits, which forms the NE.
boundary of the Phliasian plain. The Heraeum is stated by
Pausanias (ii. 13. 4) to be near the acropolis—on the slope of the
hill: cp. §§ 6, 11.

Θαμιαν: must have been on the north side of Tricaranum;
Xenophon in § 20 returns to the Sicyonians engaged in fortifying
their outpost.

ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ: the fidelity of the Phliasians to the Lacedae-
monian alliance is the theme of the whole chapter: cp. esp. § 17
and vii. 3. 1.


μικρὰ πόλις: Phlius, according to v. 3. 16, numbered πεντακισ-
χίλιοι ἀνδρεῖς.

§ 2. φίλοι ... ἐγένοντο. Xenophon seems to refer to the year
379, when after the surrender of the town by the democrats Agesi-
laus regulated the constitution in the oligarchical interest: cp. v.
3. 25. From this time onwards the Phliasians had remained
faithful to Sparta.

περιοίκων ... Εἰλώτων ... συμμάχων: cp. vi. 5. 25, 28 note.

πιστοὶ διέμειναν: the Phliasian cavalry fought at Leuctra,
vi. 4. 9. Again, the Phliasians enthusiastically joined Archi-
damus' army of rescue after the disaster (vi. 4. 18), supported
Agesilaus in Arcadia in the following year (vi. 5. 14-17), and hurried
to the Spartan assistance at the time of the first Theban invasion
in 369 (vi. 5. 29: cp. the speech of the Phliasian Procles, vii. 1. 1-11).

ἐβοήθησαν: cp. vi. 5. 29.

eis Πρασιάς: cp. Thuc. ii. 56 τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλις ἐπιθαλάσσιον:
Paus. iii. 24. 4. The town lay on the Cynurian coast.

Πελληνεῖς ... τότε: cp. vii. 1. 18 note; 4. 17.

§ 3. ἄλλ' οὖδ': ἄλλα is used as if λαχώντες had been a finite verb
owing to the long parenthesis ἤσαν δ' οὖτοι ... ἀφέστασαν: cp.
Appendix, p. 361.

ἐξειναγός: cp. iii. 5. 7.

ὁντων ... Ἀμύκλας: cp. vi. 5. 30.
366–365 B.C. VII. ii. 4–8

§ 4. εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα: cp. vii. i. 23 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἦ: διαφέρον adverbial like διαφερόντως. For ἦ εἰ
cp. iii. 4. 19.
§ 5. αὔθεσ..."Ονειον: for the occasion cp. vii. i. 15: the Argives
also took part cp. § 8.
προσήρεγκαν...λόγον, 'made an offer,' i.e. to the Arcadians,
Argives, and Eleans.
oἱ σκοποὶ: the context shows that the Phliasian patriots are
meant: the Tricaranum did not fall into the hands of the Argives
till two years later; cp. § 1.
ὡς...ἐπιῶτον: cp. iii. 4. 1 note for the participial construction.
§ 6. τὰ ὅπλα, 'the outpost': cp. ii. 4. 6; iv. 5. 6.
πεμπάδος. Xenophon means apparently that ten squads of five
guarded the post by night, and that by day one member of each
squad was left on duty.
"Ηραῖον: cp. § 1 note.
ὁρῶντος: cp. vii. i. 17.
§ 7. πολυροκριμενοί, 'hemmed in.'
tὸ...μέσον, i.e. the space inside the acropolis, which was,
as appears from Paus. ii. 13. 3–5, of considerable extent.
§ 8. ἔχωρον, sc. οἱ πολίται: 'the citizens came to close quarters
with them with reckless desperation,' Dakyns.
ὑπ’ αὐτῶν: i.e. by the citizens.
oἱ Ἀργείαι: omitted in § 5.
κατὰ κεφαλῆν. The acropolis evidently was on a hill above the
city on the north side, so that the Arcadians and their allies
coming from the south along the Nemean road would have to
circle round the city walls (ἐκυκλοῦντο) before they reached the
acropolis: κατὰ κεφαλῆν ought to mean 'down from above,' 'from
a higher level' (cp. § 11), so that the acropolis itself must have been
built on the slope of the hill, and the Argives must have got round
to its upper side.
τῶν ὅ ἐνδοθεν, i.e. the patriotic citizens: for the various
readings cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 361. The meaning
evidently is, that the patriotic Phliasians who had rushed into the
acropolis with the retreating conspirators had to fight simultaneously
against the enemy on the wall, against the Argives and their allies trying to scale the wall from outside, and against such of them (αὐτῶν) as had mounted on to the towers.

αὐτοίς, i.e. the towers.

τεθερμαμένα: according to Paus. ii. 13. 2 the acropolis contained a cypress grove and several temples.

οἱ . . . ἄπο τῶν πύργων: cp. iii. i. 22.

§ 9. ἔξηλαυνον, i.e. out of the city.

ἀπεχώρονα, i.e. to unite with the Thebans for their attack upon Sicyon: cp. § 5 with vii. i. 18.

τῶν ὄγοικοντα: cp. iii. 2. 4 note for the article.


τῷ ὄντι: denotes a reference to a proverbial expression: cp. Hiero, 3. 5 νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τάγαθα τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι; Symp. 2. 24 τῷ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρθρων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς λύπας κοιμίζει.

κλαυσίγελω: cp. vii. i. 32; Cyrop. vii. 5. 32; and Hom. II. vi. 484 ἡ δ' ἀρα μιν κηώδει δέξατο κόλπῳ δακρύων γελάσασα.

§ 10. τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει: 368 B.C. This attack on Phlius may have taken place just after the Arcadians rescued the Argives at Epidaurus from Chabrias and the Athenians and Corinthians: cp. vii. i. 25.

ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, lit. 'they held the Phliasians in between their own territories': i.e. Phlius lay between the Argolis and Arcadia.

τοῦ ποσαμοῦ, i.e. the Asopus: cp. Paus. ii. 5. 2.

φυλασσόμενοι: ironical, 'holding aloof from the corn in the plain, lest they should trample it down, as if it belonged to their friends,' both ἄπο φιλίου καρποῦ and μὴ καταπατήσειαν are dependent on φυλασσόμενοι.

§ 11. αὕθει: the date is fixed to 366 by the presence of Euphron (cp. Introd. p. lxix), so that Xenophon has now brought his Phliasian digression down almost to the same date as his general narrative: cp. vii. i. 46; 2. 1, 20 about Thymia.

ὁ . . . ἄρχων: cp. vii. i. 43 and 46 note.

Πελληνέας: cp. vii. i. 18; 2. 2.

Εὐφρων . . . μισθοφόροις: cp. vii. i. 46.

τοῦ Τρικαρίνου: cp. § 1.

κατὰ . . . πύλας: on the NE. side of the city.

κατὰ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν, 'above them': cp. § 8.
§ 12. οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, 'did not allow them to enter the plain': cp. ii. 4. 11. To give any force to ἀνά, one must suppose that there was a dip in the ground between the Philistians and the enemy.

§ 13. κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικαράνου, i.e. meaning to join the Pellenians, they fetched a compass up the slopes of Mount Tricarum to avoid a ravine (φάραγγς) formed by a stream which flows from east to west just to the south of the city.

ὡστε ... ἀφικέσθαι: the more usual construction is ὡστε μή: τὴν σύντομον, sc. ὄδον.

μικρὸν ... προπέμψαντες, having 'escorted their retreating foes a little way up the steep,' Dakyns.

τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος, sc. ὄδον, i.e. along the east wall of the city.


§ 15. λαμπρῶν: adverbal with παιανίζοντες.

ὡστε ... περιπεδεραμάκτοτες (better παραδεραμάκτοτες: cp. Critical Note), 'like men who had raced to see a sight,' Dakyns.

§ 16. πρόξενον: Schneider writes it as a proper name.

πῶς οὐκ ... φαίη: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

§ 17. εἰργόντο, i.e. by the εἰστείχισμα which the Argives had (§ 1) established upon Mount Tricarum, apparently just after the incursion described above, §§ 11-15.

τιμήν, i.e. the money to pay for the provisions.

tοὺς ποριζόντας διαστρατέμενοι. This seems very otiose: Madvig therefore proposes τοὺς κομίζοντας, sc. τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 'getting men to procure the provisions.' Hartman conjectures διαστρατάωντες, but the word can hardly mean, as he would have it, 'to escort safely through the midst.' Dobree's conjecture τὴν παραπομπήν (the following τὴν παραπομπήν being rejected) yields the best sense: cp. Critical Note.

ἐγγυηταί, i.e. to go bail for the beasts of burden in case they fell into the hands of the enemy.

§ 18. Χάρητα: cp. § 10 and Diod. xv. 75 Φιλειασίους δὲ (367-366 B.C.) πολεμομένους ὑπ’ Ἀργείων Χάρητα, ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων πεμφθεῖς στρατηγός, μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐβοήθησε τοὺς Φιλειασίους πολιορκομένους' νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργείους δυνά μάχαι καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περιποίησα τοῖς Φιλειασίοις ἐπάνυλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

ἐγένοντο: the subject is by no means obvious. Hartman's correction ἐγένετο (i.e. Chares) should be adopted: cp. Critical Note.

eἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. By this time the Pellenians must once
more have joined the Lacedaemonians (cp. vii. 4. 17) and so become friendly to the Phliasians, perhaps in consequence of the generous treatment of their countryman narrated in § 16.

ἀγοράσαντες: apparently in Pellene, notwithstanding τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄνομαν of the previous section.

§ 19. ἔργου . . . εἰςοντο, 'set to work': cp. v. 3. 2 and Cyrop. vii. 1. 27 όσ ὃς ἔσθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντα τὸν Κίρων, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτός.

μέχρι πόρρω: cp. Isocr. xv. 4 μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἥλικιας.

§ 20. χωρίων, i.e. Thymia: cp. § 1. A comparison of these two sections fixes the dates of these occurrences.

τροπή: cp. Critical Note.

ἀνακοινωσαί, 'consult': cp. vi. 3. 8 and vii. 1. 27: in this sense the active is more common.

ἐπιστειλχικῶς: used absolutely, 'you will have secured a stronghold (Thymia) whence to harass the enemy.'

§ 21. ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν, sc. ἐστὶ, 'made the preparations necessary for infantry': vi. 1. 10; 2. 27 πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο.


τῆς ὄρας: a kind of partitive genitive dependent on μικρὸν πρὸ δύνας ἧλιου.

§ 23. κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη: a strange expression, meaning apparently 'ordering out by the voice of the herald': in such cases it is usually constructed with an infinitive, as in Cyrop. iv. 2. 32: 5. 41. Hartman conjectures ζεύξαντες: cp. Critical Note.

ἐκσπερ . . . τεῖχος: the work was slow in completion: cp. vii. 4. 1.

CHAPTER III

§§ 1–5. Aeneas, general of the Arcadians, resolved to put an end to the tyranny of Sicyon. Euphron fled to the harbour, which he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians. With the help of some mercenaries he once more made himself master of the city, though the Theban harmost still retained the acropolis. Then he set out to Thebes to persuade the authorities to recognize his supremacy in Sicyon. His enemies followed him and murdered him there. §§ 6–12. The Theban magistrates brought the assassins before the Council. All denied the charge save one who defended the righteousness of the act. The Thebans acquitted the accused: but the Sicyonian democrats buried Euphron in their market-place and still worship him as their founder.
§ 1. περὶ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων, i.e. 366: cp. Introd. p. lxix.
Aïnás: another Aeneas of Stymphalus is mentioned in Anab. iv. 7. 13. Casaubon conjectured that the Aeneas of the Hellenics was Aeneas Tacticus, the author of the Treatise on Siege Operations.

στρατηγὸς. Freeman, comparing Diod. xv. 62 (Ανκομήδης ὁ Μαντινεύς, στρατηγὸς ὅν τῶν 'Αρκάδων) conjectures that he was the single Federal General at the head of the whole League: cp. Federal Government, p. 159.

τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι: cp. vii. 1. 44.
eis τὴν ἁκρόπολιν. The citadel was at the time held by a Theban harmost, who must, therefore, have given his support to Aeneas: cp. § 4; vii. 2. 11.

ἀνέυ δόγματος, i.e. not by decree of the people, but through the caprice of Euphron: cp. vii. 1. 46.

§ 2. τὸν λιμένα: some three or four miles distant from the city.
Πασίμηλος: probably the same Pasimelus as in iv. 4. 4, 7.
τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, i.e. he began once more to pose as an ally of Sparta. For his previous connexion with Sparta cp. vii. 1. 44.
ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο: cp. vii. 1. 18.

δῆμον καταστήσαι, 'had set up a democracy': cp. vii. 1. 44.

§ 4. ἀλλὰ γὰρ: the force of the particles seems to be: 'however (ἀλλὰ), what effect Euphron's speech had on the Lacedaemonians, I pass over for the present; for (γὰρ), since I have begun, I wish, &c.': cp. vii. 2. 1.

Θηβαίου ἄρμοστοῦ: cp. vii. 2. 11.

§ 5. τοὺς ἀρχονταί: apparently the Boeotarchs.


§ 8. τῶν μὴν, correlative to ὑπερορᾶν μέν.

§ 9. τοὺς περὶ 'Αρχίαν καὶ Ἰπάτην: cp. v. 4. 2, 7.


τῶν φανερῶς προδοτῶν: for the adverb with a substantive cp. ii. 3. 38; 4. 2; v. 4. 14; vii. 3. 8.

XEN. HELL.
§ 8. παραλαβὼν μέν: the three counts in the accusation are distinguished by μέν ... γε μήν ... καὶ μήν.
tὸν λιμένα: cp. § 2.
oἱ βέλτιστοι: the assassins of Euphron belonged to this party; cp. § 5.
§ 10. ἐκὼν ... ἀπεχόμενον. The meaning, though obscure, seems rightly to be explained by Breitenbach, "'he came of his own free will," which he would not have done, had he been our enemy: rather would he as an enemy have kept at a distance from Thebes.' This explains ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ἱμετέρας πόλεως.
ποῦ ἔχων. The participle refers to φησίν τις; construe ἔχων ἀποδείξει, 'where can he show a treaty subsisting between Greeks and either traitors or' &c.—so that such a traitorous tyrant as Euphron could not justly be put to death. Cp. Appendix, p. 362.
§ 11. ἀγωγίμοις ... συμμαχίδων, 'liable to arrest in any of the allied states': the speaker means that the Sicyonians as the allies of the Thebans had by treaty the right to demand of them the surrender of any fugitive like Euphron: cp. Plut. Lys. 27 ἀκεδαμοίναι ... ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγωγίμοις εἴναι πανταχόθεν, ἐκπόνθοις δὲ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τοῖς ἁγουσὶ: cp. Critical Note.
tετιμωρηκότας ἐσσεβαί: for the periphrasis cp. vii. 5. 18 and Anab. vii. 6. 36 κατακεκομένες ἐσσεβεῖ.
πετούηκέναι, sc. ἐμε.
αὐτοῖς, i.e. you yourselves.
§ 12. ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ. Plutarch (Arat. 53) records that the Sicyonians paid a similar honour to Aratus, notwithstanding an ἄρχαιος νόμος μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τείχῶν ἐντὸς.
ως ἄρχηγήτην: so the Amphipolitans honoured Brasidas, Thuc. v. 11.
oἱ πλείστοι, 'the masses.'

CHAPTER IV

§ 1. Oropus was seized by some exiles. The Athenians marched to recover the place, sending for Chares from Thyamia. The Sicyonians recaptured their harbour. Being unsupported by their allies, the Athenians retired, leaving Oropus in the hands of the Thebans to await arbitration. §§ 2, 3. Lycomides persuaded the Arcadian Ten Thousand to allow him to
negotiate an alliance with Athens. He was successful in his mission, but perished on his return voyage. §§ 4, 5. The Athenians planning a surprise upon Corinth, the Corinthians dismissed their Athenian garrison and refused to admit Chares and his fleet. §§ 6–11. The Corinthians, weary of war, asked the Thebans if they would consent to a peace with themselves and their allies. Receiving a favourable answer, they laid their proposals before the Spartans; and though the Spartans refused to end the war so long as Messene remained independent, the Corinthians, Phliasians, and others made their peace with the Thebans. The Argives, however, failed to comply with its conditions. §§ 12–14. Some Sicilian troops sent by Dionysius the Younger helped the Lacedaemonians to recover Sellasia. The Eleans having seized Lasion, the Arcadians invaded their country, defeated them in battle, captured many of their cities, garrisoned the Cronion, and penetrated as far as the market-place of Elis. §§ 15, 16. Previous to this the democrats in Elis had allied themselves with the Arcadians and seized the acropolis. Being expelled from thence and exiled, they had seized on Pylos. §§ 17, 18. Afterwards the Arcadians made another attempt to capture Elis, but were prevented by the Achaeans: in revenge they seized Olurus, which, however, after a long siege was recovered by the Pelasian oligarchs. §§ 19–25. Once more the Arcadians invaded Elis. To create a diversion Archidamus and the Lacedaemonians seized Cromnus. The Arcadians thereupon besieged the Spartan garrison in Cromnus, and foiled all Archidamus’ efforts to relieve it, in one skirmish wounding Archidamus and slaying many of his followers. §§ 26, 27. The Eleans captured Pylos, putting all the democratical exiles to death. The Lacedaemonians succeeded in rescuing most of their troops besieged at Cromnus. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy. §§ 28–32. The Arcadians strengthened their garrison at Olympia, meaning with the help of the Pisatans to celebrate the Olympic festival. When the day arrived, the Eleans attempted to dispossess them, and actually penetrated as far as the Great Altar, having performed prodigies of valour beyond belief. §§ 33–35. The Mantineans having refused to handle the sacred treasures were condemned by the Ten Thousand of breaking up the Arcadian League. Their example spread, and the Ten Thousand voted to use no more of the treasures. This vote strengthened the oligarchs, so that their opponents in alarm invited Theban interference. Then the Arcadians made peace with the Eleans and restored to them the presidency over the temple of Zeus. §§ 36–40. While the Arcadians were celebrating the peace at Tegea, the Theban commandant at the solicitation of certain Arcadians arrested all the oligarchs on whom he could lay hands. Next day the Mantineans demanded the release of their fellow citizens and offered to go bail for all the rest, until they should be duly tried. The Thebans released them all. An accusation was brought against the commandant at Thebes. Epaminondas threatened to march into Arcadia.
§ 1. ἐνδευ...ἐξέβην: for the phrase cp. vi. 1. 19.
τειχίζοντων: cp. vii. 2. 23.
'Ὀρωπός...κατελήφθη. Oropus, a sea-port on the Euripus, near the mouth of the Asopus, as commanding the frontier and the road across it as well as the passage of the Euripus, had always been a bone of contention between the Boeotians and Athenians. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War it had been held by the Athenians (Thuc. ii. 23); in 412 it was betrayed to the Boeotians (Thuc. viii. 60), but shortly afterwards must have become independent, for in 402 the Thebans in response to some Oropian fugitives, who as the result of internal dissensions had been exiled, made themselves masters of the city, rebuilt the town seven stadia away from the sea (Diod. xiv. 17), and after an interval incorporated it with Boeotia. Once more the Oropians seem to have recovered independence, perhaps in accordance with the Peace of Antalcidas; for Isocrates about 373 (xiv. 20) speaks of its restoration to Athens by the voluntary act of the Oropians themselves, probably as the result of some further internal troubles; and in the same speech (§ 37) speaks of constant intrigues on the part of the Thebans to recover the town. Diodorus (xv. 76) gives a different account of the Athenian loss of Oropus here recorded (which, however, is not irreconcilable with Xenophon's)—Θεμίσων Ἑρέτριας τύραννος
'Ὀρωπὸν κατελάβετο· ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων παραλόγως ἀπέβαλε. τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερεχόντων, οἱ Θεμίσωι βοηθήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ τὴν πόλιν οὖκ ἀπέδωκαν. Probably, therefore, οἱ χείραστες effected their return to Oropus by the aid of the tyrant Themison: cp. Dem. xviii. 99; Aeschin. iii. 85.

ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, i.e. against Oropus; Hartman, however, supposes that after κατελήφθη a whole sentence in which the name of Themison appeared, has fallen out, and accordingly refers the pronoun to him: cp. Critical Note.

ὁ λιμήν: cp. viii. 3. 2.

μέχρι δίκης: whether this arbitration ever took place, and what share the Athenian general Chabrias and the statesman Callistratus had in the affair, is a matter of hopeless uncertainty owing to the confusion of the authorities: cp. Grote, x. 47; Schaefer, Dem. 93 sqq. Oropus at any rate long remained in the hands of the Thebans.
τοὺς μυρίους: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. I. 38.
πράττειν: for the attitude of the Arcadians towards the
§ 3. δαιμονιώτατα: cp. vi. 4. 3 ἡ ἡ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤγεν.
27. 3–5. Xenophon's brevity leaves the whole matter very
obscure.
§ 4. εἰπόντος ἢ ἐφὴ ... ἀκούσαντες δὲ: the same anacoluthon as
in iv. 8. 9. Demotion is otherwise unknown.
tὰ δίκαια: of soldier's pay: cp. Anab. vii. 7. 14 τὸ τίτε ἀπίεναι, ὅταν
tὰ δίκαια ἐξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.
§ 6. ἡγαγάκασσον, i.e. the Athenians: cp. § 3.
kρατουμένοις: for the fact cp. the speech of the Corinthian
Clitiles, vi. 5. 37.
§ 7. ἐσομένης, sc. ἐιρήνης.
§ 8. ἐν καιρῷ: so iii. 4. 9.
§ 9. ταύτης στερηθήσαι: cp. Isocr. vi. ii προθύμως οἱ σύμμαχοι
συμβεβουλεύκασιν ὑμῖν (τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις), ὡς χρῆ Μεσσήνην ἀφέντας
ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. οίς ὑμεῖς δικαίως ἄν ἀργίζοισθε πολὺ μᾶλλον ή
τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποστάσιν ἡμῶν ... τὴν γὰρ δόξαν, ἢν ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ
πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐν ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κτησάμενοι κατελιποῦν, ταύτην ἐν
ἀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πειθοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν, ἣς οὐθ' ἀπρεπεστέραν τῇ Λακε-
dαιμονίᾳ συμφορὰν οὔτε δεινοτέραν οὐδέτερον' ἀν εὐρείων ἡδυνήσησαν κ.τ.λ.
Isocrates wrote this oration about 366 B.C.
§ 10. ἀγαθέντες ... οἱ Θηβαιοί: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.
ἐφ' ὥστε ἐξεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, i.e. on the basis of the Persian
rescript, that each state should be autonomous and Messene inde-
pendent (cp. vii. I. 36; Isocr. vi. I. c.). This probably accounts for
Diodorus' (xv. 76) erroneous statement, that the peace was effected
through the intervention of the Persian king, and was universally
accepted by the Greek states, putting an end to ὁ τε Λάκωνικός καὶ
Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος, which had lasted five years since the battle of
Leuctra.
§ 11. ἐκ τῆς Θαμίας: cp. § 1.
ὡς ... ἔχοντας, i.e. as though they (the exiles) were occupying
it as a portion of their own (i.e. Argive) territory: cp. Critical Note and Appendix, p. 362.

παραλαβόντες, i.e. the Argives took the post on Tricaranum away from the exiles.

δίκαιας: cp. § 1 μέχρι δίκης.

§ 12. περὶ τούτων τῶν χρόνων, 367: Diod. xv. 73.

Σελλασίαν: cp. vi. 5. 27 and Diod. xv. 64 ή μὲν οὖν πρώτη μερίς τῶν Βοιωτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς τήδε κατοικοῦντας ἀπέστησε τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων.

365–364 B.C.

Λασιῶνα: cp. iii. 2. 30, and for the claims of the Elephants which had been confirmed by the Persian king cp. vi. 5. 2, 6; vii. i. 26, 38. For the seizure cp. Diod. xv. 77 οἱ γὰρ Ἀρκάδων φυγάδες ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἡλίδος κατελάβοντο τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τριφυλίας χώριον ὄχυρον δὶ προστήγαρενται Δασίων. ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων περὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας ἡμεθισθήτων Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἡλείοι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκατέρων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπεροχάς ἐναλλάξ ἐκυρίεσθαι τῆς χώρας. καὶ ἕκτος ὑποκείμενος καρποῦ τῶν Ἀρκάδων κρατοῦντων τὴν Τριφυλίαν, προφάσει τῶν φυγάδων ἀφημοῦντο ταύτην τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ Ἡλείοι.

§ 13. παραγγειλαντες. According to Diodorus (l. c.) the Arcadians first sent envoys to demand the restoration of the place, and when this was refused, summoned troops from Athens, their new ally (§ 6), and with their help made the attack.

οἱ τριακόσιοι: probably picked foot soldiers, the four hundred being horsemen, as appears from §§ 16, 31: cp. vii. 2. 10, and Critical Note.

ἐκ πολλῶν, 'at a great distance,' opposed to ὄμοσε: cp. iii. 3. 9.

ἐίς χεῖρας: cp. ii. 4. 34.

πολλῶν: cp. Diod. l. c. πλείους τῶν διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον.

§ 14. τῶν Ἀκρωρείων: cp. iii. 2. 30 and Diod. xv. 77 εἶδος γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες μετεσχόθηντες τῷ προτερήματι ἐστάτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ εἰδον πόλεις Μάργανα καὶ Κρόουν, ἐτὶ δὲ Κυπαρισσίαν καὶ Κορυφάσιον.

Θραύστων: near the source of the Peneus: cp. Diod. xv. 17.

τὸ Κρόου: the hill which overhangs Olympia on the north side, called in the next sentence τὸ Ολυμπιακὸν ὄρος.
Marpianès: cp. iii. 2. 25.
ēdṓntov = προδόντων: cp. Thuc. iv. 76.
προκεχωρηκότων: for the gen. abs. cp. ii. 4. 29.
τὴν πόλιν, i.e. Elis.
aútōn, i.e. τῶν 'Hleίων.
§ 15. διαφορά: for the previous dissensions at Elis in 398 B.C.
cp. iii. 2. 27.
'Αργείων: cp. vii. 1. 33.
§ 16. Πύλων: on the Peneus seven or eight miles east of Elis on
the road from Olympia to Elis; Paus. vi. 22. 5.
§ 17. aútōn Ὀλουρον: for the genitive cp. Dem. xxiii. 154
καταλαμβάνει Σκῆψιν καὶ Κεβρῆνα καὶ Ἥλιον aútōn. Olurus was
evidently in the district of Pellene; Leake placed it at the entrance
to the valley of the Sys.
pάλιν . . . εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν: cp. vii. 2. 18 note. It appears
from the next section that the discontented democrats must in
consequence have joined the Arcadians.
§ 19. Κυλλήνης: cp. iii. 2. 27.
ἵππαρχος: a similar official at Elis is mentioned by Plutarch
(Philop. 7).
aútων . . . συνάψαι: for the absence of the article cp. vii. 5. 17
aúτωι μὲν ἐγένοντο σωθῆναι πάντα τὰ ἔξω.
sύμμαχοι. Little is heard of Elis after its reduction by King
Agis in 397. In 374 the Eleans had furnished the Spartans with
a contingent of ships against the Athenians in Corcyra (vi. 2. 3),
but after Leuctra they had taken the Theban side. The immediate
cause of their seeking the Spartan alliance again must have been
their hostility against the Arcadians.
§ 20. ἀπολαβεῖν. This is Jacob’s conjecture, in the sense of
‘to cast off’: cp. i. i. 16 ναῦς . . . ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ’ aútōu. Xenophon,
however, only thus uses the verb in the passive: cp. Critical Note
and Appendix, p. 362.
'Αρχίδαμος: Agesilaus’ son: cp. vii. 1. 28.
μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν: cp. iv. 4. 19.
Κρώμων: cp. Athenaeus (x. p. 452 a), who tells an anecdote
of the siege, πολίχνιον δ’ ἔστιν ἰδρυμένον πλησίον Μεγάλης Πόλεως.
tῶν δῶθεκα λόχων: cp. Appendix, p. 347, and vii. 5. 10.
§ 21. τῆς Σκιρίτιδος: from this passage we may infer that the
inhabitants of this district as well as of Caryae and Sellasia (vi. 5. 27; vii. 4. 12) had revolted from Sparta at the time of Epaminondas' first invasion.

§ 22. δι'oû, 'across,' or 'over which.'

υπὸ τοῦτω, 'at the foot of this hill.'

tous epapitos: cp. § 33 and vi. 5. 6 note; vii. 5. 3; Diod. xv. 62, 67 οἱ καλούμενοι ἐπιλεκτοὶ ὄντες πεντακισχίλιοι; Hesych. ἐπιροήτου: τάγμα Ἄρκαδικῶν μαχημάτατον καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἄρκασι δημόσιοι φύλακες.

eis δυὸ, 'in double file': so iii. 1. 22.

§ 23. κατὰ κέρας, 'in column': cp. vi. 2. 30 ἐπὶ κέρας; Hippiarch.

4. 3 ἢν διὰ στενῶν ὄθων ἑλαύνης . . . eis κέρας ἤγητεν.

§ 25. πλησίον ὄντων, sc. τῶν Ἄρκαδῶν.

ἀνελόμενοι: cp. Polyæn. i. 41. 4 Ἀρχιδαμος κρατοῦτων Ἄρκαδων αὐτῶς ἦδη παρειμένοι ὕπο τραύματος φθάσας ἐπεκήρυκεύσατο περὶ νεκρῶν ἀναφέρετος, ὅπως μὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προσαπόλοιτο.

§ 26. ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον: cp. § 16.

tois Pylion: mostly Elean democrats, § 16.

Θαλαμών, a strong fortress in Elis, the site of which is placed by Leake (Morea, ii. 204) on the Achaean frontier near the modern village of Santameri: cp. Polyb. iv. 75.

ἐγγὺς διακοσίων: for the genitive cp. Anab. v. 7. 9 ἐγγὺς μυρίων: contrast ii. 4. 32; iv. 2. 16.

Μαργανέας: cp. § 14.

§ 27. τοῦ) κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργείους: cp. Critical Note; 'the stockade opposite the Argives,' i.e. that part of it which the Argives had to defend. For the Argives cp. § 11.


Θῆβαιοι, probably Thebans left as garrisons in some of the Arcadian towns by Epaminondas on his first invasion of the Peloponnesian: cp. vii. i. 42; 3. 4; and § 36.

§ 28. περὶ τοῖς Ἡλείους εἰλον: for the phrase cp. v. 4. 57 περὶ τοῦτον ἦν.

τὴν . . . Ὅλυμπιαν: cp. § 14.


πρῶτος: cp. iii. 2. 31 note.

ὁ . . . μὴ . . . αἴ ἠμέραι: according to Boeckh (comment on
Pindar, Ol. iii. 19) the festival was celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, which sometimes fell in the [Elean or Olympian] month of Apollonius, and sometimes in Parthenius, i.e. in the Attic month of Hecatombaeon (July). After all the contests had been introduced it lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth day of the month inclusive: cp. Smith, Dict. Antiq. ii. 270.

'Αχαίοις: for the alliance cp. §§ 17, 18.

§ 29. τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου: the names and order of the contests seem to be preserved in a distich quoted by Eustathius, commenting on Hom. ii. xxiii. 621

ἄλμα ποδών δίσκου τε βολή καὶ ἀκοντος ἑρωή
cαι δρόμος ἤδε πάλη, μία δ' ἐπλετο πᾶσι τελευτή.

οἱ . . . αφικόμενοι, i.e. the competitors left in for the wrestling, the last of the five events.

ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, i.e. the stadium, just outside the Altis or Sacred Enclosure on its eastern side.

τοῦ βαμώος: the great altar of Zeus, standing nearly in the centre of the Altis.

τὸ τέμενος. It appears from the context that the τέμενος must have included land outside the Altis, on the western bank of the Cladeus.

τὴν Ἀλτίν: cp. Paus. v. 10. i τὸ δὲ ἄλος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διῶς,

παραποίησαντες τὸ ὅνομα, "Ἄλτιν ἐκ πάλαιον καλοῦσι.

'Αθηναίων δὲ ἰππεῖς: for the Athenian alliance cp. §§ 1–6, 13 note.

§ 30. τάπτε ἑτάρεα: cp. vi. 2. 7 note.

καταφρονούμενοι . . . καταφρονούμενοι: for the anaphora cp. ii. 3.

§ 55; v. i. 35.

§ 31. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου: to the south of the Temple of Zeus.

τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ . . . θεότρου: the sites of these two buildings have not been indentified.

τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ: the temple of Zeus in the SE. portion of the Altis.

ἄλλοι τε . . . καὶ αὐτὸς: the subject of the finite verb forms only a part of the persons denoted by the participle: cp. iv. 4. 1.


Στρατόκλας: cp. § 15.

§ 32. σκηνώματα: for the crowds assembled at Olympia cp. Justin. xiii 5 praesente universa Graecia in mercatu Olympiaco.
§ 33. τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι: cp. Diodorus' account of the same event (xv. 82) 'Αρκάδες μετὰ Πισαίων κοινῇ τεθεικότες ὑπήρχον τὸν ἄγωνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ ἐκυρίευον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

tou ἐπαρίτου: cp. § 22.

Μαντινεῖς ἀπενεπίστατο: Diodorus (l. c.) states just the opposite: τῶν δὲ Μαντινεῶν ἀναλαβόντων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους οὐκ ὄλγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἔσπευδον οἱ παρανομήσαντες διακατέχειν τὸν πρὸς Ἡλείον πόλεμον. ἦν μὴ δῴης ἐν εἰρήνῃ λόγον τῶν ἀναλαβόντων. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀρκίδων βουλομένων συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, σταύρων ἐκίνησαν πρὸς τοὺς ὑμεθενίς. γενομένων οὖν δυνῶν ἑταρείων συνεβαινε τῆς μὲν τοῦς Τεγεάτας, τῆς δὲ τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἡγείσθαι. Xenophon's account, however, is evidently to be preferred, confirmed as it is by numerous and consistent details, and more especially by the peace with the Eleans (§ 35) brought about by the Mantineans and the rest of the Anti-Theban party.

τὸ γεγονόμενον μέρος, i.e. the Mantinean share towards the payment of the Epariti.

tou μυρίου: cp. vi. 5. 6; vii. 1. 38.

§ 34. καθιστάστο eis tou ἐπαρίτου, i.e. began to enroll themselves among the Epariti.

ἐπ’ ἑκείνου, 'in the power of the opposite party,' i.e. the Anti-Mantinean party.

διακεχειρικότες: cp. Anab. i. 9. 17 πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειριζέτο.

λακωνίσαι: this illustrates the utter confusion of states and parties in the Peloponnesus: the democratic Mantineans, say their opponents, supported by the more oligarchically inclined of the rest of the Arcadians, are likely to seek aid from the Spartans, who in 385 had destroyed their city (v. 2. 7) and done their utmost to prevent its restoration after Leuctra (vi. 5. 4).
§ 35. oι μέν, i.e. the Thebans.
oι δέ τὰ κράτιστα . . . Βουλευόμενοι: cp. vii. 5. 1 Μαντίνεις τε καὶ
tῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, i.e. the oligarchical party: cp. Introd. p. xxxiii.

πολέμου οὖθεν δέοντο: for the litotes cp. iv. 4. 6 πολιτείας . . .

ης οὖθεν ἐδέοντο.

τοῦ . . . ἱεροῦ, 'the temple.'

ἀποδιδόντες, i.e. to the Eleans.

οἶκοςθαι, pleonastic: grammatically dependent on ἐνόμους.

§ 36. Τεγεατών: cp. Diod. xv. 82; and for the local feud between Tegea and Mantinea cp. vi. 5. 10 and Thuc. v. 65.

ἐν Τεγέα . . . τῶν Βοιωτῶν: cp. the Theban harmosts in the Achaean towns (vii. 1. 43) and in Sicyon (vii. 2. 11).

tῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι: cp. § 34 oι τῶν ἀρχόντων διακεχειρι-
kότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα.

τοὺς ἀκρόπολιντας, 'those who were feasting': cp. Cyrop. iv. 2. 11; διασκεδάζων iv. 8. 18; and συσκηνοῦσιν v. 3. 20.

ἡ δημοσία οἰκία: its use is not further specified.


ἡσαν δ' οἱ . . . ἀφείντο, 'while not a few had been allowed to pass the gates.'

οὔθεις . . . ἀπολείπθαι: a parenthesis explanatory of οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφείντο: the only persons troubled with any apprehension were those who were afraid of giving account of τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα.

ἐγγὺς: Mantinea was about twelve miles distant from Tegea.

§ 38. οὖθεν ἀξιοῦν ἐφασαν, 'they said that they claimed that no one' &c.


ὡς δεῖν: for ὡς with the infinitive instead of a finite verb cp. iii. 4. 27; vi. 5. 42.

§ 40. ἐφασαν: cp. iii. 5. 21.

τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν: for the transition to orat. rect. without ἐφη cp.

i. 1. 27 note.

ἡμῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς . . . καταστάντων, i.e. in 370 B.C., cp. vi. 5. 19 note: for the strained relations between the Thebans and Arcadians cp. vii. 1. 22, 23, 32, 39.
CHAPTER V

§§ 1–3. Fearing that Thebes would enslave the Peloponnesus the Mantineans and their allies, who were oligarchically inclined, appealed for aid to Athens and Sparta. It was agreed that each state should hold supreme command in its own territory. §§ 4–7. Meanwhile Epaminondas set out at the head of a large army from Thebes, and waited for a while at Nemea to intercept the Athenian contingent. Hearing that they would go by sea, he went on to Tegea. § 8. Xenophon’s admiration for Epaminondas’ generalship. §§ 9, 10. The enemy were strongly posted at Mantinea, and Agesilaus was already on his way to join them, when Epaminondas resolved to march upon Sparta. A Cretan brought the news to Agesilaus, who had just time to turn back and guard the city. §§ 11–17. Repulsed in his attack upon Sparta, Epaminondas returned to Tegea, where he rested his hoplites, sending his cavalry on to Mantinea. That morning the Athenian cavalry had arrived at Mantinea, and, weary as they were, succeeded in repelling the Thebans. §§ 18–22. Thus Epaminondas felt himself forced to draw on a general engagement, for which his troops made zealous preparations. Marching out of Tegea, by a clever manoeuvre he led the enemy to expect that he would not fight till the morrow. Much to their surprise he suddenly wheeled round and advanced upon them. §§ 23–25. Epaminondas had strengthened one of his wings at the expense of the other. With the stronger he met the enemy, drove them back, and thus threw the whole army into flight. His death, however, utterly paralysed his troops, so that they could make no use of their victory. §§ 26, 27. The battle was completely indecisive in its results, and afterwards the confusion and disorder in Greece were worse than before.

362 B.C.

§ 1. οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου: the aristocrats, cp. vii. 4. 35.

'Αχαιοί: the oligarchs had regained the upper hand in the Achaean towns: cp. vii. 1. 43.

καταδουλώσατο: cp. vii. 1. 33 βουλευόμενοι . . . ὅπως ἄν τὴν ἑγεμονίαν λάβοντες τῆς 'Ελλάδος, and Introd. p. xxviii.

§ 2. τί γὰρ: transition to orat. rect., cp. vii. 4. 40: translate: ‘why else do they wish us to fight except that we may harm &c.’; for ἦ without ἄλλο cp. Memor. iv. 3. 9 τί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐργον ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν;

§ 3. Ἀθηναίοι: for the alliance cp. vii. 4. 6. and CIA.ii. 57 b, esp. lines 14, 15 [τοὺς Ἀθηναίους] δέχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν καθὰ ἐπαγγέλ- λοντας οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Φλειάστιοι. The Phliasians
are not mentioned by Xenophon, perhaps, as Köhler conjectures, because they were not present at the battle of Mantinea. The alliance was not merely defensive, but also guaranteed the permanence of the constitutions, whether oligarchical or democratical, of the contracting parties. For the date cp. Introd. p. Ixxi.

ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, who were now composed chiefly of oligarchs: cp. vii. 4. 34. If we may believe Pausanias (viii. 8. 10), this was done by the Mantineans without the consent of the Arcadian κοινόν: περιληψάντες δὲ ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι Δακεδαμονίωι καὶ εἰρήνην ἰδία πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνευ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσσοντες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δεός τὸν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν Δακεδαμονίαν συμμαχίαν μετεβάλοντο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.

αὐτόθεν, 'at once,' with long negotiations, as vii. i. 2–14.

ἡγήσουτο: for the fut. opt. cp. Goodwin, M. T. 130.

§ 4. Ἐπαμεινώδας . . . Εὔβοας . . . Θεσσαλῶν πολλοίς. Xenophon has passed over in silence the efforts of Epaminondas to realize the Theban ἡγεμονία τῆς Ἑλλάδος in the north of Greece and to enforce the Persian rescript of 367 (vii. i. 36) Ἀθηναίων ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναίς. In the interval the Thebans had in 364 sent two expeditions into Thessaly against Alexander of Pherae, in the first of which Pelopidas had been slain in the moment of victory at Cynoscephalae, and in the second the Theban commanders Malcitas and Diogiton had defeated the tyrant in several battles, and had forced him to liberate all the towns, which he had subjugated, and to become the subject ally of Thebes. In 363 to strike a blow at the naval powe of Athens Epaminondas had at the head of a Theban fleet, which he had created by his own efforts, penetrated as far as Byzantium: Byzantium left the Athenian Confederacy, and the important islands of Chios and Rhodes and the town of Ceos followed the example. During Epaminondas' absence the Thebans at home, as the excuse of an alleged conspiracy, wrecked their vengeance on Orchomenus, their only possible rival left in the Boeotian Confederacy, razing the town level with the ground, slaying some of the inhabitants and selling the rest into slavery, cp. Diod. xv. 78, 79; Grote, x. 63–73; Stern, 216–225; Introd. p. xxi. At this juncture the affairs in the Peloponnesus, just recorded by Xenophon, interrupted Epaminondas' schemes of Hegemony by sea, and demanded his instant attention in the south.
Εὐβοῖας: cp. vi. 5. 23 note.
'Αλέξανδρον: cp. vi. 4. 34; vii. i. 28 note; and Plut. Pel. 35 (Θηβαίοι) 'Αλέξανδρον ἠγάκισαν ... ὁμόσαι ... ἐφ' οὖς ἄν ἡγώνται Θηβαίοι καὶ κελεύσασιν ἁκολουθήσειν.
τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῶ, i.e. the Thessalian states just liberated by the Thebans from the yoke of Alexander.
Φωκεῖς: cp. vi. 5. 23.
Μεσσηνίους: cp. vi. 5. 33, 51; vii. i. 27.
Μεγαλοπολίται. This is Xenophon's first mention of the Megalopolitans: cp. vi. 5. 6 note.
'Ασσαία: cp. vi. 5. 11.
Παλλαντίεσ: cp. vi. 5. 9.
ὡς ... συνελύντι εἶπεν, 'to put it shortly.'
§ 7. τὸ ... πορεύεσθα ἀπεγνωκέναι: for the accusative cp. Diod. xv. 53 τὸ μὲν ταύτη ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδον ἀπέγνω; but the genitive in Anab. i. 7. 19 ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι.
§ 8. οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγεν κ.π.λ.: cp. Introd. p. xxviii. Polybius (referring to Epaminondas) ix. 8 διόπερ εἰκότως οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἐπιμεέμφονται τοῖς προερημένοις ἔργοις, φάσκοντες τῷ μὲν ἡγεμόνι πεπραξθαι πάν, ὡσον ἀγαθὸ στρατηγὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπεναντίων κρέιττω, τῆς δὲ τύχης ἦττο γεγονέναι τῶν Ἐπαμεινόνδαν.
ἐπανῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι: cp. Ages. 8. 4 τούτῳ ἐπανῶ Ἀγγειλάου: here the clause introduced by ὅτι forms the object to ἐπανῶ.
τῶν ... ἐτέρων, 'the enemy': cp. iv. 2. 15.
κρέιττων. According to Diod. (xv. 84) Epaminondas had 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, the enemy only 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry.
§ 9. Πελλήνη: a city of Laconia, about six miles north of Sparta, in the upper valley of the Eurotas, Paus. iii. 21. 2; Strabo, viii. 386. Polybius (ix. 8) incorrectly says that Agesilaus had already penetrated as far as Mantinea: cp. § 10 note.
§ 10. Κρής: cp. Diod. xv. 82 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαίμονιων Ἀγις (!) ... ἔξεπεμψε τινας Κρήτας ἔμεροδρόμους, δι' ὃν κ.τ.λ.; Plut. Ages. 34 Εὐθύνων δὲ Θεσπιῶν, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησίν, ὡς δὲ Ξενοφῶν, Κρήτος τινος, ἐξαγγείλαντος τῷ 'Αγησιλάῳ. According to Polybius (I. c.) and Polyadenus (ii. 3. 10) a deserter.

ἐφη: Polybius (I. c.) makes Epaminondas reach Sparta before Agesilaus.

ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν. The presence of this advanced guard in Arcadia perhaps accounts for Polybius’ statement just quoted that Agesilaus was at Mantinea.

τὸ Ἕξενκον, ‘the mercenarys.’


οἱ τρεῖς: for the article cp. i. i. 18.

§ 11. ἐπεὶ ... ἐγένετο: cp. Polyb. ix. 8 προσμίζας δὲ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν τῇ πόλει.

ἐν τῇ πόλει: cp. Isocr. v. 48 (Λακεδαίμονι) ἡγακαζόθησαν διακυνδυνείως ... ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀρχείοις περὶ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικῶν τοιούτων κίνδυνον.

†πλέονες: the sense of this corrupt passage must be, ‘where he could not use his superior numbers to advantage’: cp. Critical Note. For ἐνδειχ ἐπ. Appendix, p. 362.

τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε: cp. Polyb. (ix. 8) κατέσχε τῆς πόλεως τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστραμμένους τόπους; and ibid. v. 22 τῆς Σπάρτης ... κείμενη ἐν τόποις ἐπιστέοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ περιεχοῦσης ... διαφόρως ἀνωμάλως καὶ βουνώδεις τόπους.

οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν: if these words be genuine (cp. Critical Note), they must mean that Epaminondas did not force his way into the higher parts of the city.

§ 12. τὸ ... γενόμενον: for the accusative instead of the genitive cp. i. 7. 31 and Cyrop. vii. 2. 22 οὐκ αὐτόματα οὐδὲ τάδε τῶν θεών.

ἔξεστι ... ἔξεστι: for the anaphora cp. vii. 4. 30 and infr.

§§ 18, 22.

τοῖς ἀπονομημένοις: for the sentiment cp. vi. 4. 23.

Ἀρχίδαμος: son of King Agesilaus: cp. v. 4. 25; vii. 4. 20: cp. Plut. Ages. 34 ἐν δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπερθράνοις τῇ τε βόμβῃ τῆς Ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ κουφότητι τοῦ σώματος, ἔξενω ἐπὶ τὰ βλεβόμενα τῆς μάχης διαθέσοντα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ πανταχοῦ μετ’ ὀλέγων ἀντερείοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις.
... κώλυμα, trans. ‘having crossed the only thing which seemed to present some obstacle to the enemy’s advance.’ What the thing was, is not specified.

πρὸς ὀρθίων: it is rather difficult to harmonize this with the κατέβανε of the previous section, though perhaps any hillock occupied by the enemy would justify the expression.


οἱ νεικηκότες: cp. vi. 5. 23 οἱ Βοιωτοὶ . . . ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτρων νίκῃ.

§ 13. πορροστέρῳ τοῦ καροῦ: cp. ii. 3. 24 πλείους τοῦ καροῦ.


προσκαρτηρήσατι, i.e. in addition to the fatigue of the thirty miles march from Sparta to Tegea, the advance on Mantinea was made by night: cp. Polyb. ix. 8.


§ 15. ἐν 'Ἰσθμῷ: the isthmus is nearly fifty miles distant from Mantinea.

τὰς Κλεωνίς: some twelve miles south of Corinth on the road to Argos: cp. Paus. ii. 15. 1. Epaminondas had heard (§ 7) that the Athenian contingent was advancing by sea.

προσελαύνοντες: cp. Polyb. ix. 8 ἦδη δὲ τῆς Θῆβαιων πρωτοπορείας συναπτούσης πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶν ἱερὸν ὁ κεῖται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἐπτὰ σταδίους, ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες συνεκύρησεν, ἀμα καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιφανεσθαί κατὰ τὸν τῆς Μαντινείας ὑπερκείμενον λόφον.

§ 16. αὖ: refers to the brave defence of their city by the Spartans.

ἐν Κορίνθῳ δύστυχήματος: the lapse of time (let alone the definite τοῖς ἵππεύσιν) seems too great to allow this to be referred to the skirmish recorded in vii. 1. 20, 21. Breitenbach conjectures with great probability that the Corinthians themselves, who were by no means friendly towards the Athenians (cp. vii. 4. 4, 5), must in some way have obstructed the passage of the cavalry through their territory, and that Xenophon, who was living in Corinth at the time, found it convenient to give no further details.

εἰδὼν . . . συνέρραξαν: the battle was evidently fought just outside the gates of Mantinea: cp. Polyb. l.c. and Plut. Glor. Athen. 346 ['Ἀθηναίοι] ὁλίγοι μὲν ὄντες ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ
362 B.C.

VII. v. 17, 18

οδοὺ δὲ κεκηκότες, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντος, ὦμως εὗρες εἰς τάξιν καθίσαντο τοῖς πλείστοις· οἱ δ’ ἵππεῖς διεσκευασάμενοι καὶ προσεξελάσαντες ὕπ’ τὰς πύλας αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ τείχος ἑθνὸ καρπερῶν ἰππομαχίαν καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ 'Επαμεινώνδα ἀφείλοντο τὴν Μαντίνειαν.

§ 17. Ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ: thus modestly Xenophon refers to the death of his own son Gryllus, who with his brother Diodorus took part in the fray on the Athenian side; cp. Ephorus (frag. 146 a) ὦ δὲ Γρύλλος τεταγμένοι κατὰ τοὺς ἵππεις (ἂν δὲ ἡ μάχη περὶ Μαντίνειαν) ἦσχερός ἄγονισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν. Euphranor painted a picture in the Ceramicus at Athens (of which there was a copy at Mantinea) apparently representing Gryllus in the act of striking the Theban commander: the Mantineans afterwards set up an equestrian statue in honour of Gryllus. Cp. Paus. i. 3. 4; viii. 9, 8; 11. 5; ix. 15. 5; Plut. Glor. Athen. 346. Diodorus and Pausanias hopelessly confuse this cavalry engagement with the great battle of Mantinea fought two or three days later.

§ 18. ἐξῆκεν... τῶν χρόνων: cp. § 9 ὅρων... τῶν χρόνων προβαίνοντα. The Boeotarchs entered upon office about the time of the winter solstice, so that on this occasion there can have been no question, as in the first invasion of the Peloponnesus (vi. 5. 24 note), of Epaminondas' own period of command coming to an end. To what time then does Xenophon refer? Dodwell believes that it must be the time for which the mercenary troops had been engaged, and compares vii. 1. 28 ἐξῆκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος, ὃς ἦν εἰρημένος. Schaefer believes that the Theban government had fixed a definite time for the length of the campaign. Stern (p. 238) conjectures that Epaminondas' Peloponnesian allies were becoming impatient for the σῖτου συγκομιδῆ, so that he could no longer rely on their continued support.

λελυμασμένοι... ἐσομίτο: for the periphrasis cp. vii. 3. 11.

ὁστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ: an anacoluthon after ὁ 'Επαμεινώνδας ἐνθυμούμενος, due to the length of the intervening clauses.

ἀναλύοιτο: cp. Dem. xiv. 34 τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύουσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἀμαρτίας.

καλὴ... ἥγησα ἐσεθαί: the indicative, repeating the notion of the participle λογιζομένως, is more vivid than the more regular construction ἔσοιτο would have been.

XEN. HELL.  

X
ἀρχὶν Πελοποννήσου: cp. § 1.

§ 19. ὡς = ὠστε: cp. v. 2. 9.

πόλιν ... ἀποκάμενει: for the accusative cp. Thuc. ii. 51 τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον.

§ 20. ἐξευκονυτο: cp. ii. 4. 25.

ἐπεγράφοντο ... ἐσπαλα: cp. iv. 4. 10 τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων belonging to the Sicyoniens: Paus. iv. 28. 5 (Μεσσήνιοι) σημεία ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι Δακωνικὰ ἔχοντες; Aristoph. Achar. 1095 καὶ γὰρ σὺ μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργώνα. This passage seems to mean that the Arcadians painted clubs on their shields, the club being the symbol of Heracles, the patron deity of the Thebans. Grote (x. 97) contests this interpretation.

§ 21. ἐξῆγαγεν, i. e. out of Tegea: § 14.

συντομωτάτην: between ten and twelve miles.

τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὅρη: known as the Maenalian mountains; so vi. 5. 15.

tois polereiow: apparently drawn up in the narrowest part of the plain, some three or four miles south of Mantinea; cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4, 5. Xenophon, however, is absolutely silent about the movements of the Spartans and their allies, and it is difficult to supply his omission from other sources; in fact their position has to be inferred from what he says of Epaminondas' manœuvres.

§ 22. ἐξετάθη ... ἡ φάλαγξ. This must mean that Epaminondas brought his army from column into line opposite the enemy.

ὑπὸ τοῖς υψηλοῖς. Epaminondas seems to have marched under the Maenalian mountains from somewhere near the site of the modern Tripolitza to the Pelagian wood.

τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ... παρασκευὴν: cp. iii. 4. 20 τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀγωνιοῦμενοι.

παραγαγὼν ... ἐμβολοῦ, 'having brought the regulations which were marching in column into line (eis μετωπον) he thus strengthened the beak-like formation around himself.' Xenophon's brevity makes it impossible to follow exactly Epaminondas' evolutions: he evidently means to describe the manœuvre by which the Theban general here, as at Leuctra, vastly increased the depth of the phalanx on the left wing; on his arrival at the mountain Epaminondas must have formed his marching column, headed by himself and his Boeotians, into line by making his men face to the right (ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ).
Then to strengthen τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον he must have changed his line (or part of it) once more into column by making the men face to the right (or left) and brought τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους one behind the other, so that when the command to front was again given, the phalanx on the left wing would be of the desired depth. According to Diodorus (xiv. 85) the Thebans were posted on the left with the Arcadians next them and the Argives on the right; in the centre were the Euboeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Malians, Aenianians, Thessalians, and the other allies. In the opposing army the Mantineans with the other Arcadians held the right wing; next them stood the Lacedaemonians, and further on the Eleans, Achaeans, &c., the Athenians forming the left wing. It is remarkable that no authority mentions the commander-in-chief on the Lacedaemonian side; in all probability he must have been some nameless Mantinean according to the terms of the alliance (§ 3) ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστῳ ἱγίσωσυτο. Neither does it appear who was in command of the Lacedaemonians themselves. Diodorus (xiv. 84) puts the numbers of Epaminondas’ army at more than 30,000 foot and not less than 3,000 horse, of the enemy at more than 20,000 foot and about 2,000 horse.

§ 23. τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπροφορον ... προσγέ: for the simile cp. Rep. Lac. 11. 10 τὸν λόχον ἐκαστὸν ὁσπερ τρίμηρ ἀντίπροφορον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρεῖοντο: cp. Grote, x. 102 ‘His column (ἔμβολον) would cut through the phalanx of the enemy, like the prow of a trireme impelled in sea-fight against the midship of her antagonist.’ The words ἔμβολον διακόψεις continue the metaphor.

τῷ ἱσχυρότατῳ ... τὸ ἀσθενέστατον. These words prove that the deep formation applied only to the Thebans and Boeotians on the left wing; the Argives occupied the right: cp. Diod. xv. 85.

βάθος ἐφεξῆς: cp. Critical Note. Rüstowand Köchly’s conjecture ἐφ’ ἐξ for ἐφεξῆς is almost certain: it explains the comparison ὡσπερ ὑπελιτῶν φαλάγγα; the commentators explain the MSS. ἐφεξῆς as equivalent to συνεχές, i.e. without intervals for the ἁμίππων, which is very otiose, as it is followed immediately by the more exact expression ἐρημοῦ πεζῶν ἁμίππων: cp. iii. 4. 13 ἵππεις ὡσπερ φαλάγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταχμένοι.

πεζῶν ἁμίππων: restored by Morus from Harpocrat...

§ 24. τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἐμβολοῦ: Diodorus (xv. 85) states that in both armies the cavalry were posted on the wings; this is quite consistent with the present passage, although these words seem to refer only to the cavalry on the left wing; for the ἰππεῖς καὶ ὅπληται mentioned just below as opposite to the Athenians were on Epaminondas’ right wing.

τῶν ἐαυτῶν: ἐναυτῶν is genitive dependent on τῶν: cp. vii. 1. 13 τῶν ἐκεῖνον δουλῶν.

ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου: cp. § 22: this is the only indication Xenophon gives of the disposition of the wings.

tὴν . . . συμβολήν. Here, as in general, after he has described with some minuteness the disposition of the troops previous to the engagement, Xenophon has little to say about the course of the battle, and it is impossible to supply his omissions from Diodorus’ rhetorical narrative based, as it probably is, upon Ephorus. For Polybius (xii. 25) singles out Ephorus’ description of this battle as ‘extremely incorrect and absurd, arguing great ignorance both of the ground where it was fought and of the possible movements of the armies’: cp. Grote, x. 104.

ἡ προσέβαλεν: on the enemy’s right, where the Mantineans and Lacedaemonians were posted: cp. § 22.

§ 25. ἐκεῖνος ἐπέσεν: the honour of striking the blow was claimed by more than one warrior; cp. Paus. viii. 11. 4 Ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν Μαντινεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ Μαχαίρωνος Μαντινέως φανὸν ἀνδρός ὀψαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, τίθενται δὲ Μαχαίρωνα ὄνομα καὶ οὔτοι τῷ ἄνδρι. ὃ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔχει λόγος, ὀμολογοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαῖοι, τρωθῆναι τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρῦλλου (Xenophon’s son). Plutarch (Ages. 35) ascribes the death-blow to a Lacedaemonian Anticrates, whose descendants the Spartans honoured under the name of Μαχαίριωνες, ὡς μαχαίρα πατρίζαντος. Pausanias (l.c.) goes on to describe the death of Epaminondas: ὡς δὲ ἐτέρτῳ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐκκομίζωσιν ἐτὶ ζώντα ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτῶν. δὲ τέως μὲν τὴν χείρα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι ἐσταλαπώρει καὶ ἐς τὸν μαχομένους ἀφεώρα, ὅπως δέ ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὄνομαζον Σκοτήν οἱ ἐπείτα, Λαβόντος δὲ ἱσον τοῦ ἀγώνος πέρας, οὕτω τὴν χειρὰ ἀπέσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψεν ἐνθα σφίσθην ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή: cp. Paus. ix. 15. 5, 6.
αὐτοῖς ... αὐτοῖς: datives of the agent: cp. Oec. 2. 14 ἀποφεύγειν μοι πειρᾶ; Mem. ii. 10. 1 ἄν τις σοι ἀποδρᾶ.

dieπέσων, i.e. slipped away through the broken ranks of the enemy.

ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. If the disposition of the forces be correctly described in § 24, the cavalry interspersed with the ἄμιπποι must have left them behind, and then the ἄμιπποι and πελτασταί must have wheeled to the left against the centre of the enemy; this seems to be implied in ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.


ἀντιτεταγμένων, sc. ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

νεκρῶν: the numbers of the slain are not recorded.

§ 27. οὔτε χώρα ... πλέον ἔχοντες: this is rather an exaggeration: Messenia and Megalopolis at least benefited: cp. next note.

ἀκρισία καὶ ταραχή: cp. Dem. xviii. 18 ἐπεὶ δὴ ὡς Πελοπόννησος ἄπασα διειστήκει καὶ οὖθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Δακεδαμιώνοι οὔτως ἵσχυον ὡστ' ἄνελεῖν αὐτοὺς, οὖθ' οἱ πρότερον δὴ ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἀκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἔρισ καὶ ταραχή. After the battle a general peace was concluded, in which the Messenians were allowed to share as a separate state. On this account the Spartans refused to consent to it καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἐκσπευδοῦ, Diod. xv. 89: cp. Polyb. iv. 23; Plut. Ages. 35.

ἐμοὶ ... γραφέσθω: cp. De re Equest. 10. 17 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ... μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν γεγράφθω, and ibid. 12. 14 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ... γεγράφθω ἡμῖν.
APPENDIX

§ 1. NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS.

ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔγγυς, κ.τ.λ. Diodorus (xiii. 48-51) gives a much fuller and more rhetorical account of the battle, and conceives it quite differently. Plutarch (Alc. 28) seems to follow Xenophon in the main, but to add details from the same source as Diodorus, i.e. probably Ephorus and Theopompus.

According to Diodorus, the several divisions of the Athenian fleet united at Cardia, and then sailed up the Hellespont to Proconnesus, taking care to pass Abydos by night, that the increase in their numbers might not be noticed by the enemy. Mindarus, with the help of Pharnabazus, had just taken Cyzicus by storm. Next day the Athenians disembarked their soldiers, under Chares, close to the Cyzicene territory, and with their fleet in three divisions, under Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes, sailed against the enemy at Cyzicus. Alcibiades went ahead in order to προκαλέσαυτοι τοὺς πολεμίους, the other two generals aiming to surround them and cut them off from the city. Mindarus saw only Alcibiades' ships, and, despising their numbers, sailed out to meet them; whereupon Alcibiades by pretending flight drew him πορρωτέρω τῆς πόλεως, till suddenly he faced about, and Theramenes and Thrasybulus, seeing his signal, sailed towards the city and cut off the Peloponnesians. Mindarus, now seeing the whole Athenian fleet (nothing is said about any mist), fled to shore at Cleri, where Pharnabazus was encamped. Alcibiades hotly pursued him, sunk some of his ships, took others, and tried to
§ 1. THE BATTLE OF CYZICUS

drag others off the beach. The Peloponnesian land forces and the troops of Pharnabazus now came to the assistance of Mindarus, whereupon Thrasybulus disembarked his marines and sent word to Theramenes to bring up the soldiers under Chares. Meanwhile Mindarus, supported by the mercenaries of Pharnabazus and also by Clearchus, firmly stood his ground. When however Theramenes arrived with the reinforcements and joined Thrasybulus, first the mercenaries broke the line and fled, and then Clearchus was obliged to retire. Theramenes and his troops now went off to the help of Alcibiades. Mindarus was thus obliged to divide his forces: one division he sent to oppose Theramenes, while he himself at the head of the other made a brave resistance against Alcibiades, until after many heroic exploits he was himself slain. His death was the signal for a general flight among the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians were unable to pursue them far, because their retreat was covered by Pharnabazus, who now arrived on the scene.

According to Plutarch, Alcibiades, on arriving in the Athenian camp, hearing that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were in Cyzicus, determined to fight, and exhorted his troops accordingly. Then he sailed with the whole fleet to Proconnesus, where he ordered ἐν τῷ περιβάλλει τὰ λεπτὰ πλοία, that no news of his intended attack might reach the enemy, his precaution being much aided by a great thunderstorm and thick mist. Then the whole fleet set sail, and when the mist gradually lifted, Alcibiades saw the Peloponnesian fleet πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Κυκληρῶν. Thereupon he ordered the other generals to keep behind out of sight, while he himself, sailing on in front with forty ships, προκαλεῖτο τῶν πολεμίων. The Peloponnesians, despising his small numbers, sailed to meet him, and at once joined battle; but when the rest of the Athenian fleet came up, they turned and fled. At this juncture Alcibiades, διεκπλεύσας with twenty of his fastest vessels, made for the shore, disembarked, and slew many of the enemy, as they fled from their ships. Mindarus (who is not mentioned as being on board the Peloponnesian fleet at all) and Pharnabazus now came up to the rescue, but in vain: for Alcibiades quickly slew Mindarus and put Pharnabazus to flight.
§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-404 B.C.

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

But though this constitution had already received the approval of Alcibiades, and the Assembly persuaded by Theramenes had actually passed a decree for his recall, the breach still remained open between the Athenians in the city and the Athenians on board the fleet. The latter could not have been less than 10,000 in number, and had just unmistakeably shown their democratic zeal in suppressing the simultaneous conspiracy of the oligarchical party in their midst: in fact, it was not until the return of Alcibiades four years later, in 407, that this breach was finally healed. Till then the city and the fleet were almost as much separated as two independent states; the city annually elected the usual number of ten generals; the fleet still retained at its head Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Thrasyllus, and apparently the other generals whom they had chosen at the time of the revolution. Theramenes and Thrasyllus alone acted as a sort of go-betweens: for the former, being sent out by the city in 410 to try to prevent the Boeotians

1 Diod. xiii. 38, 42. It is a most shadowy conjecture to suppose that the paper constitution described in Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 30, 31, was the work of Theramenes, or was ever put into force: cp. Beloch, Gr. Gesch. ii. 71.
2 viii. 97. 3 Cp. 'Αθ. πολ. 33. 1.
4 Ar. Pol. iv. 8, 3; 'Αθ. πολ. 33. 2. 5 Thuc. viii. 86, 97.
6 Diod. xiii. 38. 7 Thuc. viii. 75, 76. 8 Thuc. viii. 76.
9 Diod. xiii. 47.
and Euboeans from building a dam across the Euripus, and failing in that object, finally joined Alcibiades at the Hellespont, and did not return to Athens till three years afterwards: while the latter, after the victory at Abydos in the autumn of 411, was despatched to Athens for reinforcements.

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

At the same time that the Four Hundred had been deposed, Thucydides tells us, a board of Nomothetae had been appointed with the object of adapting the old Solonian laws to the new constitution. Four months were assigned them for their work. But it would appear that nothing was really done: for six years afterwards Nicomachus, one of their number and called ἀναγραφεὶς τῶν νόμων, had not yet sent in an account of his office, and c. 399 B.C. he was accused of having taken bribes to alter illegally and otherwise tamper with the special laws assigned to him for revision.

Thus the new constitution was never really put upon a permanent legal footing, and party feeling, which had shown itself in the condemnation of the most extreme of the oligarchical leaders, like Antiphon and Archeptolemus, was still too much excited to allow things to remain long as they were. In the early autumn of 411 B.C. the Athenians at home had been greatly encouraged by the news of their partial success at Cynossema. In the winter the general Thrasyllus, who had been one of the democratic leaders at Samos, had arrived at Athens with the tidings of a fresh victory at Abydos, and with a request for reinforcements for the fleet. And in the spring of 410 B.C. Alcibiades totally annihilated the Peloponnesian fleet under Mindarus at Cyzicus. The completeness of his victory was vividly confirmed by the despatch written by Hippocrates, Mindarus' secretary, to the Spartan

1 viii. 97.  
2 Cp. Andocides, i. 83.  
3 Lysias, xxx. 2, 11, 28.  
4 Cp. Lysias, 1. c.  
5 Cp. 'Ath. pol. 34. 1 τούτου (the 5,000) μὲν ὅπως ἀφεῖλε τὴν πολιτείαν δ ἔδημος διὰ τάχους.  
6 Thuc. viii. 106.
government for immediate help, which was accidentally captured and brought to Athens.

410-409 B.C. Once more the democratical party became active and powerful under the leadership of Cleophon the demagogue. Thus when the Spartans\(^1\), in dismay at their defeat, sent Endius at the head of an embassy to offer as terms of peace, that both parties should accept the *status quo*, that the Peloponnesians would withdraw their garrison from Decelea, if the Athenians would withdraw theirs from Pylos, and that an exchange of prisoners should be arranged, the Assembly, notwithstanding the efforts of the ἐπιεκτησαται, voted their rejection on the motion of Cleophon. Moreover it must be remembered that, whatever the Athenians at home might wish or decide, it was undoubtedly at the moment Alcibiades' interest to continue the war. 'The Athenians,' says Diodorus, 'excited by their recent good fortune, thought that with their forces under the leadership of Alcibiades they would soon recover their old supremacy.'

Nor were their hopes entirely unfounded; for the victory at Cyzicus meant much more than the annihilation of the Peloponnesian fleet. It meant relief from the financial distress which had prevailed at Athens ever since the Sicilian disaster, and more especially since the loss of Euboea. Immediately after the battle Alcibiades set up a custom house on the Bosporus to exact toll from all passing ships; once again some of the Hellespontine and Thracian cities began to pay tribute; and once again the corn ships sailed as of old into Piraeus\(^2\). Money had been the basis of the Periclean democracy, and now money opened the way for a return to it. The fleet at the Hellespont maintained itself by marauding expeditions, and cost the home government nothing. Thus it was found possible to vote as much as twenty-three talents towards the expenses of certain sacrifices and festivals and of the διωμελία\(^3\), which was now at the proposal of Cleophon\(^4\) first distributed among the poorer citizens to relieve the distress caused by the war, and which seems to have been the first of the distributions of public money to be restored. As the revenue continued to improve, the old system of payment for all offices

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1 Diod. xiii 52, 53; Philoch. fr. 117.  
2 i. i. 35.  
3 CIA. i. 188; i. 7. 2 note.  
4 'Ἀθ. πολ. 28.
little by little came once more into force, though the several dates of its reinstitution cannot be ascertained. Aristophanes in the Frogs\(^1\), which was exhibited in 405 B.C., complains of the huge sums swallowed up by the δικαστικὸς μισθὸς, showing that by that time the change was complete.

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

One constitutional change can however be referred with certainty to this year on the authority of the historian Philochorus\(^2\). The members of the old Council of Five Hundred, which it appears had already been restored\(^3\), henceforward were to sit like the dicasts, in ten divisions denoted by the first ten letters of the alphabet. The reason of this measure is not stated, but in all probability it was directed against the members of the oligarchical clubs\(^4\), who were wont to sit together, and thus by their united action to acquire an influence totally disproportionate to their numbers\(^5\). Gilbert\(^6\) has ingeniously conjectured that these democratical changes were carried through by a board of συγγραφεῖς, on the ground that Demophantus, the proposer of a decree of which more will be said hereafter, συνέγραψεν, and not, as usual, εἴπεν; and that an inscription\(^7\) of this year mentions συγγραφεῖς, though it does not explain the nature of their office; and further that on the analogy of Thucydides (viii. 67), when Pisander proposed to appoint ten ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες, and of Xenophon (Hell. ii. 3. 2), when the Thirty were chosen, ὁ τῶν πατρίων νόμων συγγράφοις, it may very well be argued that they were extraordinary magistrates chosen to draw up a new constitution, and this time in a democratical direction.

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\(^1\) 141 sq. 1466 sq.  
\(^2\) Philoch. fr. 119.  
\(^3\) Cp. Andoc. i. 96.  
\(^4\) Cp. Thuc. viii. 66; and esp. vi. 13.  
\(^5\) A practice set on foot by Thucydides, son of Melesias; see Plut. Pericles c. 11.  
\(^7\) CIA. i. 58.
Two documents of this year illustrate still farther the growing power of the democrats. The first is the above-mentioned Psephism of Demophonatus, preserved in Andocides' speech on the Mysteries, which decreed that all Athenians, both in the city and in the fleet, should swear to hold as a public enemy, who might lawfully be put to death, any one who should attempt to overthrow the democracy, or who should hold any office after the democracy had been overthrown. This oath was to be taken just before the Great Dionysia in the spring of 409 B.C. and finds its parallel in the oath sworn to by the Athenian democrats at Samos in 411 B.C. The second is a psephism proposed by Erasinides, who was afterwards one of the generals at the battle of Arginusae, that Thrasybulus, one of the assassins of the oligarch Phrynichus, should be rewarded with a golden crown and the gift of citizenship, and that a proclamation to that effect should be made at the same Dionysia. Moreover at the same time the prosecutions against those implicated in the conspiracy of the Four Hundred, which had been suffered to lapse after the punishment of the worst offenders, seem to have been revived, and to have gone on with more or less vigour until the Amnesty of Pairoclides in 405 B.C. Not only were individuals attacked, but whole classes, like the soldiers who had supported the Four Hundred, were punished with partial disfranchisement, so that e.g. it was made unlawful for them to speak in the Assembly, or to become members of the Council. Lysias says that it was these prosecutions that ruined the democracy; for that numerous sycophants accused innocent persons for the sake of their wealth, while they left the guilty untouched, if only they were sufficiently bribed.

Meanwhile Alcibiades had pursued a career of unbroken success on the Hellespont and Bosporus. In the winter of 409-408 he had been joined by Thrasyllus at the Hellespont with a considerable reinforcement from Athens, and the two generals combined to defeat the satrap Pharnabazus, first at Abydos, and then

1 Andoc. i. 96 ff. Gilbert, Gesch. Ath. p. 344, proves against Droysen and Herbert that this decree belongs to the period after the Dissolution of the Four Hundred, and not to that after the expulsion of the Thirty. Cp. Grote, vii. 321.
2 Thuc. viii. 75.
3 CIA. i. 59.
4 Cf. Thuc. viii. 92.
5 Andoc. i. 75 f.
6 Or. xxv. 14, 15.
§ 2. POLITICAL HISTORY OF ATHENS, 411-404 B.C. 317

408–407 at Chalcedon, after which he was reduced to come to terms and to submit to see Chalcedon once more pay tribute to Athens. These successes were followed by the capture of Selymbria and Byzantium. On the other side the Athenians had indeed to set the loss of Pylos in Messenia, and of Nisaea, the port of Megara—losses serious in themselves, but with little effect upon the revenue. Anytus, the demagogue, who had been despatched to relieve the former place was, on his return, accused of treachery, and only escaped, it was said, by bribing his judges. In the autumn of 408 B.C., therefore, Athens had regained the whole of the Thracian and Hellespontine provinces of her old empire, besides many of the islands in the northern Aegean. The Peloponnesian fleet had been annihilated. Pharnabazus, who had so long and so ably supported the Spartan cause, had been forced to consent to an armistice, and to promise a safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the Persian king. And all this had been mainly due to the courage and capacity of a single man, and him an exile; for Alcibiades had never availed himself of the permission to return home granted him in 411 B.C. So far indeed he had acted almost as a sovereign prince. Much still however remained to be done: Euboea and most of Ionia were still in open revolt. Before attempting their reconquest, Alcibiades seems now to have felt that a return to Athens was necessary for him, if ever there was to be a complete reunion between the city and the army. In the spring of 407–406, therefore, he sailed with all his ships to Samos: thence he despatched his friends and colleagues Thrasyllus and Theramenes to Piraeus with all the spoils of war and captured vessels and a crowd of prisoners to prepare the way for his reception, while he himself sailed with the remainder of the fleet to Caria, to collect still more money. The Athenians at home were by this time just as ready on their side to welcome him, and even before the arrival of Thrasyllus and Theramenes had chosen among the

1 Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. 27. 5; Diod. xiii. 64, 65.
2 Thuc. viii. 97.
3 Diod. xiii. 68. Gilbert (Beitr. 361) refers to this year a newly discovered fragment of Androton, recording a Spartan embassy to Athens in the archonship of Euctemon, 408–407, to negotiate the ransom of Lacedaemonian prisoners. But the text is too doubtful to base much argument upon it.
generals for the following year, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Conon. The news of his election reached Alcibiades at Gythium in Laconia, whither he had sailed from Caria, and he at once set out for Piraeus, which he entered on the day of the Plynteria (June), when the shrine of the goddess Athena was covered with a veil. Arrived in the harbour, even now he hesitated to land, so suspicious was he of the real feelings of the people towards him; and it was not until he had seen Euryptolemus and other relatives among the crowd that had assembled to meet him, that he ventured to set foot on shore. Then his partisans closed round him so as to form a sort of body-guard, and escorted him in their midst in triumphal procession from Piraeus to Athens.

In the city opinion was still much divided\(^1\): some said that he had been the victim of the intrigues of his enemies, who had plotted against him and procured his exile in order to make room for their own ambitious schemes; others maintained that he had been the real cause of all the Athenian misfortunes in the past, and would be just as dangerous in the future.

But for the moment Alcibiades with his marvellous personality carried all before him. The effect of his speeches in his own defence before the Council and Assembly\(^2\) was such that none dared raise a voice against him. It was at once decreed that the column set up to record his condemnation in 415 B.C. should be cast into the sea, that his goods should be restored to him, and that the curse which the Eumolpidae had pronounced against him should be recalled. He himself was proclaimed στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ by sea and land, as the only man able to restore Athens to her former power. The rich hoped to find in him a strong opponent to the ever-increasing encroachments of the extreme democrats. The poor saw in him a champion who would relieve them of their poverty, and whom they would be glad to support, even though he should assume to himself the rights of sovereign power and make himself tyrant of Athens\(^3\). For the moment his enemies were silenced, although they continued, as events soon showed, as active as ever in their intrigues against him. The demagogues seem to have been especially bitter, so completely

\(^1\) i. 4. 13-17. \\
\(^2\) Diod. xiii. 69. \\
\(^3\) Plut. Alc. 35; Diod. xiii. 69: cp. Thuc. vi. 15.
were they overshadowed in the eyes of the people by their new rival for popular favour.

It was ominous too that Theodorus the high priest, in removing the old curse, had said \(^1\) that for his part he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth: while many of the pious and superstitious noted with foreboding that Alcibiades had landed on the Plynteria, the unluckiest day in the whole year.

Meanwhile Alcibiades was occupied in fitting out a new fleet of 100 vessels with the money that he had himself brought into the treasury. He chose Adimantus and Aristocrates, apparently out of the already elected generals for the year, to be his colleagues in the command \(^2\). But before he sailed, hoping once for all to quiet the religious fears of the Athenians, as well as to assure them of his military prowess, he escorted with all his forces the annual procession along the Sacred Way to Eleusis, which ever since the fortification of Decelea by the Peloponnesians had been obliged to go by sea, King Agis now venturing to offer no opposition.

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

But during the four months that Alcibiades had stayed in Athens, an entire change had come over the aspect of affairs in Asia. The able and energetic Lysander had succeeded the incapable Cratesippidas as admiral of the Spartan fleet; and Cyrus, the younger son of King Darius, had taken the place of the vacillating Tissaphernes as Satrap of Sardis, and had announced his intention of supporting the Peloponnesians with money and by all means in his power, even persuading Pharnabazus, notwithstanding his solemn promises, to hinder the Athenian envoys from proceeding to the Persian court \(^3\).

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

\(^1\) Plut. Alc. 33.  \(^2\) Xen. Hell. i. 4. 22; Diod. xiii. 69.  \(^3\) i. 4. 7.
to draw Lysander out of the harbour at Ephesus to a general engagement. His overtures to Cyrus through the mouthpiece of Tissaphernes were rejected with scorn. Money and supplies soon ran short, and he was obliged to scour the neighbouring coasts on marauding expeditions, making in his requisitions, it would seem, but little distinction between friend and foe. To crown all, his lieutenant Antiochus, in defiance of his strict orders, ventured on a general engagement during his absence at Phocaea, and suffered a defeat at Notium; and do what he could, Alcibiades could not induce Lysander to give him an opportunity for revenge. Disappointed in their unreasonable expectations of a speedy conquest of Chios and even of all Ionia, the Athenians both at home and on board the fleet were now as vehement in their denunciations of Alcibiades as but shortly before they had been in his praises. All complaints against his conduct were eagerly listened to; and when Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason (not to be confused with the more famous Thrasybulus, the general), returned from the camp to Athens⁴, and accused him of maladministration, of treasonable intrigues with Persia and the Peloponnesians, and of building forts of his own, like a sovereign prince, in Thrace, the people at once suspended Alcibiades from his command, ordered his colleague Conon to take his place, and in the annual elections, which happened to occur just at the same time, chose ten new generals, among whom Alcibiades was no longer one⁵. Alcibiades himself, finding that he was equally unpopular with his own troops, did not wait to hear the result of the accusations against him at home, but retired to his forts in the Thracian Chersonese.

406–405 B.C. At this juncture democrats of all shades seem to have combined to support the constitution, if we may judge from the list of the new generals: for among them Thrasyllus, Leon, and Diomedon had all taken a prominent part in the counter movement against the oligarchs at Samos, in 411 B.C.⁴: Erasinides⁵

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1 Gilbert refers a statement of Himerius (ap. Phot. Bibl. 377) to this affair: Κλεοφόρων Ἄλκιβιάδην ἔγραφε το, and sees in it a formal γραφή προδοσίας. Cobet refers it to the year 415 B.C.
2 Diod. xiii. 73; Plut. Alc. 36.
3 Plut. Lys. 5; Nep. Alc. 7; Just. v. 5. 4; Lysias xiv. 38.
4 Thuc. viii. 73.
5 CIA. i. 59.
had proposed the decree to crown the assassin of Phryniclus the oligarch; Pericles was the son of the great Pericles and Aspasia; while Conon seems rather to have succeeded Nicias in the leadership of the more moderate party. The year was one of great financial distress, due to the difficulty of maintaining Conon’s large fleet of 100 vessels, and to the Peloponnesians under the admiral Callicratidas once more taking the offensive by sea, and so cutting off the sources of Athenian revenue. To meet the deficiency all the gold in the Acropolis was coined into money

Still, when the news reached Athens that Conon with all his fleet was blockaded at Mytilene, within thirty days the Athenians fitted out a fleet of 110 vessels, making all the inhabitants of Attica, rich and poor, slave and free, serve alike on board. About August, 406, the two fleets met off the islands of Arginusae, and the Athenians under the command of eight of their ten generals gained a complete victory over the Peloponnesians, Callicratidas himself perishing in the fight. In the ordinary course of things such a victory would have sufficed to ensure for some time the political power of the successful generals. But unfortunately in the moment of victory the generals had neglected both to rescue the survivors clinging to the wrecks of the vessels which had been disabled in the battle, and to bury the corpses of the dead. The news of this neglect excited great indignation among the Athenians at home. A summons was immediately issued for their recall. Thereupon two of their number retired into voluntary exile: the remaining six returned to Athens, were hastily condemned almost without any form of trial, and all alike executed (November 406).

Although there seems to be no evidence for supposing the condemnation of the generals to have been due to an oligarchical conspiracy, its effect, no doubt, was to produce chaos once more among the political parties at Athens. The democrats still clung to their old war policy; and Cleophon was again successful in procuring the rejection of a peace which the Lacedaemonians offered about this time on the same terms as before—a fact which

1 Aristoph. Frogs 720; Philoch. Frag. 120; CIA. i. 140.
2 Diod. xiii. 97; Aristoph. Frogs 33, 693.
3 Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 1.
shows that the power of the demagogues was still as great as ever. Many, on the other hand, began to repent of their recent dismissal of Alcibiades, and even to advocate his immediate recall. His friend Adimantus had been one of the two generals elected to assist Conon. The financial distress was greater than ever, and to meet it an extraordinary board of magistrates, called Poristae, seems to have been appointed to consider ways and means. The fleet at Samos, paralyzed by the proceedings taken against its late generals at Athens, never followed up the results of its victory, though now commanded by the skilful Conon; and was soon unable to support itself by marauding expeditions, being entirely occupied in watching the movements of the enemy's fleet. For the Peloponnesians, after their disaster, had procured from the Spartan government the restoration of Lysander to the command; and he in the spring of 405 had completely restored its efficiency, being backed up, as before, by Persian gold.

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

It mattered little, however, what the Athenians at home did or did not do. The fate of Athens was settled once for all at the battle of Aegospotami (c. August 405), when Lysander, without the loss

1 Aristoph. Frogs 1422, 1500 ff.
2 i. 7. 1. Beloch (Att. Pol. 313), relying on the words στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναῖος in Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 679, thinks that Cleophon was also elected general at this time. The evidence is of the slightest.
4 Lysias xiii. 10, 13.
of a single ship of his own, captured the whole Athenian fleet. The citizens were at first stunned by the news, reflecting that at last the misery that they had inflicted on less powerful states was about to return on their own heads. But next day the Assembly met and resolved to block up two of the three harbours at Piraeus, and to prepare the city for a siege. Really little could be done: for the Athenians had no fleet, and the corn supply was entirely cut off now that the Hellespont, as well as Euboea, was lost, and the Peloponnesians still harried the country from Decelea. Many weeks, however, passed before the appearance of the dreaded Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander was employed in the interval in receiving the submission of the Athenian allies, and in sending all the Athenian citizens and cleruchs, whom he captured, back to Athens in order to increase the number of mouths to be fed on the ever diminishing supply of corn. At last in November he appeared and blockaded Piraeus at the same time that the two Spartan kings Agis and Pausanias advanced with the entire Peloponnesian forces close up to the city walls. Within the city, as a last despairing measure, the democrats carried a proposal made by Patroclides to grant an amnesty to all disfranchised citizens, more especially those who had suffered partial disfranchisement for the part they had taken in the Revolution of the Four Hundred. At the same time the full rights of Athenian citizenship were conferred on their faithful allies, the Samians. The exiles however were not recalled. None the less the oligarchs, who saw that their day of power would soon and certainly come with the surrender of the city, seem at the time to have remained quiet. But the forces that the Athenians could muster, even with the citizens all thus united, were so obviously incapable of offering a successful resistance, that so early as December, when the corn supply had completely failed, envoys were sent to Agis with offers of peace on condition that the Athenians became allies of the Lacedaemonians, and retained Piraeus and the Long Walls. Agis referred the envoys to the ephors at Sparta, who alone, he said, had powers to conclude a treaty. But when they reached Sellasia on the Lacedaemonian

1 Arist. Αθ, πολ. 34. 2. 2 ii. 2. 3. 3 Andoc. i. 73 ff.; Lys. xxv. 27; ii. 2. 11 and note. 4 CIA. iv. 2, 1b.
frontier, the ephors, on hearing the terms they had to offer, sent
them back with an injunction not to return until the Athenians had
come to a better decision. It appears however from the sequel of
Xenophon’s narrative that they were at the same time informed
that a peace might be concluded if the Athenians would consent to
the demolition of ten stadia of their Long Walls. For when on
their return the envoys announced before the Council the result of
their mission, Archestratus was arrested for proposing submission
to this condition, and at the same time Cleophon carried a decree
in the Assembly forbidding any such proposal for the future on pain
of death.

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

1 ii. 2. 14, 15. 2 Lysias xiii. 8; Aeschin. ii. 76.
3 Lysias xiii. 15; cp. Xen. i. 7. 35 note.
4 Cp. ii. 2. 20 with ii. 3. 41.
ments which they openly professed, refused to allow a city, which had wrought so much for Greek freedom in the past, to be wiped out of the map of Greece, and decided to offer terms, far harder indeed than those offered four months earlier, but reasonable under the circumstances. The terms were to be that the Athenians should demolish their Long Walls and their arsenal at Piraeus, that they should resign all their foreign possessions, and confine themselves to their Attic territory, that they should readmit all their exiles, and become the allies of Sparta, recognizing the same friends and enemies and following her leadership by land and sea. The number of ships, which they were to be allowed to keep, was left to the discretion of Lysander.

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

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

§ 3. THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE.

For this incident in Athenian history Xenophon, as being himself contemporary with the event, is undoubtedly the chief and the best authority. His account seems to be a simple and impartial statement of the facts of the trial, and the points of obscurity are apparently due, not to any wilful perversions, but to omissions as to

1 ii. 2. 20; Diod. xiii. 107; Plut. Lys. 14; Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 34. 3.
questions of fact and of law, which it is difficult to supplement from any other sources. Diodorus (flor. 15 B.C.) gives only a meagre narrative of the trial, based on Theopompus (flor. 333 B.C.), and evidently here, as in other passages, holds a brief in favour of Theramenes, though he condemns the treatment of the generals. Aristophanes' Frogs, exhibited in the year 405 B.C., shows us somewhat of the prevailing feeling at the time in Athens, and more especially as to the part played by Theramenes, which would seem to have incurred the general displeasure of the people. Plato (Apol. 32 b) and Xenophon (Mem. i. 1. 18; iv. 4. 2) more fully describe the bold resistance offered by Socrates to the unconstitutional demands of the Assembly. It may therefore be gathered that the whole literary opinion of the day strongly disapproved the condemnation of the generals.

In his own narrative (i. 6) Xenophon gives a very brief summary of events. In the battle at Arginusae the Athenians, he tells us, lost 25 ships, crews and all, except a few survivors, who made their way to shore. The generals in command had ordered the triarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus and some of the taxiaruchs, with 47 ships, to rescue those still clinging to the wrecks, while they themselves sailed to Mytilene against Eteonicus. But a great storm\(^1\) arose and prevented the rescue, and also, it would seem, their own passage across to Mytilene. Euryptolemus, however, in the course of his speech\(^2\) adds several details. Immediately after the battle, he says, the Athenian fleet returned to the Arginusae islands, and there the generals held a council of war. Diomedon wished to rescue the survivors on the wrecks, Erasinides to sail at once against the enemy: but Thrasyllus pointed out that both

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

\(^2\) i. 7. 17, 29.
§ 3. TRIAL OF GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE

objects might be effected by leaving 47 ships under the command of the trierarchs, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and of other subordinate officers, to look after the 12 disabled vessels [13 of them must therefore have sunk in the interval, cp. i. 6. 34], while they themselves sailed with the rest of the fleet against Eteonius at Mytilene. They accordingly tried, he adds, to sail (§ 31, ἐπλεον), but the storm prevented the rescue. Diodorus (xiii. 100) here makes an important addition: the sailors of the 47 ships refused to work διά τε τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κακοπάθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων, the general result being that the men clinging to the sinking ships were left to perish.

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

Xenophon goes on to relate that the Athenians at home, as soon as they heard the news, deprived all the generals of their command except Conon, and that they chose to be his colleagues Adimantus and Philocles. Diodorus states in addition that they summoned the generals home with all speed to stand their trial. Thereupon of the eight that had fought at Arginusae two, Protomachus and Aristogenes, retired into voluntary exile: the other six returned to Athens. Among the latter Erasinides was accused immediately on his arrival before a δικαστήριον (probably on a γραφὴ κλοπῆς δημοσίων χρηματίων) by Archedemus, who was at that time προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, other charges being made at the same time against his generalship. The result of the trial was apparently

1 i. 7. 17.
2 Diodorus (xiii. 101) gives quite a contradictory account of the despatch: he makes out that Theramenes and Thrasybulus had already returned to Athens before that the generals, suspicious that they might intrigue against them in the city, addressed a letter πρὸς τῶν δήμου to explain that they had given orders to the trierarchs. Grote's attempt (vii. 429) to reconcile the two by supposing that Diodorus has confused a private letter addressed by the generals to their friends at Athens with the public despatch mentioned by Xenophon, is a mere subterfuge.
3 i. 7. 1; Diod. xiii. 101.
that a fine was imposed upon him and imprisonment until he should pay it.

Afterwards the generals jointly made a statement before the Council as to the battle and the severity of the storm, of which Xenophon unfortunately does not give the details. Possibly it may have been the same as the defence that they afterwards made before the Assembly, that they had indeed given orders to Thera-
menes and Thrasybulus to rescue the shipwrecked crews, but that the violence of the storm had rendered all rescue impossible. This hypothesis would account for Theramenes saying at the first meeting of the Assembly that in their despatch they blamed no one but the storm, and some two years afterwards maintaining in his defence against the accusations of Critias 1 that the generals had begun to accuse him first, so that he had acted, as indeed Critias had asserted, only in self-defence. Such too seems to have been the prevailing opinion as to his conduct at the time, if we may believe Aristophanes 2; and Diodorus' account leaves much the same impression. On the other hand it is almost as easy to suppose that Theramenes, being in extremis, devised this defence, which, such as it is, seems excessively lame, on the spur of the moment, and that Diodorus invented his account of the trial to justify this subsequent defence. But, however this may be, on Timocrates' proposal, the Council resolved to arrest the generals, and bring them before the Assembly.

The question here arises, what particular form of judicial machinery was thus set in motion against the accused generals. It has been very generally assumed 3 that the accusation was an 
εἰσαγγελία of the form which Harpocration 4 (s. v.) defines to be applicable ετί δημοσίως ἀδικήμασι μεγίστοις καὶ ἀναβολῇ μὴ ἑπιδεχομέ-
νοις, καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς μήτε ἀρχῇ καθέστηκε μήτε νόμοι κεῖται τοῖς ἄρχοντες καθ’ ὦς εἰσάζουσιν, ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἢ πρώτῃ κατάστασις γίνεται. In this case the ordinary procedure was (1) for the Council, if after the preliminary hearing the charge appeared to be beyond its own competence, to refer it either to a Heliaistic court or, if the charge were very extraordinary, to the Assembly. Then

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1 ii. 3. 35. 2 Cp. Frogs 533, 964.
4 Cp. Arist. Ἀθ. πολ. 8. 4; 43. 4; 59. 2; CIL i. suppl. 27 b.
(2) the Assembly when it met might either itself consider whether there was sufficient evidence against the accused for the charge to lie, or, if there could be no manner of doubt upon that point, simply to determine what should be the method of the trial. Now Xenophon’s narrative does to a certain extent support this theory: for Euryptolemus in his speech (§ 33) entreats the people not to convict the generals of προδοσίαν ἄντι τῆς ἀθυατίας, and it is well known that in cases of προδοσία the εἰσαγγελία was the ordinary form of procedure. Again in § 4 Theramenes maintains at the first meeting of the Assembly, that the generals δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν: and in § 28 Euryptolemus urges the people not to deprive the accused of all opportunity of legal defence: so that both passages might be taken to imply that at its first meeting the Assembly merely gave the case the usual preliminary hearing. On the other hand it must be remembered that neither Xenophon nor Diodorus speak of the charge as an εἰσαγγελία, nor of the first meeting of the Assembly as summoned merely to consider the justifiability of the accusation; that all the precise information we possess about this particular kind of procedure is subsequent to the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός, the date of which is certainly not earlier than the archonship of Euclides 403 B.C.; and that in this particular case the proceedings were irregular throughout.

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

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1 Cp. §§ 5, 23.

2 § 7 may very well be taken to imply that this meeting was merely preliminary, for (1) the generals produced so favourable an impression that many ἰδίωται were ready to go bail for their appearance, and such appearance could only have been at a proper trial; (2) it was decided (ἐδοξεί) to adjourn the case εἰς ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν, and this can only mean that the accusers, seeing things going so much in the generals’ favour, contrived to defer the voting, which would evidently have resulted in a decision that there was no prima facie case against them.
board the fleet), than upon the feelings of a comparatively select body of sworn dicasts.

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

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

At the same time too they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the

¹ This is a direct contradiction to Theramenes' statement in ii. 3. 35 that the generals had asserted οἶνον τε εἶναι σώσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.
² Cp. i. 7. 8 note.
generals in the Council, which met according to the decision of the Assembly, and at his instigation drew up a most monstrous προβούλευμα, that since the accusation and defence had been already heard at the previous Assembly (which of course was only partially true), at the next meeting the people should vote at once by tribes, without any further hearing of the case, upon all the generals collectively; that the votes should be deposited in urns, two such urns for each tribe, one for votes of acquittal, the other for votes of condemnation; and that if the generals were found guilty, they themselves should be put to death and their goods should be confiscated. Thus in defiance of all Athenian legal procedure and traditions no real trial was to be granted to the generals at all, the voters were to be intimidated, and sentence was to be passed upon all the accused collectively instead of separately.

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

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

Foiled in this attempt to procure justice for the accused, Euryptolemus now came forward with an amendment to the προβούλευμα, or rather perhaps with an alternative proposal, in advocating which he was able to make a speech of considerable length in defence of the generals. In the course of it he stated and restated the facts of the case, adding that one of the accused had himself been among the shipwrecked mariners, and had only saved his own life
by his own exertions, and pointed out that two legal methods of procedure were open to the people. Either the generals might be tried before the people\(^1\) in accordance with the decree of Cannorus\(^2\), which laid down certain most severe penalties against such persons as had injured the commonwealth: or they might be tried before a Heliastic court under the law against sacrilege and treason. But whichever of these two methods the people preferred, they ought to be tried *separately*, fair time being allowed for the accusation, defence, and taking of the votes. In conclusion, therefore, Euryptolemus formally moved that the former of these two methods should be adopted, namely, that the accused should be separately tried according to the decree of Cannoitus.

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

What however was the nature of this ὑπωμοσία? Viewed simply

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

\(^2\) τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα: cp. Aristoph. Eccl. 1089. Although there is no particular reason why the words δίχα ἐκαστὸν should not have occurred in the decree, the balance of evidence seems on the whole to be against it. For in § 23 Euryptolemus insists just as much on the importance of separate trial for each of the accused, if the other constitutional alternative κατὰ τῶν νόμων . . . ὅσ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλους καὶ προδόταις should be adopted instead. Moreover, in § 34 he seems to put the words δίχα ἐκαστὸν into his amendment rather in opposition to the μᾶ ὑψήφω of Callixenus’ προβούλευμα than in close connexion with the κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα. Finally, the Scholiast on Aristophanes (ad loc.) gives quite a different interpretation of the word διαλεξημένον, which commentators have assumed to refer to the supposed δίχα ἐκαστὸν of the decree, viz. κατεχόμενον ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπολογιζόσαυ τῶν κατ’ εἰσαγγελίαις ἀποκρινόμενον—an interpretation which fits in very well with Xenophon’s δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν.
§ 3. TRIAL OF GENERALS AFTER ARGINUSAE

in relation to the context, the passage seems to mean that Menecles challenged the vote on some formal ground, which rendered it necessary for the ἐπιστάτης to put the question to the vote again. Ordinarily, however, a ὑπωμοσία meant much more: it meant a determination in the mover of it to bring the question challenged under the cognizance of a court of law, and had the effect of suspending the validity of the resolution until the court had given its decision. But Xenophon never says a word about any such adjournment, and evidently implies that the second vote was taken immediately after the first and on the same day. We have therefore to suppose either that Menecles interposed a ὑπωμοσία of a kind not otherwise known, or that the neglect to carry into effect the adjournment that it entailed was merely one more among the many unconstitutional incidents of the day, unless indeed we may believe the otherwise untrustworthy author of the Axiouchus¹ (Plato 368 e), who speaks of Theramenes and Callixenhus having at a subsequent meeting² τῇ ὑπεραιᾷ suborned the προεδρί and so procured the condemnation of the generals.

However that may be, shortly afterwards the Athenians repented of their injustice, and voted that a public prosecution should be

¹ It is impossible to attach much weight to this statement in the Axiouchus, because, short as it is, it contains two obvious mistakes: (1) it speaks of προεδρί, although none were instituted before the archonship of Euclides, 403-402 b.c.; (2) it speaks of τρωμέριων ἐκκλησιαζόντων, which is evidently a fallacious computation of the whole body of Athenian freemen. Moreover the whole dialogue, as Grote (Plato, cap. iv.) shows, is a late production, and possesses no authority.

² Gilbert here raises the question as to what became of Socrates' opposition, which both Plato and Xenophon represent to have been unswerving; and finds its solution in the hypothesis of an adjournment, because at a second meeting Socrates would no longer have been ἐπιστάτης. Probably, however, Socrates' scruple, which was a strictly legal one, was satisfied by his putting Euryptolemus' alternative motion to the vote, which contained a strictly legal proposal, although its rejection carried with it the passing of the Council's προβούλευμα; for this seems to be the force of the preposition in composition in the words διαχειροτονουμένων, διαχειροτονίας. Nor need the interposition of Menecles' ὑπωμοσία have made any difference, if the question was immediately put again on the same day: in this case all that Socrates had to do was to put Euryptolemus' motion over again: and then, when it was rejected, the προβούλευμα was ipso facto carried. Cp. Goodwin in the Transactions of the American Philol. Assoc. 1885, p. 172.
instituted against those who had deceived the people. Callixenus and four others were accordingly arrested, Theramenes not being among the number, which seems to show that some distinction was drawn between his conduct and that of the rest, possibly because it was felt, as Diodorus insists at some length, that he was driven to it by the exigencies of self-defence. But before the accused could be tried, they all escaped amid the political confusion of the following year. Callixenus indeed ventured to return with Thrasybulus and the exiled democrats in 403 B.C., but hated by all, says Xenophon, he died of starvation.

§ 4. SPARTA.

In the period covered by Xenophon's Hellenics, the three leading features of Sparta and the Spartan Constitution are the decrease of population or at any rate of the full Spartiatae or ὁμοίους, the decay of the kingly power, and the increase of the power of the ephors. In the absence of materials nothing like a continuous history of these changes can be written: still for this particular period we are peculiarly fortunate; we possess not only the scattered notices which, as coming from a writer the circumstances of whose life made him specially qualified to speak with authority on all Spartan affairs, are of chief importance, but also a contemporary sketch ¹ (c. 378) of the Spartan Constitution, which has been generally attributed, not without good reasons, to Xenophon himself, and which at the very least must have been written by a well-informed contemporary. To these we can add the well-known criticisms of Aristotle in the Politics ², which, though taken strictly they apply to a period some twenty or thirty years later, are most useful as confirming and supplementing the contemporary evidence. Finally, some further materials can be derived from the nearly contemporary Encomium of Agesilaus ³ (c. 354–338), from antiquity onwards often, but without sufficient reason, attributed to Xenophon himself, Plutarch's Lives of Lysander and Agesilaus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, &c.

¹ Cp. Roquette, p. 83.
² ii. 9.
§ 4. SPARTA

Population.

Aristotle's opinion on the cause of Sparta's ruin is well known: μίαν γὰρ πληγήν (Leuctra) οὕτως ὑπήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ἄλλα ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχοπλίαν. From the context it appears that he refers to the fully privileged Spartiates or ὁμοιοί, who contributed their share to the συσσίτια or public messes: for though there was enough land, he says, to maintain 1,500 horsemen and 30,000 hoplites, in his day there were less than 1,000; once on a time however there had been 10,000. Can we estimate the number of full Spartiates before Leuctra? At the time of the Persian Wars there were 8,000, but at the time of Leuctra these seem to have dwindled to some 1,500, for at that battle four morae contained 700 Spartiates of all ages up to 55. There were however six morae in all, or some 1,050 Spartiates between 20 and 55 years of age; consequently the total number cannot be put at more than 1,500. Long before Leuctra the conspiracy of Cinadon had in 396 B.C. made the Spartiates only too well aware of the insecurity of their position. Then in the market-place Cinadon could count only 74 Spartiates and more than 4,000 helots, neodamodes, hypomeiones, and perioeci, all of whom would 'gladly eat the Spartiates raw.' No wonder therefore that we find a growing aversion to employ Spartiates on foreign service: these 1,500 Spartiates had in the first instance to act as garrison against some 80,000 internal foes, all of whom were for various reasons anxious to break through the walls of the ever-narrowing oligarchy. Thus in 399 no Spartiates at all were despatched in Thibron's army, but 1,000 neodamodes; in 396 King Agesilaus volunteered to command in Asia at the head of 30 Spartiates, 2,000 neodamodes, and 6,000 allies; in 382 Eudamidas led 7,000 neodamodes, perioeci and Sciritae against Olynthus with no Spartiates at all. By 374 this custom had become notorious, and Polydamas the Pharsalian warns the Lacedaemonians that it is useless to send against so powerful a monarch as Jason neodamódes καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδίωτην. In 369 Ischolaus

1 Pol. ii. 9. 16. 2 Her. vii. 234.
4 iii. 3. 4 ff. 5 iii. 1. 4.
7 v. 2. 24. 6 iii. 4. 2.
8 vi. 1. 14.
had as garrison in the frontier station of Oeum only 400 neodomodes and Tegean exiles to resist the Theban advance. Thus when their own numbers could not, after Leuctra, have been more than 1,000 able-bodied men, the Spartans had only too good reason to be afraid of the 6,000 helots who at this time, in response to the promise of freedom, volunteered to fight as hoplites against the Thebans, because, as Xenophon puts it, λίαν ἐδοκοῦν πολλοὶ εἶναι. But even this policy of wholesale manumission of helots, which seems to have been begun in the course of the Peloponnesian War, and which raised them to the position of neodomodes, did not suffice to secure their fidelity; for in a later, perhaps exaggerated, passage, Xenophon tells us that after Leuctra all the helots and many of the perioeci revolted. Messenia of course was never recovered: but how the Spartiates succeeded with their small numbers in quelling the revolt in Laconia itself—which, however difficult a task, they certainly achieved—we are nowhere told. When once their military prestige was gone after the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea, and the disgrace of the Theban invasions, it was obvious that so narrow an oligarchy, composed of about 1,000 citizens, could never regain Messenia, still less their old Peloponnesian hegemony, and least of all their empire over the Aegean coasts. The amazing thing is that they ever won an empire at all and managed to keep it so long as they did.

Kings.

In the course of the fifth century the dual monarchy had lost much both in power and in dignity. The quarrels between the two royal houses had been almost constant. Prosecutions for misconduct, which generally resulted in condemnation, had been frequent—Cleomenes, Demaratus, Leotychides, Plistoanax, Pausanias, had all been driven into exile. This again had occasioned long minorities; and the guardians of the infant kings had often played into the hands of the ephors or in other ways degraded the kingly office. Of the kings who reigned between 411 and 362 B.C. Xenophon mentions Pausanias, Agesipolis, and Cleombrotus of the

\[1 \text{vi. 5. 26.} \quad 2 \text{vi. 5. 29.} \quad 3 \text{Thuc. iv. 80; v. 34; vii. 19.} \quad 4 \text{vii. 2. 2; cp. Ages. 2. 24.} \quad 5 \text{iv. 2. 9.}\]
Agiad line and Agis and Agesilaus of the Eurypontid line: Plistoanax (426-408), Agesipolis II (371-370), and Cleomenes II (370-309) of the Agiads he passes over in silence, the last, doubtless, because he was a minor. The other five occupy an important position in his narrative: yet, notwithstanding the commanding influence of Agesilaus, they all appear as subordinate to the ephors. The honorary privileges of the kingship, however, enumerated by Herodotus\(^1\), seem to have remained unimpaired. As of old, the kings held\(^2\) the traditional priesthoods and performed the traditional sacrifices. When they were at home they messed\(^3\) together, and they were always provided with a double portion. They consulted\(^4\) the oracles on behalf of the state. In the field they were attended\(^5\) by a body-guard and by a retinue\(^6\) of polemarchs and officials. After death they were buried\(^7\) with more than human honours.

Again, their military powers were but little curtailed. Though the author of the Respublica Laconensis states\(^8\) (15. 2) that Lycurgus only gave them the privilege \(στρατιών ὅποιο ἂν ἦ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ\), there is still some trace of the more independent power ascribed to them by Herodotus\(^9\) \(πόλεμον γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ᾿ ἦν ἄν βούλωνται\). Thus c. 388 Agesilaus declared\(^10\) war against the Acarnanians, as he had promised them the year before; and again in 387 he threatened that he would \(πόλεμον ἐξοίσει\) against the Corinthians; of course it is possible, or, rather perhaps probable, that in both instances Agesilaus did not really act independently, but relied\(^11\) on his influence with the ephors and Assembly. Once in the field, however, although in European campaigns there were two ephors\(^12\), and in Asiatic campaigns 30 commissioners\(^13\) always in attendance, the king enjoyed the full powers of commander-in-chief, unhampered by his colleague; for since the quarrels\(^14\) of Cleomenes and Demaratus of old, the Spartans had, with only one exception\(^15\),

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\(^{1}\) vi. 57.
\(^{2}\) iii. 3. 4, 43; iv. 3. 14, 21; v. 1. 33; de Rep. Lac. 15. 1.
\(^{3}\) v. 3. 20; de Rep. Lac. 15. 4.
\(^{4}\) iv. 7. 2.
\(^{5}\) iv. 3. 4, 6; 5. 8.
\(^{6}\) de Rep. Lac. 13. 1, 7.
\(^{7}\) iii. 3. 1; v. 3. 19.
\(^{8}\) vi. 56.
\(^{9}\) iv. 6. 13; 7. 1; v. 1. 34.
\(^{10}\) Cp. ii. 4. 29; v. 1. 32.
\(^{11}\) ii. 4. 36; de Rep. Lac. 13. 5.
\(^{12}\) iii. 4. 20; iv. 1. 5. 30, 34.
\(^{13}\) Her. v. 75.
\(^{14}\) ii. 2. 7, 8. Agis being already at Decelea, Pausanias led the Peloponnesian forces against Athens in 405.

**XEN. HELL.**
adhered to the law made at the time μὴ ἔξεινα ἔπεσθαι ἄμφοτέρους
toὺς βασιλέας ἔξοιτος τῆς στρατίας; indeed it had become customary,
exceptions being rare, for one of the kings always to be at home. As
commander-in-chief, the king summoned or not, as he chose,
his council of war, but he was not bound to follow the advice of his
councillors. He controlled all military operations, both strategical
and tactical. He had full powers over life and death. He could
make truces and enter into negotiations with the enemy, though
the ratification and indeed the conditions of any permanent peace
rested with the home authorities. In conquered states he could
appoint harmosts as he would, and make any changes he thought
fit for the proper administration of government. None the less the
king was held responsible for the good or ill success of all his
measures, and on his return home could be cited before a court
composed of the other king, the 28 gerontes and the 5 ephors.
Thus Pausanias, for his failure in Boeotia in 395, was brought to
trial by his enemies at Sparta and condemned to death, only
escaping by flight; and his friends pointed out to Cleombrotus
just before Leuctra the danger of prosecution that he ran, if he
again declined battle. Thus the kings still enjoyed and exercised
to the full their ancient right of commanding the Spartan armies in
the field. Only once was a king entrusted with the command of
the fleet as well, when in 395 the government, wishing to strengthen
his position in Asia, commissioned Agesilaus καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον
δύνα αὐτός βούλοντο, and he abused their trust by appointing his
incapable brother-in-law Pisander. The kings were, as Aristotle
says, στρατηγοὶ ἀδίδω, and their form of kingship was στρατηγία
diὰ βίου κατὰ γένος.

It is when we come to consider their political powers that we
see the real weakness of the Spartan kings, even of such a king as
Agesilaus himself. In earlier times the two kings had apparently,
if united in their action, exercised independent powers; but the
disasters to the dual kingship in the fifth century had rendered any

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1 v. 3. 10.  
2 iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7; vi. 4. 14; de Rep. Lac. 13. 1.  
3 iii. 4. 5.  
4 v. i. 32, 33.  
5 ii. 2. 12; iii. 4. 26.  
6 iii. 2. 29; v. 4. 15. 41.  
7 iii. 4. 7; iv. 2. 5; iv. 2. 3, 4; Ages. i. 37, 38.  
8 iii. 5. 25.  
9 vi. 4. 5.  
10 iii. 4. 27.  
11 Pol. ii. 9. 33; iii. 14. 6.  
12 Her. v. 75; vi. 50.
such action, even if still possible in theory\(^1\), quite impossible in practice. Perpetual dissension was considered\(^2\) the normal condition between the two kings, and even the philo-Laconian Xenophon notes\(^3\) almost with surprise that Agesilaus sincerely mourned the untimely death of his youthful colleague Agesipolis. Consequently we are not surprised to find that except in a few judicial functions of minor importance, like the marriage of heiresses, &c., which they certainly possessed in Herodotus’ time\(^4\) and probably still held, we hear of the kings in the fourth century exercising no powers of their own which were not shared by the gerontes or ephors. As members of the \(γερουσία\)—a body only thrice mentioned\(^5\) by Xenophon in the Hellenics—they of course took their share in its deliberations, and gave their votes\(^6\) in its judicial proceedings. Like other magistrates they also had the right\(^7\) of initiating business and speaking in the Apella. But practically, even when the two kings are not at loggerheads, they appear powerless to effect their objects unless they can secure the support of the ephors or the majority of them, or the support of their own personal followers. Thus Pausanias\(^8\), wishing to checkmate Lysander’s policy at Athens, 404–403, first wins over three of the ephors to his side, and finally receives commands from the ephors and Assembly to reconcile the democrats and oligarchs at Athens as best he could. Similarly Agesilaus was unable\(^9\) to coerce the Phliasians into submission until his friends at home at his instigation had carried ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέπει Ἀγησιάδῳ διαγνώσαι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοῖ. In fact the author of the Encomium cites\(^10\) as one of his virtues Agesilaus’ submissive attitude towards the ephors; and in the same way Plutarch\(^11\) states that Agesilaus got his way only by courting and flattering the ephors. Once, it is true—at any rate according to the latter authority\(^12\)—the Lacedae-monians after Leuctra chose Agesilaus \(νομοθέτης\) with full powers, but he used them only to suspend the harsh law against survivors

\(^1\) Cp. Plut. Agis, 12.
\(^2\) Ar. Pol. ii. 9. 30 σωτηρίαν ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ στασιάζειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς.
\(^3\) v. 3. 20.  
\(^4\) vi. 57.  
\(^5\) iii. 3. 5, 8; vii. i. 32.
\(^6\) v. 4. 26.  
\(^7\) iii. 4. 2.  
\(^8\) ii. 4. 29–38.
\(^9\) v. 3. 23.
\(^10\) Ages. i. 36.  
\(^11\) Plut. Ages. 4, 5.  
\(^12\) Ibid. 30.
from a battle field; and again\(^1\) at the time of the first Theban invasion we find Agesilaus not only taking all the military measures for defence, but quelling conspiracies by putting even Spartiates to death without trial—οὐδενὸς δίχα δίκης τεθανατομένου πρῶτερον Σπαρτιατῶν. Once too a king—it was Agesilaus—goes\(^2\) as ambassador. Nothing, however, more clearly shows the utter degradation of the kingship than the fact that in his extreme old age Agesilaus not only consented, but volunteered to serve as a mercenary leader in Egypt. Nor do we find throughout the whole period any attempt to reform the kingly office or revive its old powers, except we credit the very dubious story in Plutarch\(^3\) of Lysander’s scheme, discovered in his papers after death, to throw open the kingship to all Heraclidae, or, according to another version, to all Spartiatae. Kingship in any ordinary sense of the word had at Sparta become impossible, and nothing demonstrates this so clearly as the career of Xenophon’s hero, Agesilaus himself.

The Ephors.

Many passages in the Hellenics illustrate the great powers of the ephors in this period, but no particular steps can be traced in their development. Writing about 360, Plato\(^4\) remarks τῷ γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων θαυμαστῶν ὡς τυραννικῶν ἐν αἰτῇ γέγονε, and some twenty years later Aristotle\(^5\) similarly describes their power as λίν μεγάλην καὶ ἱσοτύραννον. On what then was this power based and wherein did it consist? Any Spartiate\(^6\) was eligible for the office, and the five\(^7\) ephors were elected by the whole body of the people: decisions of the majority\(^8\) were binding on the rest. The only independent authority however attributed to them is jurisdiction\(^9\) in civil suits—probably their original function; their supremacy rested on their position as the executive magistrates both of the Senate and of the Assembly, whose decrees it was their business to carry into action. Often then, we must suppose, Xenophon and our other authorities attribute to the ephors alone actions which were really due to the voting of the deliberative bodies. They

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\(^1\) Plut. Ages. 31-33.
\(^2\) vi. 5. 4.
\(^3\) Plut. Lys. 24.
\(^4\) Laws, iv. 712.
\(^5\) Pol. ii. 9. 20.
\(^6\) Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 19; 10. 10.
\(^7\) Ages. i. 36.
\(^8\) ii. 3. 34; 4. 29.
\(^9\) Arist. Pol. ii. 9. 23; iii. i. 10.
had the right of summoning the Senate\(^1\); they presided\(^2\) over its meetings; they initiated\(^3\) business within it; they took part, either as accusers\(^4\) or as judges\(^5\) or as both, when it sat as the supreme criminal court. Similarly they summoned\(^6\) the Assembly, presided\(^7\) over its meetings, introduced measures (which would mostly be those that had already received the approval of the Senate), and carried out its decrees. We need not be surprised therefore to find that Xenophon ascribes the same powers indifferently to the ephors, to the ephors and Assembly, to τὰ οἶκοι τέλη\(^8\) or οἱ ἐν τέλει or οἱ οἶκοι ἀρχοντες, and to the κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων; nor to find that while Isocrates\(^9\) speaks of the γέροντες as ἐπιστατοῦντες ἀπασι τῶι πράγμασι, Xenophon speaks rather of the ephors and barely mentions\(^10\) the γέροντες in the Hellenics. For the γέροντες—no man being eligible for election before he was sixty—were too old, Aristotle\(^11\) tells us, to pursue any vigorous policy; so that, when the kings were reduced to political nonentities, there was no initiative force left in the state save the ephors. In all departments of administration, but more especially in the management of foreign affairs, the ephors appear in Xenophon’s pages as practically supreme. Thus, though Agesilaus\(^12\) receives the first warning of Cinadon’s conspiracy, the traitor gives his information to the ephors, and it is the ephors who with the advice of\(^13\) a few

\(^1\) iii. 3. 8. \(^2\) Cp. Her. vi. 57. \(^3\) Plut. Agis, 5, 8. \(^4\) v. 4. 24. \(^5\) Paus. iii. 5. 2. \(^6\) ii. 2. 20. \(^7\) Thuc. i. 87; cp. Hell. v. 2. 11. 

\(^8\) Τὰ οἶκοι τέλη and the similar phrases seem to be used by Xenophon in no very definite sense, but merely to denote in general terms the highest home authority at Sparta dealing with the matter in hand. Thus in Anab. ii. 6. 4, τὰ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τέλη are distinguished both from the πόλις and the ephors, and mean the senators and the ephors sitting as the criminal court (cp. Paus. iii. 5. 2); in Hell. iii. 2. 23, τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων is used as the equivalent of οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία two lines above (so too vi. 4. 2, 3). Other passages, where these or similar phrases occur, but where the precise authorities meant cannot be determined, are iii. 2. 6; 4. 27; 5. 23; v. 3. 23; vi. 5. 28.

\(^9\) xii. 154; cp. Polyb. vi. 45 οἱ δὲ προσαγορευόμενοι γέροντες διὰ βίου, δι’ ἄνω καὶ μεθ’ ἄνω πάντα χειρίζεται τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν.

\(^10\) iii. 3. 5, 8; vii. 1. 32. \(^11\) Pol. ii. 9. 25. \(^12\) iii. 3. 4 ff.

\(^13\) In iii. 3. 8 the ephors are said not even to have summoned ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία, but to have consulted only a few of the senators. In the absence of all further evidence it is of course impossible to determine the nature of the μικρὰ ἐκκλησία, but the context and the general use
of the senators take the necessary measures for the suppression of the conspiracy and for the execution of Cinadon and his accomplices. Similarly after Leuctra the ephors\(^1\) on hearing the news at once arranged for the continuance of the games, the suppression of all outward signs of lamentation, and the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Thebans.

Again, in negotiations with foreigners or allies, the ephors play the most prominent part, though any ultimate decision rests with the Assembly. Thus in 404 the ephors refused\(^2\) permission to the Athenian envoys to cross the Lacedaemonian frontier, and again some months afterwards allowed\(^3\) Theramenes and his colleagues to enter Lacedaemon and introduced them to the Spartan Assembly. In 403 \(\text{oí ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησίαν} \) listened\(^4\) to the representatives of both the Athenian rival factions. In 401 the ephors carried\(^5\) on negotiations with Cyrus’ envoys. Similarly in 384 the ephors\(^6\) listened to the appeals of the Phliasian exiles and procured their restoration to their native city; and in 382 they first heard\(^7\) the message of the Acanthian and Apolloniate envoys before they introduced them to the Assembly.

The Assembly alone had the ultimate power\(^8\) of declaring war and appointing generals; but the ephors took all the necessary measures to carry the decree into effect, the technical phrase\(^9\) for which was \(φρουρὰν φιώνειν\). Thus they proclaimed\(^10\) what troops were to serve in the projected expedition; they gave the commanders general instructions\(^11\) on their departure, kept\(^12\) as close a watch as possible on their movements, held repeated communications\(^13\) with them, suspended\(^14\) them, if they saw fit, summoned

of the term \(ἐκκλησία\) seem to point to its being composed rather of such of the \(ἐμοὶ\) as were actually present in Sparta, or to some particular section of them, and not of special officials like the kings, senators and ephors. For various views cp. Dict. Antiq. i. p. 703.

\(^1\) vi. 4. 16. \(^2\) ii. 2. 13. \(^3\) ii. 2. 19. \(^4\) ii. 4. 38.
\(^5\) iii. i. 1. \(^6\) v. 2. 9. \(^7\) v. 2. 11.
\(^8\) iv. 2. 9; 6. 3; v. 2. 32; 3. 23; vi. 4. 3; cp. 5. 10; cp. v. i. 33.
\(^9\) iii. 2. 23, 25; 5. 6; iv. 2. 9; v. 3. 13; 4. 47; vi. 4. 17; 5. 10, &c.;
\(^10\) cp. v. 4. 14.
\(^11\) Cp. de Rep. Lac. ii. 2 oí ἐφοροὶ προκηρύσσουσι τὰ ἔτη ἐς ἀ δεὶ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἰππεύσαι καὶ ὀπλίταις; cp. vi. 4. 17.
\(^12\) iii. i. 1; 5. 6. \(^13\) iii. 7; 2. 6, 12.
\(^14\) iii. i. 7; 2. 11; iv. 2. 2, 3; v. 4. 24; iv. 8. 23, 32; cp. de Rep. Lac. 8. 4.
§ 4. SPAR T A

them home to account for their conduct, and reversed their arrangements. If one of the kings was in command, two ephors accompanied him—not indeed in far distant expeditions like those of Agesilaus in Asia Minor—without however any power of direct interference. To the ephors again the commanders, whether kings or ordinary Spartiates, referred the enemy as the ultimate arbiters of peace or war—not, as we have seen already, that they really possessed this power, but only that they practically exercised it through their control over the Assembly.

Whatever therefore may have been their original powers, Xenophon clearly shows that in the half century covered by his Hellenics the ephors exercised undisputed authority in all departments of government outside military commands. No Spartan—not even a king—ventured to question their power. In fact, the panegyrist of Agesilaus can find no higher praise to say of his hero, when he was summoned home from Asia, than that ἔπειθέτο τῇ πόλει οὖν διαφερόντως ἡ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἐτυχεὶ ἑστηκός μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε.

Admiralty.

The origin of the admiralty at Sparta, like that of other Lacedaemonian institutions, is shrouded in some obscurity. Herodotus (iii. 56) speaks of a Spartan naval expedition undertaken against Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, about 525 B.C., but does not mention who was the commander. He does, however, apply the title of ναύαρχος to Eurybiades at the battle of Salamis (viii. 42), but he calls king Leotychides, who commanded the Greek fleet at Mycale in 479 B.C., στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος (viii. 131), showing that at that date the office was not permanently separated from the kingship. From this time, with the doubtful exceptions of Pausanias the regent and Dorcis (Thuc. i. 95), we hear nothing of the admiralty till the time of the Peloponnesian War, after the outbreak of which till its close a tolerably complete list of admirals can be made out all the time that the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea. The list begins with Cnemus 430–429 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 66, 80, 93). Alcidas succeeded after a year’s interval, 428–427 (Thuc. iii. 16, 26): then after another interval, Thrasymelidas was admiral in 425 (Thuc.

1 iii. 4. 2.  
2 ii. 4. 36.  
3 iii. 4. 8, 20; iv. 2. 3.  
4 de Rep. Lac. 13. 5.  
5 ii. 2. 7, 17.  
6 1. 36.
iv. 11); but this year the Spartans lost their entire fleet at Pylos, and built no more ships until after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse. In 413–412 Melancridas (Thuc. viii. 6) was admiral of the newly built fleet: he was followed in the two next years by Astyochus (Thuc. viii. 20) and Mindarus (Thuc. viii. 85), who perished at the battle of Cyzicus in the spring of 410 B.C. It is doubtful whether Pasippidas, who was commissioned to collect together what ships he could (i. 1. 32), was actually admiral or not, and it is doubtful again, when the titular admiral Cratesippidas took command over the ships that he had thus collected, whether he did so in 410 (Xenophon indeed apparently narrates the fact as occurring in 410) or at the end of Pasippidas' year, i.e. 409. At any rate Cratesippidas was not succeeded by Lysander till the summer of 407 (i. 5. 1). At the end of his year of office Lysander was followed by Callicratidas, who was drowned at the battle of Arginusae in 406 B.C. After an interval of some months the fleet was handed over to Lysander as ἐπιτολευτης, or second in command, the nominal admiral being Aracus. Then there is a gap of one year in our information, during which Lysander was again actual commander of the fleet, whoever may have been the titular admiral, and for the following year (404–403) Libys, the brother of Lysander, was appointed to be admiral.

At the time of the expedition of the Ten Thousand the succession seems to have become somewhat irregular. According to the Hellenica1 the admiral Samius gave active support to Cyrus in 401. But in the Anabasis2 Pythagoras appears about July in his place, if indeed he is not to be regarded as his successor. Then in March 400 we hear of Anaxibius as admiral, and in November of the same year3 he was succeeded by Polus. When the Spartans declared war against Persia in 397, Pharax4 was admiral. In 395 king Agesilaus, being in Asia, was entrusted by the home government with the nomination of the admiral and appointed5 his incapable brother-in-law Pisander. During the Corinthian war, when the Spartans once more persevered in naval operations with greater constancy, the list again becomes more complete. The

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1 iii. 1. 1; cp. note.  
2 i. 4. 2.  
3 Anab. vii. 2. 5.  
4 iii. 2. 12.  
5 iii. 4. 27–29.
office was held by Podanemus\(^1\) in 393, by Teleutias\(^2\) in 392, by Ecdicus\(^3\) in 391, by Teleutias\(^4\) again in 390, though probably as \(\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\)\(\epsilon\iota\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\), by Hierax\(^5\) in 389, and by Antalcidas\(^6\) in 388. Finally, after the formation of the second Athenian League the Spartans once more found themselves obliged to maintain a fleet at sea. Accordingly we hear of Pollis\(^7\) as admiral in 377, of Nicochus\(^8\) as admiral in 376, and of Mnasippus as admiral in 374–373 with Hypermenes\(^9\) as his secretary. Mnasippus is the last admiral known to history.

As to the powers of the office Aristotle (Pol. ii. 9. 33) calls it \(\sigma\chi\delta\omicron\nu\ \iota\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\omicron\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\) —a criticism which seems, however, to be true only of Lysander, and possibly of Teleutias, the brother of king Agesilaus (392–391 B.C.); and which seems tacitly to refer to Aristotle’s previous definition of the kingship as merely a \(\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\iota\alpha\ \delta\omicron\acute{u}\ \beta\iota\omicron\u). In this respect the admiral was indeed another king, having a power independent of and parallel with that of the two ordinary kings. But in another respect his position was far inferior and more precarious: for the office was, as a general rule (the case of Cratesippidas, who was sent to command whatever ships he could find, being apparently an exception), an annual one—at least so it would appear from the list of admirals that can be made out with tolerable certainty so long as the Spartans maintained a fleet at sea—and moreover the same individual could not legally hold it twice (ii. i. 7). In the case of Lysander (perhaps too of Teleutias), indeed, the ephors discovered an easy evasion of the law, by appointing him for two years \(\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\), or second in command, to a merely nominal admiral: and it was while holding this subordinate position that Lysander attained to his greatest power, and acted like a sovereign prince in the Aegean. Thus at the siege of Athens (405–404) he appears as commander of the fleet quite on an equality with the kings Agis and Pausanius in command of the army, and further to have the advantage over them in that his action was not hampered by the presence of a colleague. Again, when any admiral had proved himself inefficient or untrustworthy, the Spartan government preferred, as they did

\(^1\) iv. 8. II. \(^2\) iv. 4. 19; 8. II. \(^3\) iv. 8. 20. \(^4\) iv. 8. 23; cp. Introd. p. li. \(^5\) v. I. 3. \(^6\) v. I. 6. \(^7\) v. 4. 61. \(^8\) vi. 2. 4. \(^9\) vi. 2. 25.
with the kings, rather to send out \( \sigma \nu \beta \omega \nu \lambda \omicron \iota \) to advise him than simply to deprive him of his office (cp. Thuc. vi. 85; viii. 39), unless this was absolutely necessary. Ecdicus\(^1\) the admiral for 391 does indeed seem to have been superseded, though even this instance is doubtful.

The office of the \( \epsilon \pi \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \omicron \lambda \omicron \epsilon \upsilon \) or second in command has already been referred to in the case of Lysander. But in ordinary cases the secretary was appointed, as Pollux (i. 96) declares, to be simply \( \delta \ \epsilon \pi \iota \ \tau \omicron \ \sigma \tau \omicron \lambda \omicron \ \delta \iota \alpha \delta \omicron \chi \omega \varsigma \ \tau \omicron \ \nu \alpha \nu \alpha \chi \omicron \upsilon \). Thus after the death of Mindarus his secretary Hippocrates took the command of the fleet (i. 1. 23): the admiral Callicratidas left his secretary Eteonicus at the head of the squadron blockading Conon at Mytilene, while he himself sailed to meet the Athenians at Arginusae, and after his death his place was filled by Eteonicus until the arrival of a definitely appointed successor: and the secretary Hypermenes took Mnasippus’ place on the death of that admiral at Corcyra.

As to the method of election to the admiraltyship nothing at all is known, though it is plain that the post must have been regarded as of great significance in the struggle of political parties at Sparta. Thus the choice of Lysander three times to command the fleet, once as admiral and twice as secretary, followed by the choice of his brother Libys, and later of his friend Anaxibius, points to the supremacy of his party in the home government, and similarly the appointment of his opponent Callicratidas in 406 must have meant a temporary check to his policy, though but few details can be made out from the confused and unchronological account of Plutarch. Neither does it seem possible to arrive with any certainty at the time of year at which the admiral entered upon office. \( A \ \text{priori} \) we should expect the beginning of the summer\(^2\) season, and several instances can be adduced which suit best with this assumption. On the other hand instances to the contrary are also to be found. Probably therefore the Spartan government was in each case led\(^3\) by the circumstances of the moment.

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1 Cp. Introd. p. liv.
3 iii. 4. 27; Thuc. viii. 20.
Army.

In Xenophon’s time all the Spartiates of the ages from twenty to sixty years (after which no citizen was bound to serve abroad) were divided into six morae. As however there were not more than 1,500 full Spartiates all told, and we hear of 576, 600, and perhaps (?) 1,000 men in each mora at different times—the number varying no doubt with the different ages called out to serve—ιπομείονες and perioeci must have been included as well, though in what proportions it is impossible to discover: the term πολιτικόν or πολεμικά moreover is frequently applied to the whole Lacedaemonian force as distinct from the σώματα. Each mora was divided into two lochi, each lochus into four pentecostyes, and each pentecostys into two enomotiae. These tactical units were commanded respectively by polemarchs, lochagi, penteconteres and enomotarchs. The cavalry were similarly divided into six morae, each commanded by a hipparmostes: they never numbered more than 600; their horses were maintained by the wealthiest men in the state, but their riders were those citizens who were physically most unfit to serve as hoplites—οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἄδυνατοτοι καὶ ἕκιστα φιλότιμοι—and consequently they formed the most inefficient branch of the Spartan service.

The 300 so-called ἵππεις, who were really hoplites, formed the body-guard of the king. By the δορυφόροι of Agesilaus in iv. 5. 8 Xenophon probably means this body of men, and he incidentally mentions one of their three officers as ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἵππαρτων in his story of Cinadon’s conspiracy.

The perioeci always served as hoplites, even before they were enrolled in the Spartan morae.

1 v. 4. 13. 2 vi. 4. 12; de Rep. Lac. ii. 4.
3 vi. 4. 12; iv. 5. 12; 2. 16.
4 iv. 4. 19; v. 3. 25; vi. 4. 26; viii. i. 28; 4. 20.
5 vii. 4. 20; 5. 10. The τέταρτες of de Rep. Lac. ii. 4 is probably a confusion of δῶι with the numeral δ.
6 It is noticeable that in the first six books of the Hellenics no lochi are mentioned (though lochagi are, iii. 1. 28; 2. 16), and that in iv. 3. 15 the term ἕμιαν μόρας is used instead of λόχος. Similarly no pentecostyes are mentioned at all, though penteconteres appear twice, iii. 5. 22; iv. 5. 7.
7 vi. 4. 12.
8 iv. 3. 21. 23 and passim. 9 Thuc. v. 66. 10 de Rep. Lac. ii. 4.
9 vi. 4. 10; 5. 12. 11 iv. 2. 16. 12 iv. 4. 10, 11.
13 de Rep. Lac. 4. 1-4; Strabo, 481; Thuc. v. 72. 15 iii. 3. 9.
The helots originally served only as shield-bearers\(^1\), one being attached to each hoplite, or as light-armed troops. But during and after the Peloponnesian War a considerable number of them were given their freedom, when they were called \(νεοδαμόδελις\)^{2}, and afterwards served as hoplites—more especially on distant expeditions. Thus there were 1,000 neodamodes in Thibron's\(^3\) army and 2,000 in Agesilaus' army in Asia. They were generally regarded\(^4\) as inferior troops and were often under the command of an \(ἀνηρ ἱδιώτης\), called \(ἀρμοστής\).

The Sciritae, drawn from the district in the north of Laconia, formed a picked body of troops. In 418 they numbered\(^5\) 600. In battle array they were always posted on the left\(^6\) wing; on the march they formed\(^7\) the vanguard, and they seem to have been selected\(^8\) for specially perilous undertakings.

Xenophon gives us very few materials for estimating the total available strength of the Lacedaemonian forces: in fact only once\(^9\)—before the battle of the Nemea—does he condescend to detailed numbers, when he tells us that there were 6,000 Lacedaemonian hoplites and 600 Lacedaemonian cavalry, supported by 7,500 hoplites of the allies, 300 Cretan archers, and 400 slingers, at a time when Agesilaus, we must remember, had taken with him to Asia 2,000 neodamodes. Again, as there were four morae at Leuctra\(^10\), and each mora contained sixteen enomotiae, and each enomotia thirty-six men, we may perhaps infer that some 2,300 Lacedaemonians fought in the battle. Plutarch\(^11\) estimates the numbers of the Peloponnesian army at 11,000 on this occasion, but no reliance can be placed upon his figures; this, of course, would make the number of allies as three to one.

When the king was in command, he was accompanied by a select body of \(σύσκηνοι\)^{12}, comprising the polemarchs, three of the peers (\(δῆμοι\)) or full Spartan citizens who were in charge of the commissariat, and two Pythii; and surrounded by a numerous staff, known as \(οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν (sc. σκηνῆς)\), which included\(^13\) not

\(^1\) \(υπασπισταὶ\), iv. 5. 14; 8. 39.  
\(^2\) i. 3. 15.  
\(^3\) iii. 1. 4; 4. 2; cp. v. 2. 24.  
\(^4\) iii. 1. 4; iv. 2. 5; v. 2. 24; vi. 1. 14.  
\(^5\) Thuc. v. 68.  
\(^6\) Thuc. v. 67.  
\(^7\) de Rep. Lac. 13. 8.  
\(^8\) v. 4. 52; Cyrop. iv. 2. 1.  
\(^9\) iv. 2. 16.  
\(^10\) vi. 4. 12, 15, 17.  
\(^11\) Pel. 30.  
\(^12\) de Rep. Lac. 13. 7; cp. Hell. v. 3. 9.  
\(^13\) de Rep. Lac. 13. 7; cp. Hell. v. 3. 9.
only the σύσκηποι, but seers, surgeons, flute-players, and volunteers (whoever they may have been). We hear too, besides the two ephors, of Hellenodiceae or judges of disputes, of tamiae or quarter-masters, and of laphyropolae or purchasers of booty, as in attendance upon the king; but we are nowhere told whether they were included under οἱ περὶ δαμοσίαν. The polemarchs were attended by officers known as συμφορεῖς, or perhaps παραστάται, whose functions however are unknown.

The Lacedaemonians put their own officers in command of their allied contingents; these officers were known as ἕναγοι; and when an expedition was voted by the Peloponnesian League, it was their duty to proceed to the allied states, muster the contingents and bring them to the Spartan general. In Thucydides' time the allies were apparently bound to furnish two-thirds of their available forces, and any ally in whose territory the war happened to be, the whole; and the same arrangement probably continued in Xenophon's time. At any rate the contingents were in some way proportional, as we see by the arrangements made for sending τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα against Olynthus.

The baggage train of an army on the move and the construction of the camp were entrusted to artisans and engineers drawn from the perioeci or helots.

Mercenaries were frequently employed and were generally equipped as peltasts or light-armed troops.

Peloponnesian League and Empire.

After the victory of Aegospotami and the surrender of Athens and Samos the Spartans were not only, as of old, leaders of the Peloponnesian Confederacy, but were in undisputed possession of all the old Athenian allied states on the Hellespont, in Thrace, and in the Aegean, and were de facto masters of not a few of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, like Chalcedon, Lampsacus, Abydos, and Miletus, which de jure they had by treaty surrendered to the Persian king.

1 de Rep. Lac. 13. 11; Hell. iv. 1. 26. 2 vi. 4. 14; cp. iv. 3. 23.
3 iii. 5. 7; iv. 5. 7, &c. 4 v. 2. 20, 37.
5 iii. 4. 2; de Rep. Lac. ii. 2; 13. 4.
6 ii. 4. 30; iv. 3. 15; v. 4. 14, 36, 39; vii. 5. 10.
7 Cp. Anab. vi. 6. 9 ἔρχον ἐκ τῶν (400 B.C.) πάντων τῶν Ἕλληνων οἱ Λακεδαμόνιοι.
8 ii. 2. 1; 1. 18; cp. iv. 8. 5. 9 Thuc. viii. 58. 10 Plut. Lys. 19.
in 412 B.C. In most of these states Lysander had set up\(^1\) narrow oligarchies, known as decarchies, backed up, where necessary, by a Spartan governor or harmost and a Spartan garrison strong enough to overawe all opposition; and following still more closely on Athenian lines, he had even imposed a tribute\(^2\) upon the subject states, amounting, according to Diodorus, to a thousand talents. So early however as 402 the misrule of these decarchies had excited so much odium that on the temporary disgrace of Lysander they were, we are told, put down\(^3\) by the ephors. The suppression seems to have been by no means complete; for in 395 B.C. they are spoken\(^4\) of as still existing as they were appointed by Lysander. About the same time the Ionian cities revolted\(^5\) from Tissaphernes to Cyrus; and when after Cyrus' death the satrap required them to return to their allegiance, they appealed to Sparta for aid. The Spartans listened to the appeal, and sent out Thibron at the head of a small expedition in 399; he was succeeded by Dercylidas (399–396), and Dercylidas in his turn by King Agesilaus (396–394). So long therefore as the Spartan forces remained in Asia, the Greek cities continued independent. Agesilaus had found them torn by internal dissensions, but by his good offices had contrived ὡστ' ἀνευ φυγής καὶ θανάτου ἐως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὄμοιόως πολιτευομέναις καὶ εὐθαλάμως τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι. Only a few months however after the recall of the Spartan king (in 394) the crushing defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet at Cnidus put an end for ever to the Spartan empire beyond the seas. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου, says Diodorus\(^6\), τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄρχην ἀπέβαλον. Only Abydos and Lampsacus on the Hellespont were saved by the energy of the harmost Dercylidas; all the other states in the course of this and the following year submitted to the victorious fleet of Conon and Pharnabazus.

Meanwhile signs of dissolution had appeared in the Peloponnesian Confederacy itself. Even in 403 the Thebans and Corinthians had refused\(^7\) to join the Spartan expedition against Thrasybulus and the Athenian exiles in Piraeus, and again in the

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1 iii. 2. 20; 4. 2; Diod. xiv. 10.
2 Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 39. 2; cp. Diod. l. c.
3 iii. 4. 2, 7; Plut. Lys. 20.
4 iii. 5. 13.
5 i. 3; Anab. i. 8.
6 xiv. 84.
7 ii. 4. 30; iii. 2. 25.
§ 4. SPARTA.

Elean War. The Arcadians and Achaeans had shown their discontent at the arrogance and rapacity of the leading state. The Phliasians were lukewarm. The Eleans, who had stood aloof ever since the Argive Confederacy of 421 B.C., had only been coerced into renewed alliance with Sparta after a protracted war (399–397). In the Corinthian War (394–387) Sparta saw ranged against her not only her old enemies, Argos and Athens (the latter of whom up to this time had in her humiliation obediently sent contingents to the Spartan expeditions under Thibron and Agis in 399, but had now taken courage once again to assert her independence), but also her old allies the Corinthians and Boeotians together with the Euboeans, Locrians, Melians and Acarnanians.

After the Peace of Antalcidas (387–386) Sparta took advantage of the powerful position given her by the support of the Persian king, further to secure and extend her hegemony over her Peloponnesian Confederates; she set up oligarchies in Corinth, Mantinea and Phlius; and Xenophon implies that a similar course was pursued in other states. In 382 she seized the Theban Cadmea, occupied it with a Spartan harmost and garrison, and forced a δυναστεία of oligarchs upon the citizens, and two years later was equally successful at Olynthus. Consequently by 379 the Spartan empire by land—for such instead of a hegemony it had now once more become—had grown more extensive and absolute than ever before; it embraced the whole of inland Greece from Olynthus to Laconia, except Athens, Argos, and perhaps the more powerful Thessalian cities, and everywhere it was enforced by harmosts, garrisons, and narrow oligarchies. But the loss of Thebes in the following winter, the renewed hostility of Athens, and the restiveness of their allies, taught the Spartans—at least according to Diodorus—that they had gone too far. They therefore reorganized (in 377) their confederacy into ten divisions, for military purposes, on a footing more favourable to its members. The Lacedaemonians themselves constituted the first division, the Arcadians the second and third, the Eleans the fourth, the

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1 iii. 5. 12. 2 iv. 2. 16. 3 iii. 2. 31. 4 iv. 2. 17. 5 iii. 1. 4; 2. 25. 6 v. 1. 34; 2. 7, 8. 7 v. 1. 36; 4. 46, 49; cp. Diod. xv. 19. 8 v. 2. 9 v. 3. 26. 10 xv. 31.
Achaeans\(^1\) the fifth, the Corinthians and Megarians the sixth, the Sicyonians, the Phliasians and the inhabitants of the Acte the seventh, the Acarnanians\(^2\) the eighth, the Phocians and Locrians the ninth, and the Olynthians\(^3\) and Thracian allies the tenth. At the same time it was agreed (though according to Xenophon\(^4\) this arrangement was made some five or six years earlier) that one hoplite should be counted as equivalent to two light-armed soldiers, and one horseman as equivalent to four hoplites. The beneficial effect, if any\(^5\), was however but of short duration. In a meeting at Sparta in the summer of 376 \(\text{λόγος}^6\) ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. Still, however, the war dragged on; the peace of 374 was only of a few weeks’ duration; and in 371, just before Leuctra, the grievances of the allies are summarized in the speech\(^7\) of the Athenian orator Autocles at Sparta to the Lacedaemonians and their allies:—‘Your first and last stipulation with the allied states is that they should follow you whithersoever you choose to lead; and yet what has this principle of follow-my-leader to do with independent action? Again, you pick quarrels without consulting your allies, and lead them against those whom you account enemies; so that in many cases, with all their vaunted independence, they are forced to march against their greatest friends; and, what is still more opposed to independence than all else, you are for ever setting up here your decarchies and your thirty commissioners, and your chief aim in appointing these officers and governors seems to be, not that they should fulfil their office and govern legally, but that they should be able to keep the cities under their heels by sheer force.’

The peace\(^8\) agreed to as a result of this conference, whereby the Spartans bound themselves τοὺς τε ἄρμοστας ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἔξαγεν . . . τὰς τε πόλεις ἀυτοῦ ὑπὸ ἄν, was only of a few days’ duration. Naturally enough therefore disaffection\(^9\) showed itself on the resumption of the war in the ranks of the allies at Leuctra, though even after the battle the oligarchical governments\(^10\) of Tegea,

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2. Cp. iv. 7. 1.  
3. Cp. v. 4. 54.  
4. v. 2. 21.  
6. v. 4. 60.  
7. vi. 3. 7 ff., Dakyns’ translation.  
8. vi. 3. 18.  
9. vi. 4. 5; Paus. ix. 13. 4; Plut. Ages. 28.  
10. vi. 4. 18.
§ 5. ATHENS AND PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS

Mantinea, Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Achaea, and other states still eagerly supported Sparta and sent contingents to her assistance. Next year, however, the democrats in most of these states took heart and rose against their oligarchical oppressors, in many cases with success. Accordingly in 369 we find that Sparta to resist the first Theban invasion only got contingents from seven\(^1\) allies—the Corinthians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Haliens, Sicyonians, and Pellenians. The Peloponnesian Confederacy was really at an end: the Arcadians had formed themselves into a league and built Megalopolis; Messenia now revolted; and in 366\(^2\) the Lacedaemonians allowed the Corinthians, Phliasians, and any other allies who wished it, to conclude with Thebes a separate peace for themselves. In 362 the allies who fought on the Spartan side at Mantinea—the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians—were in no sense members of the Old Peloponnesian Confederacy.

§ 5. ATHENS AND THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

*The Athenian attempt to recover empire during the Corinthian War*\(^3\).

The evidence of inscriptions more or less recently discovered has fully confirmed the old hypothesis of Böckh (Staatsbuch. i. 546), which was ignored by Grote, that in the interval between the Battle of Cnidus and the Peace of Antalcidas Athens made a deliberate attempt to regain her maritime empire, the culminating point of which was the expedition of Thrasybulus in 390 and 389. The aim of this appendix therefore is to\(^4\) piece together all the evidence for this hypothesis which can be collected both from authors and from inscriptions.

Xenophon\(^5\) represents the ambition to recover their empire as the leading motive which induced the Athenians to take the Theban side in the Corinthian War against Sparta: ἄν δὲ μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, says the Theban orator, βουλοῦσθι ἀν τὴν ἄρχῃν ὦν πρῶτον ἐκέκτησε ἀναλύειν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. Thrasybulus himself supported the Thebans, pointing out, however, the great

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\(^1\) vi. 5. 29; vii. 2. 2.  
\(^2\) vii. 4. 9.  
\(^3\) iv. 8. 31.  
\(^5\) iii. 5. 10–16.

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risk run by Athens ἀτείχόστον τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος. After his victory at Cnidus in 394 B.C. Conon formed alliances, which probably turned out to the advantage of Athens, with Cos, Nisyros, Teos, Chios, Mytilene, Ephesus, Erythrae, and the Cyclades. Then in 393 Conon first subjugated Cythera and left on the island a garrison under the command of the Athenian Nicophemus, and during his visit to Athens, which must have lasted some fifteen months (393–392), secured the necessary basis for any future naval supremacy of Athens by rebuilding the Long Walls and the fortifications of Piraeus. During this period Athens recovered possession of her ancient cleruchies, Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to detach Dionysius of Syracuse from Sparta and procure his alliance with Athens, at the same time that public honours were decreed to Evagoras the tyrant of Salamis in Cyprus, who had materially helped Conon at the battle of Cnidus. In the same year a treaty was made between Athens and Phaselis in Lycia. Consequently we are not surprised to hear that the reason why in 392 the Lacedaemonians first sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus to negotiate a peace with Persia, was ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τείχος τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοῖ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφου τὰς τε νῆσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ βάλλον τόλμεις Ἀθηναίοι εὔτρεπτίζοι; or that Tiribazus arrested Conon ὡς ἀδικοῦντα βασιλέα. Again in the winter of 392–1 the ambition of Athens ἁρρόησιν καὶ τὰς ἀποκιάς καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν seems to have led to the breakdown of Sparta’s renewed attempt to make peace, this time without the interference of Persia. In 391, notwithstanding the disappearance of Conon, the Athenians further excited the alarm of the Lacedaemonians by their support of the democrats in Rhodes, and even ventured to send a small squadron to the aid of Evagoras in his war against the Persians; and when the Lacedaemonians took more decided measures to check their further progress, they finally despatched Thrasybulus at the head of 40 vessels (the largest fleet they had mustered since the Pelopon-
§ 5. ATHENS AND PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS 355

nesian War) to reinforce their Rhodian allies. Thrasybulus had still wider schemes of his own. Instead of sailing straight to Rhodes he turned towards Thrace and the Hellespont—probably in the spring of 390. First he gained possession of Thasos through the party of Ephantus, who contrived to expel the Lacedaemonian garrison and admit the Athenians—a success which further resulted in an alliance with the Thracian princes Amedorus and Seuthes and ὁ περὶ Θρᾴκην τόπος. Then Archebius and Heraclides delivered Byzantium into his hands, the oligarchical constitution of which he replaced by a democracy, so that he became master of the Hellespont, and as Alcibiades had done after his victory at Cyzicus, imposed a toll of 10 per cent. on all vessels passing through the straits. The Spartan Dercylidas, however, though powerless to offer any opposition, still held Abydos. Then after making an alliance with Chalcedon Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos, and with Mytilene as the base of his operations forced Eresus and Antissa to join the Athenian alliance. At the same time Samothrace, Tenedos, and Clazomenae appear as Athenian allies. Finally reinforced by Chian and Mytilenian ships he made descents ἐπὶ ἀργυρολόγιαν upon Halicarnassus and other towns on the Asiatic coast, until he was surprised and slain at Aspendus.

Thus it was that Thrasybulus, continuing the work of Conon, succeeded in extending the Athenian empire to the limits which marked it in the interval between the battles of Cyzicus and Aegeusapotami. Inscriptions further prove that in some instances he once more imposed the φόρος in its later form of an ἐικοστή or 5 per cent. tax upon imports and exports. Thus the Clazomenians agreed to pay τὴν ἐπὶ Θρᾳσυβοῖλου ἐικοστήν, and the like was apparently done by the Thasians. Finally the same inscriptions mention apparently Athenian commandants and garrisons, and perhaps even Athenian interference with the judicial procedure of the allies. The Peace of Antalcidas (387–6) therefore was aimed, not so much against the Thebans, as against the Athenians, διαπεπραγµένος

1 Cp. Dem. xx. 60. 2 v. i. 7. 3 CIA. ii. 14 b. 4 Diod. xiv. 94. 5 Lysias xxviii. 17. 6 CIA. ii. 14; Swoboda, Mitth. d. deutsch. Inst. vii. 176. 7 Köhler, ibid. p. 314. 8 Ἀθηναίων, vii. 1878, p. 95: but the evidence for the date is not very strong. 9 Cp. v. i. 25.
§ 6. THEBES AND BOEOTIA.

When we first meet with Thebes and the Boeotian League in the pages of Xenophon, the state of things seems to have been much the same as that described by Thucydides. They are allies of Sparta, and we may assume that Thebes was still the ἱγεμόν of the Boeotian Confederacy of allied towns, all of which were under some form of oligarchical constitution after the model of the leading state. The discontent of the Thebans in particular and of the Boeotians in general with the policy of Sparta at the end of the Peloponnesian War, their sympathy shown towards the exiled Athenian democrats against the Thirty, their refusal to send the usual contingents to aid Sparta in her wars against Persia and Elis, and the interference of the Boeotarchs with Agesilaus' sacrifice at Aulis before his departure for Asia seem to betoken no change in the internal affairs of the confederacy. But the long duration of the Corinthian War (394–387), the outbreak of which was mainly due to Theban ambition, appears to have accentuated the oligarchical nature of the constitutions of the separate states, so that even Xenophon calls them δυνατεῖαι, and to have promoted the ἱγεμονία of Thebes. The Peace of Antalcidas, however (387–386), not only humiliated Thebes, but crushed the confederacy itself out of existence, giving, as it did, complete autonomy to all the contracting states—καὶ μικραὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

The Liberation of Thebes by the Theban democrats in 379 soon led to a renewal of the Boeotian Confederacy, but on somewhat different lines. The Olynthian Confederacy seems now rather to

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1 i. 3. 15.  
2 Cp. Thuc. iii. 61.  
3 Cp. Thuc. iv. 65; v. 31; Hell. v. 4. 46.  
4 v. 4. 46.  
5 v. 1. 31.
have furnished the model: for the aim of Thebes was no longer to be ἥγεμων of more or less autonomous states, but to persuade, or if necessary, to compel them νόμοις 1 τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσιμα καὶ συμπολιτεύειν—in other words to deprive them of separate political existence—though at the same time the Theban democrats retained the old formulae and officers of the Boeotian League. Thus the rebellious Plataea was destroyed, Thespiae subjugated, and Orchomenus, after maintaining its independence till after the battle of Leuctra, was (364–363) brutally razed to the ground. In fact as early as 374 B.C. Xenophon 2 makes the general statement οἱ Θηβαῖοι ... κατεστράφηντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις. This commanding position of Thebes within the new Boeotian state, which at the same time preserved the old forms of the league, accounts at once for Isocrates 3 (c. 372 B.C.) putting into the mouth of the Plataeans complaints against the Thebans, who τὰς μὲν ἰδίας ἡμῶν ἑκάστων πόλεις ἀφανίζουσι, τῆς δὲ σφετέρας αὐτῶν πολιτείας οὐδὲν ἰδειμένους κοινωνίαν ἀναγκάζουσιν, and for Epaminondas after signing the treaty of 371 B.C. claiming, in order to assert the power of Thebes, to substitute 4 'Boeotians' for 'Thebans' in the original document. Plutarch too in his version 5 of the story makes Epaminondas deliberately compare the relation 6 of Thebes to the other Boeotian states with that of Sparta to the other Lacedaemonian states.

This state of things seems to have continued 7 some time after the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), lasting on until the destruction of Thebes by Philip of Macedon in 338.

Of the details of the constitution of the Boeotian Confederacy but few are known. At the head stood an 8 ἀρχων ἐπώνυμος who gave his name to the year, but history is silent as to his functions. The chief executive power lay with the college of Boeotarchs, who in Thucydides 9 time were eleven in number, two being Thebans, but in the fourth century were only seven 10. Their mode of election is unknown;

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1 Cp. v. 2. 12, 18. 2 vi. 1. 1. 3 xiv. 8; cp. Dio Chrys. 45. 13 ὡσπερ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ποτὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας συνάψε. 4 vi. 3. 19 and note. 5 Ages. 28; cp. Paus. ix. 13. 2. 6 Cp. v. 4. 46 τὰς περιοικίας πόλεις. 7 Cp. Freeman, Federal Government, p. 124. 8 CIG. Sept. i. 2407, 2418. 9 iv. 91: cp. Classen's note ad loc. 10 CIG. Sept. i. 2407, 2408; Diod. xv. 52; Paus. ix. 13. 6.
but as representatives of the several Boeotian states, either jointly or severally, they commanded the confederate forces, conducted negotiations with foreign states, and exercised other executive powers, e.g. preventing¹ King Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis. Thucydides² speaks of four βουλαί τῶν Βοιωτῶν, αὔτερ ἀπαν τό κύρος ἔχουσι (i.e. in 421 B.C.), but nothing more is heard of them. Very probably the βουλή³ before which the murderers of Euphoron were tried in 366 B.C. was some sort of federal council, not confined to Thebans only. Xenophon, however, does not enlighten us on the point, and no other authority refers to such a βουλή at all. Certainly in the time of the Theban supremacy the ultimate power rested with what Diodorus⁴ calls the κοινὴ σύνοδος τῶν Βοιωτῶν, and there is good reason for believing that though within it the Thebans undoubtedly exercised a preponderating voice, yet it was legally open to the citizens of all Boeotian towns.

Of the constitutions of the individual cities of the league still less is known. Before the Liberation of Thebes they were undoubtedly oligarchical. Afterwards, when they were subjugated by Thebes, they ceased to have any independent existence, being much in the same relation to Thebes as the Attic δήμοι to Athens. Each city had an ἀρχων⁵ ἐπόνυμος, chosen by lot; but the chief executive power rested with the polemarchs⁶, generally three in number, though at Thebes in 379 there may have been only two⁷, assisted by a γραμματεῖς. At Thebes we hear⁸ of a βουλή in 379 and of a ἁλία⁹ or ἐκκλησία still earlier, and we may probably infer parallel institutions for the other states during the same period. Of other officials¹⁰ mentioned in inscriptions and elsewhere, like ἵππαρχοι, ἱλαρχια, κατόπται, ταμίαι, &c., little or nothing is known beyond their names.

¹ iii. 4. 4. ² v. 38. ³ vii. 3. 5-12. ⁴ xv. 80; cp. 72 τὸ πλῆθος; 78 ἐκκλησία; 79 ὁ δήμος; Plut. Dem. 18. ⁵ If with Köhler (Hermes, xxiv. 638) we date the inscriptions CIG Sept. i. 2407, 2408, about the year 364, we then have certain evidence of an Assembly composed of all Boeotian citizens. ⁶ CIG. i. 1569 a; Plut. Gen. Socr. 31. ⁷ v. 2. 30; CIG. i. 1573. ⁸ v. 2. 25; 4. 2 note. ⁹ Her. v. 79; Dem. xviii. 213; cp. Plut. Pel. 12; iii. 5. 8. ¹⁰ Cp. Dict. Ant. i. 301.
§ 7. CRITICAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

i. 2. ἵνα: ἵνα Underhill; ἵνα Kondos; ἵνα marg. C; ἵνα V.


vii. 25, p. 374 d.

ii. 10. ἀπελεύ: ἀπελευ Cobet.

ii. 13. κατελευσεν: κατελησασ ἀπελυσεν Feder.


ii. 19. καὶ δ ἑναυτός . . . αὐτῷ del. Dindorf, &c.

iv. 3. τὸ δὲ καράνον ἐστι κύριον del. Dindorf, Cobet, &c.

iv. 13. [ἀπελογήθη ὡς], ἀνηγγέλθη F: Riemann believes that here there was a lacuna, which the copyists filled up arbitrarily.

vi. 21. ἵναγον: ἱναν Underhill; ἱνατον Riemann.

vi. 29. ὅνοματι del. Dindorf and Riemann.

vi. 32. οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκείται. I prefer Breitenbach’s conjecture οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήσεi. Nauck conjectures οὐ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται.

vi. 37. τῆς ταχίστης: Riemann here marks a lacuna, which he proposes to fill with ἐπακολουθεῖν or ἐπεσθαι.

vii. 23. διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Blake; ἐνός . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι del. Nitsche; διηρημένων Leonclavius; διηρημένης MSS.; μερόν F2 DV; ἡμερῶν the rest.

vii. 27. ἀποκτεῖναι ... μεταμελήσει Marchant; ἀποκτεῖναι· μεταμελήσατε δὲ ύστερον ἀναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Peter and Keller; μεταμελήσει δὲ ύστερον δ ἀναμνήσθητε κ.τ.λ. Madvig.

BOOK II.

i. 8. Δαιειδίον: this form also occurs in the extracts from Ctesias ap. Phot. Anab. i. 8. 26. It is odd, even if the passage be an interpolation, to find it side by side with the form Δαιείον.

iv. 13. τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο: τὰ φῑλτατα Portus and Köppen; τὰ ἡμετέρα ἀπεσημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀπέκτεινον Wyttenbach; τοὺς μὲν φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπήγον, τὰ δ' ἐαυτῶν ἀπεσημαίνοντο Kyprianos.
BOOK III.

i. 5. ὁρῶν Θίβρων: ἄκνων Θίβρων Büchsenschütz; οὐχ ίκανόν ὁρῶν Bake.

i. 13. ὅτι ... κακουργοῦσιν del. Kruse.

iii. 2. ἄφιο γάρ τοι, κ.π.λ. Dindorf proposes ἄφι οὐ γάρ τοι ἐφύγε καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, inserting οὐκ before ἐφάνη from V: Cobet reads ἄφι οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ and Hartmann conjectures ἐξ οὐ γάρ τοι ἐφύγε ἐκ τῶ θαλάμω.

ἐγένον: τῷ ἐφύσ Cobet.

BOOK IV.

iv. 6. τοὺς τυραννεύοντας: τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας τυραννεύοντας Campe.

v. 15. ὑρουν: ὑρουν M.

v. 18. ὀρθρον: πρὸ ὀρθρον Büchsenschütz; ἔτι σκοταίος ἀναστᾶs ὀρθρον Campe.

viii. 4. ὄντως del. Dindorf.

BOOK V.

i. 15. οἴεσθε καί: οἰεσθε δεῖν καὶ Pluygers; οἴεσθε κἂν Grosser.

i. 18. προσπαράσχεσθε BDV; προσπαράσχετε CF; προσπαρασκευάσσατε Voigtlander.

ii. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: μὴ ποτε ἀκούσησθε Liebhold.

iii. 12. αὐτούς: τοὺς Cobet.

iv. 1. ὑφ' ἐνός: ὑφ' ἐνόω Dobree; ὑφ' ἐνῶν Dindorf.

iv. 2. τὰ περὶ ... τυραννίδα B; τὴν περὴ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα Cobet.

iv. 30. οἷς: ὦς Cobet; ὰστες Hartmann.

iv. 56. ἐλάττους: ἐλάττους ὄντας C.

BOOK VI.

i. 5. μισθοφόρους del. Dindorf.

i. 8. ὡς γε μήν: οἴδα γε μήν ὡς Hartmann.

i. 9. μὲν: ἡμῖν Cobet.

i. 13. After ὑπηθεῖν Hartmann marks a lacuna. σὺ πράττεις B and most MSS.; σοι πράττεις CV; σοι πράττει Dindorf; ὑ σὺ πράττεις Cobet; σὺ πράττεις Breitenbach; ἐν ὑ σὺ πράττεις Stephanus; σὺ πράττεις Keller.
§ 7. CRITICAL NOTES

ii. 16. ἐκανούργηε: ἐραθιούργηεi Hartmann.

ii. 32. ὀπὸς: ὀὕτως ὦτι V; ὀμος Grosser; ὦς Morus; ὦστε Madvig and Cobet; ὀπως ... ἀνεπιστήμονες εἶναι ... ἀφικέσθαι δοκοῦν Stephanus.

ii. 39. ὀὕτω βρασέως: ὀὕτως ἔθαρσε μῆτε ... φανείσθαι Jacobs; ὀὕτως ἐδρασεν ὦς Hertlein; ὀὕτω βρασέως ὦς Morus; ὀὕτως ἔθαρσε ὦς Wytenbach; ὀὕτω βρασέως ἐπραττεν ὦς Keller.

iii. 11. τῶς ... τὰς πόλεις†: ἄσ ... πόλεις Breitenbach; ὦσα ... πόλεις Kurz; ἄν ... τὰς πόλεις Grosser; ὦς ... τὰς πόλεις Keller; ἐν φ' ... τὰς πόλεις Marchant.

iii. 13. ἄρεστάντ: ἐὶ ἄρεσταν del. Kurz; Liebhold proposes ἐνοι for ἐὶ: Simon conjectures τὶ μὴν; ἐστιν ἐτῆλον ὦτι, ἐὶ τὸν συμμάχους τινὲς ὅν ἄρεστα πρᾶττον ἡμῶν, ἥμιν ἥκει ἄρεστά οὐ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῖν ἄρεστα sc. ἥκει: Breitenbach proposes ὅν ἄριστα for ὅν ἄρεστα; and deletes the second ἄρεστά and ἐὶ: ἥμιν ὤνδ᾽ ὑμῖν Leonclavius; ἥμιν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν Morus; ἥμιν ἀλλ᾽ ὄνδ᾽ ἡμῖν Stephanus.

iv. 27. δύναμιν del. Cobet.

v. 4. ἐστοί: γένοιτο Pluygers.

v. 19. οὐκετί ἔζησαν: οὐκ ἐπεζήσαν Cobet.

v. 23. συνιδόμενοι: σκοτούμενοi Grosser; ἐννοούμενοi Schneider; ταύτα οὖν δηγούμενοi Voigtländer.

BOOK VII.

i. 18. ὑπεροπτικῶς: ὑπεροπτικῶς ἔχοντες Kyprianos.

i. 25. Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον Dindorf; πολέμαρχον Σπαρτιάτην MSS.; Σπαρτιάτην γεγενημένον del. Breitenbach; Σπαρτιάτην γεγεναίον ὄντα Grosser.

i. 28. ἴναι ... τάναντια: CF omit ἴναι; Madvig omits ἴναι and conjectures ἀπαντᾶν for τάναντια.

ii. 3. ἀφεστασαν: Madvig marks a lacuna after this word.

ii. 5. Ἡλείων: Ἀργείων Dobree, comparing § 8.

ii. 8. ἥπει τὸ τείχος ... ἐμάχοντο: ἥπει τὸ τείχος οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔσωθεν ἐτὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Madvig; τοὺς ἥπει τὸ τείχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔσωθεν ἐτὶ ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐν ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Cobet; τοὺς ἥπει τοῦ τείχους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔσωθεν ἐπαναβαίνοντας αὐτῶν, ἐτὶ ἥπει ταῖς κλίμαξιν, κ.τ.λ. Hertlein; τοὺς ἀναβαθμισάτας αὐτῶν ἥπει τὸ τείχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔσωθεν ἐτὶ ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐτὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας ἐπαινοῦν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἥπει τῶν πύργων ἐμάχοντο Tillmanns.
ii. 22. αὐτοῦ: cp. iii. 4. 13; αὐτῷ Castalio.

iii. 3. ἐαυτόν del. Hartmann.

iii. 7. ὁμολογήκει: ὁμολόγει Cobet.

ἀνεμείνατε: ἀναμείναντες Schneider.

iii. 10. ποῦ ἔχουν... τυράννοις; Hartmann and Keller place these

words after ἐκὼν ἔλθε.

iv. 2. ἀγαθὸν: ἀγαθὸν ὢν Cobet.

iv. 11. ἔχουται: οὐτας vulg.; οἰκοῦτας Madvig; del. Kurz.

iv. 20. ἀπολαβεῖν Jacobs; ἀποκαμεῖν Madvig; ἀποκαλεῖν Stephanus;

ἀπελθεῖν Hartmann; ἀπαγαγεῖν Hertlein.

iv. 37. πολλοὶ δὲ: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ Kurz.

v. 4. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: σφίσιν Cobet; σφίσιν σὺν αὐτοῖς Breitenbach.

v. 8. πράπτοιο: πράπτοι Cobet.

v. 11. ἔνθεν: ἔνθα Schäfer.
GREEK INDEX

A

άγνωµονεῖν 37
άγοραῖον 231
άγοράν 106
άκατίος 232
άκητότερον πολέµῳ 249
άκροτηρισάµένον 233
άλλος: τὰ ἄλλα 90, 91: οἱ ἄλλοι 106: τοὺς ἄλλους 99
άλοβα 106
άµβατας 189
άµόπον 307
άµφιάλον 124
άν omitted 55, 58: with optative? 62
άναβιβασάµένον 106
άνάκειον 200
άναλον 229
άναρχιαν 51
άναφευξίστο 62
άνεκοινόντο 7
άνεξωνύτο 7
άνέστησε 77
άνέσχεν 28
άνοιγόν: Ἰνοµένε 2: Ἰνοµέν 27:
ἰοµέν 22
ἀπέγγραφε 101
ἀπεσηµαίνοντο 70
ἀπεσσύλα 6
ἀποβαίνοντον gen. abs. 15
ἀπὸ βῆς ἐνεκέν 74
ἀποθύµας 98
ἀποκοτταβίσαντα 64
ἀπολαβέναν 295
ἀπολυτικῶν . . . ἐίχον 206
ἀπόµισθος 230
ἀποστερηφευµένον 209
ἀριστοποιούµενοι 27
ἀρµατα δρεπανηφόρα 119

άµοστήρων 164
άµοστῆς: of Spartans 9, 46, 82, 94,
114, 123, 155, 167, 202, 203, 350:
of an Athenian 156: of Thebans
282, 289
ἀρχαµένον 44
ἀρχάζειν with acc. of person 85
ἀρχεῖον 214
ἀρχηγῆτης 266, 290
ἀτάρ 189
ἀτίµους 47
ἀυ . . . πάλιν 157, 164; cp. 167,
211
ἀυτὸθεν: of place 131: of time 47,
107, 301
ἀυτοῖς ἀνδράς 12: αὐτ. σκέψα: 204
ἀυτοκράτωρ 19: αὐτοκράτορος 270
ἀυτοποιήται 182
ἀυτὸν 85

Β

βάραθρον 36
βέλτιστοι 134, 180, 290
βία with gen. 87
Βοιωταρχοι 104, 357
Βουλομένων 119

Γ

γε μὴν 84, 183
γερόντων 100, 341
γίγνοµαι of sacrifices 87
γιγνώσκω with infin. 108, 150
γινοµένον 46
Γνώσιος 7
γραµµατεύων 195, 358
γυµνά 127, 139, 146
γυµνοπαιδίαν 248
GREEK INDEX

Δ
δαδουχος 237
δαμοσιας 145, 248: δαμοσιας 152, 348
δεκα άνδρων 114
δεκαρχιας 103, 238, 350
δεκατευθυναι 242, 264
δεκατην 161
dεξια, επι τα 126
dεμενων gen. abs. 7
dιαβατηρια 104, 113, 257, διαβατη-
ριων 191
dιαπραττεσθαι with οπας 283; with
ώστε 136, 163
διασκηρων 159
διαφερον adverbial 285
dιαφημισιν 35
dιεκπευσαν 28
dικροτοι 43
dιμοιριας 221
dιωβελιας 32
dιφηκισθη 180
dογμα των συμμαχων 209
dόξαντα acc. abs. 93
dομιφφοροι 145, 347
dουλειαν 222
dουλους 27
dραχμην 21: δραχμης 62
dρυμάτων 63
dυναστειας 211, 351, 356
δυσμενεια 186

Ε
εγκτήσεσι 183
έγχειρητικώτερος 160
Ελλωτες 100, 114, 284, 335, 348
eπαν 94: ειπεν with gen. 73
eισαγγελια 328
εισέσχατε 15
eισφορας 225
eκ of the agent 84, 238: temporal
220
έκεχεριαν 125, 179
έκεκλησια at Sparta 149, 181, 341
έκεκλησιον at Sparta 76, 186
έλαν 74
έμβαλλειν 169
έμπορος 29
έμφραυξαν 25
έναλλομενον 70
έναντια adverbial 221, 246
ένδεκα, οi 34, 64, 69
ένδοθεν 87, 181, 230, 285
ένέντασ 74
ένωμοιαν 247; 347
έξων acc. abs. 57, 67
εσεικε with nom. partic. 238
επάρτοι 296, 298, 301
επεισφερον 265
επετέτακτο 28
επηχυνθησαν with acc. of person
121
επι: 'behind' 9, 28, 69: επι κέρας
37: επι μας 28: επι τωι ισοι και
όμοιοι 270, 283: επι το ιστόματι
88
επιβάτης 15, 271
επιβολήν 33
επιγαμίαν 183
επιεικός 212
επιθαλασσίας 86
επικούρον 274
επίλεκτοι at Phlius 192: at Thebes
273
επιμελεσθαι 5
επιστολευς at Sparta 5, 41, 157,
167, 346
επιστολαφόρος 231
επιτειχίων: επετειχισαν 166: επιτε-
τειχικώς 288, cp. 284: επιτειχι-
σαν 89
εσχε with gen. 156
εταιρών 185
ευεργέτης 220
ευκρινειν 123
ευθος as a prep. 12
ευπορώτεροι 239
εφοροι 75, 340
εφ' άτε with infin. 53, 117
εως final 94

Ζ
Ζήνιος 86

Η
ηβης: τα δεκα άφ' ηβης 74, 147, 210:
τα πεντεκαϊδεκα α. η. 147, 150:
τα τετταράκοντα α. η. 203
ηγείσθαι 209: ηγήσοντο 301
ημέραν πέμπτην 69
GREEK INDEX

πινάκωσ: 116
πινάκωσ with superl. 238: with infin.
233: ἰπος ἀν 54, 89, 121, 158,
162, 276, 279
προστάτης of demagogues 31, 97,
179: of Sparta 81, 177; cp. 162
προστάτης of 35
πρώτον . . . πρώτον 101
πυργων, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν 286

πανάγραψι 70, 146
παναγραψί: ἐπανάγραψι 126
παρεβάλησα 42
παραγωγή 168
παρανομομένηη 60
παραριμένα 27
παρεσκευαζετα without ἂς 122
πνεύμων 6
πελασταὶ 142, 147, 149, 169, 203,
213, 258, 309
πενέτας 222
πεντάθαλοι 152, 297
πεντηκοκτόνας 116, 347
περιβαλλόμενος 159
περειλήφθη 76
περιοίκοι 100: περιοίκων 261, 263,
284, 335, 347
περιοίκων 96
πλασίφ 129
πλάστανον 281
πλείστοι, οἱ 290
ποι μεν 61
ποιεσθαι 157
πολέμαρχος at Sparta 116, 145, 248,
272, 347: at Thebes 185, 196, 358
πολεμάρχουντες at Thebes 184
πολιορκήσωντα 246
πολλῇ δυνάμει 114
Ποιετίδων 98
πρὼι with infin. 260: πρώτον [ἀν] with
οπτ. 70
προβολάς 38
πρόδικον 124
προεστηκώς 31: προεστηκώς 111:
προεστῆσα 246
προεκμεταλλότοι 193, 295
προσαραγέω 153
προσκομιζομένως 170

Σ

σατραπεῖαι 86
σεν 98
σημεία 174
σίγμα 138
σίδηρον 100
σκυτάλη 101, 186
Σπαρτάται 99, 103, 169
στηράμενοι 68
στιγματίας 192
στρατοπεδεία 120
συγγεγραφεῖ 35
συγκεκριμένας 229
συγκοπωτάς 54, 60
συμμαχίας 223
συμμορίας 37
σῶν 119
συνδόκουν 64, συνδόξαν 166
σύνταγμα 183, 349
συνταξιμένος 188
συνταξίων 187
συνεργοῦσα 192, 348
σφᾶς αὐτοῖς 35
σφίσιν 33
σφραγίδα 281
σφράγισμα 16
σάματα 'persons' 42

Τ

tαγεύω: ἐτάγευσε 223
tαγέυς 221, 251
tαξιάρχων 28
tέλη, τά 90, 341
tεχνόμαστα 246
τριάκοντα χίαι 238
τριπάρχουν 37
τριώβολον 184
tό for αυ 98
tυχών with partic. 166

Τ

υδρίας 34
υμέ for υμάς 138
GREEK INDEX

φυγήν = φυγάδας 181
φυλαί at Athens 68, 74, 126

χείρα ... ὄρεγοι 183
χελώνην 84
χωλεύσας 99

ψευδομένω 98

Ω

ὁμῶν ἐσθεὶν 100
ὁξυλάβησαν 296


ὡς δὴ 34

ὡς εἰς 119, 188, 251

ὡς πρὸς 76

ὡς 98, 170: ὡς γε μήν 221

φομένοι with subs. 289

φονέων 14, 355

φροπαί a Spartan word 73, 95, 113, 151, 190, 342
GENERAL INDEX

A

ABYDOS, Athenian victory at 313.
Aegospotami, treachery of Athenian generals at 44.


Alcibiades: breach with Persia and successes in the Hellespont 3: victory at Cyzicus 5, 310: restores Athenian dominion over the Hellespont, Propontis, and Bos-

Aristotle: story of the Thirty in many points inconsistent with Xenophon 55, 57, 58, 63, 75: date of the expulsion of the Thirty from Eleusis xliii, 77.


XEN. HELL. B b

B
Beloch: solution of chronological difficulties in Hellenica xli: list of Spartan admirals lii.
Boeotian League 356: see 'Thebes.'
Bosporus, Athenian toll-house on 5, 314.
Byzantium, captured by Athens 408 B.C., 13, 317: Thrasybulus levied toll at 390 B.C., 161.

C
Cadmea: date of its capture lx: of its recovery lxiii.
Cannonus, psephism of 35, 332.
Chalcedon, submits to pay tribute to Athens 14, 317.
Chronology: years reckoned from April to April xxxv: Olympiads, archons, and ephors interpolated xxxvi: duration of the Peloponnesian War xxxvii: difficulties in the years 411–404 B.C., xi: Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. agrees with Xen. in the chronology of the despotism of the Thirty xlii; Plutarch's date for Thrasybulus' return to Athens xlii; date of the suppression of the Thirty at Eleusis xliii: dates of the Elean War xliii–xliv: dates of the Corinthian War xliv ff: source of the difficulties xlv: Grote's solution xlvii: 392 B.C. the date of the destruction of the Spartan mora xlix: list of Spartan admirals as evidence li: dates of maritime events in the Corinthian War liii–lvi: difficulties in the years 386–371 lvii ff.: date of the capture of the Cadmea lx, of its recovery lxiii: difficulties in the years 371–362 lxvii ff.: date of the battle of Mantinea lxxi.


Conon: elected general as colleague of Alcibiades 407 B.C., 20, 318: re-elected 406, 405 B.C., 23, 320, 36, 41: blockaded at Mytilene 26, 321: after Aegospotami sails to Cyprus 44: invited to take command of the Persian fleet against Sparta c. 397 B.C., 92: commands the Persian fleet 396 B.C., 102: besieged in Caunus 395 B.C., 109: defeats the Spartan fleet at Cnidus 394 B.C., 130: together with Phamazenus expels the Spartans from the Aegaean 154: at Corinth 393 B.C., 134, 156: rebuilds the walls of Athens and Piraeus 157: attempts to restore the Athenian Empire 354: arrested by Tiribazus; doubt as to his death 392 B.C., 158.

Corinth: hostility to Athens 405 B.C., 49: refuses to join Sparta against the Athenian democrats 403 B.C., 73: so again against the Eleans 398 B.C., 96, 112: takes Persian gold for use against Sparta 395 B.C., 111: leading part in the Corinthian War 394
GENERAL INDEX

Coronea: battle of xxx, 132: date xlvi.
Cyzicus: effects of Athenian victory 313, 314: different versions of the battle 5, 310.

D
Diodorus Siculus: opinion of Xenophon as a historian x: describes the Hellenics xii, xv: compared with Xenophon as an authority xxxiv: confuses consuls and archons with the solar year xxxvi: mistakes in chronology 1, lix, lxiv, lxv: differs from Xenophon in his account of the sea fight in the Hellespont 3; of Cyzicus 310; of the trial of the generals 326, 327; of Aegospotami 43: confusion over the campaigns of Thibron and Dercylidas 82, 83, 90: mistakes about the Elean War 95: differs from Xenophon in his account of Agesilaus' campaign in Asia 107, 108; of anti-Spartan League 111: of the battle within the Long Walls of Corinth 137, 139; of the siege of Mantinea 160; of the seizure of the Cadmea 186; of the part played by Athens in the liberation of Thebes 201, 202, 207; of Sphodrias' attempt upon Piraeus 205; of the Peace of 374 B.C., 226, 236; of Timotheus' generalship 230; of Leuctra 245; of the misuse of the Olympian treasure 298.

Diogenes Laertius: story of Xenophon's publishing Thucydides' history xiii.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus: opinion of Xenophon as a historian x: mention of the Hellenica xii.
Dodwell: solution of chronological difficulties in Hellenica xl.

E
Elean War: Clinton's chronology impossible xlili: lasted three years xlv: date of xlv.

F
Freeman: unfavourable estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

G
Grote: unfavourable estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

H
Haacke: solution of chronological difficulties in Hellenica i.
Harpocratian: division of the Hellenica into eight books xiii.
Hellenica: cp. 'Xenophon': aim and object xii, xxxiii: title ix, xiii; manner and time of composition xi, xiv: division into books xiii, xiv: division into books xiii, xvii, xxiv: main divi-
372 GENERAL INDEX


Hellespont, corn trade of 314.
Helots, manumission of 336.
Hermocrates, obscurities as to life of 6, 8, 14.

I

CIG. i. 732, pp. lxiii, 198: i. 1569 a, p. 358: i. 1573, p. 358.

CIG. Sept. i. 2407, pp. 357, 358: i. 2408, pp. 357, 358.


on coins, p. 111.


L
Leuctra: story of the battle of 247.
Lucian: estimate of Xenophon as a historian x.

M
Mantinea: hostility to Sparta 148: συνοικισμός of, 178, 180: attacked by Sparta 179, lviii: split up into four villages 181: renewed συνοικισμός 255: at war with Sparta 257: refuses to touch the Olympic treasure 298: decides to resist the Thebans 300: battle of 306.
Marcellinus: allusion to the Hellenica 12.
Mure: estimate of Xenophon as a historian xi.

N
Naxos, date of the battle of lxxiv.
Nemea, numbers at the battle of the 125.
Niebuhr: estimate of Xenophon as a historian x.
Nisaea, loss of, by Athens xxv, 13, 317.

O
Olympiads, interpolation of, in the Hellenica xxxvi, xxxvii.
Olympic victors, mention of, by Herodotus and Thucydides xxxvi, lxxvi.
Olynthus, origin of the confederacy 181; Spartan expedition against, 184: surrender of 193: date lx, lxxii.
Orchomenus in Boeotia: hostility to Thebes 113: revolts from Thebes 131: destruction of, by Thebes xxxiii, 301.

P
Patroclus, amnesty of 316.
Peloponnesian League, organization of 349: end of 353.
Pelopidas, part played by, in the liberation of Thebes 196 ff.: in Thessaly 277, 279: envoy to the Persian court 279.
Pharnabazus, in league with the Peloponnesians 3: aids the Peloponnesians after Cyzicus 6, 310: comes to terms with the Athenians 14: murders Alcibiades 61: jealous of Tissaphernes 85: truce with Dercyllidas 90: persuades Artaxerxes to attack the naval power of Sparta 92, 103: at the battle of Cnidus 134: together with Conon expels the Spartans from the Aegean 154: at Corinth 134, 156: marries Artaxerxes' daughter 173.
Plutarch: estimate of Xenophon as a historian x: compared with Xenophon xxxiv: account of the battle of Cyzicus 310: of the liberation of Thebes 196 ff.
Polybius: estimate of Xenophon as a historian ix.

S
Socrates, at the trial of the generals 35, 331, 333.

Theramenes: influence at Athens in 411 B.C., 312: in Euboea 4, 313: comes to Sestos from Macedoni a 4: as triarch, ordered to rescue the drowning sailors at Arginusae 406 B.C., 29: accuses the generals before the Assembly, 334: not prosecuted after the trial of the generals 334: rejected as general 405 B.C., 322: sent as envoy to Lysander 404 B.C., 48, 49, 324: negotiates peace with Sparta 324: chosen one of the Thirty, quarrels with Critias 56: nicknamed Cothurnus 59: accused of treachery by Critias 60: executed 64: character and policy 65.


Timaeus: first historian to reckon by Olympiads xxxvii.


Xenophon: events in the Life of lxxx: leader of Cyreians 91: in Asia Minor 107: accompanies Agesilaus xxx: at Coronea 132:
moves from Scillus to Corinth xx: at Corinth 304: death of his son Gryllus 305.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

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