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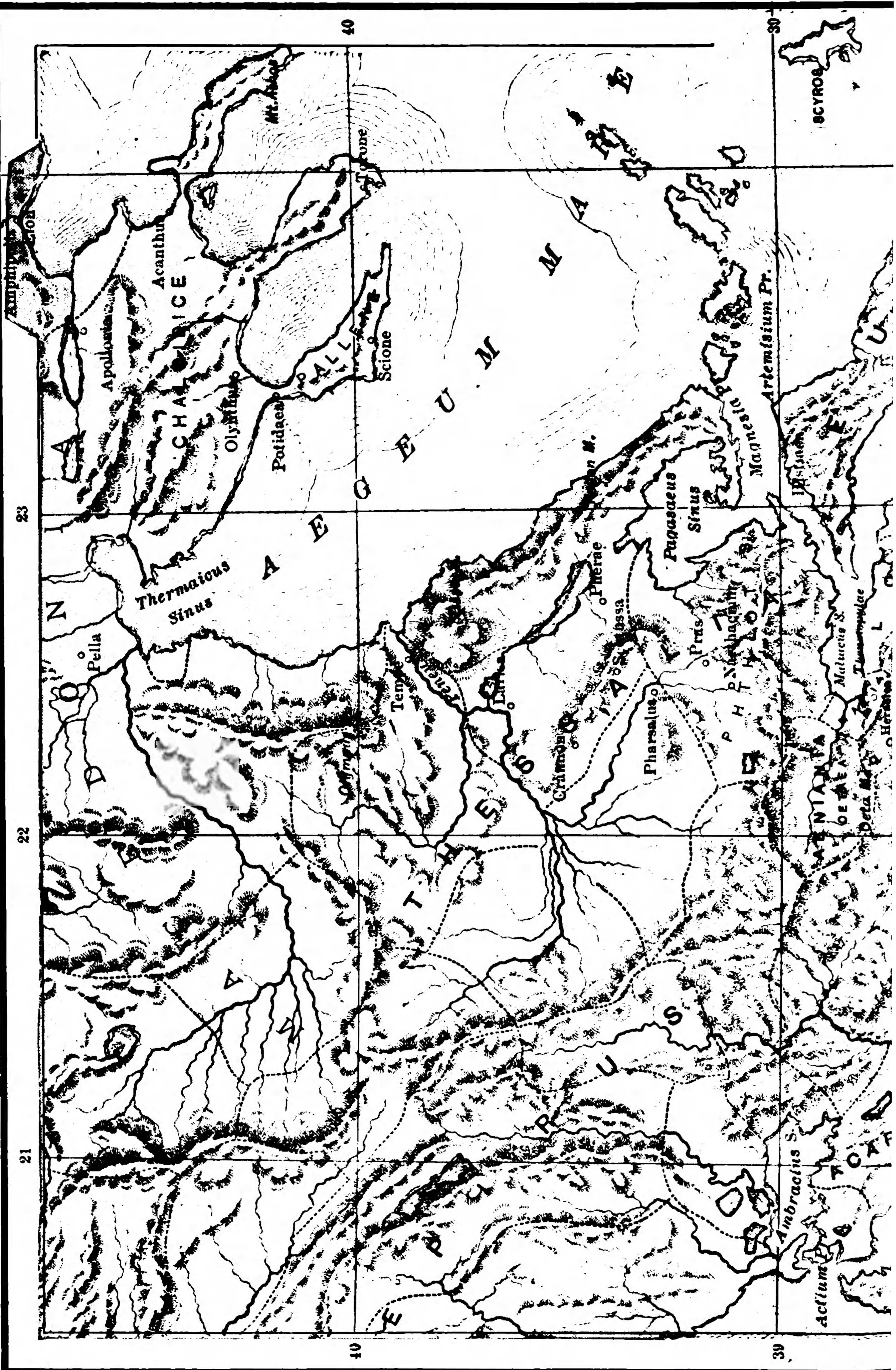
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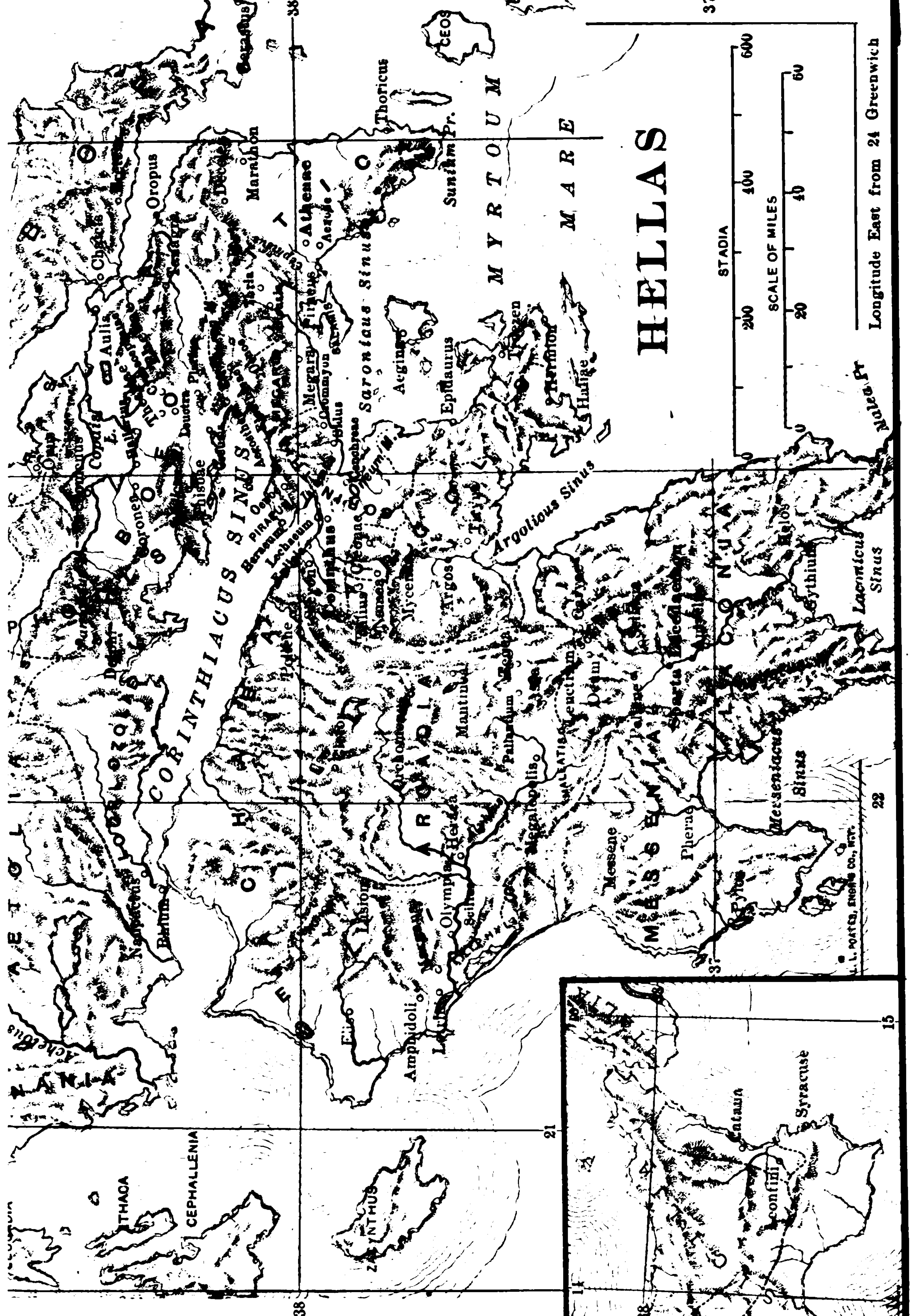
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# XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

## SELECTIONS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES

BY

CARLETON L. BROWNSON, PH.D.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



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W. P. I

# PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK CITY.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF XENOPHÓN

Xenophon, the Athenian soldier and man of letters, was the son of Gryllus and belonged to the somewhat aristocratic political class which was known as the Knights. He was born in the rural deme Erchia, of which his contemporary Isocrates, the orator, was also a native. With regard to the date of his birth <sup>2</sup> **Life.**<sup>1</sup> authorities, both ancient and modern, are in conflict, but it seems altogether probable that it should be placed about the year 430 B.C. Nothing is known about his youth and early manhood, which were passed during the troublous times of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), save only that he became a close associate of the philosopher Socrates, whose influence affected his whole life and character. When he reached the age of military service (c. 412 B.C.), the Peloponnesian War was entering upon its last phase. A large part of Attica was permanently occupied or overrun by a Spartan army under King Agis, while in the eastern Aegean, the principal scene of active warfare, the opposing fleets maintained a doubtful contest. It is not recorded, nor is it likely, that Xenophon bore any part in the foreign campaigns of these closing years of the war; for it was only under exceptional circumstances <sup>3</sup> that the Knights, who normally served as cavalrymen, were assigned to sea duty, and but two small detachments of them were sent out from Athens in the years from 412 to 404 B.C. for strictly military service.<sup>4</sup> The consequent inference that Xenophon remained continuously in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

*Memorabilia*, between 384 and 380.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# HELLENICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Relation  
of the  
*Hellenica* to  
Thucydides.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller treatment of this subject see Appendix II.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) Historical Interpolations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* 3. 5. 21, 7. 5. 12.      <sup>5</sup> *E.g.* 5. 4. 1, 3. 5. 12-13, 6. 3. 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* 3. 4. 29, 5. 4. 24-34.      <sup>7</sup> 7. 5. 8 and 19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Lysias.** birth, but belonged to the class known as metics, or resident aliens.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## ABBREVIATIONS

**B.** = Babbitt's *Grammar of Attic and Ionic Greek*, 1902.

**G.** = Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* (revised edition), 1892.

**GMT.** = Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (enlarged edition), 1890.

**Gl.** = Goodell's *School Grammar of Attic Greek*, 1902.

**GS.** = Gildersleeve's *Syntax of Classical Greek* (first part), 1900.

**HA.** = Hadley's *Greek Grammar* (revised by Allen), 1884.

**KG.** = Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik, Iiter Teil* (revised by Gerth), 1898–1904.

**S.** = Smyth's *Greek Grammar*, 1908.





BLACK  
SEA

Propontis

M E D I T E R R A N E A N

ASIA MINOR  
AND THE  
AEGEAN

SCALE OF MILES



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. αὐτήν: *i.e.* the city.

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

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

22. Καλχηδονίας: the so-called

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Athens. Clearchus is sent to Byzantium.*

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

33. **περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους**:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[§ 37. *Notice of events in Sicily.*]

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

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

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

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

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

2. Πύγελα: a small town S.W.



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

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

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

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

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

6. ὡς . . . πλευσοῦμενος: see  
 on ὡς μαχοῦμενος I. 33. —

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Κορησῶ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. 45  
 10 ἔφυγον δὲ κακεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς  
 11 τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησῶ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα ἔδοσαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ 50  
 αἰί. Σελινουσίοις δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ  
 11 πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαμβάντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κακεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Alcibiades in. operations in the Hellespont.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

στῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς 85 ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβώτῃ. 19 [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσχώρησαν αὐτῷ.]

out. — Xenophon's account of the recapture of Pylos is curiously inadequate and misleading, — inadequate, considering the extreme importance of the events which had resulted from the Athenian occupation of the fortress, and misleading, because the recapture is represented as merely an affair between the Spartans and some fugitive Helots. See *Introd.* p. 27.

— The recovery of Nisaea, the port of Megara, from the Athenians, which took place at about this time (*Diod.* 13. 65), is entirely passed over by Xenophon. See *Introd.* p. 27 and *App.* p. 354. — τοὺς . . . ἐκ Μαλέας: *those of the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasium.* Cp. *ἔάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας* 1. 23. The extremely rare attributive position of the partitive gen. is found nowhere else in the *Hell.*, except in cases where the gen. plur. of πᾶς depends upon the superlative of an adj. Cp. 2. 3. 49. — τοὺς ἐποίκους: connect with

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

[§ 19. *The revolt of the Medes.*]

19. This section is almost certainly spurious. See *Introd.* p. 25. We have no other record of the event here described. — τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως: βασιλεύς, referring to the Persian king, usually takes the article when modified by an adj. or a genitive. See on 1. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§§ 14–22. *The siege and cap-  
ture of Byzantium.*

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

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

ἀρμοστής. So Μεγαρεῖς below. —  
ἀρμοστής: *as harmost*. So ἄρχων  
below. — περιοίκων: the descend-  
ants of the original Achaean in-  
habitants of Laconia. They were  
free, but not citizens. — νεοδαμῶ-  
δων: Helots who had been eman-  
cipated. — Μεγαρεῖς: Byzantium  
was a colony of Megara. — τούτων:  
the demonstrative, used for con-  
trast with the preceding personal  
pronoun, can be best translated  
by an emphasized 'their.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. αὐτοῖς: for the dat. see S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

west of the Halys River, whence it appears that Cyrus' *military* authority extended beyond the three provinces above mentioned and that both Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were made subordinate to him. — τε : see Introd. IV. D. 1. — τοῖς κάτω : = τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. — καὶ τάδε : *this also, i.e.* among other things. — κᾶρανον : probably a Doric word, used because the letter was written to Spartans, or at least translated by them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14), and not from the time when their detention began, *i.e.* the spring of 407 B.C. (cp. § 2); for Pharnabazus' request (ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου) must have been presented to Cyrus before the latter went back to Persia in the summer of 405 B.C. (cp. 2. 1. 14). It follows that the ambassadors returned to the Athenian fleet shortly before the final battle of Aegospotami (*c.* August, 405 B.C.). — ἐπειδὴ οὐ: *sc.* ἄγειν ἐξείη. — πέμψαντες: *i.e.* Cyrus and Pharnabazus. — Ἄριοβαρζάνει: who later succeeded Pharnabazus as satrap. Cp. 5. 1. 28.

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

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

Now, at the end of nearly four years of continuously successful leadership, Alcibiades felt safe in returning to Athens, which he had not seen since he set out with the Sicilian expedition in 415 B.C. Still, he would hardly have chosen the present time for his return if he had known of the arrival of Cyrus and the consequent danger to the Athenian cause, — just what Cyrus had taken care to conceal (§ 5). — εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου: *straight for Samos.* For Samos see on 2. 1. — Alcibiades wishes to show that Athens is mistress of the sea not only in the Hellespontine region, but on all the coasts of Asia Minor; and, furthermore, to collect money enough to make his welcome at Athens the more cordial. — Καρίας: for the case see on 1. 22.

9. Θρασύβουλος: see on 1. 12. — σὺν: see on 1. 11 and cp. § 11



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

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

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

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

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

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πλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὃ ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ  
 ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς  
 κράτιστος εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [ἀπελογήθη ὡς] οὐ  
 δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου 55  
 δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν  
 ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξοντος  
 14 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέ-  
 λοντας δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι  
 γεγεννημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλ- 60

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

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

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

λόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα  
 15 αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμη-  
 χανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθί-  
 στους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι·  
 τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν 65  
 πόλιν ἄπασαν ὀρώων ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως  
 16 ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴων περ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. κατιδὼν: *i.e.* distinguishing in the crowd. See on 1. 4. — Εὐρυπτόλεμον: not the one mentioned in 3. 13, who was still with Pharnabazus. — ἄπτοιτο: opt. in ind. disc., which is suggested by the purpose, *i.e.* thought, implied in παρεσκευασμένων. See on δύ- ναιτο 1. 22. — ἐπιτρέπειν: connect with παρεσκευασμένων.

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας  
 χώρας εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους 100  
 ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν.

23 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ  
 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενος  
 ἐπολέμει.

1 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶ 5  
 χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας  
 Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς  
 Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβών, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον  
 ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς 5  
 ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο.

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

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

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

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1–9. *Lysander*

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

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



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

2. τοῖς . . . πρέσβεσιν: probably the ambassadors mentioned in 4. 2. It would be natural for them to arrange for the meeting and to introduce Lysander to Cyrus.— ἃ πεποιηκῶς εἶη: see on 1. 9.—προθυμοτάτου: pred. adj. after γενέσθαι, but attracted to the case of Κύρου. See on ἀτελεῖ 2. 10.—γενέσθαι: *to show himself*.

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

Tissaphernes, as reported by Alcibiades, promises to coin his bedstead into money to give to the Athenians (Thuc. 8. 81).—ἐκάθητο: the 'objective' impf., representing κάθημαι of the dir. disc. See Introd. IV. E and S. 2624; HA. 936; B. 676; G. 1489; Gl. 624 c. It will be noted that this change of tense, which is the exception in Greek, is the rule in English.

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

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ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ 8  
9 Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες 35  
10 ισχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνεγκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ 11  
ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβου- 40  
λον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἤκουτ' ἀποτειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέ-

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

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

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

*by Lysander in the battle of Notium.*

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

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

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

πλευσε: for the prep. see on 1. 15.  
 — ἐπὶ: *in command of*. Cp. the  
 use of ἐπί with the acc. in 1. 32. —  
 τὸν . . . κυβερνήτην: the choice of  
 Antiochus for so responsible a po-  
 sition appears to have been a case  
 of favoritism. See Plut. *Alc.* 36.

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

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

13. καὶ πάσας: καί emphasizes  
 πάσας in contrast with the preced-  
 ing ὀλίγας, 'every one he had.'  
 — ἤνοιξεν: *got clear and under way*.  
 See on 1. 2.

14. διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί:  
*with their ships scattered*. Note  
 the predicate position and use of  
 the part. — τῶν ἀνδρῶν: first in  
 its sentence, — the crews as con-  
 trasted with τριήρεις. — ἀναλαβὼν:  
*having picked up*, — used here with  
 reference to the deserted or dis-  
 abled ships of an enemy. Cp. 1. 4.

στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ  
 15 Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν  
 εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα  
 τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις 60  
 βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανή-  
 γαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν  
 εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι  
 16 Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡίονα. οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, 65  
 οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκенаι  
 τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς εἶλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα,

15. *τις*: = French *on* or German *man*, i.e. *they*, the enemy. Cp. 1. 35. — *βούλοιτο*: opt. in ind. disc. See on *δύναιτο* 1. 22. — *πολλαῖς ναυσὶν*: an exaggeration. Alcibiades, starting from Athens with 100 ships, had left 20 at Andros (cp. § 18 and note on 4. 23) and lost 15 in the battle of Notium; he had been joined, as the use of *ἀπάσαις* above indicates, by the 30 ships of Thrasybulus (cp. § 11 and 4. 9). On paper, therefore, he now had 95 ships against Lysander's 90 (§ 10), — not 'many' more. It is possible that some of Lysander's ships were disabled in the battle of Notium, or that Xenophon forgot to subtract from the Athenian number the ships lost at Notium. See on § 20. It should be noted that captured ships were but seldom immediately added to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 χώρας ἐλήζετο. [καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχη-  
δόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν  
τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον 90  
Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχη μὲν ἠττήθέντες, προσκαθεζό-  
μενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.]

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

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

[§ 21. Notice of events in Sicily.]

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. ἐξηγεῖσθαι: *to lead the way*,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

beaching his ships. See below. For the use of the part. see on παραγενόμεναι 2. 8. — πρὸς τῷ λιμένι: at the mouth of the harbor, as in 1. 17. — οἱ ἄνδρες: see on τῶν ἀνδρῶν 5. 14.

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

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

19. σίτων . . . εὐπορήσαι: cp. ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες 1. 10. — ἦν:

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

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

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

preparatory to an attempt at escape. He was careful, therefore, to allow them to believe, as they naturally would, that this attempt was to be made by night. Hence they kept close watch at night and were consequently tired and less vigilant during the day. For ὡς instead of the usual ὥστε see Introd. IV. H. Note that the clause expresses 'intended result,' *i.e.* purpose. S. 2267; HA. 953 a; B. 595, N.; G. 1452; Gl. 566 b. — καταδήλους εἶναι: the *personal* construction, followed by the part. in ind. disc. ποιούντας. S. 2107; HA. 981; B. 661; G. 1589; Gl. 585 a. — ἐπὶ: as in 2. 11. — εἰς τὸ πέλαγος: *to the (open) sea, i.e.* in a southerly and then southwesterly direction, while the other went northward.

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



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

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

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

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

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

24. ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ: of military

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

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

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

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

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

— ἐχόμεναι: *next* (lit. holding on) to the Samians. — ταξιάρχων: ten taxiarchs, one from each Athenian tribe (φυλή), commanded the tribal divisions (τάξεις) of hoplites. They were subordinate to the generals. — καί: *also*, emphasized by the following αὐταί. — ἐπὶ ταύταις: *behind these*. Cp. ἐπετέτακτο. It would seem that Xenophon is not quite exact in describing the Athenian formation in the center, *i.e.* the 20 ships of the Samians and of the taxiarchs, as ἐπὶ μιᾶς. There was evidently a rear line, which included not only 'the three ships of the nauarchs,' but also 'others' (ἄλλαι). Now, since there were 'more than 150' ships in the fleet (§ 25) and since the various detachments whose exact numbers are here given total only 143 (60 + 20 + 3 + 60), the 'others' must have numbered at least 10. Therefore the rear line in the center consisted of about 13 ships, as against 20 in the front line. Diodorus, however, states (13. 98) that the Athenian center included the Arginusae islands

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

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

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

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

oars and inflicting any other possible damage on the way, — and then turning to attack the unprotected sterns or sides of the hostile ships. In the **περίπλους** (see below) the same object was accomplished by rowing around the end of the enemy's line. Both maneuvers required skilled seamanship, and at Arginusae the advantage in this respect was with the Lacedaemonians, as against the hastily collected, heterogeneous crews of the Athenian ships. — **ἔπλεον**: see on § 16. — **ὡς πρὸς**: see on 1. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σὺνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένη παρσκευάσαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησία<sup>45</sup> σίαν ἤκοιεν, ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξεινον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλή εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ<sup>50</sup> ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκη

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

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

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

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λίξεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγε-  
 γραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι<sup>65</sup>  
 τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος  
 ἐξόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις εἰσὶ τὸν δῆμον πράττειν  
 13 ὃ ἂν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ  
 τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατη-  
 γούς, εἰ μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλήσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ<sup>70</sup>  
 14 ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν

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

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

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

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

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

δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψή-  
φισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐθις Καλλίξεινος ἀναβὰς κατη-  
γόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ  
15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν 75  
πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου·  
οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν.  
16 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
στρατηγῶν τάδε.

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

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

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

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

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

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



καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ  
 δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ  
 17 πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς  
 συνάρχοντας βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε<sup>85</sup>  
 βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυ-  
 βούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελεῖσθαι  
 18 τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν τὴν  
 αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδία ἀμαρτόντων, καὶ  
 ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινων<sup>90</sup>  
 19 ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ,  
 ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες,  
 καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστ' ἀληθῆ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαν-  
 τες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ

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

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

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

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

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

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νον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα 105  
 αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι  
 21 κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῆ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν  
 ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον περὶ  
 22 πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ μὴ 110  
 βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, εἴαν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προ-  
 διδῶ ἢ τὰ ἱερά κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν  
 καταγνωσθῆ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα  
 23 αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὧ 115  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ  
 ἓνα ἕκαστον διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν [ἐνὸς

*against*, i.e. *has wronged*. For the pres. with pf. meaning see on φεύγειν 1. 27. — ἀποδικεῖν: an unusual equivalent for ἀπολογεῖσθαι, and probably an archaic word from the actual text of this ancient decree. — ἐν τῷ δήμῳ: i.e. before the Assembly, whereas the second law which is cited (§ 22) called for a trial before a heliastic court (ἐν δικαστηρίῳ). — βάραθρον: *the pit*, which served in early times as the place and the means of executing the death sentence. Later, poisoning by hemlock became the usual method of execution.

21. ἂν . . . γε: as in § 19.

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

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

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

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

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

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

results to their *judges*. — εὐορκοῦντες: for each citizen was under oath to obey and uphold the laws. — τοὺς . . . ἀφελομένους: obj. of ἀπολλύντες.—ἐκείνους: common obj. of ἀφελομένους and νενικηκότας.—ἑβδομήκοντα: cp. 6. 34 and note thereon.—τούτους: repeating with emphasis τοὺς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας.

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

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

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

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

28. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ

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

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

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

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

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

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

in μὴ ποιήσαντας is now stated as a fact.

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

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

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



ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶν-  
τας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιῶν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ <sup>180</sup>  
Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκα-  
στον· ἢ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν.  
τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν  
τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ  
πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. <sup>185</sup>  
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων  
στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ.

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

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

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

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

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## BOOK II

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

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

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

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

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

2. The detail with which Xenophon describes the following incident is characteristic. See *Introd.* p. 30. — σύνθημα: *plot.* — τί χρῶτο τῷ πράγματι: *how he should deal with the matter.* τί is cogn. acc. For the optative see on 1. 3. 21. — τε . . . τε:

ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερόν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ 10  
 εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσῃσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ  
 πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσῃσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν  
 κρατήσῃσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους  
 πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους  
 Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοίεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς 15  
 3 τὰ πράγματα ὧσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεν-  
 τεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν,  
 καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινὶ ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ  
 4 ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομέ-  
 νου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, 20  
 παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον  
 εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες  
 ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιῶς μὴ  
 5 ὀφθείη ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας  
 τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦ- 25  
 ται λάβῃσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσῃσι τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσή-  
 νεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν·  
 προσιῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἑκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ

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

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

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

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

8 [Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεωεν Αὐτοβοι-

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

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

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

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

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

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ἦται· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνη-  
λωμένα εἶη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῶ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος  
12 τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσαν- 60  
δρος τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε  
καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρε-  
σκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ  
ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ 65  
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἀρρω-  
στῶν ἐκείνον καλοῖη, ὧν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας  
ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας.  
14 ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,  
εἰ μὴ πολλῶ πλείους ναῦς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα 70  
πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολ-  
λὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους  
τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἳ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ  
χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε

11. ἔχοι: *had received*. See on  
πλείοιεν 1. 7. 5. — ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε:  
cp. 1. 5. 3.

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

13. ἐπὶ τούτοις: as in 1. 7. 13.  
— ἀρρωστῶν: see on § 9. — Κα-  
δουσίων: who dwelt on the western  
coast of the Caspian Sea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

20. κατὰ πόδας: *in their wake.*

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

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τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμουῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστόν<sup>125</sup> παρήνει πρός τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὐ ὄντες ναυμαχῆσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν·<sup>26</sup> αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤχετο. Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι<sup>130</sup> τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονούντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγεν,<sup>135</sup> ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

31. δὴ: of course. — τῶν Ἀθηναίων: obj. gen. — αἳ ἤδη παρενενομήκεσαν: for the facts cp. 2. 3 below. For the tense of the verb

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

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

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πεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλείουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θᾶπτον τῶν ἐπιτη-<sup>10</sup> δείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνοσ Σθενέλαον ἄρμοστήν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναισ τῆσ Παράλου ἀφικομένησ νυκτὸσ ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορὰ, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶσ διὰ<sup>15</sup> τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτεροσ τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνησ τῆσ νυκτὸσ οὐδεὶσ ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺσ ἀπολωλότασ πενθοῦντεσ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούσ, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντεσ οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίουσ τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκουσ ὄντασ, κρατήσαν-<sup>20</sup>

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

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

3. τῆσ Παράλου: *cp.* I. 29. — ἐλέγετο: iterative, the news passing from mouth to mouth. — μακρῶν τειχῶν: connecting Athens and Piraeus. — ὁ ἕτεροσ: anacoluthon, as though πάντεσ ὤμωζον, instead of οἰμωγὴ, had preceded. The gen. abs. would be the regular construction. — πενθοῦντεσ: another case of anacoluthon, οὐδεὶσ ἐκοιμήθη being equivalent to πάντεσ ἐγρηγόρεσαν (οὐκ ἐκοιμήθησαν). For the affirmative to be supplied from a preceding negative see on δεομένων I. I. 29. — αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούσ: the strengthening intensive, as in I. I. 28. — Μηλίουσ . . . Ἴσθιαῖσ

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. κατεσκευάσατο: = κατεστή-



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

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

6. γνωρίμων: *notables*, one of

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

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

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

9. ἀπέδωκε . . . Αἰγινήταις:

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θησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ  
 διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει,  
 ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἄγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι  
 εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,  
 12 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιείσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς 60  
 Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις,  
 13 ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν  
 Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς] καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ  
 ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὅτα οἰάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἄγιν, 65  
 αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρή-  
 14 νης, κάλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις  
 ἐπεὶ ἤκου οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥροντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι,  
 καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ 70  
 15 λιμῶ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως  
 οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν

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

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

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

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

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

15. συμβουλεύειν: *to propose*

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

*any measure.* — εἶναι: in ind. disc., depending upon εἰπών. See on 1. 6. 7. — Λακεδαιμονίοις: construe with εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι. — ἐφ' οἷς: see on ἐπὶ τούτοις § 11. — προυκαλοῦντο δὲ κτέ.: Sparta's terms had evidently been made known to the Athenian ambassadors at Sellasia (§ 13). — μακρῶν τειχῶν: see on § 3. — ἑκατέρου: instead of ἑκάστου, because the reference is to each of *two* walls. The gen. is partitive, depending upon ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίουσ, which serves as the obj. of καθελεῖν. See on πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους 1. 2. 18. — ἐγένετο ψήφισμα: this was the act of the demagogue Cleophon, and it was on this account that the oligarchs brought about his death. See on 1. 7. 35.

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

*peace which the Spartans now offer are accepted.*

16. τοιούτων ὄντων: *sc. τῶν πραγμάτων, conditions being such.* — Λύσανδρον: who at this time with part of his fleet was besieging Samos. Cp. § 6. — ἦξει: *would come back.* — βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι: note the emphasis upon the part., *whether it was because they wished . . . that they insisted.* Cp. 1. 5. 6. — πίστεως ἔνεκα: *to obtain a guarantee of good faith,* parallel with βουλόμενοι. — τρεῖς μῆνας κτέ.: from December, 405, to the last of March, 404 B.C. For Theramenes' mission and conduct cp. Lys. 12. 68–70. — ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε: *waiting for the time when.* — ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον: it seems from this that the statement in § 11 was an exaggeration. — ἅπαντα: *anything and every-*

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

*thing*, further explained by ὅτι τις λέγει.

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

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

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

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

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

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οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλείονων συνεπαινε-  
 23 σάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 115  
 Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες  
 κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων  
 πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

24 [Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ 120  
 Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότε-  
 ρον ἠττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει  
 δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιω-  
 τῶν τὴν πόλιν.]

1 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἧ τὸ στάδιον 3

22. ποιοῖντο: ind. disc. for the ἐποιοῦντο of § 20. — προηγόρει: as in 1. 1. 27.

23. κατέπλει: coming from Samos (see on § 16). According to Plut. *Lys.* 15 the formal surrender took place on the 16th of Munchion, *i.e.* toward the close of April (404 B.C.). — κατέσκαπτον: *began to tear down.* See on 1. 3. 4. — ὑπό: *to the music of.* — ἄρχειν: *was the beginning.*

[§ 24 *Notice of events in Sicily.*]

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

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

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

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

ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύωντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολι-

garded as spurious. For the case of  $\phi$  (and  $\eta$ ) see on 1. 4. 12. — οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν κτέ. : *i.e.* they do not name the year after him as archon eponymous, but write ἐπὶ ἀναρχίας (*i.e.* in the archonless year) instead of ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος.

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

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



τεύσουσι. καὶ ἠρέθησαν οἶδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαι-<sup>10</sup>ρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμά-<sup>3</sup>θης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγισ<sup>15</sup> δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστους.

4 [Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε<sup>20</sup> καὶ ἄλλους, μάχη ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Λεοντῖνοι . . . συνοικοῦντες: they had been subjugated and compelled to remove to Syracuse.

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Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [, εἰς ὃ  
 ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, 45  
 ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας  
 πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ  
 ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν,  
 10 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἷδε· Βρασίδης, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδης,  
 Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδης, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύ- 50  
 ξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος,  
 Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδης, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος,  
 Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδης, Μισγολαΐδης,  
 Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας,  
 Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρη- 55  
 μένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν].

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

9, 10. [εἰς δ . . . κατέπλευ-  
 σεν]: almost certainly an interpo-  
 lation. See *Introd.* pp. 24, 26. —  
 ἐξάμηνος: *sc.* χρόνος. — ὀκτῶ: an  
 error for ἑπτά. The war lasted  
 from 431 to 404 B.C. — οἱ ἀριθμού-  
 μενοι: *i.e.* the eponymous ephors.  
 — πέμπτῳ . . . σπονδῶν: the Athe-  
 nians reduced Euboea in 446 B.C.,  
 and in the following year con-  
 cluded a thirty years' truce with  
 Sparta. *Thuc.* I. 114 f. — Here  
 ends the First Part of the *Hellen-  
 ica*, completing Thucydides' story  
 of the Peloponnesian War. See  
*Introd.* p. 21 f.

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

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

τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύ- 60  
 ναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς  
 12 ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὐς πάντες ἤδεσαν  
 ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς  
 καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖ; ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον  
 θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἠδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἷ 65  
 τε ἄλλοι, ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι,  
 13 οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν  
 ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τού-  
 του πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην·  
 τε καὶ Ἄριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς 70

πολιτεύσουσι of § 2 the ind. is retained. See GMT. 134, 574. — ἔμελλον: as in 2. 21. — ὡς ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς: *i.e.* from their own (oligarchical) partisans.

12. ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ: *i.e.* before the recent overthrow of the democracy. — συκοφαντίας: συκοφάνται were professional informers, who extorted money from individuals by threats of prosecution or brought suits for the sake of obtaining a share of the fines which might be imposed. — καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς: properly 'men of culture,' but the term is often, as here, a conventional designation for the aristocratic party. Cp. βελτίστους § 22 and γνωρίμων 2. 6. — ὑπήγον θανάτου: see on 1. 3. 19. — ἡ βουλὴ . . . κατεψηφίζετο: for the Thirty had conferred upon their Senate judicial functions.

13. ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη: Xenophon alone among Attic writers occasionally uses the opt. with ἂν in object clauses, instead of the regular fut. indic. See Introd. IV. G. 1, and GMT. 351 and App. IV. In such cases ὅπως is really interrogative and its clause an indir. question with the potential opt. The Thirty asked themselves *how it would be possible*. GMT. 351, 2; GS. 447. — πρῶτον μὲν: according to Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 2) the establishment of a Spartan garrison in Athens was one of the *last* acts of the Thirty. It is altogether probable, however, that Aristotle is in error. See Introd. p. 33 f. — Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἄριστοτέλην: both members of the Thirty (§ 2) and the latter apparently a friend of Lysander (2. 18). — φρουροὺς . . . ἐλθεῖν: *to*

σφίσι συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκπο-  
 δὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσωντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέ-  
 14 ψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνούντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε  
 φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἄρμοστήν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς  
 πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν 75  
 Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαι-  
 νοίῃ ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος  
 αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονη-  
 ροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἡκιστα  
 μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπι-80  
 χειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.  
 15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμο-

*aid them in securing the coming of a garrison.* φρουροὺς is subj. of ἐλθεῖν, which is the obj. inf. after συμπράξαι, while σφίσι depends upon σύν in composition. — δὴ: ironical (*forsooth*), as in 1. 27, 1. 7. 8. It was not merely against τοὺς πονηροὺς that the Thirty had designs. — θρέψειν αὐτοί: *that they would maintain it* (the garrison) *themselves*, i.e. at their own expense.

14. φρουροὺς: 700 in number. — ἄρμοστήν: with a Spartan har- most installed in the Acropolis, Athens now had a government entirely similar to those which Lysander had established in other captured cities. See on 2. 5. — ὡς: see Introd. IV. F. — τῶν φρουρῶν: part. gen. depending upon τινάς, the understood obj.

of συμπέμποντος. — οὓς ἐβούλοντο: *the ones whom they wished (to arrest)*, as contrasted with those whom they had arrested in expectation of the support of public opinion (§ 12). Note that *whomsoever they wished* would have been οὓς βούλονται. — οὓς ἐνόμιζον . . . λαμβάνειν: *who they thought least willingly endured being thrust aside, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers.* Note the predicative use of πλείστους.

§§ 15–20. *Themamenes opposes the violent measures of Critias. Three thousand citizens are chosen to share in the government and all the other Athenians are disarmed.*

15. ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει: leaders respectively of the extreme

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των πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί<sup>95</sup>  
 τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν  
 ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο  
 τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν δια-  
<sup>18</sup>μένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα,  
 ἤδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἠκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ<sup>100</sup>  
 συρρνεΐησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισ-  
<sup>19</sup>χιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ  
 Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη  
 ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελ-  
 τίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους,<sup>105</sup>  
 ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκη καλοῦς

17. καὶ ἀδίκως: *and unjustly*  
*too.* — πολλοὶ . . . συνιστάμενοι:  
*it was evident that many were*  
*banding together.* For the per-  
 sonal construction see on I. 6. 20.  
 — τις: as in I. 5. 15. — λήψοιτο:  
 for this form of fut. cond. see on  
 σχήσοι I. 1. 35. It is frequently  
 used, as here, in a threat or warn-  
 ing. — τῶν πραγμάτων: *the gov-*  
*ernment,* as in I. 6. 13.

18. οἱ . . . τριάκοντα: this term  
 is used to designate the tyrants as  
 a body even when, as here, it does  
 not refer to the whole number.  
 Cp. 4. 23. — οὐχ ἠκιστα: = *μάλιστα.*  
 — τοὺς μεθέξοντας: = *οἱ μεθέξουσι.*  
 — δὴ: ironical again. The Thirty  
 had no intention of surrendering  
 any part of their authority. Sim-  
 ilarly, in 411 B.C., the oligarchy  
 of the Four Hundred enrolled a

body of five thousand citizens to  
 whom they promised, but never  
 granted, a share in the govern-  
 ment.

19. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα: *in regard*  
*to this also.* — τὸ πρῶτον μὲν: *in*  
*the first place,* correlative with  
 ἔπειτα δέ below. — βουλομένους . . .  
 τρισχιλίους: *that, wishing to make*  
*the best of the citizens their asso-*  
*ciates, they made just three thou-*  
*sand (their associates).* The words  
 κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι do double  
 duty. See KG. 597, 2 f. — ὥσπερ  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ἔχοντα: the acc.  
 absolute, which is regular with the  
 part. of an impersonal verb, is occa-  
 sionally used with other verbs when  
 ὡς or ὥσπερ introduces the abso-  
 lute clause. S. 2078; HA. 974; B.  
 658, N.; G. 1570; Gl. 591 a;  
 GMT. 853. — ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκη

καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατα- 110  
20 σκευαζομένους. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ 115 ὄπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

κτέ. : *must of necessity be, etc.* For εἶναι see S. 2004; HA. 952; B. 641; G. 1521; Gl. 565. — οὐτ' . . . οἷόν τε εἶη : (*as if*) *it would not be possible*. The clause is parallel with the preceding acc. abs., but with change of construction, as though introduced by ὡσπερ ἂν εἶ. Cp. ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες . . . , ἐκεῖνοι δὲ . . . ἤκοιεν I. 2. 15. — βιαίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . κατασκευαζομένους : *establishing a government of violence*. Note the pred. use of βιαίαν. — ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων : *weaker than the governed, i.e. those outside the 3000.*

20. ἐξέτασιν : *i.e. a review under arms*. — τῶν ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου : *all the other citizens except the 3000*. With καταλόγου cp. καταλέγουσι § 18. — ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ : *in different places, thus*

dividing the disfranchised and presumably disaffected citizens into small, easily manageable divisions. — θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα : *to pile their arms*. — ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀπεληλύθεσαν : *while they were away, i.e. from the mustering places*. The citizens are temporarily relieved from duty by the order to pile arms. When they have straggled off, for rest or for food, their arms are seized by the emissaries of the Thirty. — τοὺς φρουροὺς : *the Spartan garrison*. — τῷ ναῷ : *of Athena, i.e. the Parthenon*. — Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 2) puts the disarming of the Athenians after the execution of Theramenes. See on § 13.

§§ 21–23. *Arbitrary executions and confiscations by the Thirty. Theramenes' continued*



21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ  
 τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν 120  
 καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοί-  
 κων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι,  
 22 τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπε-  
 κρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας 125  
 βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν.  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἶων,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα  
 λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώ-  
 23 τερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν 130  
 ὅτι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς  
 βουλευτὰς ἄλλος· πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμε-

*opposition leads them to plot against him.*

21. ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη: *thinking that (ὡς) it was now possible.* For the acc. abs. see on § 19. — τῶν μετοίκων: dependent upon ἕνα, which is obj. of λαβεῖν. The brother of Lysias, the orator, was one of those who were thus seized and put to death. See *Introd.* p. 34 and cp. *Lys.* 12. 5-17. The metics were for the most part merchants and manufacturers, and many of them were wealthy. — ἕκαστον: of the Thirty.

22. ἔφη: the insertion of a superfluous ἔφη after an introduc-

ing verb of saying (here ἀπεκρίνατο) is not unusual. — καλόν: *honorable.* — συκοφαντῶν: see on § 12. — λαμβάνοιεν . . . εἶων: see on εἶη I. 6. 20. — μηδέν: instead of οὐδέν because the part. is conditional, — *even though guilty of no wrong-doing.* — πῶς οὐ: = ἄρα οὐ, *nohow.* — τῷ παντί: *altogether.* — ἐκείνων: = τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων. A 'short-cut comparison.'

23. ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλοιντο: the dearest hope of the Thirty. Cp. ὅπως βούλοιντο § 13, ὅτι βούλοιντο § 21. — βουλευτὰς: who now have judicial power. Cp. § 12. — ὡς . . . πολιτείαν: *on the ground*

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εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστά-  
 27 σει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηρα-  
 μένην τουτονὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ  
 ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε  
 ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα 155  
 οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλόμεθα ποιή-  
 σασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα  
 ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν  
 28 δικαίως ἐνομίζετο. νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ 160  
 δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενή-  
 μεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς  
 μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστή, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν 165

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

27. τουτονί: *here*. S. 333 g; HA. 274; B. 147; G. 412; Gl. 210. — οἷς δύναται: *by what means he can*. — ἀπολλύντα: conative pres. — ὡς ταῦτα ἀληθῆ: *as proof that this is true*. — τὰ παρόντα: *the present proceedings*. — εἰ . . . ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε: *if he had held these views*. — πολέμιος μὲν ἦν: without ἂν, since the conclusion is stated as a past fact. On the other hand, ἂν ἐνομίζετο states what

would be true in the present, assuming the reality of εἰ ἐγίγνωσκε. Note that the first apodosis is logically subordinate to the second, — *although an enemy, still he would not*, etc. Cp. I. 7. 28.

28. νῦν δέ: *but as it is*, turning from the unreal hypothesis to the actual fact. — αὐτός: emphatic, 'it was *he* who began.' The nom. is left without a verb, the sentence continuing in the changed form αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει. See Introd. IV. κ. — ὅπως: purpose, since οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει means not merely *he disapproves*, but *he expresses his disapproval, he opposes*. — αὖ: *again*, in the event

29 τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ  
 προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδό-  
 ναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία  
 πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ  
 φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρω- 170  
 ποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὐθις πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν  
 προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε  
 30 οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ  
 καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν,  
 ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ 175  
 ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα  
 Ἄγωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-  
 στῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις.  
 ἵπεί δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον,

of another change in the govern-  
 ment.

29. τοσοῦτῳ μὲν δεινότερον . . .  
 ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον: *as much more  
 dreadful a thing than war, as it  
 is harder.* — τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ  
 κτέ.: the thought is 'as much  
 more hateful, as men's treatment  
 of the former is harsher than their  
 treatment of the latter.' Trans-  
 late *and more hateful, inasmuch  
 as, etc.* — σπένδονται: *make peace.*  
 — ὃν . . . λαμβάνωσι: *whomever  
 they catch playing the traitor, a  
 pres. gen. protasis.* The apod.  
 is contained in the gnomic aorists  
 ἐσπείσατο and ἐπίστευσε, which are  
 equivalent to presents and paral-  
 lel with σπένδονται and πιστοὶ

γίνονται. — τοῦ λοιποῦ: *for the  
 future.*

30. ὅτι . . . ποιεῖ: *that these  
 doings of his are nothing new.*  
 καινά is predicative. — τιμώμενος:  
 concessive. — κατὰ . . . Ἄγωνα:  
*like his father, Hagnon.* Connect  
 with the following. — τοὺς τετρα-  
 κοσίους: for the history of the oli-  
 garchy of the Four Hundred (411  
 B.C.) see Introd. p. 18. That Hag-  
 non and Theramenes were in fact  
 prominent in the movement is  
 proved by the statements of other  
 authorities. Cp. Lys. 12. 65, Thuc.  
 8. 68, Arist. *Const. Ath.* 32. 2. —  
 ἀντίπαλόν τι . . . συνιστάμενον: *that  
 some opposition to the oligarchy was  
 gathering.* The Athenian fleet re-

31 πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμῶν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο · ὅθεν 180  
 δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος  
 ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ · ἀποβλέπει  
 δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δέ, ὡς Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν  
 ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα  
 τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλε- 185  
 σθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον  
 καταστῶσιν · εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοιτό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ,  
 32 εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψη, εὐθὺς εἰς τὰναντία πλέοιεν ; καὶ  
 εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι,  
 σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος 190  
 εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις  
 δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοί  
 ἐστιν ὅς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν

fused allegiance to the new govern-  
 ment. — αὖ: changing sides again.  
 — ἐκείνους: the Four Hundred.

31. δήπου: *of course*. — ἐπι-  
 καλεῖται: *is nicknamed*. — [καὶ . . .  
 ἀμφοτέρων]: probably a marginal  
 note, in explanation of the pre-  
 ceding, which has been incorpo-  
 rated in the text. The second  
 clause appears to mean *and he*  
 (*i.e.* Theramenes) *faces both ways*.  
 — δεῖ . . . οὐ προάγειν κτέ.: *ought*  
*not to be clever at leading his com-*  
*rades into dangerous undertakings,*  
*etc.* — ἕως . . . καταστῶσιν: *lit.*  
*until they come into a fair breeze,*  
*i.e.* get a favoring, instead of an  
 adverse, wind. — εἰ δὲ μή: *other-*

*wise*, more fully explained by εἰ  
 . . . πλέοιεν. See on 1. 3. 3. —  
 πῶς . . . ποτε: *how in the world*.

32. εἰσὶ μὲν . . . θανατηφόροι:  
 logically subordinate to the fol-  
 lowing δέ clause. See on § 27. —  
 δήπου: as in § 31 above. — μεταί-  
 τιος εἰ . . . ἀπολωλέναι: *αἴτιος* and  
 its compounds are followed by the  
 simple inf. as well as the inf. with  
 τοῦ. S. 2002; H.A. 952; B. 641; G.  
 1526; Gl. 565 a; GMT. 749, 798. A  
 noun denoting the person affected  
 stands in the dat., — here πλείστοις.  
 — ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας: = τῶν βελτιόνων,  
 dependent upon πλείστοις. — τῶν  
 βελτιόνων: *cp.* βέλτιστοι § 25. —  
 καί: = *καίπερ*. ταχθεὶς is there-

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σκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο · Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν · Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὃ 215 τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος 220 ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι 36 ἀποπλέοντες ὄχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν 225 παρανενοηκένοι · ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατε-

σκε § 27. — τῶν ἔξω: *i.e.* democrats who were in exile.

§§ 35–49. *Theramenes' defense.*

35. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον . . . λόγου: it is *possible* that this claim has a basis of truth (see on I. 7. 4), but the following statements are in direct contradiction of Xenophon's narrative (I. 7. 3–6) and must be regarded as wholly false. The generals never accused Theramenes of neglect of duty (see I. 7. 6), and it was they, not he, who maintained (*ib.*) that the storm prevented the rescue. — δήπου: putting this doubtful as-

sertion as though it were a matter of common knowledge. See on § 31. — προσταθέν: acc. abs., concessive. From μοι supply ἐμέ as subj. of ἀνελέσθαι. — ἀπολογούμενος: *saying in my defense.* — οὐδέ . . . μὴ ὅτι: *not even . . . much less.* S. 2763 d; HA. 1035 a; B. 442, N.; G. 1504; GMT. 708. — εἰκότα: *what was reasonable.*

36. παρανενοηκένοι: *has misunderstood (the matter),* a sarcastic note. — Θετταλίᾳ: where Critias had gone when banished from Athens. Cp. § 15 and *Mem.* I. 2. 24. — δημοκρατίαν

σκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὤπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας.  
 37 ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο·  
 τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς 230  
 ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν  
 ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμω-  
 ρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν  
 οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα  
 38 καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν 235  
 μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν  
 καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκο-  
 φάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ  
 δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συλ-  
 λαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ γὰρ ἤρξάμην τὰναντία τούτοις 240  
 39 γιγνώσκων. ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκουτος μὲν Λέοντος

κατεσκεύαζε: quietly and artfully suggesting that he (Theramenes) was not the only political turn-coat. — πενέστας: *serfs*.

37. μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο: herein Theramenes means to indicate that, despite the charges made against him, he is no friend of democracy. For the opt. (of wish) see S. 1814; HA. 870; B. 587; G. 1507; Gl. 476. — τῆς μεγίστης: made emphatic by its separation from τιμωρίας. — ὅστις . . . ἐστίν: this is the all-important question. In his answer to it lies the strength of Theramenes' able defense. — ἂν . . . κρίνειν: apod. of εἰ κατανοήσετε. S. 2356; HA. 901 a; B.

612, 1; G. 1421, 2. — ἕκαστος ἡμῶν: Theramenes on the one hand, Critias and his following on the other.

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

39. Λέοντος: general in 406–405 B.C. Cp. 1. 5. 16, 6. 16. Socrates was detailed by the Thirty to arrest Leon, but refused obedience. Plato, *Apol.* 32 c. —



τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῆδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται· ἐγίνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, 245 καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς 40 ἡμῖν γενήσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει 250 γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ 41 μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ 255 νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. 260

ἱκανοῦ: *able*. — οὐδὲ ἐν: see on οὐδὲ μᾶ 2. 10. — Νικίου: a famous statesman, commander of the Sicilian expedition, and one of the richest men of his time.

40. ἀλλὰ μὴν: *and further*. — Ἀντιφῶντος: not the orator Antiphon, who was executed in 411 B.C. Thuc. 8. 68. — ὑπόπτως . . . ἔξοιεν: in an active sense, *would cherish suspicion*. — ἓνα ἕκαστον: as in § 21.

41. τὰ ὄπλα . . . παρηροῦντο:

cp. § 20. — οὐδέ: because the thought is 'nor did the Lacedaemonians (any more than I) wish to make the city weak.' — ἐξῆν: *it was possible*. For the omission of ἄν see S. 2313; HA. 897; B. 607; G. 1400; Gl. 460. — γε: emphasizing τούτου, *if this had been what they wanted*. — καὶ μηδένα: *no one at all*. — λιμῷ: note that it was Theramenes himself who was most responsible therefor. Cp. 2. 16.

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οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολ-  
 λούς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον  
 44 τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ  
 δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ᾧδε ἐπισκέψασθε.  
 πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς 280  
 ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλε-  
 σθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ  
 οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ  
 εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν  
 εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἠγείσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι 285  
 45 τῆς χώρας. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε  
 μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος  
 ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πο-  
 46 λιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε 290  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ

icipial substantives. Cp. τούτους  
 I. 7. 25. — οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας: a  
 statement of fact. Contrast μηδὲν  
 ἀδικοῦντας § 22. — προδιδόντες . . .  
 τοὺς φίλους: with reference to § 33.  
 44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω: *my policies*,  
 subj. of γίγνεσθαι. — μᾶλλον ἂν  
 . . . βούλεσθαι: *would prefer*. —  
 ἢ: correlative with πότερον. — τὸ  
 κράτιστον: *the best element*. —  
 ἂν ἠγείσθαι: parallel with νομίζειν.  
 — τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν: *to set foot*, subj.  
 of εἶναι.

45. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν: *and again, as  
 to his statement* — οἷος . . . μετα-  
 βάλλεσθαι: S. 2003; H.A. 952; B.

641; G. 1526; Gl. 565 a. — ταῦτα:  
 referring to the following. — ἐπὶ:  
*in the time of*. — καὶ αὐτός: καί  
 emphasizes the pronoun (cp. καὶ  
 μηδένα § 41), *it was the people it-  
 self which voted*. For the fact  
 cp. Thuc. 8. 54, 69, Arist. *Const.*  
*Ath.* 29. 1.

46. For the events referred to  
 in this section see *Introd.* p. 18. —  
 ἐκεῖνοι: the Lacedaemonians. —  
 οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν: *did not relax their  
 efforts at all* in prosecuting the  
 war. — οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ . . . Ἀριστάρχον:  
*i.e.* the three who are named and  
 their fellow generals. For ἀμφὶ

Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγούντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ 295  
 47 διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων ; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή ; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ 300  
 48 ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος 305 εἰμὶ οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων

see Introd. IV. c. 2. — στρατηγούντες : = στρατηγοὶ ὄντες. — τῷ χώματι : *the peninsula* (Eetionea), commanding Piraeus. — ἐταίροις : members of the oligarchical clubs, which bore the name ἐταιρίαί.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ : regularly used of an abusive name. — ποτὲ καί : both words add emphasis to the question, *whatever in the world*, etc. Cp. τί καὶ δεδιότες I. 7. 26.

48. ἐκείνοις μὲν κτέ. : *am forever at war with those who do not think there could be a good democracy until*, etc. — οἱ . . . ἂν ἀποδόμενοι :

*those who would sell.* The participle with ἂν represents a pot. opt. S. 1845 ; HA. 987 a ; B. 662 ; G. 1308 ; Gl. 595. — δραχμῆς : gen. of price. — αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν : *should have a share in it, i.e. τῆς πόλεως*, the government. For the opt. see S. 2450 ; HA. 924, 921 b ; B. 627, 624 ; G. 1470, 1471, 2 ; Gl. 644 c. — οἱ οὐκ οἴονται κτέ. : *who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to being ruled absolutely by a few.* — τό : connect with διατάττειν. — τοῖς δυναμένοις . . .

καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν  
 πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλο- 310  
 :9 μαι. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς  
 δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσθητοὺς ἀπο-  
 στερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ  
 ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς,  
 ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως 315  
 ἀποθνήσκην.

50 Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλή δῆλη ἐγέ-  
 νετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ  
 ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύ-  
 ξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ 320

ἀσπίδων: *i.e.* those who are able at their own expense to equip themselves as horsemen (μεθ' ἵππων) or hoplites (μετ' ἀσπίδων). — ὠφελεῖν: dependent upon δυναμένοις and used intransitively. — διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν: *i.e.* to establish a government in which citizenship should be limited to the class just mentioned. — πρόσθεν: in the time of the Four Hundred. — This section contains an effective statement of Theramenes' position as a moderate, the foe of extremists in either camp. It is this attitude on his part which explains and justifies the high praise bestowed upon him by Thucydides and Aristotle, who also bear witness to the excellence of the government which he was instrumental in establishing after the fall of the Four

Hundred, a government based upon the principle of limited citizenship as described above by himself. See Thuc. 8. 68. 4, 8. 97. 2, Arist. *Const. Ath.* 28. 5, 32. 2, 33. 2. It is unfortunate that Theramenes was not more worthy of praise as a man.

49. ἐγώ: emphatic, for Critias had been guilty, in Thessaly and Athens, of both the offenses here mentioned. — πράττων ἢ πρότερον κτέ.: note the alliteration. — πάντων: see on 1. 2. 18. — ἐσχατώτατα: the superl. of a superl., ἔσχατος being the normal form.

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

50. δῆλη . . . ἐπιθορυβήσασα: *had shown its good will by applause.* — ἀναφεύξοιτο: = ἀποφεύξοιτο, *would escape.* — οὐ βιωτὸν: *unen-*

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γου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς  
 52 θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἵκε- 335  
 τεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξα-  
 λείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ  
 νόμον οὔτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ  
 53 τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο  
 μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέ- 340  
 σει ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι,  
 ὅτι οὔτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε  
 ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδέν τὸ ἐμὸν 345  
 54 ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ἐξαλείφω) its result. — συνδοκοῦν: acc. abs. — ἡμεῖς: *we* (emphatic), not the Senate, before whom Theramenes was originally (cp. §§ 23, 34) brought for trial.

52. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν: *i.e.* upon the steps of the altar of Hestia in the Senate chamber. — ἔφη: see on § 22. — τὰ . . . ἐννομώτατα: 'only bare justice' (Grote), a cogn. acc., explained by the following appositive infs. — ἐπί: *in the power of*.

53. τοῦτο . . . τοῦτο: as ταῦτα § 45. — ὑμῶν . . . θαυμάζω: *I am surprised at you*. θαυμάζειν

with the gen. often implies censure. — ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοί: *i.e. gentlemen*, in the old English sense of that word. — εἰ: conditional in form (hence μὴ), but in sense = ὅτι. S. 2247; HA. 926; B. 598, 1; G. 1423; Gl. 654. — καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες: lit. *and that too, although you know*, *i.e. especially when you know*. S. 2083; HA. 612 a; B. 656, 2; G. 1573.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα: see on I. 7. 10. The Board was now made up of the most violent oligarchs. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην: lit. *upon* or *at Theramenes*, *i.e.* to seize him. —

ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου  
 τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν 350  
 ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν  
 νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἔνδεκα  
 55 οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν,  
 εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ  
 ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοῦς 355  
 ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ  
 δὲ βουλή ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὀρώσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυ-  
 φάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευ-  
 τηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι  
 56 ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν 360  
 ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα  
 οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς  
 εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξειτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπή-  
 ρετο· \*Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ  
 ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ 365  
 λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν·

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

55. ὁμοίους . . . πλήρες: pred.,  
 the supplementary parts. being  
 understood. — τὸ ἔμπροσθεν: the  
 space before. — ἀγνοοῦντες: with  
 βουλή, construction according to  
 sense.

56. μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ: with

a very loud voice, lit. with his  
 voice (made) very loud. τῇ  
 μεγάλη φωνῇ would mean with  
 his loud voice. — οἰμώξειτο: would  
 suffer, would rue it. — σιωπήσειεν:  
 inceptive aor. — ἄρα: then. — τὸ  
 κώνειον: see on βάραθρον I. 7. 20.  
 — ἀποκοτταβίσαντα: throwing out.  
 The reference is to the game called  
 κότταβος, in which one threw the  
 last drops from a wine cup into a  
 metal basin, at the same time pro-  
 nouncing the name and wishing  
 the health of the one whom he



Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς 370 ψυχῆς.

1 Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, 4 ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολ- 5 λούς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς

loved. The sound made by the drops striking the basin was regarded as an augury of the success or failure of one's suit. Here 'Theramenes invokes and prophecies for Critias the destruction which was so soon to overtake him.' — τῷ καλῷ: *my beloved*, colloquial Attic. — ταῦτα: subject. — ἀποφθέγματα: predicate. — ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω: here for the first time in the *Hell*. Xenophon speaks in the first person. See App. p. 356. — ἀνδρός: poss. gen. with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ . . . ἀπολιπεῖν: in explanatory apposition with ἐκεῖνο. — τὸ φρόνιμον: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1. 40. 96) translates by *animi aequitatem*. — παιγνιῶδες: *playfulness*.

CHAPTER 4, §§ 1-7. *Further excesses of the Thirty. Thrasybu-*

*lus with a small band of exiles seizes Phyle and twice defeats forces sent against him by the tyrants.*

1. ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη: as in 3. 21. — ἦγον: *evicted*. — χωρίων: *farms, estates*. — φευγόντων: *sc. αὐτῶν, and when they fled*. See on 1. 1. 26. — καὶ ἐντεῦθεν: *from there* (Piraeus) *also*. — Μέγαρα . . . Θήβας: the Spartans, at the instigation of the Thirty, issued an order forbidding any Greek state to harbor Athenian refugees (τῶν ὑποχωρούντων), but Thebes and Argos led the way in disobeying this order.

2. ἐκ δὲ τούτου: according to Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 37. 1) the seizure of Phyle took place before the execution of Theramenes. See on 3. 13 and 3. 20. — Θρασύβουλος: cp. 3. 42 and 3. 44. — ὡς: connect

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τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα  
 6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἤσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς  
 ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους 30  
 ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύ-  
 βουλον τὰ ὄπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν  
 οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἐξ  
 ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον  
 ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν 35  
 καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόν-  
 7 τες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον  
 στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὄπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον  
 καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς  
 βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσ- 40  
 μείναντες δ' ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκου-  
 8 τες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα,  
 οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλή-

bination serves as a gen., with  
 συνειλεγμένων. See on πρὸς ἑπτα-  
 κοσίους I. 2. 18. Note that some  
 time has passed since § 2 and that  
 Thrasybulus' force has vastly in-  
 creased.

6. πρὸς: *towards*. — ἀνίσταν-  
 το: *sc. οἱ φρουροί, were getting  
 up and going*. That the verb is  
 used in this free sense, implying  
 motion, is clear from the following.  
 — ὅποι . . . ἕκαστος: *i.e. going  
 about their several duties*. — τῶν  
 ὄπλων: *the camp*, strictly the place  
 where the arms were piled. — ἔστι

. . . οὓς: = ἐνίους. S. 2513, 2514;  
 HA. 998; B. 486, N.; G. 1029; Gl.  
 614 a. — ἐπικαλούμενον: see on 3.  
 31. — καὶ . . . δέ: *and also*, correla-  
 tive with τε. See Introd. IV. D. 3.

7. τροπαῖον στησάμενοι: in this  
 phrase Xenophon generally em-  
 ploys the middle of ἱστάναι, while  
 classical writers use only the active.  
 — ἐπί: as in I. 2. 11.

§§ 8–9. *The Thirty treacher-  
 ously seize many Eleusinians and  
 force the Three Thousand to con-  
 demn them to death*.

8. τὰ πράγματα: as in 3. 17. —

θησαν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν 45 ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασίν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναί βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντα· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν 50 ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἵππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς 9 τοῖς ἔνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν 55 τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν

ὥστε: purpose. S. 2267; HA. 953 a; B. 595, N.; G. 1452; Gl. 566 b. — εἰ δεήσειε: *if it should prove necessary*. — παραγγείλαντες: without a following inf. expressed, as in 2. 7. — ἐξέτασιν: *sc. τῶν Ἐλευσινίων*. — τε: see Introd. IV. D. I. — ἐν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι: *lit. among the (Athenian) horsemen, i.e. the horsemen were posted around the reviewing ground as a guard, and made possible the execution of the plan described below*. — πόσης . . . προσδεήσονται: *how large an additional (πρόσ-) garrison they (the Eleusinians) would require*. —

ἀπογράφεσθαι: *to register*. — τὸν ἀπογραψάμενον αἰεὶ: *as αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων* I. 4. So τὸν ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ below. — πυλίδος: *in the town wall*. — ἀναγαγόντα: *to Athens*. — According to Lysias (12. 52) and Diodorus (14. 32) Salamis suffered in a similar way at the hands of the Thirty.

9. Ὠιδεῖον: *a building designed for musical performances*. The one which is here referred to was just outside the city to the southeast — ὥσπερ καὶ . . . οὕτω καὶ: *for the idiom see on I. 7. 13*. — καὶ τῶν . . . μετέχειν: *a cardinal principle of government with the Thirty was,*

κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων 60  
καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε  
καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε  
10 φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν  
τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα  
ἀρεστά καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον 65  
ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς  
περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς  
εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἤσθοντο ταῦτα,  
εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς 70  
ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς  
11 τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς  
ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ  
κύκλος ὦν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς

as Socrates (*Apol* 32 C) says, 'to involve as many as possible in their misdeeds.' See on 3. 39. — Ἐλευσινίων: for the gen. see on I 5. 19. — ἵνα . . . φοβῆσθε: *that you may have the same hopes and fears as we.* For the case of ἡμῖν see on Λακεδαιμονίοις 2. 20. — φανεράν: predicative. For the fact see on I. 7. 9.

§§ 10–12. *Thrasybulus takes possession of Piraeus. The Thirty dispatch a force against him.*

10. ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει . . . ἦσαν: *were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed.* — τῶν πολιτῶν: *i.e.* the Three Thousand. The gen. is partitive. — ἐκ τούτου: four days

after the battle of § 6. See § 13. — περὶ . . . συνειλεγμένους: *who had now gathered to the number of about 1000.* Thrasybulus' victory had quickly brought new recruits to his standard. — ἀναφέρουσαν: *leading up, i.e.* from the low plain between Athens and Piraeus. For the order of words see on I. 1. 23.

11. ἔτι μὲν: *for a while, i.e.* until the time indicated by the correlative ἐπεὶ δέ clause. — ἀνιέναι αὐτούς: *to let them come up.* Cp. ἀναφέρουσαν above. — ὁ κύκλος: *i.e.* the line of the town wall of Piraeus on the land side. The wall itself had been destroyed

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πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου  
 ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως  
 ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαυνον καὶ  
 τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ  
 νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ᾤοντο, 95  
 14 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ ἠὺχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι  
 αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες  
 συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ  
 δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες  
 ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ 100  
 γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρη, καὶ  
 ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι  
 15 τροπαῖα ἴστασθαι διδόασιν· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν  
 ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκον-  
 τίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι 105  
 δύναιντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες  
 καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς

S. 1585; HA. 721; G. 1063. —  
 ἐδιώξατε: cp. § 6. — οὗτοι δὴ: *even  
 these*, although the fact seems too  
 good to be true. — πόλεως . . .  
 οἰκιῶν: note the rhetorical omis-  
 sion of the articles. — ἀπεσημαί-  
 νοντο: the verb regularly means,  
 as in 3. 21, *to confiscate*. Thrasy-  
 bulus bitterly applies it to rulers  
 who have treated lives as lightly as  
 property. — παραγεγένηται: subj.  
 οἱ τριάκοντα. — οὗτοι: inserted for  
 the sake of the contrast with ἡμεῖς.

14. ὄπλα μὲν: as contrasted  
 with their other helpers, οἱ δὲ θεοί.

— ποτέ: *once*, contrasted with νῦν  
 below. — οἱ δὲ καί: see on 1. 2. 14.  
 — οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: *not only  
 not . . . but not even*. S. 2763 c;  
 HA. 1035 a; G. 1504. — χειμῶνα  
 ποιοῦσιν: cp. §§ 2, 3.

15. καὶ . . . δέ: see on § 6.  
 — βάλλειν: *sc.* δόρατα. — ὑπὲρ:  
*over the heads of*. — πρὸς ὄρθιον:  
*up hill*. — δόρατα . . . ἀκόντια . . .  
 πέτρους: referring to the three  
 classes (§ 12) of troops under  
 Thrasybulus. — αὐτῶν: for the gen.  
 see S. 1350; HA. 739; B. 356;  
 G. 1099; Gl. 510 d.

16 κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσῃν τοῖς γε πρω-  
 τοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ  
 προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλγῃ, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν 110  
 οὐδείς ὧν γε μεστή ἢ ὀδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύ-  
 σουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ  
 τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλόμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομέ-  
 17 νους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως  
 ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὧν. 115  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλη, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα  
 καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ,  
 καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαν-  
 τες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ  
 καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδείς οὕτω πλούσιος 120  
 ὧν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς  
 ἦ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε  
 πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρόμεθα  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους 125  
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ

16. ᾤετο ἂν: see on ἂν καθεώρων  
 I. 7. 7. — τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις: of  
 the enemy. — νῦν δέ: as in 3. 28.—  
 ὧν: = τούτων ὧν.

17. ὅπως . . . συνείσεται: obj.  
 clause after οὕτω ποιεῖν as an ex-  
 pression of striving. — αἰτιώτατος  
 ὧν: of being chiefly responsible. —  
 τιμὰς: i.e. the honors that belong  
 to citizenship. — παῖδας . . . καὶ  
 γυναῖκας: see on I. 3. 19. — δῆτα:  
 surely. — οὕτω: connect with κα-

λοῦ. οὕτως is not infrequently sep-  
 arated for the sake of emphasis  
 from the word which it limits. —  
 παιᾶνα: the battle song, usually  
 addressed to Apollo and invoking  
 his aid. The paeon was also a song  
 of thanksgiving after victory. —  
 Ἐνυάλιον: the war god, Ares.

§§ 18-22. *The Thirty are de-  
 feated and Critias is killed. Cle-  
 ocritus' plea for a reconciliation.*

18. ὁ μάντις: the article be-



πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ  
 τρωθείη· ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν,  
 ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι  
 19 θάνατος, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 130  
 ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς  
 ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ·  
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ.  
 ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ 135  
 Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης  
 ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν ὄπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν  
 ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς  
 ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ 140  
 20 διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ'  
 εὐφῶνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖ-

cause seers were regularly attached to Greek armies. — πέσοι: for the opt. see S. 2449; HA. 937; B. 677; G. 1502, 3; Gl. 644 c. — ἡγησόμεθα ἡμεῖς . . . ὑμῖν ἐπομένοις: chiasmus. So νίκη ὑμῖν . . . ἐμοὶ θάνατος. See on 1. 6. 7.

19. τὰ ὄπλα: *i.e.* τὰς ἀσπίδας. Cp. § 12. — τέθαπται: *lies buried*. — Κηφισοῦ: a small stream which crosses the road leading from Athens to Piraeus and empties into the bay of Phalerum. — τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων: a Board appointed by the Thirty (Arist. 35. 1; cp. 3. 11). The use of

τῶν would imply that they had been previously mentioned, yet such is not the case. See Introd. p. 27. — Χαρμίδης: uncle of the philosopher Plato and a kinsman of Critias. — περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: serving as a nominative. See on § 5.

20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ: *the herald of the initiated, i.e.* those initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, for which see on 1. 4. 20. By virtue of the sacredness of his office Cleocritus was able to command attention. — κατασιωπησάμενος: causative, *having obtained*

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Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ  
 τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς  
 23 τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ 165  
 ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν  
 δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ  
 διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσαν  
 τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεῖη  
 καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν 170  
 ἠδικηκένοι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδί-  
 δασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς  
 τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν  
 ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο  
 ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέεσθαι. καὶ 175  
 εἶλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

= *bitterly*. — λοιποὶ: the survivors of the Thirty and of the Ten in Piraeus. — καὶ . . . ἑαυτῶν: *on account also of the fact that their followers were hearing such things*. καί and πρὸς in comp. support one another in indicating an *additional* reason — besides the defeat — for the retirement of the vanquished. — ἀπήγαγον: according to Lysias (12. 53) the victors allowed them to depart unmolested in the hope of a speedy reconciliation.

§§ 23–27. *The Thirty are deposed and retire to Eleusis. A board of Ten is chosen, which continues the war against the democrats in Piraeus.* 403 B.C.

23 οἱ τριάκοντα: now only

twenty-seven. See on 3. 18. — πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ . . . συνεκάθηον: *were naturally (δὴ) very greatly dejected, etc., when they held their session, etc.* The adjs. are pred. — τι βιαιότερον: *anything particularly violent*. — μηδὲν ἠδικηκένοι: the inf. after πιστεύειν, though in ind. disc., regularly takes μή. S. 2725; HA. 1024; G. 1496; Gl. 579 a; GMT. 685. — οὐδὲν δέοιντο κτέ.: *'they had no need of these evils, i.e. there was no reason why they should suffer them.'* Underhill. — δέκα: these Ten, who were supposed to be moderate oligarchs and opposed to Critias and his faction, were chosen to bring about a reconciliation. They

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἑξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδεῖῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ 180 τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν 25 τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὄπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ 185 δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλι-

simply continued, however, the policy of the Thirty. Cp. Arist. 38. 1 f., Lys. 12. 54 f. — ἀπὸ φυλῆς: *from each tribe*. See on 1. 5. 4.

24. Ἐλευσῖνάδε: cp. § 8. — καὶ μάλα: as in § 2. — ἑξεκάθευδον . . . ἐν τῷ Ὠιδεῖῳ: lit. *slept out in the Odeum* (see on § 9), *i.e.* they were put upon guard duty with quarters in the Odeum. ἑκκαθεύδειν is found only here. See Introd. IV. L. — ἵππους καὶ . . . ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες: in order to serve, as described below, both as horsemen and as hoplites. Normally the horseman did not carry a shield. See on μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων 3. 48. — The Ten considered the cavalry more loyal to the oligarchical cause than the hoplites of the Three Thousand, who had deposed the Thirty. — δι' ἀπιστίαν:

cp. ἀπιστούντων above. — τὸ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας: = τὸν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας χρόνον, *the time from evening on*. — κατὰ: *along*. — πρὸς: as in § 6.

25. πολλοὶ: pred. — παντοδαποί: cp. ξένοι below. — ὄπλα: *shields*, as in § 19. The democrats had been deprived of their arms (3. 20) and had to equip themselves as best they could. — ἐλευκοῦντο: probably in order to give themselves a 'smart' and soldierly appearance. — ἡμέρας δέκα: since the occupation of Piraeus. — καὶ εἰ: *even if*. — ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι: dependent upon πιστὰ δόντες. The ἰσοτελεῖς were a favored class of resident aliens who, while enjoying no political rights, stood upon an equal footing with citizens in respect to taxes and privileges before the courts. — πολλοὶ μὲν

ται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππεῖς  
ὡσεὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβά- 190  
νοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ.  
26 τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὄπλοις ἐξήει,  
οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ  
Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέ-  
τυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς 195  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος  
ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέγφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν  
27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἵππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν  
Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἵππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον  
φυλῆς Λεοντιδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ 200  
πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ  
τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ  
ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχαν-

. . . πολλοὶ δέ: in part. apposition to the subj. of ἐξήσαν.—ὡσεὶ: as in I. 2. 9.—ὀπώραν: cp. ὥρας I. 1.

26. ἔστιν ὅτε: sometimes.. Cp. ἔστι οὗς § 6.—Αἰξωνέων: of the deme Aexone, south of Athens, on the coast.—πολλά: earnestly. See on § 22 above.

27. ἀνταπέκτειναν: ἀντί, in retaliation.—ἵππέων: part. gen. with Καλλίστρατον.—ἐπ' ἀγροῦ: in the country.—μέγα ἐφρόνουν: lit. thought large, i.e. were proud, confident. A following dat. with ἐπί gives the reason or occasion for one's pride or confidence. Cp. §§ 29, 40, 41.—εἰ δὲ καὶ κτέ.: and if I may also tell of this deed, etc.

Instead of the expected apod.,— 'I will tell the story,'—the story itself follows. The phrase is a formula of apology for mentioning an unimportant incident; but it is characteristic of Xenophon to be interested in an ingenious scheme like the one here described. See Introd. p. 30.—τοῦτο: see on ταῦτα 3 45.—μηχανοποιοῦ: for the gen. see on ἀνδρός 3. 56.—τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον: an open space between the Lyceum (for which see on I. 1. 33) and the city wall.

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

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βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα  
 ἄμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἄμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθή-  
 30 νας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνέ-  
 ποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ 225  
 Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκέων  
 ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον  
 ποιούντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν  
 καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐστρατοπε- 230  
 δεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ  
 δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρασ, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις  
 31 τὸ εὐώνυμον. πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanίας πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ

see on τοιούτων ὄντων 2. 16. —  
 εἰ: = ὅτι, as after θαυμάζω 3. 53.  
 — τρεῖς: *i.e.* a majority of the five  
 ephors, to whose authority even  
 the kings were subject. — φρουράν:  
 the regular term for a Lacedaemo-  
 nian army.

30. πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κοριν-  
 θίων: the very states which a year  
 before had urged the destruction  
 of Athens (cp. 2. 19). Since  
 then, however, the Thebans had  
 shown the utmost sympathy with  
 the exiled democrats. See § 1  
 (and note thereon) and § 2. In  
 fact, the old anti-Athenian feeling  
 had been largely dissipated by the  
 present helplessness of Athens,  
 and it was time to be jealous of  
 the power of Sparta. Five years

later the Thebans and Corinthians  
 again refused to follow a Spartan  
 leader (3. 2. 25), and in 395 B.C.  
 they bore a foremost part in actual  
 war upon Sparta (3. 5. 3 f.). —  
 εὐορκεῖν ἂν: *i.e.* that they would be  
 observing the treaty to which they  
 had sworn in 404 B.C. The prot.  
 is contained in στρατευόμενοι, —  
 hence the following μηδέν. —  
 ἐγίγνωσκον: *supposed*. — Ἀλιπέδῳ:  
 the plain between Athens and  
 Piraeus. — Λύσανδρος: now subor-  
 dinate to Pausanias.

§§ 31–37. *After winning a  
 victory over Thrasybulus' troops  
 Pausanias persuades both parties  
 to send ambassadors to Sparta,  
 seeking a reconciliation.*

31. ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: *to go*

δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν, 235  
 ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ὑστεραία λαβῶν  
 τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἰππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα,  
 32 σκοπῶν πῆ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ 240  
 δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ  
 παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐλᾶν  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβῆς συνέπεσθαι.  
 σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν  
 μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίω- 245  
 33 ξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλι-  
 ζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ  
 Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντι-

*off to their homes.* Pausanias is not offering the exiles restoration to their *former* homes and property, but is simply bidding them, as an armed mob, to disperse. — ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν: lit. *so far as concerned* (doing it, — the attacking) *only* (ὅσον) *by means of shouting*, i.e. the attack was merely for appearance' sake, a pretense. — δύο μόρας: the Spartan army consisted of six μόραι, or regiments, varying in strength according to the size of the army which was to be put in the field. — τρεῖς φυλάς: see on § 4. — παρήλθεν: *along* the line of the Piraeus wall. — κωφὸν λιμένα: *the still harbor*, apparently the small inlet west of Eëtionea (3.46).

32. ἐλᾶν: a rare form of the inf., instead of ἐλαύνειν. — ἐνέντας: *at full speed*. — τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβῆς: with τὰ δέκα supply ἔτη in the sense of year-classes, each 'year-class' including those men who reached military age (ἡβη), i.e. the age of 20, in the same year. The whole expression, therefore, means all soldiers between 20 and 30 years old. The youngest ten (or fifteen) year-classes are frequently employed for a charge. Cp. 3. 4. 23, 4. 5. 14, 16, etc. — πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον: for Piraeus was now without walls. See on § 11.

33. οἱ ψιλοὶ: i.e. οἱ πελτασταί. — ἠκόντιζον κτέ.: asyndeton is em-



ζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων · οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμό-  
 νιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι 250  
 ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα · οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέ-  
 κειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβρα-  
 χος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης  
 καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν  
 34 ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὄρων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ 255  
 ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ  
 ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον  
 τινά, παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμε- 260  
 νος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν  
 ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλι-  
 ναν · καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκα-  
 35 τόν. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώ- 265  
 ρησε · καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων  
 ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις  
 πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ'

ployed to lend vividness to the de-  
 scription. — ἔβαλλον: *sc.* πέτρους.  
 Cp. πετροβόλοι § 12. — ἐπὶ πόδα:  
*backwards, i.e.* still facing the  
 enemy. — πολεμάρχω: πολέμαρχος  
 was the title of the commander of a  
 Spartan μόρα. — τεθαμμένοι: see on  
 τέθαιπται § 19. — Κεραμεικῷ: the  
 outer (πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν) Ceramicus  
 was the usual burial place for Athe-  
 nians who had fallen in battle.

34. πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων: *i.e.* τῶν  
 ψιλῶν, who are thus relieved. — ἐπ'  
 ὀκτώ: *eight deep*. — βαθεῖαν: as με-  
 γάλῃ 3. 56. — εἰς χεῖρας ἐδέξαντο:  
*let them come to close quarters*. —  
 Ἀλαῖς: a marshy tract near the  
 head of Piraeus harbor.

35. οὐδ' ὡς: *not even thus, i.e.*  
 although they had disobeyed and  
 attacked him. — οἷα: . . . λέγοντας:  
*with what proposals*. — τοὺς . . .

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μὲν παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφα-  
 σαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαι- 285  
 μονίοις, παραδιδόναί τόν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν.  
 38 ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι,  
 ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ  
 ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλ-  
 λιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ὧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς 290  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν  
 τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάν-

low. — χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται: a  
 formula for unconditional surren-  
 der. χρῆσθαι denotes purpose.  
 For ὅ τι with χρῆσθαι see on 1. 2.

§§ 38-42. *A Spartan commis-  
 sion arranges the terms of the  
 reconciliation. Thrasybulus and  
 his troops enter Athens. Thrasy-  
 bulus' speech before the united  
 factions.*

38. οἱ ἔφοροι: the three who  
 remained at Sparta. — οἱ ἔκκλητοι:  
 = ἡ ἐκκλησία, the Spartan As-  
 sembly. Cp. 6. 3. 3 with 5. 2. 11.  
 — πεντεκαίδεκα: Aristotle (38. 4)  
 puts the number at ten. — δια-  
 λάξαι: *to bring about a reconcilia-  
 tion.* — ἐφ' ὧτε: as ἐφ' ᾧ in 2.  
 20. — ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους: lit. *as  
 regarded their relations to one  
 another*, while the following clause  
 of the compact provides for indi-  
 viduals, the return of exiles, etc.  
 — ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν: as in

§ 31, except that here the phrase  
 involves the restoration of the  
 exiles to their former properties.  
 — τῶν ἑνδεκα: see 3 54 and note.  
 — τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα:  
 see § 19 and note. Observe the  
 tense of the part., — *who had  
 ruled, i.e.* before the occupation  
 by Thrasybulus. The Eleven and  
 the Ten in Piraeus, the creatures  
 of the Thirty, had no doubt fol-  
 lowed their masters to Eleusis.  
 Aristotle states (*Const. Ath.* 39. 6)  
 that not only the Thirty, the  
 Eleven, and the Ten in Piraeus  
 were excluded from the peace  
 and amnesty, but also the Ten in  
 Athens who succeeded the Thirty.  
 He further says (38. 3) that these  
 Ten had been deposed before the  
 coming of Pausanias, and were re-  
 placed by a second Ten. It seems  
 probable, however, that he is  
 wrong on both these points. —

των δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν  
 39 αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων  
 Πausanίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς 295  
 ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν  
 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, (ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν)  
 40 οἱ στρατηγοί. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν. Ὑμῶν,  
 ἔφη, ὧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνῶναι  
 ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε 300  
 ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῶν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν  
 ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιοτέροι ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος  
 πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς  
 ἠδίκησεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ  
 καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιθήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιο- 305  
 σύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῶν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία  
 41 ὑμῶν μέγα φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τού-  
 του γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ

Aristotle gives in full (39), and Andocides less fully (1. 90), the terms of the compact and the oath — to forget the past and bear no malice — which was taken by all parties, from which it appears that even the Thirty and their underlings might be included in the amnesty in case they rendered their accounts, as all Athenian magistrates were required to do, for the offices which they had held. — αὐτοῖς: the arbitrators.

39. διῆκε: *disbanded*. — ἀνελθόντες κτέ.: according to Plutarch (*Glor. Athen.* 7) the entry of the

democratic exiles into Athens took place on the 12th of Boedromion (Oct. 4th, 403 B.C.), a date which was afterwards observed as a day of thanksgiving.

40. γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς: recalling the famous proverb γνῶθι σαυτόν, *know thyself*, i.e. 'take just measure of thyself,' which was inscribed in golden letters at the entrance to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. — ἐπὶ τίνι: see on μέγα ἐφρόνουν § 27. — σκέψασθε εἰ: instead of a clause with ἢ, correlative with πότερον above.

41. κρίσις: *test*. — ἢ ὡς: *than*

γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τείχος καὶ  
 ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ 310  
 τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἔχόντων περιελήλασθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς,  
 οἷγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ δήσαντες παρα-  
 διδόασιν, οὕτω κάκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ  
 42 τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἂν 315  
 δρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὧν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι  
 καὶ ὀσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι  
 οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις  
 43 χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς 320  
 καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκού-

*the way in which.* — γνώμη: *intelligence, judgment.* — περιελήλασθε: *have been worsted.* — δή: to show contempt for this last of all possibilities. — πῶς: *sc. ἐπὶ τούτοις.* — τοὺς: *generic.* — δάκνοντας κύνας . . . παραδιδόασιν: *copying almost the exact words of a well-known law of Solon. Plut. Solon 24. The subj. is general, men.* — οὕτω: the point of the comparison is contained in the part. rather than the finite verb. Cp. 1. 6. 10. — κάκεῖνοι: repeating οἷγε with emphasis. Cp. 1. 7. 25, 2. 3. 43. — τούτῳ: for its position see S. 1181; HA. 673 c; B. 458; G. 975; Gl. 553 a.

42. μέντοι: *however.* The preceding clauses, stating both the

provocation (ἡδικημένῳ) and the opportunity (κλοιῶ δήσαντες . . . οἴχονται), might suggest to Thrasylulus' followers (ὑμᾶς) the thought of revenge. He therefore hastens to discountenance any such idea.—ὁμωμόκατε: see on § 38.—οὐδέν: see on οὐδένα 1. 6. 14.—τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς: *your other virtues.* — ἀνέστησε: *dismissed.*

§ 43. *Ultimate reconciliation with those at Eleusis. The terms of the compact and amnesty are faithfully observed.*

43. ἐπολιτεύοντο: *i.e. they carried on their government, — performed the duties and exercised the rights of free citizens, πολῖται.* — ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ: according to Aristotle (40. 4) two years later.

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## BOOK III

WAR BETWEEN SPARTA AND PERSIA. THE ACCESSION OF  
AGESILAUS AND HIS EXPEDITION TO ASIA. OUTBREAK  
OF THE CORINTHIAN WAR. 401-395 B.C.

1 Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ 1  
τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἠξίου,  
οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους  
πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι.  
οἱ δ' ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ 5  
τότε ναύαρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο.  
κακῆως μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν.  
ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευ-  
σεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα  
Συέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ 10  
2 πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατεύμα-  
τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ

CHAPTER I, §§ 1-2. *The Lacedaemonians aid Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes.* 401 B.C.

1. οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς κτέ.: for the aid rendered by Cyrus to the Lacedaemonians cp. 1. 5. 2-9, 1. 6. 18, 2. 1. 11-14; for his present project and preparations cp. *Anabasis* 1. 1. — γίνεσθαι: *should show themselves.* — Σαμίῳ: Samius is not referred to in the *Anab.*, although 1. 2. 21 records the fact which is stated below, that a Lacedaemonian fleet aided in preventing Syennesis from opposing Cyrus at the 'Cilician Gates.' A month later,

when this fleet joined Cyrus at Issi, it was under the command of Pythagoras (*Anab.* 1. 4. 2), who had presumably succeeded Samius as nauarch. The *Anab.* mentions (1. 4. 3) what Xenophon here passes over, that the Lacedaemonians also sent to Cyrus 700 hoplites under Chirisophus, who was afterwards Xenophon's colleague in conducting the retreat of the Ten Thousand. — δέοιτο: *asked.* — καὶ (in κακῆως) μέντοι: *and in fact*, indicating the actual performance of the duty laid upon Samius. — σὺν τῷ: *sc. ναυτικῷ.*

ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

15

3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἀξίος βασιλεῖ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος, εὐθύς ἠξίου τὰς Ἴωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι 20 εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἠρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἠξίου, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν,

2. ἡ μάχη: at Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C. Cp. *Anab.* 1. 8. — θάλατταν: the Euxine. Cp. *Anab.* 4. 7. 20-24. — Θεμιστογένει . . . γέγραπται: it would seem that Xenophon's own *Anabasis* was not published at the time when these words were written. See App. p. 359, note 1. Themistogenes is otherwise unknown.

§§ 3-7. *The Ionian cities seek the aid of Sparta against Tissaphernes. An army is sent to Asia under Thibron. His successes and failures.* 400-399 B.C.

3. πολλοῦ ἀξίος: Tissaphernes had been the first to report to the king the projected expedition of Cyrus against him (*Anab.* 1. 2. 4-5, 2. 3. 19), had fought creditably at Cunaxa (*ib.* 1. 10. 7), and

had afterwards done his best to prevent the escape of the Ten Thousand (*ib.* 2. 3-3. 5). — ὧν τε αὐτὸς . . . καὶ ὧν Κῦρος: Tissaphernes had been satrap of Lydia and Ionia up to 407 B.C., when Cyrus was commissioned (see on 1. 4. 3) as governor of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and general of all the troops of western Asia Minor. Tissaphernes now receives, in addition to the small satrapy which was left to him in 407 B.C. (*i.e.* ὧν αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε), both the territories and the military authority which had belonged to Cyrus. — ὅτι Κῦρον . . . ἠρημέναι ἦσαν: the Ionian cities had been tributary to Tissaphernes (see above note), but all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus



ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως 25  
 ἢ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν.  
 4 οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἄρμο-  
 στήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμῶδων εἰς χιλίους,  
 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἤτή-  
 σατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίουσ 30  
 ἵππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν  
 τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἵππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος  
 5 τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλουντο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπειρῷ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε 35  
 αἱ πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι.  
 καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἵππικὸν  
 εἰς τὸ πεδίου οὐ κατέβαινε, ἠγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι

(*Anab.* 1. 1. 6). The latter's departure (401 B.C.) and subsequent death left them for the moment practically independent. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν: *should undertake the protection of them also.*

4. νεοδαμῶδων: see on 1. 3. 15. — εἰς χιλίους: serving as an obj. acc. See on 2. 4. 5. Upon this expression depends the part. gen., while στρατιώτας is appositive. — ἤτήσατο . . . παρ' Ἀθηναίων: under the terms of the treaty of 2. 2. 20. — τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἵππευσάντων: the Athenian horsemen had made themselves odious as the most zealous and unscrupulous supporters of the oligarchy. Cp.

2. 4. 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 24, 26, 31. For the gen. see on φρουρῶν 2. 3. 14.

5. εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο: in 399 B.C. Thus the circumstances above related involve Sparta in war with the Persians, her allies during the late struggle with Athens. — μὲν: continued by a second μὲν two lines below, and ultimately contrasted with the δέ after ἐπεὶ (§ 6). — τότε: indicating that these words were written after the prestige and authority of the Spartans in Asia were destroyed by the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C. Cp. *Introd.* p. 28. — τὸ ἵππικόν: *i.e.* of the enemy. Greek armies were almost always weak in cavalry. — ἠγάπα: *was satisfied.* Xeno-

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ἐλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὤρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαι- 55  
ρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους  
ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα  
καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν  
ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ  
Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ 60  
οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν  
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

8 Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευ-  
σομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα,  
ἄνῆρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο 65  
δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ  
ζημιωθείς ἔφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι  
9 ὡς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ  
Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνοὺς ὑπό-  
πτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρνη καὶ τὸν Φαρνά- 70  
βαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν

settled there a number of captured  
Egyptians. *Cyrop.* 7. 1. 45.—  
φρεατίαν κτέ.: *i.e.* he sunk a shaft  
(φρεατίαν) and from the bottom  
of it dug a tunnel (ὑπόνομον) to  
strike the city's water main.—ὡς  
ἀφαιρησόμενος: see on ὡς μαχού-  
μενος I. 1. 33.—τὸ ὄρυγμα: *i.e.*  
τὴν φρεατίαν.—αὖ: lit. *in his*  
*turn*, indicating an act which off-  
sets or answers that of another.  
—χελώνην: = the Lat. *testudo*.—  
καὶ ταύτην μέντοι: *this also, how-*  
*ever.* καὶ . . . μέντοι = καὶ . . . δέ.—  
πέμπουσιν: *sent word*, as in 2. 2. 7.

As a verb of ordering it is followed  
by the inf.

§§ 8–9. *Thibron is succeeded*  
*by Dercylidas.* 399 B.C.

8. ἄρξων: *to assume command.*  
—καὶ . . . δέ: see on 2. 4. 6.—ἐπε-  
καλεῖτο: as in 2. 3. 31.—Σίσυφος:  
a Corinthian hero, famed for his  
cunning.—ζημιωθείς ἔφυγε: *was*  
*condemned and banished.*

9. ὑπόπτους . . . ἀλλήλοις: just  
as they had been twelve years  
before (see *Introd.* p. 19); further-  
more, Tissaphernes' recent honors  
(§ 3) had increased his rival's

εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμῶν.

Sections 9-28. Dercylidas carries on a successful campaign in the satrapy of Pharnabazus, gaining possession of nine cities.

CHAPTER 2. After building a wall across the Chersonese to protect the Greek cities from the Thracians, Dercylidas marches to Caria, where he finds the united forces of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. He offers battle, but Tissaphernes proposes a conference. A truce is concluded, to continue until each party has referred to his home government the other's demands.

Meanwhile, the Lacedaemonians declare war upon the Eleans, and after two campaigns receive their submission. 399-397 B.C.

1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγισ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν 3  
δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραΐᾳ,  
γέρων ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι  
ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ  
κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, 5  
καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασι-  
λείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησί-

jealousy.— τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν : see on I. I. 6.

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-4. *The death of Agis and the accession of Agesilaus.* 397 B.C.

1. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : *i.e.* after the Elean War. See above.— Ἄγισ : who had reigned in Sparta since 426 B.C.— ἀποθύσας : ἀπό in comp. often indicates the rendering of some payment or service which is due or belongs to another ; here of offering to Apollo his appointed share (τὴν δεκάτην, cp.

Eng. *tithe*) of the Elean booty.— ἔκαμεν : inceptive.— Ἡραΐα : a town in Arcadia.— ἀπηνέχθη μὲν . . . ζῶν : logically subordinate to the following δέ clause, *i.e.* concessive. Cp. 2. 3. 27.— σεμνοτέρας . . . ἄνθρωπον : *more splendid than belongs to man.* Magnificent funeral honors were paid to Spartan kings, who as descendants of Heracles were counted semi-divine.— ἐπεὶ . . . αἱ ἡμέραι : *i.e.* when the prescribed (ten) days of mourning had passed.— Λεωτυχίδης : he

2 λαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἄλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὃ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, 10 ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὄν τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη 3 σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. . . . οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διοπεΐθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, Λεωτυχίδη συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἶη φυλάξασθαι τὴν 15 χολὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντέειπεν ὡς οὐκ οἴοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χολὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὅποτε μὴ οἱ 20 4 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἶλοντο βασιλέα.

Sections 4–11. A conspiracy against the Spartan government, headed by Cinadon, is discovered and suppressed.

was reputed to be the son of Alcibiades, and had been disowned by Agis. Plut. *Lys.* 22.

2. κα: Doric for ἂν. — ὡς: = οὕτως, *in that case*. — ἐμὲ ἂν . . . βασιλεύειν: after the preceding gen. abs. one might have expected here ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος; but this 'laconic' dialogue is made more effective by the omission of any such introducing phrases. — τὸ: = σύ.

3. χρησμὸς: quoted in full by Plutarch, *Ages.* 3, *Lys.* 22. — φυλάξασθαι: *to beware of*. —

χολὴν βασιλείαν: Agesilaus was lame. — Λύσανδρος: Lysander was a friend of Agesilaus, and supported his claims in the hope of winning through his accession a controlling influence in Sparta. See on 2. 2. 5. — μὴ . . . χωλεύσαι: *lest one should get a sprain and become lame*. Lysander seeks to minimize and ridicule the objection. — μὴ . . . βασιλεύσειε: *lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king*. As subj. supply τις from the preceding clause. — οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους: see on § 1.

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δων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελεθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἱ τὰς πατρίους 20 πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδώσιν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ἤτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας 25 ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἕκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρῆναι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὄτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει 4 ἐθύετο. ὧς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιωτάρχαι

advisers,' says Plutarch (*Ages.* 6). Cp. § 20. — σύνταγμα: *contingent*, in apposition with εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους. — λογισμῷ: *calculation, conclusion, viz.* that there was every probability of success. — αὐτός: *i.e.* on his own account. — δεκαρχίας: see on 2. 2. 5. — ἐκείνου: see on ἐκείνων 1. 1. 27. — διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους: who were jealous, as were the Spartan kings (cp. 2. 4. 29), of the prominence and power of Lysander. — τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας: *viz.* democracies. Cp. § 7. — μετ' Ἀγησιλάου: in whom Lysander hoped to find a pliant tool. See on 3. 3.

3. ἑξαμήνου: *sc.* χρόνου. — τὰ διαβατήρια: the sacrifice to Zeus and Athena which was always

offered by a Spartan commander before crossing the Laconian frontier. — ταῖς πόλεσι: the Thebans and the Corinthians refused to send contingents, as they had refused to join the Spartans against Athens in 403 B.C. and against Elis five years afterward (see on 2. 4. 30); the Athenians also, who had sent troops with Thibron (1. 4) and against Elis, now for the first time declined to follow a Spartan leader. Pausan. 3. 9. 1-3. — θῦσαι . . . ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων: thereby Agesilaus wishes to mark his expedition as a national undertaking, like Agamemnon's.

4. βοιωτάρχαι: the presiding officials of the Boeotian league. —

ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἰππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν 30  
καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζό-  
μενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ  
ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ  
στρατεύματος πλείστον εἰς Ἐφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο. 35  
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης  
πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν  
αὐτοκόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσία πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ  
τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισ-  
σαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ 40  
πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξά-  
μενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἄλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη,  
εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπαταῖσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἔξεστιν,  
ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως σοῦ πρᾶτ-  
τοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν 45

τοῦ λοιποῦ: *further*, with θύειν. — ὀργιζόμενος: Agesilaus never forgot this insult, but remained throughout his life a bitter enemy of the Boeotians. — Γεραστόν: at the southern extremity of Euboea.

§§ 5–6. *Tissaphernes concludes a truce with Agesilaus and employs the time thus gained in obtaining reënforcements from Persia.*

5. ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο: very soon after his arrival in Asia Agesilaus must have met Xenophon. For the close friendship between the

two men see *Introd.* p. 11. — καὶ . . . καί: for the idiom see on 1. 7. 13. — εἶναι: *sc.* δεόμενος. — τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι: *our own Hellas*, suggesting that the Asiatic coast was only an Eastern Hellas. — διαπραξάμενον: containing the essential part of the apod. — τούτων πίστιν: *a guarantee on this point.* τούτων refers back to ἐξαπαταῖσθαι, but is further explained by the following inf. clause. — πρᾶττοντος ταῦτα: *i.e.* conclude a truce. — τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς: *your domain, i.e.* the coast region, with its Greek cities. — ἐν: *during.*



6 ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθείσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθείσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἑριππίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλλω ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. 50 ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθύς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο· Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

7 Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος 55 διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιννώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιούντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' 60 Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰεὶ παμπληθῆς ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησί- 8 λαος ἰδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἳ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου 65

6. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθείσι: *when these things had been said.* — πράξειν: *would negotiate.* — τὴν εἰρήνην: *the peace suggested by § 5.* — ἔχειν: *keeping, observing.*

§§ 7–10. *Lysander's friends pay court to him instead of Agesilaus. The king finds a method of humiliating Lysander, and, at his own request, sends him to the Hellespont.*

7. συντεταραγμένων: *perf. of a pres. state, hence parallel with the following pres. parts.* — ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων: *i.e. in the time of the Athenian empire.*

8. ἔμηνε: *enraged, an exceptional meaning for this word in the active.* See *Introd. IV. L.* — καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον: *Agesilaus also, as well as the Thirty.* — οἳ . . . ἄλλοι τριάκοντα: *the rest of*

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μενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἰππέας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν 90 ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ κατα-  
βάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ 95  
πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμ-  
μαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθουσθέν-  
τες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν  
εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς,  
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι 100  
Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν  
αὐτῷ ἔχει, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς

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

§§ 11-15. *Tissaphernes, having*

*received reënforcements, declares war openly. Agesilaus by a sudden march into Phrygia gains rich booty, but an unsuccessful cavalry skirmish leads him to take measures to improve his cavalry.*

11. μέγα φρονήσας . . . ἐπί: see on 2. 4. 27. The aor. is inceptive. — τῷ . . . παρὰ βασιλέως: the order of words as in § 1. So τὴν παροῦσαν . . . Ἀγησιλάῳ below. — στρατεύματι: for στρατεύμα πολὺ . . . μετεπέμπετο § 6. — οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι: see on 2. 2. 18. — φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ: see on με-

θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς 105 ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 12 εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἣ δὲ 110 Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἠγείτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου περιῆγε, νομίζων ἰκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ 115 ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τάναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς 120 13 παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον

γάλη τῇ φωνῇ 2. 3. 56. — ὡς εἰς στρατείαν: see on 1. 1. 12. — Καρίαν: Tissaphernes' own residence was in Caria (§ 12). — ἀγορὰν: where the troops might buy provisions. — τοὺς συστρατευσομένους: see on 2. 3. 18.

12. ἣ δὲ Καρία . . . ἦν: parenthetical, indicating the point of the preceding clause; hence δέ. Cp. ἦν . . . οὐριον 1. 6. 37. — ἀπάτην: cp. § 6. — τῷ ὄντι: con-

nect with ὀρμήσειν. — διεβίβασεν: *i.e.* from Sardis due south across (διά in comp.) the mountains. The cavalry, however, he *led around* (περιῆγε) the mountains, making a long circuit to the eastward. — τάναντία: *in the opposite direction*. — Φρυγίας: the satrapy of Pharnabazus. — ἀναλαμβάνων: see on ἀναλάβοι 1. 1. 4. — ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς: used actively, and limiting αὐταῖς to be supplied from πόλεις.

χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος  
 Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ  
 λόφον τινά, ὡς προϊδοῖεν τί τᾶμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ  
 τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἵππεῖς οἱ περὶ 125  
 Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρό-  
 μοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρνα-  
 βάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον.  
 ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ  
 μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἵππεῖς 130  
 ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρ-  
 βαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες,  
 τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὤρμη-  
 14 σαν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, 135  
 οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανέϊνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν  
 ἵππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφ-  
 θησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἵππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησι-  
 λάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι,  
 15 καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς 140  
 ἵππομαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ  
 προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίνεταί τὰ ἱέρα. τούτου μέντοι φανέν-

13. ὄντος: sc. αὐτοῦ, i.e. Agesi-  
 laus — Δασκυλείου: where Phar-  
 nabazus had his residence. — αὐτοῦ:  
 connect with προϊόντες. — ὡς: see  
 Introd. IV. F. — καὶ οὗτοι: repeat-  
 ing the subject and contrasting it  
 with the Greek horsemen. — τοῦ-  
 τον: for its position see on τούτῳ  
 2. 4. 41. — ἐπὶ τεττάρων: as in 2.  
 4. 11. — οὐ πλέον: = οὐκ εἰς πλείους.

Cp. on οὐκ ἔλαττον 2. 4. 11. εἰς  
 here refers to the breadth of the  
 front line. Cp. 2. 4. 12.

14. ἐτρέφθησαν: an unusual  
 form instead of the 2 aor. ἐτρά-  
 πησαν.

15. ἄλοβα γίνεταί: i.e. the  
 liver of the victim was found to  
 lack one of its lobes, — a most un-  
 favorable sign, which forbade the

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17 τῶντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἣ ἦν θέας  
 ἐποίησεν· ἣ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ  
 ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ὀνίων, οἳ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτο-  
 νες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ ζωγράφοι 165  
 πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατεσκευάζον, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν  
 18 ὄντως οἶεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη  
 δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ  
 τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφά- 170  
 νους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοντο,  
 τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶεν, πῶς  
 οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι;  
 19 ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην  
 τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι 175  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυ-  
 μνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν  
 διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους  
 διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπ' ὄχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι. 180

17. καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν: *the entire city also*, as well as the gymnasium, etc. — θέας: connect with ἀξίαν. — παντοδαπῶν . . . ὀνίων: both adjs. limit both the nouns which they inclose. — ζωγράφοι: to paint the devices on the shields. — ὥστε . . . οἶεσθαι: *sc. τινά, so that one might have thought*. See on ὥστε πληροῦν 2. 1. 14.

18. ἐκεῖνο: referring to the following, as in 2. 3. 56. — Ἀρτέμιδι:

see on 1. 2. 6. — σέβοντο . . . ἀσκοῖεν . . . μελετῶεν: opt. in a less vivid fut. protasis; for πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς . . . εἶναι = εἰκότως ἂν εἶη. See GMT. 555; S. 2359 f.; B. 564.

19. ληστῶν: *i.e.* Greek raiding parties. — λευκοὺς: *sc. αὐτοὺς ὄντας*. — μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι: *i.e.* never exposing their skins to the sun, as the Greeks did in their athletic exercises. Cp. γυμνάζειν (from γυμνός, *stripped*) and γυμνάσιον. — ἦ: be-

20 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ  
 ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ  
 Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ'  
 αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἡριππίδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα  
 μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 185  
 νεοδαμῶδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἡριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους,  
 Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ  
 προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην  
 ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ  
 σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς ἀγωνιού- 190  
 21 μενοι. ὁ μὲντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν  
 αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατήσασθαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν  
 τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν  
 εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου  
 πεδιον κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, 195  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον  
 ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων

cause of the comparative idea in διοίσειν, *the war would be no harder than, etc.*

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

20. ἀφ' οὗ: *sc. χρόνου, since.*  
 — οἱ περὶ Ἡριππίδαν: *i.e.* Herippidas was at the head of the second Thirty, as Lysander had been of the first. Cp. § 2. — ἐπί: see on I. I. 32. — τοὺς Κυρείους: *i.e.* the remnant of the Ten Thousand (cp. I. 6), who had perhaps been commanded up to this time

by Xenophon. See *Introd.* p. 10.  
 — τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων: *i.e.* the contingents of the allies, as in I. 1. 25. — τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας: the fertile and wealthy province of Lydia (cp. § 21). — ὅπως: connect with προεῖπεν. — αὐτόθεν: *at once.* — οὕτω . . . παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι: *lit. might so prepare . . . as men about to contend, i.e. might prepare . . . to contend.* See on ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος I. 6. 3.

21. πάλιν: as before, § 12. — ἐμβαλεῖν: fut. — Σαρδιανόν: *of*



πορευόμενος πολλά τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ  
 22 τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεις. καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαβάντι τὸν 200  
 Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατι-  
 δόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολουθούς ἐσπαρμένους εἰς  
 ἄρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ  
 Ἄγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππείας. οἱ δ' αὖ  
 Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντι- 205  
 23 παρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἵππέων τάξεσιν. ἔνθα  
 δὴ ὁ Ἄγησίλαος γινώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις  
 οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρε-  
 σκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἠγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ  
 δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθύς 210  
 ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἵππείας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλι-  
 τῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς  
 δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑψηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἵππεύσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς  
 24 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἵππείας ἐδέ- 215  
 ξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν,

*Sardis*, the capital of Lydia.—  
 πολλά: pred., *in abundance*.

22. εἶπεν: as in I. I. 13.—ὁ  
 ἡγεμὼν: *i.e.* of the Persian horse-  
 men, who are referred to in αὐτοί  
 below.—αὖ: as in I. 7.

23. τῶν παρεσκευασμένων: *cp.*  
 τῆς παρασκευῆς § 11. Agesilaus  
 had both hoplites and peltasts as  
 well as cavalry.—τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα  
 . . . ἤγεν: contrasted with παρ-  
 ἤγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεύσιν.  
 The orders to τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης

and to the peltasts are merely in-  
 cidents of the movement described  
 in τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν.—ἐκ τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν: equivalent to a part.  
 gen.—τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης: see on 2.  
 4. 32.—ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς: *to close*  
*quarters with them*.—παρήγγειλε:  
*sent word*. The horsemen were  
 already facing the enemy (§ 22),  
 and hence in advance of Agesilaus  
 and the infantry.—ὡς: *in the*  
*assurance that*.

24. πάντα τὰ δεινὰ: *i.e.* peltasts

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26 αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσῃ ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ'  
 ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον,  
 ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν  
 ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησί- 240  
 λαος, ἐκεῖσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτή-  
 δεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὲ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα  
 τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυ-  
 27 γίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται  
 ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως 245  
 γινώσκουσι καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντινα αὐτὸς  
 βούλοιο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῶδε  
 λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε πεζὸν  
 πολὺ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἓν οὔσης τῆς ἰσχύος  
 ἀμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ 250  
 28 ἔνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον  
 μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ  
 ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίαις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὅσας ἐκάστη

26. τῶν . . . τελῶν: *the authorities*, especially the ephors. See on 2. 4. 29. — ἀλλά: *at least*. — τὴν Φαρναβάζου: Tithraustes, like Tissaphernes in 1. 9, was glad to sacrifice Pharnabazus' satrapy in order to save his own. — ἐπειδὴ καί: an additional reason, — besides the fact that hostilities would naturally cease, pending word from Sparta. — τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν: *i.e.* Lesser Phrygia, as distinguished from Greater Phrygia. See on 1. 3.

27. ἔρχεται . . . ἄρχειν: *there came (an order) . . . to command*. The construction is simply the passive of πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι . . . στρατεύεσθαι in 1. 7. — καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ: no one except Agesilaus was ever given command of both the land and sea forces of Sparta. Plut. *Ages.* 10. — ὅπως γινώσκουσι: *as he might think best*. — ὡς . . . ἂν . . . εἶναι: see on ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι 2. 2. 2. — καθ' ἓν . . . ἀμφοτέροις: *the strength of both (lit. for both) being united*.

βούλοιτο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρίζε- 255  
 29 σθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Πείσανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλό-  
 τιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὠρμη- 260  
 σεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.

1 Ὁ μὲντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησί- 5  
 λαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ διανοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην 5  
 τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δούς χρυσίου εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους.

28. ἐγένοντο καιναί, κτέ.: *the result was new ships, etc., lit. there came into being new ships, etc.* Agesilaus wished to reënforce the Lacedaemonian fleet in order to meet Conon (see on § 1), who was gathering strength and in the preceding year had helped the Rhodians to revolt from Sparta. Diod. 14. 79.

29. ἀπειρότερον . . . ὡς δεῖ: *rather inexperienced in making the needful provisions.* Plutarch (*Ages.* 10) calls the appointment of Pisander a case of sheer favoritism.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1-2. *Tithraustes undertakes through bribery to incite the other states of Greece to hostilities against Sparta.*

1. πραγμάτων: *power.* Cp. 1. 6. 13. — αἰρήσειν: *would overcome.* — τί χρῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι: see on 2. 1. 2. — χρυσίου . . . ἀργυρίου: *gold to the value of fifty talents of silver.* The phrase serves merely to translate the gold darics of Persia into Greek notation. — τοῖς προεστηκόσιν: see on 1. 7. 2. — ἐξοίσειν: for the tense see GMT. 113. — It should be noted

ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδα τε <sup>10</sup>  
καὶ Ἴσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξιδώρω, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάω  
τε καὶ Πολυίνθει, ἐν Ἄργει δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ'  
<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ  
χρυσίου ὁμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομί-  
ζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ <sup>15</sup>  
χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακε-  
δαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον,  
συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

<sup>3</sup> Γινώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ  
μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμό- <sup>20</sup>  
νιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι  
Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου  
χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομί-  
ζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν

that Tithraustes' gold was but a slight factor in bringing about the war against Sparta. For the important states of Greece were more than willing to enter upon the struggle. Argos was always hostile to the Spartans, Athens was only waiting her opportunity to be revenged, and Thebes and Corinth had already shown their ill-will toward Sparta and their jealousy of her power (cp. 4. 4 and see on 2. 4. 30 and 3. 4. 3). Throughout the Greek world the Spartans had shown themselves harsh masters and had alienated former friends.

2. καί: = καίπερ. — νομίζοντες

. . . εἶναι: lit. *thinking that it was theirs to rule, i.e. in the hope of recovering their former power.*—

εἰς . . . πόλεις: connect with διέβαλλον. — συνίστασαν: conative.

§§ 3-7. *War breaks out between Locris and Phocis. The Thebans support the former, whereupon the Phocians appeal to Sparta for aid, which is readily granted. The Thebans seek assistance at Athens.*

3. τοὺς Ὀπουντίους: as contrasted with the Ozolian or Western Locrians. — ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου . . . τελέσαι: *to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and them-*

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σαι ἀκολουθῆσαι. ἤτιῶντο δ' αὐτοῦς καὶ Κορινθίους  
 πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὡς 40  
 θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἶων καὶ τὰ  
 τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ'  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστράτευον. ἐλογίζοντο  
 δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῦς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοῦς ὑβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν 45  
 τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου,  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδῶν σφί-  
 6 σιν εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Λύσαν-  
 δρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτούς τε 50  
 τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρῆναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρα-  
 κλεώτας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἀλίαρτον.  
 ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ Πausanίας, ὅσπερ ἐμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι,  
 συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ 55  
 μὲν Λύσανδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα ἔπραττε καὶ  
 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Παυ-

σαι . . . καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι :  
 see 2. 4. 30 and note. — θύειν τ'  
 ἐν Αὐλίδι κτέ. : see 4. 4. — οὐδέ :  
 not . . . either, i.e. they did not  
 serve against Piraeus nor on the  
 Asiatic expedition either. For  
 the fact see on 4. 3. — καὶ καλὸν  
 καιρὸν εἶναι : that it was also a  
 favorable time, apart from the  
 other reasons for their readiness  
 to begin war. — κρατοῦντος : being  
 victorious.

6. οὕτω γιγνωσκούσης : being

thus minded. — φρουρὰν . . . ἔφαι-  
 νον : the regular phrase for calling  
 out, summoning to arms, a Lace-  
 daemonian army. Cp. ἐξάγει φρου-  
 ράν 2. 4. 29. — Λύσανδρον : who  
 had returned from Asia shortly  
 before. Cp. 4. 20. — Οἰταίους κτέ. :  
 peoples who lived in the region  
 of the Malian Gulf. — Ἀλίαρτον : a  
 town in Boeotia. — ἐμελλεν ἡγεῖ-  
 σθαι : was to have chief command.  
 — Ὀρχομενίους : Orchomenus was  
 the second city of Boeotia.

σανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς τε ξεναγούς διέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιάδε.

8 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισαμένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς μέμφεσθε. οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσαστο, ἀλλ' εἷς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσαστο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἡκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. 9 πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιούμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγενεσθε, προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν

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

§§ 8–15. *Speech of the Theban envoys at Athens.*

8. ἃ μὲν . . . ψηφισαμένων: *as to the fault you find with us on the ground that we voted.* The

part. is gen. abs., instead of dat. in agreement with ἡμῖν. — χαλεπῶς: *viz. the destruction of Athens.* See 2. 2. 19. — εἷς ἀνὴρ: a certain Erianthus, according to Plut. *Lys.* 15. — εἶπεν: see on εἰπόντος 1. 7. 9. — ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις: *in the assembly of the Lacedaemonian allies.*

9. τῶν ἐν ἄστει: the oligarchs in Athens as opposed to the democrats in Piraeus. Cp. 2. 4. 24, 26, etc. — ἀφικόμενοι: 2. 4. 28 f. —



σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει· ὥστε τὸ μὲν  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὃ δὲ δῆμος οὔτοσιν ὑμᾶς  
 10 ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βού-  
 λουσθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν 80  
 πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέ-  
 σθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε;  
 ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλ-  
 λον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε  
 πλείστων ἤρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. 85  
 ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖεν, ἔκρυπτον τὴν  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέστη-  
 11 σαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγίγνωσκον. καὶ νῦν  
 γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνασπι-  
 δοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε, ἀναφανή- 90  
 σονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ  
 λέγομεν, εἰ ἀναλογίσθησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ  
 ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν

παρέδοσαν: the same word which Thrasybulus uses in 2. 4. 41. — τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι: so far as it depended upon them, for all they did to prevent it. For the inf. see S. 2012 c; HA. 956, 956 a; B. 642, 1; G. 1534, 1535; Gl. 569. — ἀπολώλατε: you have (already) perished. This is putting it more forcibly than if the speaker had said ἀπωλώλειτε ἂν, you would have perished.

10. καὶ μὴν: and further, turning to a new point. — ἀρχὴν: dominion. — τοῦτο . . . γενέσθαι: how

is the happening of this more likely, i.e. how is it more likely that this should happen. γενέσθαι, which is subj. of ἐστί understood, appears to refer to the future; in fact it has no meaning of time whatever, the future idea being contained in εἰκός. Cp. on σέβονται 4. 18. — ὅτι: because. Connect with φοβηθῆτε. — ἔως . . . ἀποσταῖεν: so long as they had no one to whom (ὅποι, cp. 4. 1) to revolt. — προέστησαν: offered themselves as leaders. — ἐγίγνωσκον: see on § 6.

11. Ἀργεῖοι: see on § 1. Ar-

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Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος  
 εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρατῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ 110  
 14 μεθ' ὑμῶν κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός,  
 εἰάν ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ προστήτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικουμένων,  
 νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πώποτε γενέσθαι;  
 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχεστε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνον δήπου  
 ἡγείσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων 115  
 καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχεστε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγί-  
 στην δύναμιν ἔχοντος ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι  
 ἡμεῖν πολλοῦ ἀξιοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὡς ὑμεῖς  
 ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δέ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως  
 ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ 120  
 ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων,  
 ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων βοη-  
 15 θήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς  
 ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες 125  
 ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἤρχεστε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες  
 πολλαπλασίων ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὠπλισμένων  
 πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι  
 ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ

in the Aegean islands. — καί: as in § 2. — συμβαλόμενος: especially in the time of Cyrus, I. 5. 1 f. — μεθ' ὑμῶν . . . αὐτούς: a flattering suggestion that Sparta owed her success against Athens merely to Persian aid.

14. εἰκός . . . γενέσθαι: as in § 10. — αὐτῷ: in your turn, as contrasted with Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέ-

στησαν § 10. — ἤδη: strengthening the following superl. — τῶν πώποτε: of all the states that have ever been. — ἤρχεστε: held sway. — πάντων: explained by the following appositives. — τῷ παντί: as in 2. 3. 22. — οὐδέ: by no means, a strengthened οὐ.

15. καὶ . . . μέντοι: as in I. 7. — πλεονεξία: assumed dominion. Similarly πλεονεκτοῦσι below. —

μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρα πόλει ἢ τῇ 130  
ἡμετέρα.

16 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων  
πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο  
βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ  
ψηφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ 135  
Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρακινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς  
ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ  
συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν  
17 μαχοῦμεθα ἐκείνοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ  
Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι, 140  
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Πausανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων στρα-  
τευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ  
ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ 145  
Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων  
στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν Πausανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενό-  
18 μενος. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ

τῇ . . . πόλει: dependent upon  
μείζω ἀγαθὰ.

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

16. ὁ μὲν: *i.e.* the spokesman of the embassy. — Θρασύβουλος: the liberator of Athens. — ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψηφισμα: *giving them the decree for an answer.* ψηφισμα is cogn. acc. — ἀτειχίστου . . .

Πειραιῶς: cp. 2. 2. 20. — παρακινδυνεύσοιεν . . . ἀποδοῦναι: *would brave the danger of repaying.* — χάριτα: an unusual (Ionic) form for χάριν. See Introd. IV. L. — ἡμεῖς . . . μαχοῦμεθα: positive aid, as contrasted with the mere neutrality of the Thebans.

17. Κορίνθιοι: see on 4. 3. — κατ' ἐκεῖνα: *in that region.*

18. οὐκέτι . . . ἔχων ἀνέμενε: *he no longer quietly awaited, i.e. οὐκέτι negatives the entire phrase.*

Λακεδαιμόνος στρατεύμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἦει πρὸς  
 τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειθεν <sup>150</sup>  
 αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλυον, προσέ-  
<sup>19</sup>βαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
 δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἷ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς. ὁπότερα  
 μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ <sup>155</sup>  
 εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν,  
 ἄδηλον. τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη  
 ἐγένετο. καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν  
 Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον  
 οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι. <sup>160</sup>  
<sup>20</sup>ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ  
 στενοπορία ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ  
 ὀπλίται ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν

— ἐπειθεν: conative. — ἀφίστασθαι:  
 from the Thebans.

19. οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . ἐβοήθουν:  
 according to Plutarch (*Lys.* 28)  
 the Thebans had intercepted a  
 letter from Lysander to Pausanias  
 and, learning in this way the Spar-  
 tan plan of campaign, had marched  
 at once to Haliartus, leaving the  
 defense of Thebes to the Athenian  
 force which had come to their aid.  
 They reached Haliartus before  
 Lysander, occupied the town with  
 a portion of their army, and with  
 the rest waited outside the walls  
 for Lysander's coming. — ὀπλίται  
 . . . ἰππεῖς: in part. apposition to  
 Θηβαῖοι. — ὁπότερα: sc. ἐγένετο,

*which of the two things happened,  
 which of the two things it was.*  
 ὁπότερα thus prepares the way for  
 the following double question. —  
 ὡς κρατήσων: *in the belief that he  
 would be victorious.* See on ὡς  
 μαχούμενος I. I. 33. — δ' οὖν: *at  
 any rate.* — πρὸς τὰς πύλας: the  
 acc. because of the idea of motion  
 in ἔστηκε. — τὸ ὄρος: Mt. Helicon,  
 south of Haliartus.

20. δυσχωρία . . . αὐτούς: *came  
 upon rough country and narrow  
 ways.* — οἱ ὀπλίται: *i.e.* of the  
 Spartans. There is a similar  
 abrupt change of subject in the  
 following sentence. — ἔβαλλον: *sc.*  
 βέλη, especially stones. Cp. πε-

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23 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παν-  
 σανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς  
 Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκῶς εἶη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρα-  
 τευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν 185  
 παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ  
 προθύμως στρατεύοιντο· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἵππικόν  
 ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἶη, τὸ  
 δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἔκειντο, ὥστε  
 οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὔσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ῥάδιον 190  
 εἶη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς  
 24 νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι  
 εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοῖεν τοὺς νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ᾧτε  
 ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν

23. *λογιζόμενος δέ*: the sentence here begun is left incomplete, the thought being resumed with the verb in the finite form *ἐλογίζοντο*. See *Introd. IV. κ.* — *οἱ ἐν τέλει*: including probably not only the officers above mentioned, but also the two ephors who regularly accompanied a Spartan king. See 2. 4. 36. — *ἠκολούθουν*: the mood is retained in *ind. disc.*, although the verbs preceding and following are changed to the *opt.* In general this variation is not unusual (cp. § 25 below); in the present case the retention of the *impf.* is necessary, for the *pres. opt.* standing in its stead might be understood to represent a *pres. ind.* See *GMT. 670, 673; S. 2632, 2623 b;*

*HA. 933, 935 b; B. 674, 675, 1; G. 1482, 1488; Gl. 624 b fin.* — *τὸ ἵππικόν*: *proleptic*. — *ἔκειντο*: the *objective impf.*, representing *κείνται* of *dir. disc.* See on *ἐκάθητο* 1. 5. 3. — *οὔσι*: *conditional*, in agreement with *αὐτοῖς* understood. — *ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων*: *ἀπό* instead of *ἐπί* (*υφρον*) because of the idea of an attack *from* the towers. Cp. note on 1. 3. 9 — *εἶη*: the *opt.* is due to *indir. disc.*, not to *ὥστε*, which here equals simply *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο*. *GMT. 605; S. 2255; HA. 927 a; G. 1454.* Note that *εἶη* represents an *ἐστί* which in combination with *ῥάδιον* amounts to a *pot. opt.* See on *σέβονται* 4. 18.

24. *εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ᾧτε*: *except on condition that*. — *ἀπιέναι*: *sc. as*

καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. 195  
τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως  
ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν  
τις τῶν χωρίων του ἐπιβαίῃ, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς  
ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμο-  
25 νίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι Πausανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, 200  
ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλίартον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συν-  
θέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι  
ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναι-  
ρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν 205  
τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν  
τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς  
Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν  
οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη.

subj. αὐτούς, *i.e.* the Spartans. —  
καὶ μικρόν: *even a little*. — χωρίων:  
as in 2. 4. 1. — του: *any one's*.

25. ὑστερήσειεν . . . ἐπειράτο  
. . . ἀνῆκε: see on ἠκολούθουν  
§ 23. — Λυσάνδρου: gen. after the  
comparative in ὑστερήσειεν. —  
δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ἀνῆκε:  
in 403 B.C., as described in 2. 4. 29—

39. Pausanias had been tried on  
this charge shortly after the event,  
and acquitted by only a small  
majority of the court. Paus. 3. 5.—  
ἐτελεύτησε . . . νόσῳ: *died a natural  
death*, more than ten years later.  
For the inferences which are  
drawn from this statement see  
Introd. p. 28 and App. p. 357 f.



## BOOK IV

## THE CORINTHIAN WAR. 395-387 B.C.

CHAPTER 1. A resumption (from 3. 4. 29) of the story of the war in Asia. Agesilaus ravages Phrygia and captures many cities. After a visit to Paphlagonia he goes into winter quarters at Dascylium. A meeting is arranged between him and Pharnabazus, which results in nothing more than mutual expressions of personal good will. 395-394 B.C.

1 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαι- 2  
μόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθοντο τὰ τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα  
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας  
ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνό-  
2 μισαν καὶ στρατεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἠγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ 5  
αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθύς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυδίδα. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο,  
τὰ τε ἄλλα διηγείτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι  
3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησί-  
λαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἠνεγκεν, ἐνθυμούμενος 10  
καὶ οἶων τιμῶν καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὅμως

CHAPTER 2, §§ 1-8. *In view of the danger at home the Spartans recall Agesilaus. He unwillingly returns, bringing with him many of his Asiatic troops.* 394 B.C.

1. Ἀγησίλαος . . . ἦν: as described in Chap. 1. — τὰ χρήματα: cp. 3. 5. 1, and see note thereon for the undue emphasis which Xenophon lays upon this circumstance. — τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις: Thebes and Athens had been

arrayed against Sparta at Haliartus (3. 5. 22), and as a result of the success there achieved the great states of Corinth and Argos, as well as Euboea, Locris, Acarnania and other smaller states, had joined the anti-Spartan league. Diod. 14. 82.

2. αὐτοί: contrasting the Spartans at home with Agesilaus in Asia.

3. οἶων ἐλπίδων: cp. ἐλπίδας . . . αἰρήσειν βασιλέα 3. 5. 1. At

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6 τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἰασίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδεί-  
 7 ησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ 35  
 ἄθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὄπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον  
 καὶ ὀπλιτικὰ καὶ ἰππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι χρυ-  
 σοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἄθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ  
 τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσοῦτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων,  
 παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὄπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατε- 40  
 8 σκευάσθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ  
 κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππί-  
 δας καὶ Ὀρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως.  
 καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ  
 στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἣν περ βασιλεὺς 45  
 ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.

9 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ  
 πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ

6. κρίσιν: *decision*. — εὐκρινεῖν: apparently in the meaning *to select carefully, i.e.* to choose only such soldiers as would stand the test of the march to the Chersonese.

7. τὰ μὲν πλείστα: in part. apposition to ἄθλα. — ἦσαν δὲ καί: *and there were also*. — οὐκ ἔλαττον . . . ταλάντων: *cost not less than four talents, lit. were produced from (an outlay of) not less, etc.* For ἔλαττον, equivalent to ἀπὸ ἐλάττονος, cp. 2. 4. 11; for the number of ἐγένοντο see Introd. IV. A. — παμπόλλων . . . ὄπλα: *arms worth very much money, viz.*

arms which were provided for the troops by their cities or officers in the hope of winning the prizes offered. χρημάτων is gen. of measure. S. 1325; HA. 729 d; B. 352 and N.; G. 1085, 5; Gl. 506 a.

8. ἀπὸ πόλεως: see on ἀπὸ φυλῆς 2. 4. 23. — βασιλεὺς: Xerxes, in 480 B.C.

§§ 9–15. *The Spartan army takes the field. The deliberations of the allies at Corinth. The opposing forces meet at the Nemea.*

9. φρουρὰν ἔφηναν: see on 3. 5. 6. — Ἀγησίπολις: son of the exiled Pausanias (3. 5. 25). — τοῦ

γένους ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ  
 10 στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμό- 50  
 νιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες  
 ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην συμφωρώτατα σφίσιν  
 11 αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιντο. Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν·  
 Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι  
 τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἴόνπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. 55  
 οἳ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι  
 εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίνωνται,  
 ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ  
 12 ῥεῦμα ποιούσι, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν  
 μὲν ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ 60  
 παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμα-  
 χώτεροι γίνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὅποσοι  
 σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, εἰ μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς  
 σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους·  
 εἰ δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας 65  
 μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν  
 ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν

γένους: as in 3. 3. 3. — τῇ στρατιᾷ: lit. *for the army*. Similarly ἡγεῖσθαι is followed by the dat. in 5. 2. 28, 5. 4. 35, and 7. 5. 9; more often, however, by the gen.

10. συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο: *i.e.* οἱ ἐναντίοι.

11. Τιμόλαος: cp. 3. 5. 1. — ὅμοιον . . . οἴόνπερ: *like . . . as. τοιοῦτον . . . οἴόνπερ, such . . . as*, would be more natural. — τὸ . . . πρᾶγμα: lit. *the case of the*

*Lacedaemonians*. The phrase is merely a circumlocution for οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. — ὅσῳ: a corresponding τοσοῦτω with ἰσχυρότερον is wanting, as in 2. 2. 2.

12. ἐνθεν: *sc. ἐκεῖ, at the place whence*. — τυπτομένους: agreeing with the anteced. of ὅποσοι. — ἔνδον: *i.e.* in their nests. — τὸ πῦρ: the article because πῦρ is the usual means of destroying wasps. — μάλιστα μὲν: see on 1.

αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν  
 13 μάχην ποιείσθαι. δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφί-  
 σαντο ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο 70  
 καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὅπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ  
 στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιού-  
 μεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν, ἐν  
 τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες  
 14 καὶ Μαντινέας ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφίαλον. καὶ πορευό- 75  
 μενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ  
 Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν  
 τῷ Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιεί-  
 κειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες

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

13. ἡγεμονίας: see on § 18. — εἰς ὅπόσους: *how many deep.* εἰς, as in 2. 4. 12. — λίαν βαθείας: this would involve reducing the breadth of the front and therefore — κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν — *give the enemy a chance of surrounding (by outflanking) them.* — καὶ δὴ . . . παρειληφότες: *having also picked up already.* — τὴν ἀμφίαλον: *sc. ὁδόν, the sea-girt road.* If the text is correct, the reference may be to some road bearing this name which led along or near the Argolic Gulf.

14. πορευόμενοι: agreeing with both the following subjects. — σχεδόν τι ἅμα: *at almost the same time.* — οἱ μὲν . . . Κορινθίους: *the Corinthians and their allies.* The

Corinthians are made most prominent because the war was in their territory. — τῇ Νεμέᾳ: *the district of Nemea,* southwest of Corinth. Thus far the allies had advanced on the road toward Sparta, following the plan of Timolaus (§ 12). They retraced their steps, however, on learning that the Spartans were already to the northward of them (ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι). — ἐμβαλόντων: *i.e.* into the territory of the Corinthians. — αὐτῶν: the Spartans. For the gen. abs. despite the following αὐτοῦς *cp.* ψηφισαμένων 3. 5. 8. — κατὰ: *by, by way of.* — Ἐπιείκειαν: between Sicyon and Corinth. — ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων: a Greek army was particularly vulnerable to an attack upon the right flank, since the shield was carried on the left arm.

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ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἢ μετὰ  
 17 Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἢ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, 100  
 Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ',  
 ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους,  
 Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας  
 ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ  
 τοσοῦτον· ἵππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ 105  
 παρήσαν] εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους,  
 καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ  
 τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πενήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς  
 τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν· καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι  
 καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρήσαν αὐτοῖς. 110

18 Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἢ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ  
 Βοιωτοὶ ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι κατήπειγον

was an important city south of Sicyon.—ἐκεχειρίαν: *i.e.* a holy truce on account of some religious festival.—The above enumeration gives the Spartans a total of 14,800 men, while the opposing army is said (§ 17) to have numbered more than 25,500. On the Spartan side, however, Xenophon has omitted to list the contingents of the Tegeans and Mantineans (mentioned in § 13), of the other Arcadians, and of the Achaeans (mentioned in § 18). With these contingents added the Spartan army was no doubt about equal in size to that of the enemy. Diodorus (14.83) gives the Spartans 23,500 men.

17. γε μὴν: as in 3. 5. 12.—ἠθροίσθη: *lit. was gathered together, i.e. consisted of, amounted to.*—Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν: for the reason see 3. 5. 6.—Εὐβοίας . . . Λοκρῶν . . . Μηλιεῖς . . . Ἀκαρνᾶνες: see on § 1.—τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας: to distinguish these from the Thracian Chalcidians.—Ὀπουντίων . . . Ὀζόλαι: see on 3. 5. 3.—καὶ ψιλῶν: *of light-armed troops also, as well as horsemen.*—τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων: in the same sense as οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους § 14.

§§ 18–23. *The battle of the Nemea.*

18. ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον: while occupying the left wing the

τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ  
 κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ 115  
 ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς  
 μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς  
 ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν φάλαγγα,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι  
 τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν, 120  
 ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἶη

Thebans faced the Spartans, who constituted the right wing of the opposing army. Xenophon implies, therefore, that the Thebans were afraid, or at least unwilling, to fight with the Spartans, but eager for battle as soon as they were pitted against a less formidable foe, the Achaeans. The truth seems to be that the Thebans, Athenians, Corinthians, and Argives succeeded one another at regular intervals in occupying the right wing, and that with this position went the supreme command of the army. The Thebans, therefore, must needs wait until they were on the right wing before they could give the order for battle, and it may be that they preferred to do so for the sake of having the glory of the leadership. Xenophon is putting a harsh construction upon an act that was probably not at all discreditable. See *Introd.* p. 31. — ὡς . . . ἐσομέ-

νης: *saying that there would be a battle.* See on ὡς μαχούμενος I. I. 33. — τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα: *the sixteen-deep (formation)*, which had evidently been agreed upon by the allied forces. Cp. § 13. — ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ: *i.e.* they bore away toward the right as they advanced, instead of moving straight forward. Thucydides says (5. 71) that this was a tendency with Greek soldiers, being due to a desire not to expose the right, unprotected (cp. on § 14) side to the enemy.—πολεμίων: gen. after ὑπερέχοιεν. S. 1403; HA. 749; B. 364; G. 1120; Gl. 509 b. — ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν: the Athenians occupied the left wing. It is clear, therefore, that the rest of the army followed the Thebans in the movement toward the right, and the Athenians were compelled to do likewise *in order not to be detached* from the rest of the line. The result was that they were outflanked. — κίνδυνος . . .



19 κυκλωθῆναι. τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἤσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρὶον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς 125 μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἡγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας, ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἕξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ 130 20 τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαιγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρῃ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαι- 135 μονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπιᾶς γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρῃ 21 ἐπιπτον ἑκατέρων. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ 140

κυκλωθῆναι: see on στρατεύειν 3.

5. 5.

19. ἐπαιάνισαν: see on 2. 4. 17. The aor. is inceptive. — ὡς εἰς μάχην: see on 1. 1. 12. — ξεναγοί: see on 3. 5. 7. — ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ: *to follow the van*, a usual expression for advancing to the attack. — οἱ ἕξ φυλαί: see on 2. 4. 4; and for the art. on 1. 1. 18. — Τεγεάτας: who were next to the Spartans to the left.

20. Ἀγροτέρῃ: a title of Arte-

mis as the goddess of hunting. —

τὴν χίμαιραν: see on τὸ πῦρ § 12.

— τὸ ὑπερέχον: *sc. μέρος, the part of their force which outflanked the Athenians.* — Πελληνεῖς . . . Θεσπιᾶς: Pellene and Thespieae were towns in Achaëa and Boeotia respectively. — ἐν χώρῃ: *in their places.* — ἑκατέρων: added as an afterthought and dependent upon τινές understood. Trans. *that is to say, some of each side.*

21. ὅσον . . . Ἀθηναίων: *that*

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ἐπαναχωρήσαι παρήλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν  
 22 πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· τοῖς δ'  
 Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, 145  
 καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου  
 συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρῆναι  
 τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ  
 παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπε-  
 λάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' 150  
 ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν  
 ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς  
 23 αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἠττώμενοι τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων  
 Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατό- 155  
 πεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ  
 πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον.  
 καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

1 Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 3  
 ἐβοήθει· ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυ-  
 λίδας ὅτι νικῶέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν

gents of the opposing army  
 (except the four tribes of Atheni-  
 ans) as the latter were returning  
 from the pursuit. — αὐτῶν: see on  
 ἑκατέρων § 20. — πλὴν εἴ τις: *sc.*  
 ἀπέθανε.

22. Ἀργείοις: who had evi-  
 dently been next in line to the  
 Athenians. — ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου: *in*  
*front*. — παρῆναι: from *παρίημι*,  
*to let the foremost pass by*. — τὰ  
 γυμνά: *i.e.* the unshielded side.

23. τείχη: of Corinth. — Κο-

ρινθίων: *i.e.* the Spartan sympa-  
 thizers among them.

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1–9. *Agesilaus'*  
*homeward march*.

1. Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος: resuming  
 the narrative interrupted at 2. 8. —  
 Ἀμφιπόλει: in eastern Macedonia.  
 — Δερκυλίδας: Agesilaus' prede-  
 cessor in Asia (3. 1. 8), who had  
 probably returned to Greece a year  
 before (*cp.* 3. 4. 20). — νικῶέν: for  
 the tense see on φεύγειν I. 1. 27.  
 — αὖ: contrasting the victory of

τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς · ἐδήλου δὲ  
 2 ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρο- 5  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου · Ἄρ' ἂν, ὧ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ  
 γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώ-  
 τας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοντο ; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ  
 Δερκυλίδας · Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντας  
 εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγ- 10  
 γείλαις ; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ φιλαπόδη-  
 μος ἦν, εἶπεν · Εἰ σὺ τάττοισ. Ἄλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ  
 προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γέ-  
 3 νηται, πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν  
 δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο · ὁ 15  
 δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν  
 ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραννῶνιοι καὶ Σκο-  
 τουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς,  
 καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε

the Nemea with the former defeat at Haliartus (3. 5. 19 f.). — τεθνάναι: changing from the ὅτι construction to the inf. in ind. disc. — ὀκτὼ κτέ.: according to Diodorus (14. 83) the Spartans and their allies lost 1100 men, the opposing army 2800.

2. ἐν καιρῷ: as in 3. 4. 9. — αἱ συμπέμπουσαι κτέ.: for the order of words see on 1. 1. 23. — εἰκὸς . . . εἶναι: see on γενέσθαι 3. 5. 10. — παρεγένου: i.e. at the battle. — ἀλλὰ τάττω: well, I do. — τάδε: the impending campaign. — ὥσπερ . . . ἔφαμεν: cp. 2. 3.

3. διαλλάξας: *having passed through*, a most unusual meaning of the word. Introd. IV. L. — Λαρισαῖοι . . . Φαρσάλιοι: this list of Boeotian allies shows the results of a series of successes which, according to Diodorus (14. 82), were achieved by the Theban general Ismenias in Thessaly and the Malian region shortly after the battle of Haliartus. These events Xenophon has omitted to mention. See Introd. pp. 27 and 31. — καὶ . . . δέ: *and indeed*. — φυγάδες: it was the Spartan sympathizers who had

4 ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ 20  
 τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις  
 μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν  
 ἰππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ  
 ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὄπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ  
 5 τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἰππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὡς 25  
 δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες  
 οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέ-  
 ψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως  
 6 ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησιλαος ἅ ἐκάτεροι  
 ἠμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους 30  
 ἰππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς  
 7 ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν  
 ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ  
 δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς 35  
 8 ἵππους ἠλίσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος  
 ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν  
 Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον  
 αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρό- 40  
 9 σθεν, πρὶν ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε

been exiled. — ἐτύγχανον: *sc.* ὄντες.

4. ἐν πλαισίῳ: the usual formation when an army was exposed to attacks from all sides.

5. ἐν καλῷ: *expedient*. Cp. ἐν καιρῷ § 2. — σωφρόνως: *cautiously*.

6. παραγγέλλειν: *sc.* διώκειν. — αὐτούς: intensive, in contrast with

τοῖς ἄλλοις. — ἀναστροφὴν: *a chance to turn around*.

7. πλαγίους: *i.e.* turned half way around.

8. δ' οὖν: as in 3. 5. 19. — ἐν τῷ ὄρει: added to distinguish the mountain Narthacium from the town of the same name.

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καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύ-  
 μου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμεί-  
 ξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς 60  
 τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν  
 γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σώζεσθαι ὅπη  
 δύναιντο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον  
 13 ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι 65  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἶη αὐτῷ οἷον ἀγαθῶν  
 μὲν γιγνομένων ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὀρῶεν,  
 οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μετα-  
 βαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευ-  
 14 τηκῶς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ 70  
 ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυ-  
 μένων· ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους

12. καί: as in 3. 5. 2. — πολὺ ἐλαττόνων: Diodorus (14. 83), however, makes Pisander's fleet only slightly inferior in numbers to the *combined* fleets of Conon and Pharnabazus. — αὐτῷ: dat. of disadvantage. — ἐμβολὰς: *i.e.* injuries inflicted by the rams (ἔμβολοι) of the enemy's ships. — μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν: cp. Xenophon's characterization of Pisander in 3. 4. 29.

13. αὐτῷ: as in § 12. — οἷον . . . μετέχειν: see on 2. 3. 45. — ἀγαθῶν γιγνομένων: gen. abs., conditional. Therefrom supply αὐτῶν,

*i.e.* τῶν ἀγαθῶν, after μετέχειν. — εἶναι: changing to the inf., as in § 1. — μεταβαλὼν: *sc.* τὰ ἠγγελλόμενα, *the report*. Cp. the similar procedure of Eteonicus, 1. 6. 36.

14. ἅμα . . . λέγων: S. 2081; HA. 976; B. 655; G. 1572; Gl. 592. — ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια: *offered a sacrifice as if for good news*. Cp. 1. 6. 37 and note. — διέπεμπε: *διά* in comp. = Eng. *around*. — τῶν τεθυμένων: part. gen. Note that after the gods had received their portion of the sacrificial victim, the remainder of the flesh was

ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικόντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιω-75  
τοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς,  
Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων  
μὲν μόρα ἢ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβᾶσα, ἡμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς  
ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμῶδεις  
συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας 80  
ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων  
Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσας διῶν  
παρελαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὀπλίται Ὀρχο-  
μένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ  
μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἵππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέ- 85  
16 ροῖς τὸ πλῆθος. ἢ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων·

commonly eaten. — τῷ λόγῳ ὡς . . . νικόντων: see Introd. IV. J and cp. 3. 4. 1.

§§ 15–21. *The battle of Coronea.*

15. Βοιωτοὶ . . . Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι: the roll of the allies is the same as at the Nemea (2. 17) save for the substitution of Αἰνιᾶνες (cp. 3. 5. 6) instead of Μηλιεῖς and Ἀκαρνᾶνες. Portions of the several contingents, however, had been left behind at Corinth to guard the isthmus. — διαβᾶσα: *i.e.* across the Corinthian Gulf. By the same route Agesilaus was compelled to return home after Coronea (4. 1); for despite their victories at the Nemea and at Coronea the Spartans were unable to

force the passage of the isthmus. — ἡμισυ μόρας: without the usual attraction in gender. S. 1313; HA. 730 e; G. 1090.— τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ: this *mora* had evidently been on garrison duty in Orchomenus since its revolt from Thebes (3. 5. 6). — οἱ . . . νεοδαμῶδεις: cp. 3. 4. 2. — οὗ . . . ξενικοῦ: including the contingents of the Spartan allies (3. 4. 2) and the remnant of the Ten Thousand (3. 4. 20). *Ages.* 2. 11. — ὅσας . . . παρέλαβε: as in 2. 12. — αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο: as in 2. 4. 12. — πελτασταί: see on ὀπλίται 2. 16.

16. ἢ μὲν δὴ δύναμις κτέ.: no authority states the numbers of the opposing forces at Coronea,



διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίου οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος· εἶχε 90 δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον 17 εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ πολλῇ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἠνίκα δ' ἀπέειχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, 95 ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ 100 εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μὲντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον 18 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ

but it is clear that they were about equal. Cp. *Ages.* 2. 7 and 9. — διηγῆσομαι: Xenophon himself was present at the battle. See *Introd.* p. 10. — ἐγένετο (*sc.* τοιαύτη) οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη: lit. *proved to be such as no other*. For the inference drawn from this statement see *App.* p. 357. — ἐφ' ἡμῶν: *in our time*. — οἱ σὺν Θηβαίοις: replacing the οἱ περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους of 2. 14 because the battle of Coronea was fought in Theban territory and the

Thebans played the most prominent part in it. — τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ: *sc.* στρατεύματος. — Θηβαῖοι . . . δεξιοί: as at the Nemea (2. 18).

17. ἀπό: *on the part of*. — ὅσον: as in 2. 4. 4. — ἐφέροντο: *rushed*. — ὡς: *about*, with τριῶν. — ὧν: = ἐκεῖνοι ὧν. — τῶν συνεκδραμόντων: *pred. part. gen.* — εἰς δόρυ: *within spear thrust*.

18. ξένων: probably *mercenaries* (see on ξενικοῦ § 15), although the reference may be to the Asiatic

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τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἴστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς 130 αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων.

Sections 21-23. A skirmish in Locris results in a slight loss to the Spartans.

CHAPTER 4. Agesilaus returns to Sparta. Civil war breaks out in Corinth, and many of the pro-Spartan party are massacred. The remainder retaliate by admitting a Spartan *mora* within the Long Walls connecting Corinth with its port, Lechaeum. Here a battle is fought, in which the Spartans are victorious. The war continues in a desultory way, carried on for the most part with mercenary forces. The Athenian Iphicrates and his peltasts win noteworthy successes. Agesilaus ravages the territory of Argos and captures the Long Walls of Corinth, while Teleutias, his brother, gains possession of the Corinthian dockyards. 394-391 B.C.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων 5

to the Thebans, as well as a ceremony in honor of victory. — τῷ θεῷ: in honor of the god, i.e. Apollo, the national deity of the Dorians. — ὑποσπόνδους κτέ.: see on I. 2. 11. — δεκάτην . . . ἀπέθυσεν: see on ἀποθύσας 3. 3. 1. — τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας: sc. χρημάτων, the money realized from the sale of the booty taken in Asia.

*Piraeum. While exulting over his success he receives word of disaster to a Spartan mora. 390 B.C.*

1. τῶν φευγόντων: i.e. of the Corinthians. The strife between parties in Corinth (see abstract of Chap. 4) had resulted in the exile of many of the oligarchs, who favored Sparta, and in a close union between Corinth and Argos, the former state apparently

CHAPTER 5, §§ 1-8. Agesilaus invades Corinth and captures

των ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σῶζοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν 5 εἰς Ἴσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιῶντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἄργους Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ' ἦσθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν 10 πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ 2 Κεγχρειαῖς ὁδόν. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ ὄρων οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτός τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθνε καὶ περιέμενε, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ 15 τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια· καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἅ τῶν ἄθλων δις ἕκαστος ἐνικήθη, ἔστι 3 δὲ ἅ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

yielding its independence. See below. — πόλει: Corinth. — Πειραίῳ: a peninsula on the western side of the isthmus of Corinth. — καὶ τότε: *i.e.* as in the previous year (see abstract). — Ἴσθμια: the Isthmian games, celebrated every two years in honor of Poseidon. — ὡς Ἄργους . . . ὄντος: *as though Argos was Corinth, i.e.* included Corinth (see above), and hence had the right to direct the Isthmian games, which had always been under the superintendence of the

Corinthians. — μάλα: connect with πολλῷ. — κατὰ τὴν . . . ὁδόν: *by the road (leading) to Cenchreae.*

2. τῷ ἱερῷ: *the sacred precinct of Poseidon.* — ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν: *all over again.* — ἔστι μὲν ἅ . . . ἐνικήθη: *in some events individual contestants were beaten twice, i.e.* having entered in both sets of games. — ἐκηρύχθησαν: *i.e.* as victors.

3. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ: the minuteness of detail in the following narrative is doubtless due to the fact

ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. 20  
 ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ'  
 ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως.  
 ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἢ  
 πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἴφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις  
 τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς 25  
 νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἤγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ  
 θερμὰ προΐει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε.  
 καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέ- 30  
 4 ρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῶ, καιρίῳ δ'  
 ἐνθυμήματι ἠὺδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων  
 τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος  
 διὰ τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι

that Xenophon himself accompanied Agesilaus on this campaign. See *Introd.* pp. 11 and 30. — ἄστυ: Corinth. — ὡς . . . τῆς πόλεως: *as though the city (Corinth) was going to be betrayed* to him. — μετεπέμψαντο: *i.e.* from Piraeum. — Ἴφικράτην: Iphicrates, the Athenian, had introduced changes in the equipment of his mercenary force which amounted to developing a new order of troops, combining the merits of both light and heavy-armed soldiers. Besides the light shield (πέλτη), from which these troops took their name, he gave them a linen corselet instead of the heavy metal θώραξ of the hop-

lite and a new, lighter kind of boots. He also increased their efficiency on the offensive by considerably lengthening both spear and sword. Troops thus equipped were almost as dangerous as hoplites, while still capable of much more rapid movement. Xenophon says (4. 17) that the Spartan allies stood in absolute terror of Iphicrates and his peltasts. See abstract of Chap. 4. — παρεληλυθότας: leaving Piraeum so much the weaker. — θερμὰ: *hot springs*.

4. μικρῶ, καιρίῳ δέ: a μὲν would naturally be expected after μικρῶ. — πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ: the order of words as in μάλα σὺν πολλῶ § 1.

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6 φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ  
 ἐξήκει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα·  
 πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ παρήσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιω-  
 τῶν ἦκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιῶντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ' 60  
 ὄραν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστη-  
 κότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει  
 πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὄπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν 65  
 αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ  
 γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰεί πως ἀξιοθέατοι  
 7 δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ  
 εἰκότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις  
 προσήλαυνε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ 70  
 πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς  
 ὦν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὡς

scribed in Chap. 4. See abstract.

6. πρεσβεῖαι: even before this time (390 B.C.) negotiations looking toward a general peace had been undertaken. Cp. 8. 12 f. — ἐρησόμενοι: referring to the Boeotians only, and agreeing with a πρέσβεις which in the writer's thought is the subj. of ἦκον. — ἐδόκει: seemed, i.e. pretended. — τοῦ προξένου: their proxenus. See on I. I. 35. — τοῦ . . . οἰκοδομήμα-

τος: the circular structure near the lake. The lake in question was a short distance east of the Heraeum; the reference in οἰκοδομήματος is unknown. — τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων: sc. τινές. — τῶν ὄπλων: as in 2. 4. 6.

7. εἰκότος ἀγαλλομένῳ: lit. seeming like one exulting. Xenophon emphasizes the pride that went before destruction. — Λεχαίῳ: the principal port of Corinth. — τὸ . . . πάθος: for the art.

ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ<sup>75</sup>  
 ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ξενα-  
 8 γοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον  
 οὔτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἠριστοποίηντο,  
 ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὃ τι δύναιντο ἤκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ  
 σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ<sup>80</sup>  
 δορυφόροι τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ  
 μὲν ὑφηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερα-  
 κότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσ-  
 ελάσαντες ἰππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ  
 ἀνηρημένοι εἶησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι<sup>85</sup>  
 κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε  
 πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραϊον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὰ  
 αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ  
 ἐρωτώμενοι ὃ τι ἤκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι<sup>90</sup>  
 ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύοι βούλοιντο εἰς  
 ἄστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ'  
 ἐπιγελάσας· Ἄλλ' οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας

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

8. ἐμφαγοῦσιν: after swallowing. — τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν: lit. those about the royal tent, i.e. his messmates. δαμοσίαν is Doric for δημοσίαν. — οἱ δορυφόροι: probably referring to the king's bodyguard. — τοῦ μὲν: i.e. Ἀγησιλάου.

— τῶν δέ: i.e. τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν. — πλατύ: plain. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὄπλα: to ground arms. — τὸ στράτευμα: which had meanwhile overtaken him. — διετίθετο: exposed for sale.

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

9. ὅτι: why, i.e. for what purpose. ὃ τι represents the τί of the dir. question. — ἄστυ: Corinth.



ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν  
 θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· 95  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες  
 10 γνῶσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστί. καὶ οὐκ  
 ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν  
 πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέ-  
 βαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κᾶων 100  
 ἐπεδείκνυεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων  
 μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θά-  
 λατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄτε δὲ ἀήθους τοῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, 105  
 πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν  
 ὄσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί·  
 οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ  
 11 οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος  
 τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς 110  
 τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, εἴαν τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι  
 τυγχάνωσιν εἴαν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε  
 δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε  
 μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέ-

10. τροπαῖον: commemorating  
 the defeat of the *mora*. Trophies  
 were held inviolable. — καὶ . . .  
 μέντοι: *and . . . indeed*. — Κρεῦ-  
 σιν: a Boeotian port on the Cor-  
 inthian Gulf. — πλὴν ὄσων: *except*  
*(among those) whose*. — ἐν χώρᾳ:  
*i.e.* without taking to flight. See  
 on 2. 20.

11. Ἀμυκλαῖοι: Amyclae was

one of the larger towns of La-  
 conia. — αἰεὶ ποτε: as in 3. 5. 11.  
 — ἀπέρχονται: *sc.* οἰκαδε. — τὰ  
 Ὑακίνθια: a yearly festival in  
 honor of Apollo. — ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα:  
*for the paeian*, here simply the  
 hymn to Apollo. Cp. on 2. 4.  
 17. — καὶ τότε δὴ: turning from  
 the general αἰεὶ ποτε to the parti-  
 cular case. — κατέλιπε: *i.e.* before

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λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἤκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέρωτο, ὁ δὲ  
 καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς  
 ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς 140  
 μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέ-  
 λευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἀποδιῶξαι τοὺς προσκειμένους.  
 15 ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἦρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς  
 ὀπλίται ὄντες πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ 145  
 ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἕκα-  
 στος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴφικράτην, οἳ τε  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου  
 παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά· καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ  
 διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο 150  
 16 ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν

14. ὁ μὲν τις: τις marks ὁ μὲν as indefinite both in identity and in number. Trans. *many a one*. — τούτους: referring to the wounded only, as is clear from ἐσώθησαν below. — ὑπασπιστὰς: slaves who carried the shields of the hoplites. — τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: for according to Spartan ideas those who later (§ 17) saved their lives by flight, lost their honor. — τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης: see on 2. 4. 32.

15. ἦρουν: *caught*. — τε: correlative with δέ after ἐπεὶ. See on I. 1. 34. — ἐξ . . . βολῆς: starting from a spear's throw away; for the peltasts had approached only

near enough to reach the Spartans with their missiles. — ὀπλίται . . . πελταστὰς: *since they were hoplites pursuing peltasts*, a second reason for the failure of the pursuit. πελταστὰς stands in a loose apposition to οὐδένα. — ἐκέλευε: *i.e.* Iphicrates. — ἀνεχώρουν: *i.e.* the Spartans. — ἅτε κτέ.: explaining ἐσπαρμένοι. — ὡς τάχους . . . εἶχεν: *as swiftly as each one could*. For the gen. τάχους see on σωμαίων 3. 4. 16. — οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . . ἄλλοι: in part. apposition with οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴφικράτην — ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου . . . ἐκ πλαγίου: *in front . . . on the flank*.

τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἡβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται καὶ σὺν 155 τούτοις αὖθις δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὡς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὖθις, 160 αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι θρασύτεροί τε καὶ αἰεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαίου ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια 165 παρέπλεον, ἔως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἤδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὄρωντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἵππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ 170 διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

16. οἱ ἵππεῖς: the Spartan cavalry mentioned in §§ 11, 12. — τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις: those of the Spartan hoplites who pursued. — τούτοις: neuter. — καὶ αὖθις: *again and again*.

17. ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα: *sixteen or seventeen*. — οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου:

*i.e.* the garrison of Spartan allies (§ 11). — κατὰ: *opposite*. — τοὺς ὀπλίτας: *i.e.* Callias' troops (§ 14). — ἐμπίπτουσιν . . . εἰς τὴν θάλατταν: *plunged into the sea*, in order to reach the boats. — πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους: this number does not represent the total loss, for all

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαιεῖσαν μόραν 175  
 ἔχων ἀπήει, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαίῳ. διὼν  
 δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς  
 πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο πρωαίτατα ἐξωρμάτο. παρὰ δὲ  
 Μαντίνειαν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος  
 παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται 180  
 τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσα-  
 19 σθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπετύγχανεν Ἴφι-  
 κράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδούντι μὲν  
 καὶ Κρομμυῶνι ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα  
 τὰ τεῖχη, ἐν Οἰνόῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ 185  
 Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι  
 Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι.  
 οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριόντες ἐκ  
 Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παρα-

the wounded except the few mentioned in § 14 must have been left upon the field. The great, irreparable loss, however, was that of the Spartan reputation for invincibility.

§§ 18–19. *Agesilaus returns to Sparta. The further successes of Iphicrates.*

18. σφαιεῖσαν: *defeated.* — διὼν ἐπ' οἴκου: *as he passed along homeward, i.e. through (διά in comp.) the Peloponnesian towns.* — Ὀρχομενοῦ: in Arcadia. — ὄρθρου: the time before daybreak, in this case so early that *he passed by Mantinea while it was still dark.* For the adverbial force of the adj.

σκοταῖος see on πελάγιοι 2. 1. 17. — ἀναστὰς: *setting out.* See on ἀνίσταντο 2. 4. 6. — οὕτω χαλεπῶς κτέ.: *so unwillingly, it seemed to him, would the soldiers behold, etc.* For the personal constr. in ἐδόκουν see S. 1983; HA. 944; B. 634; G. 1522, 2; Gl. 574 a. — τοὺς Μαντινέας: according to 4. 17 they had been ridiculed by the Spartans for their fear of Iphicrates' peltasts.

19. μάλα . . . ἐπετύγχανεν: *was very successful.* — Σιδούντι . . . Κρομμυῶνι: Corinthian towns on the isthmus. Their capture by Praxitas, a Spartan polemarch, is described in 4. 13. — Οἰνόῃ: see

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ποιούντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλαι ἔσονται, εἰ δὲ  
 δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερός ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὡς μία 15  
 ἑκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανῆ εἶη παρέχειν καὶ κίν-  
 δυνος εἶη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἴσθοντο, συ-  
 3 σταίεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπέειθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς  
 δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δούς τετταράκοντα τριή-  
 ρεις εἰς Σηστόν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρήει 20  
 ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ  
 καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὢν, ὅτε  
 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀρμοσταὶ  
 ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδον καὶ διέσωζε φίλην  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυ- 25  
 4 δηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ  
 πρόσθεν φίλοις οὔσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις  
 πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν  
 συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς 30  
 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως

a Persian fleet. See on 3. 4. 1 and 4. 3. 11. — οἱ Ἕλληνες: *i.e.* the European Greeks. — συσταίεν: as against the national enemy, Persia.

3. εἰς Σηστόν . . . ἀπαντᾶν: as in 1. 3. 13. — παρήει ἐπὶ . . . ἀρχήν: in order to begin operations by land against Abydus (§ 6). καὶ γὰρ introduces a statement of the reason why such operations were necessary. — Δερκυλίδας: who had been sent to Asia by Agesilaus (3. 2) to report the Spartan victory at the Nemea. — πάλαι

πολέμιος: in 405 B.C., according to 3. 1. 9, Dercylidas had been punished on a false charge brought by Pharnabazus. — κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδον: *took possession of Abydus, as de facto* harmost.

4. οὔσι: made virtually perf. by πρόσθεν. S. 1885; HA. 826; B. 522; G. 1258; Gl. 454 d. — εὐεργέτας: *i.e.* more than mere φίλοις. For the acc., after ὑμῖν, see on ἐνθεμένους 1. 6. 37. — φαίνεσθαι: the subj. is indef., as the following τινές shows. — ἔστι δὲ

ἔχον ὡς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι  
 ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόν-  
 των τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἢ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ  
 φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἰ 35  
 ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, το-  
 σούτῳ ὄντως ἢ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανεῖη ἂν. εἰ  
 δέ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν  
 οὐπω ναυτικὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ 40  
 ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα  
 ἢ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἐαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος  
 5 γενήσεται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως  
 ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἀρ-  
 μοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμποντο. 45  
 ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι  
 ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρὺ  
 ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὀκτῶ σταδίων,  
 ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ,  
 ἤθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων 50  
 ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι  
 οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ

. . . ὡς κτέ.: *but it is not this way, that, etc.* For ἔστι . . . ἔχον see on εἶναι ἐχούσας I. 5. 5. — εἰ . . . ἐκρατήθημεν: Dercylidas avoids stating the fact directly, as a cause. — οὐδὲν . . . ἐσμέν: *we are therefore (ἄρα) done for, lit. no longer anything.* — σὺν τῇ τύχῃ: *along with fortune.* — Ἑλληνικόν: see on § 2. The adj. is made

emphatic by its position, as also οἱ βάρβαροι below.

5. ἰόντας: *who came, i.e. in flight from their cities.* — ὅσοι . . . ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: see abstract of Book 3, Chap. 2. — ἔσχον: *obtained.* — οὐδ' ἐκείνους . . . δεῖ: *they ought not to be discouraged either.* οὐδ' ἐκείνους is the negative form of καὶ τούτους (*these also*) above. —



Ἄσσία, ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ  
 μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἶγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἃ  
 δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, 55  
 ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον,  
 ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὃ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν  
 δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθήσασθαι. τούτους αὖ τοι-  
 6 αὐτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος  
 ἐπεὶ ἤνυρε τὴν τε Ἄβυδον καὶ τὸν Σηστόν οὕτως ἔχοντα, 60  
 προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν  
 θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήου τὴν τῶν Ἄβυδηνῶν  
 χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέ- 65  
 φεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα  
 ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλάσποντον πόλεις,  
 ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλείστον ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθεῖη. ὀργι-  
 ζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ  
 παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ 70  
 7 τιμωρήσασθαι ὅ τι δύναιτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν  
 τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς

ἐξ ἀρχῆς: *from all time*. — ἐστί: for the pres. see on οὖσι § 4. — δύνανται: the subj. is the inhabitants of these cities. — καίτοι: *and yet*, even granting the danger from the king. — μέλλοι: the opt., instead of the ind., indicates the improbability of the attempt. — ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι: *'kept them from being panic-stricken.'* Manatt.

6. πλεῖν: cp. τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι § 5. — ἐπ' οἴκου: to Dascylium (3. 4. 13). — εἰς τὸ ἔαρ: εἰς with the acc. sometimes means 'on the coming of' a given time. — ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει: from Dercylidas (3. 1) and Agesilaus (3. 4, 4. 1).

§§ 7-11. *Pharnabazus ravages the Laconian coast, captures Cythera, and furnishes money to*

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9 πλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐώη αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος, οὗ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ 95 τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλείστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς 100 τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὤρθωσε, τά τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἅ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐθελούσiai συνετεί- 105 χισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ

9. λέγοντος . . . καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη: an anacoluthon, the construction of the part. in the gen. abs. passing into that of the finite verb. — τὰ μακρὰ τείχη . . . καὶ τὸ . . . τείχος: destroyed in 404 B.C. See 2. 2. 20–23. — τοῦτο: strictly a cogn. acc. Trans. *thereby*. — κεχαρισμένος ἔσει: fut. perf.

10. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος: for the first time, apparently, since he left Athens as general in 407 B.C.

Cp. 1. 4. 10 and 21, 2. 1. 29. — πολὺ . . . ὤρθωσε: thus opening to Athens a new career; for the city's naval strength depended upon fortified connection with a fortified port. — ἄλλο εἴ τι: instead of the usual εἴ τι ἄλλο, for which see on εἴ τινα 2. 2. 2. — ἦν . . . &: see on ἔστι . . . οὖς 2. 4. 6. — Βοιωτοί: who in 404 B.C. had urged the total destruction of Athens. See 2. 2. 19 and on 2. 4. 30. — τῷ

11 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 110  
 οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένη ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις  
 αὖ ἐπιστολεὺς ὧν τρωθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, Ἑριππίδας ταύτας  
 ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς  
 παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε τὸ Ῥίον.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο 115  
 Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑριππίδου ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὖ  
 τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

12 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ  
 τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων  
 ἀνορθοίη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων 120  
 τάς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν  
 πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδά-  
 σκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἢ καὶ  
 ἀποστήσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαί γ'  
 ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, 125  
 πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδα πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστά-

. . . κόλπῳ: *i.e.* the Corinthian Gulf.

11. ἐπιστολεὺς: see on 1. 1. 23. — Ἑριππίδας: last mentioned in 3. 17. — τὸ Ῥίον: a promontory commanding the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. — μετὰ τοῦτο: probably in 392 B.C. — Τελευτίας: according to 4. 19 a brother of Agesilaus. — ἐπὶ: as in 1. 1. 32. — αὖ . . . πάλιν: *i.e.* there was again (πάλιν) an undisputed master of the gulf, but this time (αὖ) it was Teleutias. See on 2. 4. 29 and 3. 5. 21.

§§ 12-15. *Futile peace negotiations.* 392 B.C.

12. καὶ τὸ τεῖχος . . . εὐτρεπίζοι: in a word, that Conon was using the king's money and ships for the individual benefit of Athens. — ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου: *with his* (the king's) *money*. — Τιρίβαζον: successor to Tissaphernes and Tithraustes, hence Conon's superior. — καὶ ἀποστήσαι . . . παῦσαί γε: *i.e.* they might even (καί) accomplish the first-mentioned result, but at least (γε) the second. — γνόντες οὕτω: as in 5. 13. /

ξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ  
 13 πόλει ποιείσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσιν πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος  
 Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέ- 130  
 δοντα. συμπαρακάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων  
 πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίν-  
 14 θου καὶ Ἄργους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας  
 ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ  
 πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἴασπερ βασιλεὺς 135  
 ἐπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων  
 Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιείσθαι, τὰς τε νήσους  
 ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους  
 εἶναι. καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα· ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν  
 ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς πολεμοίῃ ἢ χρήματα δα- 140  
 πανώῃ; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνα-  
 τὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν  
 15 αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων. τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ  
 ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι·  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι 145

14. ἐκεῖ: *i.e.* at Sardis, Tiribazus' capital. — καὶ ταύτης: see on καὶ ταῦτα 2. 3. 53. — οἴασπερ . . . ἐπεθύμει: *just such a peace* (*i.e.* in respect to its terms) *as the king had desired* (ἐπεθύμει retaining the tense of the dir. disc.). In fact, the terms now proposed by the Spartans were more favorable to the king than those which he had himself offered (3. 4. 25) in 395 B.C. For their own ends the Spartans were now willing to sac-

rifice the Asiatic Greeks, while by establishing the principle of local autonomy they hoped to cripple their enemies at home. See § 15 and on 5. 1. 33. — πόλεων . . . βασιλεῖ: for the cases see S. 1409, 1523 b; HA. 739 a; B. 356, 392, 1; G. 1128; Gl. 510 d. — οὐδέ: emphasizing the following, — 'the king ought not to molest us, for we can't harm *him*.'

15. λόγοι: *words only* (repeating the λόγοι above), not a reason-

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## BOOK V

THE PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS. THEBES AND ATHENS AGAIN AT WAR  
WITH SPARTA. 389-375 B.C.

CHAPTER I, sections 1-24. The Athenians are harassed by pirates from Aegina. Antalcidas becomes Spartan admiral. Desultory fighting by sea and land. Teleutias makes a descent upon Piraeus, disabling Athenian triremes and carrying off merchant ships. 389-387 B.C.

25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου<sup>1</sup>  
διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν  
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣ  
αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς  
ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἴφικράτους καὶ<sup>5</sup>  
Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ᾗχετο εἰς Ἀβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν  
τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μετα-  
πεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὀρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν

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

25. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας: Spartan admiral for the year 388-387 B.C. In the autumn of 388 B.C. he had gone to the Persian court to renew the peace negotiations which had failed four years before (4. 8. 12 f.). He now, in the spring of 387 B.C., returned (κατέβη), bringing with him the treaty framed by the Persian king. For its terms see § 31 below. — Τιριβάζου: who was now once more satrap in Asia Minor. Cp. 4. 8. 12 and the

following abstract. — Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: at this time, largely through the successes of Thrasybulus and Iphicrates (cp. 4. 5 and 4. 8), the Athenians had taken the position of prominence in the war against Sparta. — ἣ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν: which he himself (the king) directed them to (sc. χρῆσθαι). For this meaning of ἔλεγεν cp. 1. 5. 9. — Νικόλοχον: vice-admiral under Antalcidas. — λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων: for the constr. cp. 4. 3. 14 and see Introd. IV. J. Antalcidas wished to make the Athenians anxious for the safety of Calchedon, which Thrasybulus

26 Περκώτη ἤσυχίαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαί-  
 νετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον <sup>10</sup>  
 αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρέ-  
 πλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφίκετο, ἠκηκόει  
 γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολυξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακου-  
 σῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσιν, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ  
 ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων <sup>15</sup>  
 ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις  
 27 Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμμείξαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ  
 αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις  
 ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς  
 ἄριστα πλεύσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ <sup>20</sup>  
 τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὡς ἐδύ-  
 νατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ  
 ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεύσας  
 ταῖς ἄριστα πλεύσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας  
 δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς <sup>25</sup>  
 ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας  
 ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἀλισκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν

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

26. Δημαίνετον κτέ.: Athenian generals who had been sent to the Hellespont to support Iphicrates. — τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου: sc. ὁδόν. — παρέπλευσαν: *had sailed past* Percote, expecting to find Antalcidas farther on the way to Calchedon. — τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν: sent

by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, whom Sparta had befriended. — ὅπως: connect with ἀφίκετο. — ἀναλάβοι: as in I. I. 4. — ὁ Κολλυτεὺς: *i.e.* of the Attic deme Collytus. The addition distinguishes this Thrasybulus from his more famous namesake, who had lost his life a year before.

27. προσπληρώσασθαι κτέ.: *i.e.* if any of the twelve captains were short of men, they were ordered to



τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων  
 28 ἤλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἤλωσαν ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῶ  
 αἶ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ 30  
 Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατῆς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν  
 δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ τῶ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη  
 ἀνακεκλημένος ὤχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε τὴν βασι-  
 λέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς 35  
 πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάτ-  
 της· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν  
 ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατῆ-  
 29 γεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς  
 πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον κατα- 40

draw upon the crews of the ships  
 left behind. — καὶ . . . βραδυτέρων:  
*even by the slower* Spartan ships.  
 — ἤλίσκοντο . . . ἤλωσαν: *impf.*  
*and aor.* denote respectively the  
 process and the result.

28. ἐπεὶ δὲ . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας:  
 an anacoluthon. — τε . . . δὲ καί:  
*cp. τε . . . καὶ δέ* in 2. 4. 6 and  
 3. 4. 24. In the present case the  
 changed order (δὲ καί for καὶ . . .  
 δέ) is due to the repetition of  
 ἦλθον. — ὅσης: *i.e.* so much of  
 Ionia as the Persians had recov-  
 ered after the battle of Cnidus (*cp.*  
 4. 8. 1). — Τιρίβαζος: who was  
 thus aiding Antalcidas in order  
 to force Sparta's Greek enemies,  
 especially Athens, to accept the  
 king's peace. — Ἀριοβαρζάνους:  
 mentioned in 1. 4. 7. He had now

succeeded to the satrapy of Phar-  
 nabazus. See below. — καὶ γὰρ ἦν:  
*sc.* Antalcidas. — ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε  
 κτέ.: in this way Pharnabazus,  
 Sparta's bitter enemy (4. 8. 6),  
 was removed from the scene and  
 prevented from opposing the  
 king's plans for peace with the  
 Spartans. — τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου  
 ναῦς: especially grain ships. See  
 on 1. 1. 22. — ἑαυτῶν: see on 1. 6.  
 36. — κατῆγεν: = καταπλεῖν ἠνάγκ-  
 αζεν.

§§ 29–31. *A general desire for  
 peace. The terms of the king's  
 message.*

29. πολλὰς: *sc.* οὔσας. — ὡς  
 πρότερον: at the close of the Pelo-  
 ponnesian War; for then also it  
 was the Persian alliance with  
 Sparta which had conquered

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Ἄσῖα πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενᾶς  
καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς 60  
καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμ-  
βρου καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι  
Ἀθηναίων. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχου-  
ται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πόλεμῶν μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων  
καὶ πεζῆ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν. 65  
32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις,  
ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ  
Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναί. ὁ  
δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ μὴ 70

the Persian king than an agreement between equals. The terms which it prescribed were essentially the same as those proposed by Antalcidas five years before (see 4. 8. 14 f. and notes), except that Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros were guaranteed to Athens. Of course the purpose of this modification was to incline the Athenians to accept the treaty. — **Κύπρον**: the inclusion of Cyprus was important, for at this time almost the whole of the island had been subdued by Euagoras, prince of Salamis (cp. 2. 1. 29), who was in revolt from the Persian king and was actively supported by the Athenians. — **ὁπότεροι**: *whichever*, i.e. of the two contending parties in Greece, — as though to imply that there was not a definite understanding

between Persia and one of those two parties, namely, the Spartans. — **ἐγὼ**: note the change of person from Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεύς above. — **μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων**: it was under this clause that the Spartans assumed, to their own great advantage, the rôle of champions or executors of the peace. See §§ 33 and 36 below.

§§ 32–34. *All the Greek states accept the peace, Thebes under compulsion. The Argives are forced to depart from Corinth.*

32. ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν: *in the name of all the Boeotians, i.e.* Thebes wished to be acknowledged as sovereign over all Bœotia. See on 4. 8. 15. — **ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος κτέ.**: the following scene took place at a second congress, held in Sparta. — **οὐκ ἔφη**

ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτο-  
νόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν  
Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι  
ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε·  
ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι 75  
33 ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾤχοντο. ὁ δ'  
Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν,  
ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθύς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν  
διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἰππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύ- 80  
σοντας, διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν  
δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφίᾶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπήλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς  
σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες 85  
34 τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμ-  
πον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος

δέξασθαι: see Introd. IV. 1.—

εἶναι: see on δοῦναι 1. 3. 8.

33. τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν:  
see on 3. 4. 4 and cp. 4. 5. 6.—

ἐθύετο: *i.e.* the sacrifice preliminary  
to an expedition against the The-  
bans.— ἐγένετο: as in 3. 5. 7.—

διαβατήρια: see on 3. 4. 3.—

ξεναγοὺς: see on 3. 5. 7, where King  
Pausanias gathers his army in the  
same way as Agesilaus here. It  
will be noted that the Spartans  
still summon and command their  
allies, despite the autonomy pro-  
vision of the king's peace. Nom-

inally, indeed, the states of the  
Spartan confederacy had always  
been autonomous, and so the Spar-  
tans still pretended to consider  
them; practically, however, Sparta  
retained absolute control of her  
own allies, while she deprived the  
other Greek states of theirs. Thus  
she obtained a more commanding  
position than she had ever held  
before.

34. Κορίνθιοι . . . Ἀργείων: for  
the relations between the two states  
see on 4. 5. 1.— οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον:  
the impf. as in διελέγοντο 2. 2. 11.

καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἄργεῖους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

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35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὤμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη 36 πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον

— καὶ τούτοις: *i.e.* coercing them also, as well as the Thebans.— ἀπίοιεν: parallel with ἐκπέμψοιεν, *i.e.* ἀπειμ retains in the opt. its normal fut. meaning.— αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς: lit. *itself in control of itself*, *i.e. independent*. For the combination of intensive and reflexive see on I. I. 28.— σφαγεῖς: see abstract of Book 4, Chap. 4.— αὐτοὶ γνόντες: *of their own accord*.— κατεδέχοντο: see on κατάξειν I. I. 29.— τοὺς . . . φεύγοντας: see on 4. 5. 1.

§§ 35-36. *The results of the peace.* 386 B.C.

35. ὤμωμόκεσαν: it is probable that the peace was not finally ratified until the early part of 386

B.C.— μὲν δὴ . . . οὕτω: the same formula with which Xenophon concludes his account of the civil war in Athens (3. I. 1).— τὸν . . . πόλεμον: *i.e.* the Corinthian War, now ended.— καθαιρέσεως: dependent upon ὕστερον, the order of words as in 3. 5. 3.

36. For the significance of the summing-up contained in this section see App. p. 358.— ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κτέ.: 'while in the war it was rather a case of holding their own with their antagonists, yet,' etc. μᾶλλον modifies the whole clause, comparing the slight success of the Spartans in the war with the great diplomatic success

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Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ 12 τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν · 5 ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἴομεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμ- 10 πολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακε- 13 δόνων βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο · 15 καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων · καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἤσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολ- 20

of Chalcidice. — τοὺς συμμάχους : *i.e.* delegates from the allied states, sitting in joint session with the Spartan Assembly. See on 1. 33.

12. πρᾶγμα : *danger*. Cp. πράγματα παρέχειν. — ὅτι μὲν : μὲν is not followed by a correlative δέ, but none the less suggests a contrast between the statement contained in its own clause and something yet to come which the Spartans do *not* know. — ἐπὶ Θράκης : as in 1. 3. 17. — τῶν

πόλεων : *sc.* τινάς. — προσηγάγοντο . . . προσέλαβον : thus forming the Olynthian league, which forty years later, in the time of Demosthenes, bore an important part in the struggle against Philip of Macedon. — ἐφ' ᾧτε . . . χρῆσθαι : see on 2. 2. 20. — τῶν μειζόνων : indicating that the earlier acquisitions were small cities. — Ἀμύντου : father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander the Great.

13. Πέλλαν : at that time capital of Macedonia. — ὅσον οὐκ : *all*

λωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσό-  
 14 μεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν. ἡμεῖς  
 δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πα-  
 τρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολιταὶ εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι  
 μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῶν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνε- 25  
 σθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλίται μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐλάττους ὀκτακοσίων, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ  
 τοσοῦτοι· ἵππεῖς γε μέντοι, εἴαν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν  
 15 γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. 30  
 ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη  
 συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμ-  
 μαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ  
 τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ  
 οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ 35  
 Ποτειδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν,  
 νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι  
 αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυ-  
 ρῶς αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφύβηνται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦ-

*but*, lit. *only not*. — ἴοιεν: the tense as in ἀπίοιεν I. 34.

14. αὐτοπολιταὶ εἶναι: as opposed to συμπολιτεύειν § 12. — τις: as in I. 5. 15, instead of the direct ὑμεῖς. — ὀκτακοσίων: the text is almost certainly corrupt, for the number here given is shown by the following narrative and by the statements of other authorities to be too small.

15. συμπέμπειν: *i.e.* with the

Athenian and Boeotian envoys. — ὁρᾶτε: *take care*. For the following ὅπως μή with the fut. ind., instead of the more usual μή with the subjv., see S. 2220 a; HA. 887 a; B. 594, N.; G. 1379; Gl. 638 d. — ἐκεῖνα: lit. *those matters*, referring rather indefinitely, but no less distinctly, to the Athenians and the Thebans. — Ποτειδαιαν: an important city only a few miles distant from Olynthus. — ταύτης: *i.e.* Παλ-



σαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὁμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν<sup>40</sup>  
<sup>16</sup> πρεσβείας πέμπειν διδαξούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ  
καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι  
ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν εἴῃ, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροισομένης  
δυνάμεως ἀμεληῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ<sup>45</sup>  
δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ  
τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν  
λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν  
<sup>17</sup> διὰ τὴν πολυσιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ'  
εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θρᾶκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι<sup>50</sup>  
μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους  
ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐ-  
τοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων. καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγ-  
γαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων

λήνης. — ὁμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν: the speaker skillfully transforms a weak point in his case — the fact that no one else had complained of the Olynthians — into a strong one.

16. τῆς μὲν . . . , πολὺ δὲ . . . : the first clause is logically subordinate to the second, as in 1. 7. 28. Trans. with *while* . . . , *nevertheless, etc.* — ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ . . . εἴῃ: referring to Sparta's successful attempt to break up the Boeotian league by means of the Peace of Antalcidas (5. 1. 32 f.). Hence ἐπιμεληθῆναι is secondary, and the following obj. clause may take the opt., for which see on ὧσιν 1. 5. 9. — καθ' ἐν: as in 3. 4.

27. Therewith corresponds ἀθροισομένης below. — καὶ ταύτης: as in 4. 8. 14. — οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον: whereas Boeotia had never been strong except κατὰ γῆν. — τί γὰρ δὴ καί: for the force of καί in a question see on 1. 7. 26. — γε μὴν: see Introd. IV. D. 4.

17. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as in 2. 3. 40. — ἀβασίλευτοι: for that reason they could more easily be added to the Olynthian league. — ὑπ' ἐκείνους: the acc. on the same principle as in πύλας 3. 5. 19. — πολλή . . . δύναμις: predicate. — αὕτη: subject. — τὰ . . . χρύσεια: in later days the wealth derived from the gold mines of Mt. Pangaeum

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στρατιάν ποιεῖ, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι 75  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς  
 21 μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο  
 ἀργυρίον τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι δίδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ  
 τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγίναϊον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἰππέας  
 τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν 80  
 22 τῷ ἰππεῖ δίδοσθαι. εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν  
 στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιῶν στατήρι  
 23 κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν,  
 ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα  
 καλὰ μὲν εἶη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ 85  
 περανθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἢ  
 παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν  
 ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονός τε, ὅση ἂν ταχὺ  
 ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων. τούτου γὰρ γενο-  
 μένου τὰς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις στῆναι ἂν 90  
 24 καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων

*a hearing*, as in I. I. 28. For the fact see on I. 33. — στρατιάν ποιεῖν: *to make* (i.e. *raise*) *an army*, an unusual expression. — τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα: i.e. its proportionate share of a total army of 10,000.

21. λόγοι: *proposals*. Thereon depends ἐξεῖναι. — τριώβολον Αἰγίναϊον κατὰ ἄνδρα: *three Aeginetan obols* (= half an Aeginetan drachma) per day for each man, i.e. in order to pay for a substitute. The Aeginetan drachma, which was the standard in many parts

of Greece, was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic drachma (see on I. 5. 4). — ἰππέας . . . δίδοσθαι: *if any state normally furnished horsemen* (but wished to give money instead), *pay equal to that of four hoplites* (i.e. two drachmae) *be given for each horseman*.

22. στατήρι: = two drachmae.

23. μὲν: subordinating, as in § 16 above. — ὅση . . . ἐξέλθοι: *as large as could set forth quickly*. — προσκεχωρηκυίας: *gone over*, i.e. to the Olynthians.

δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξιὼν Φοιβίδα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν ἐφόρων 95 τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτείδαίαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκούσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων οὔσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενος 100 ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θη- 105 βαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ 110 26 ἐπεὶ εἰσωκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῆδε τῆ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῆ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι

24. Σκιριτῶν: a people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia. — Φοιβίδα: subj. of μετιέναι. — αὐτός: Eudamidas. — ἐκείνων: *i.e.* the Olynthians.

§§ 25–31. *The seizure of the Cadmea.*

25. τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου: gen. of separation. — ἐν Θήβαις: *i.e.* in the district of Thebes. Cp. ἐν τῇ

Νεμέᾳ 4. 2. 14. — γυμνάσιον: probably the so-called Heracleum, southwest of the city. — στασιαζόντων: the democratic party was anti-Spartan, the oligarchical party pro-Spartan. — πολεμαρχοῦντες: the polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes. — Ἴσμηνίας: cp. 3. 5. 1. — ἐταιριῶν: *political clubs*. Cp. 2. 3. 46.

ὑπουργῆσαι· εἰ γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς  
 ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ  
 γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαι- 115  
 27 μονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι  
 νῦν μὲν, ὡς ὄρας, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ  
 στρατεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δέ γε σὺ  
 ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν  
 ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἰππέας συμπέμψομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ 120  
 δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος  
 Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει  
 28 Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πόλιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα  
 ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι  
 ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι 125  
 λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν,  
 ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιέναι· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν  
 ἦ καιρός, πρὸς σὲ ἤξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Λεοντιάδης, καὶ  
 29 αὐτός σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλή ἐκάθητο ἐν 130  
 τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ  
 θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας  
 πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας

27. ἀποκεκήρυκται κτέ.: showing that the democratic party was now in control. Cp. also the fact mentioned in § 15.—μηδένα: a redundant negative. See on 1. 7. 32.—ἡμεῖς: emphatic,—*we*, your friends.—Ὀλυνθον . . . Θήβας: the chiasmic arrangement emphasizes the contrast in thought.

28. προορμῆσαι: *i.e.* in order

to dispel any possible suspicion on the part of the Thebans.—ἐκέλευσεν: *sc.* ὁ Λεοντιάδης.—σοι: see on στρατιᾷ 4. 2. 9.

29. ἐν τῇ . . . στοᾷ: instead of in the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, the usual place of meeting.—θεσμοφοριάζειν: the Thesmophoria was a festival in honor of Demeter, celebrated by women

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32 τριακόσιοι. ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν 155  
 ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἄλλον εἶλοντο, ὃ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθύς  
 εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ἠὔρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας  
 τῷ Φοιβίδῃ, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὃ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ 160  
 μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχῶς εἴη, δίκαιος  
 εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον  
 ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ',  
 ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἐστὶ τὰ  
 33 πεπραγμένα. ἔπειτα μέντοι ὃ Λεοντιάδης ἔλθων εἰς 165  
 τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 ὡς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν  
 πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἐωρᾶτε γὰρ  
 αἰεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχον-

§§ 32–36. *Leontiadēs in Sparta.*  
*The Spartans decide to retain the*  
*Cadmea. Ismenias is condemned*  
*and executed.*

32. πολέμαρχον . . . ἄλλον:  
 Archias. Cp. 4. 2 and Plut. *Pelop.*  
 6. — χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας: Xenophon  
 does not allude to the more in-  
 tense anger which was felt through-  
 out the other states of Greece at  
 the treacherous seizure of the Cad-  
 mea. The Spartans so far yielded  
 to public opinion as to punish  
 Phoebidas by a heavy fine and  
 suspension from his command  
 (Plut. *l.c.*, Diod. 15. 20), yet they  
 retained possession of the Theban  
 citadel (§ 35). — οὐ προσταχθέντα:

predicative, *without authorization.*

— ὃ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος: according  
 to Plutarch (*Ages.* 23 f.) Agesi-  
 laus was suspected of being the  
 real author of the plot which Phoe-  
 bidas carried out. Diodorus (*l.c.*)  
 even says that general instructions  
 had been secretly given to Spar-  
 tan commanders to seize the Cad-  
 mea if they found an opportunity.  
 — δίκαιος εἴη: for the personal  
 constr. see on 1. 7. 4. — αὐτό:  
 nearly equal to *μόνον*. — ἀγαθὰ ἢ  
 κακὰ: from the point of view of  
 policy, not of morality.

33. τοὺς ἐκκλήτους: see on  
 2. 4. 38. — ἐλέγετε: iterative. —  
 δυσμενέσι: used substantively. —

τας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ 170  
 μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ  
 ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν, Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς εὐμενεῖς  
 34 ὄντας ἐώρων, ἐπεστράτευον ; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμ-  
 θίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν  
 ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν αἰεὶ προσείχετε τὸν 175  
 νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν  
 ὑφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν  
 ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν  
 μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων  
 ἂν δέησθε, εἰ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν 180  
 35 ἐπιμελησθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε  
 τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατείληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ  
 Ἴσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δι-  
 καστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων  
 ἓνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ 185

οὐκ . . . οὐκ : the first = *nonne*, intro-  
 ducing both the following clauses ;  
 the second negatives ἠθέλησαν  
 only. Trans. *did they not refuse*  
 . . . , *and, etc.* — ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν . . . δῆ-  
 μον : see 2. 4. 30 and note. — Φω-  
 κεῦσι . . . ἐπεστράτευον : see 3. 5. 4.

34. ἐποιοῦντο : conative impf.,  
 for it seems that the proposed alli-  
 ance (§ 15) had not been actually  
 concluded. — τότε μὲν : *i.e.* before  
 the seizure of the Cadmea, as is  
 clear from the correlative νῦν δ'  
 ἐπεὶ κτέ. — βιαζομένους . . . εἶναι :  
 see on 1. 32. — σκυτάλη : the Spar-  
 tan cipher dispatch. A narrow

strip of leather was wound diago-  
 nally around a staff, and upon the  
 surface thus formed the message  
 was written lengthwise of the staff.  
 The strip was then unrolled, its  
 message thus becoming unreada-  
 ble, and sent to its destination. The  
 recipient was provided with a staff  
 of the proper size, which enabled  
 him to read the dispatch. — ἐκεῖθεν :  
 from Thebes, *i.e.* by the Thebans.

35. ὥσπερ : used, as in § 28, of  
 carrying out a course of action con-  
 sistent with a beginning already  
 made. — Ἴσμηνίᾳ . . . ποιῆσαι : lit.  
*to make a trial for Ismenias*, *i.e.*



δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγεννημένος εἶη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετειληφὼς εἶη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός 190  
36 τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι 195  
πλείω ὑπηρέτουν ἢ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς.

Sections 37-43. Teleutias is sent against the Olynthians and defeats them in a pitched battle. 382 B.C.

CHAPTER 3. Teleutias is defeated and slain before Olynthus. King Agesipolis, who succeeds him in the command, dies of fever. Olynthus is ultimately starved into submission.

On complaint of Phliasian exiles the Spartans make war upon Phlius, which is reduced after a long siege. 381-379 B.C.

1 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ 4

*to bring Ismenias to trial.* — κατηγορεῖτο: passive. — ὡς βαρβαρίζοι: a strange accusation in a Spartan court after the Peace of Antalcidas! Note that the first three charges really cover the same ground, descending gradually from the general to the specific. — τῷ Πέρσῃ: *i.e.* Tithraustes. Cp. 3. 5. 1. — τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως . . . εἶη: as stated in 3. 5. 1. — ὅτι τῆς . . . ταραχῆς κτέ.: *i.e.* that he had been responsible for the Corinthian War. Here lay the real

cause of Ismenias' condemnation.

36. τὸ μὴ οὐ . . . εἶναι: '*that he was not full of great and evil undertakings.*' For the double neg. see on 2. 3. 16; for the unusual τό with the inf. in ind. disc. see GMT. 794; S. 2034 g.

CHAPTER 4, § 1. *Righteous retribution overtakes the Spartans.* 379 B.C.

1. This section suffices to show that Xenophon was not a blind partisan of Sparta. Cp. 3. 5. 12 and see Introd. p. 31. — λέγειν . . .

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τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πράξιν τινα καὶ 15  
 πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὦν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων  
 Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ  
 Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον  
 τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δούς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο ὡς δεῖ ἕκαστα 20  
 3 γίνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τοὺς  
 ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ  
 ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν  
 νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ  
 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκα- 25  
 περ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ  
 Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν.

him as γραμματεῖς. — καὶ πρόσθεν  
 . . . ὦν: see on οὔσι 4. 8. 4. —  
 τῶν . . . Θηβαίων: part. gen. For  
 the fact see 2. 31. According to  
 Plutarch (*Pelop.* 6) Sparta com-  
 manded the Athenians not to re-  
 ceive these exiles, but the Athe-  
 nians disobeyed the command out  
 of gratitude for the protection  
 which the Thebans had given to  
 Thrasybulus and his fellow-exiles  
 in 404 B.C. (see 2. 4. 1 and note).  
 — τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν . . . τυραννίδα:  
 lit. *the facts about Archias and the  
 tyranny in connection with Philip*.  
 Apparently it is for the sake of  
 exact correspondence between the  
 two phrases that περὶ Φίλιππον is  
 used in the second instead of the

simple genitive. — γνοὺς: *having  
 found out*. — μισοῦντα: Plutarch  
 (*l.c.* 7) says that Phillidas had ob-  
 tained the post of γραμματεῖς for  
 the express purpose of betraying  
 the polemarchs. — μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ:  
 = μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸς ἐμίσει.

3. ὁ Μέλων: Plutarch (*Pelop.* 8)  
 makes Pelopidas, later famous as  
 general and friend of Epaminon-  
 das, the leader of the enterprise. —  
 τὴν χώραν: *i.e.* Boeotia. — ὡς δὴ . . .  
 ἀπιόντες: *as if returning from the  
 country*. They were disguised, ac-  
 cording to Plutarch (*Pelop.* 8 f.),  
 as farmers and hunters. — ἡνίκαπερ  
 . . . ὀψιαίτατοι: *sc. ἀπιόντες ἦλθον,  
 at the time when the last returning  
 laborers came in*.

4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρ-  
 χοις, ὡς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ 30  
 δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς  
 τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε  
 ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα ἠδέως  
 5 προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ  
 συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι 35  
 κελεύόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἑταίρας, ἐξελθὼν ἦγαγε τοὺς περὶ  
 Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ  
 6 ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας. καὶ κείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς  
 τὸ προταμιεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν  
 εἶπε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἰ 40  
 γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ  
 μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντα ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δούς  
 οἶνον εἰς ἑνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἑταίρας δὴ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ'  
 ἐκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθίζοιντο, παίειν εὐθὺς 45

4. τὰ ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο: *made the other arrangements*. The acc. is cognate. — ὡς: here equal to ἄτε. — Ἀφροδίσια: not a festival in honor of Aphrodite, but simply a farewell banquet. — καὶ δὴ καί: = καὶ δέ. — πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος: as πρόσθεν ὦν § 2.

5. ἐμεθύσθησαν: at this stage of the affair, according to the famous story which Plutarch (*Pelop.* 10) tells, a messenger brought Archias a letter, bidding him to read it at once, since it related to serious matters. In fact, it con-

tained a full account of the plot against the polemarchs. Archias, however, put the letter aside with the remark *Eis aὔριον τὰ σπουδαῖα*, 'Serious matters for to-morrow.' — κελεύόντων: see on I. I. 26.

6. προταμιεῖον: an anteroom adjoining the treasury, hence a safe place. — εἰς ἑνός: *sc. οἴκον*. S. 1302; HA. 730 a. The gen. dependent upon an omitted οἶκος or νεώς (*temple*) is analogous to the English 'at Jackson's,' 'to St. Peter's.' — δὴ: ironical. See on I. 7. 8.

7 ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Διοντιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν 50 πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδα πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσιέναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώ- 55 πησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλείσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεωγμένην, ἠπέιλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἅπαντας 8 τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων 60 ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνέωξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὄπλα.

7. ἀμφί: see Introd. IV. c. 2. — Διοντιάδου: cp. 2.25 f. — χωρὶς: *alone*, in contrast with the banqueters. — κατακείμενος: upon the dining couch. — εἶπον . . . κεκλείσθαι: 'they ordered that the door should be shut (and remain so),' the perf. inf. signifying 'that the action is to be *decisive* and *permanent*.' S. 1865 c; G. 1275; GMT. 110. — ἀποκτεῖναι: for the tense see on δοῦναι 1. 3. 8.

8. ἀνάκειον: *prison*. — τοὺς δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν: presumably because so many of them were political prisoners, *i.e.* democrats and friends of the conspirators. — τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων: *i.e.* captured arms, which were hung in the *stoa* as trophies. — Ἀμφεῖον: the shrine of Amphion, a Theban hero. — θέσθαι . . . τὰ ὄπλα: *to stand under arms, i.e.* in readiness.

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ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες τὴν τε προθυ- 80  
 μίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-  
 γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβᾶσιν,  
 ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν  
 ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπιούσι διδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ  
 ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὄρκους 85  
 12 ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι,  
 ὄσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες  
 ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ  
 διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν 90  
 ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.  
 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν  
 ἄρμοστήν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ  
 φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν 95

in order to serve as a check upon the power of Thebes. Both Plataea and Thespieae were now occupied by Spartan garrisons.

11. ὀλίγοι ὄντες: connect with ἔγνωσαν. The garrison numbered 1500, while the attacking force was ten times as large. Diod. 15. 25 f. — τε: connecting ἔγνωσαν and ἐώρων. See Introd. IV. D. 1. — καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων κτέ.: since also (καί) large prizes were offered to those who ascended the acropolis first, an additional reason for the προθυμία referred to. — ἐπὶ τούτοις: on these

terms, summing up the preceding.

12. ἐξιόντων: gen. abs. Cp. κελυόντων § 5. — ὄσους: not Spartans, but Theban oligarchs (hence τῶν ἐχθρῶν) who had taken refuge in the acropolis after the death of the polemarchs. — ἐξεκλάπησαν: were spirited away.

§§ 13–18. The Spartans declare war upon Thebes. Agesilaus declines to take command. The expedition of Cleombrotus.

13. τὴν βοήθειαν: the relief force which was sure to come under the circumstances. Cp. 4. 8. 7.

λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης εἶη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἶη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἔξω στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἕνεκεν <sup>100</sup> κατέμεινε, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βου-  
<sup>14</sup>λεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν τι βούλονται περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις <sup>105</sup> σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προΐόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ <sup>110</sup> περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ

— ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης: see on 2. 4. 32. — τῆς ἑαυτῶν: *sc.* χώρας. — οὕτω δὴ . . . ἀπεδείκνυε: an anacoluthon. One would expect this clause to be parallel with ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα . . . εἶη and to be followed by a principal verb agreeing with Ἀγησίλαος above. — ὄντα: *applied*. — λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται: Agesilaus had made enemies at Sparta by his extreme war policy, especially in support of pro-Spartan oligarchs — εἶα οὖν κτέ.: *i.e.* he took no part in the

discussion of the present question.

14. Κλεόμβροτον: brother and successor of Agesipolis. See abstract of Chap. 3. — μάλα χειμῶνος: see on μάλα εἰημερίας 2. 4. 2. — τὴν . . . δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν . . . τὴν ἐς Πλαταιάς: the first the eastern, the second the western route over Mt. Cithaeron. — οἱ πελτασταί: *i.e.* of Cleombrotus. — ἄκρῳ: of Mt. Cithaeron. — τοῖς . . . λελυμένοις: *cp.* § 8. — ὡς περὶ: *about, i.e.* the same meaning which either word alone would have. —



πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς  
 15 Πλαταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς 115  
 ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὔσας  
 Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ ἐκεῖ περὶ ἐκ-  
 καίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς. καὶ ἐκεῖ  
 μὲν ἀρμοστήν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμά-  
 χων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ 120  
 χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε  
 16 ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ'  
 ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ  
 Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀπο-  
 ροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ εἰρήνη 125  
 εἶη· ἤγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα,  
 17 ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας. ἀπι-  
 ὄντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ  
 οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλ- 130  
 λοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ  
 καθῆκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατε-  
 κρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὄπλα ἀφάρπασ-

ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας: ἔτι, because not  
 long afterwards Plataea was re-  
 duced by the Thebans.

15. Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς: a village  
 near Thebes.

16. Κρεύσιος: see on 4. 5. 10;  
 and for the gen. form see on  
 Γνώσιος 1. 1. 29. — καὶ μάλα: as  
 in 2. 4. 2. — πότερά ποτε πόλεμος  
 πρὸς: the alliteration is perhaps  
 intended to picture the impatience

of the soldiers. For ποτέ in a  
 question see on 2. 3. 47.

17. σημαίνειν: = σημείον εἶναι.  
 — τῶν μελλόντων: sc. γενήσεσθαι.  
 The reference is to Cleombrotus'  
 defeat at Leuctra a few years later.  
 — τὸ καθῆκον . . . ὄρος: a spur of  
 Mt. Cithaeron. — αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι:  
*baggage and all.* For the idiom  
 and constr. see on 1. 2. 12. —  
 ὄπλα: *i.e.* shields.

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ἀρμοστήν Σφωδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ κεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρῶ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. 21 Θριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπλου προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἵππεῖς 22 καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλία τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὠκυλλος· οὗς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς

there is some question whether Xenophon is right in representing Sphodrias' act as inspired by the Thebans. Cp. the story in 3. 5. 3 f. and see Introd. p. 31. — ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο: referring to χρήματα δόντες only. — ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε: the purpose of the Thebans, not of Sphodrias. — ἀπύλωτος ἦν: evidently the new fortifications of Piraeus, begun by Conon (4. 8. 10), had not been entirely com-

pleted. — καθανύσειν: sc. τὴν ὁδόν, would finish the journey.

21. Θριᾶσι: locative form of Θριά, an Attic deme near Eleusis. — ἐνταῦθα: thereupon. — ὥστε: purpose. See on 2. 4. 8.

22. πρέσβεις: the object of this embassy is unknown; perhaps it had come to protest against the act of the two Athenian generals (§§ 9, 19). — οὕτω . . . ὡς: = οὕτω . . . ὥστε. See Introd. IV. H.

εἰ ἤδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει 170  
 ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς παρείχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ  
 23 προξένῳ, οὐ τάχιστ' ἂν ἠύρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὡς  
 εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ  
 εἰδέναί ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς 175  
 πόλεως. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναί ἀφεί-  
 24 θησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ  
 ὑπήγον θανάτου.

Sections 24–33. Sphodrias disobeys the command to return to Sparta for trial, yet is nevertheless acquitted.

34 Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον  
 τὸν δῆμον ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε  
 ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν  
 τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς 5  
 35 πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι

— καταλαμβανόμενον: conative, *that an attempt was making to seize Piræus.* — καὶ ταῦτα: as in 2. 3. 53.

23. οὐδέ: *i.e.* that the state was not cognizant of this attempt *either*, any more than they, the ambassadors. — Σφοδρίαν: made emphatic by its position, *as for Sphodrias.* The natural Eng. order would be: ἔφασαν εὖ εἰδέναί ὅτι πεύσοιντο Σφοδρίαν ἀπολωλότα.

— μηδέν: see on μηδένα 4. 5. 12.

24. ὑπήγον θανάτου: as in 1. 3. 19.

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

34. οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλὰ καί: see on οὐχ ὅπως 2. 4. 14. — ναῦς ἐναυπηγοῦντο: the renewed activity of the Athenians in naval affairs, which is here only suggested, culminated in the following year (377 B.C.) in the formation of what is known as the Second Athenian Confederacy. This Confederacy ultimately came to include not only Thebes and Euboea, but many Aegean islands and mari-

φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησί-  
 λαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομ-  
 βρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν στρατιάν.  
 ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι τῇ πόλει δοκοίη ἀντειπεῖν 10  
 36 παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. γιννώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ  
 μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ράδιον ἔσται  
 εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς  
 Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας,  
 ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῶ, 15  
 37 εἴ τι δεηθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας,  
 πρὶν ἐν Τεγέα αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ  
 τοῖς Κλητορίοις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δούς μηνός, ἐκέλευε  
 προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχο-  
 μενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέ- 20  
 μου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν  
 στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ  
 38 δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαι-  
 ρῶνα, ἐλθὼν εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρῶν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε 25  
 καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλω τὸ πεδῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου  
 ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδευόμενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη καὶ

time cities, and gave to Athens a position of greater prominence and strength than she had held since the Peloponnesian War. Strangely enough, the whole matter is entirely passed over in the *Hellenica*, except for the above vague allusion. See *Introd.* p. 27.

35. σφίσι: for the dat. see on

στρατιᾷ 4. 2. 9. — εἰπὼν ὅτι . . . ἂν . . . ἀντειπεῖν: see on ὅτι . . . ἔσεσθαι 2 2. 2.

36. Κλητορίους . . . Ὀρχομενίοις: Cletor and Orchomenus were towns in Arcadia. — εἴ τι δεηθείη: sc. αὐτοῦ, *if he had any need of it.*

37. πρῶτον: *i.e.* before doing anything else.

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μεσημβρία· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζεω τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνούντο δ' οὐ. ἀναστρέ-  
 41 φοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσοῦτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα. ὡς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι αἰὲ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦγεν ὡς 50 οἶόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρήλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαυ κατέλιπεν ἄρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπερ- 55 βαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.

Sections 42-66. Phoebidas is defeated and slain. Agesilaus conducts a second fruitless campaign against the Thebans. Cleombrotus undertakes to lead an army into Boeotia, but is unable to force a passage over Mt. Cithaeron.

The Athenians defeat the Spartans in the naval battles of Naxos and Alyzia. 378-375 B.C.

the right moment before throwing their spears; consequently ἐξικνούντο οὐ. — ἀναστρέφοντες . . . δώδεκα: a kind of inverse partitive apposition, *i.e.* ἀναστρέφοντες refers to the whole and δώδεκα to the part, yet it is the latter which is subj. of the verb. Note that ἀναστρέφοντες is concessive. — ἐκ τοσοῦτου: more than a spear's throw.

41. καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι: *i.e.* as well as Agesilaus himself, § 38. — δι' ἐρημίας: *i.e.* finding the stockade still ungarrisoned. With ἐρημίας

supply πολεμίων, as in δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων 3. 4. 21. — ἔσω: a poetic form. Introd. IV. L. — ταῦτα ποιήσας: *i.e.* Agesilaus felt that he had accomplished enough so that he could retire without loss of prestige; in fact, his campaign had been almost as fruitless as that of Cleombrotus during the preceding winter (§§ 14-18). — Φοιβίδαυ: although he had been nominally punished for the seizure of the Cadmea (see on 2. 32), he was evidently not out of favor. — ὑπερβαλὼν: *i.e.* over Cithaeron.

## BOOK VI

PEACE BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA. THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA.

THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION OF LACONIA. 374-369 B.C.

CHAPTERS 1-2. The Pharsalians seek the aid of Sparta against Jason of Pherae, but their request is refused. Jason becomes ruler of all Thessaly.

Peace is concluded between Athens and Sparta, but the treaty is almost immediately broken. A Spartan expedition against Corcyra results in total failure. An Athenian fleet under Iphicrates sails around Peloponnesus. 374-372 B.C.

1 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὄρωντες ἐκ τῆς 3  
Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς, φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας  
πρὸς αὐτούς, ἰκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν  
ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπήνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους,  
ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἤσχυνοντο, τὰ δὲ 5  
ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς  
ᾧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς

CHAPTER 3, §§ 1-3. *The Athenians send envoys to Sparta to treat for peace.* 371 B.C.

1. Πλαταιᾶς . . . Θεσπιᾶς: since 376 B.C. Boeotia had been free from Spartan invasion, and the Thebans had been actively and successfully engaged in re-establishing their supremacy over the other Boeotian cities. In the early part of 372 B.C. (probably) they attacked and captured Plataea (see on 5. 4. 10), and razed the city to the ground. Its inhabitants, expelled from Boeotia, were kindly received at Athens.

Shortly afterwards Thespieae also was destroyed, and its population apparently scattered in villages. Diod. 15. 46. — φίλους ὄντας: for a century and a half the friendship between Athens and Plataea had been exceedingly close. See below. — μὴ σφᾶς . . . γενομένους: *not to look on and see them without a city.* For the part. with περιδεῖν see S. 2103; G. 1585; GMT. 148, 885. — μὲν . . . γε μὴν: *while . . . , still.* See on 5. 2. 16. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ: *partly . . . partly.* — κοινωνεῖν . . . αὐτοῖς: Thebes and Athens had been



τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκίας, καὶ  
 πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ  
 2 φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος 10  
 ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας  
 πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βού-  
 λουτο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέ-  
 πεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἰρεθέντων  
 Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημό- 15  
 στρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος,  
 3 Μελάνωπος, Λύκαιθος. καὶ Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημη-  
 γόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἰφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν  
 ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιή-  
 σειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· 20  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν

allies since 378 B.C. See 5. 4. 34  
 and note. — φίλους ἀρχαίους . . .  
 Φωκίας: Phocis had been allied  
 with Sparta in the Peloponnesian  
 and Corinthian wars, but Thu-  
 cydides (3. 95) bears witness to  
 the friendly feeling of the Pho-  
 cians toward Athens. — πόλεις  
 πιστάς: Plataea and Thespieae  
 had brilliantly distinguished them-  
 selves in the Persian wars. It was  
 the Plataeans alone who aided the  
 Athenians in the battle of Mara-  
 thon, and the Thespians alone  
 who fought to the death in com-  
 pany with the Spartans at Ther-  
 mopylae. Thebes, on the other  
 hand, had sided with the Persians,

a fact which the Athenians and  
 Spartans were prone to remember  
 against her. Cp. § 20 and 5. 35.

2. ἐκ τούτων: causal. — Καλ-  
 λίας Ἰππονίκου: for the omission  
 of ὁ cp. 1. 1. 29 and note.

3. Καλλίστρατος: leader of  
 the party which favored peace  
 with Sparta. — εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη: Cal-  
 listratus had accompanied Iphi-  
 crates on the cruise mentioned in  
 the above abstract. — χρήματα πέμ-  
 ψειν: Iphicrates had been much  
 hampered by lack of money.—  
 οὕτως: summing up the preceding,  
 as ἐπὶ τούτοις in 5. 4. 11. — ἦν . . .  
 ἔπραττε: where the Eng. would  
 use the plupf. — ἐκκλήτους: see on

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εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἶη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ  
 δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν, οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν  
 6 εἶη μὴ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ  
 ὄπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τρι-  
 πτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης 45  
 ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ  
 ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν  
 πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν  
 δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων 50  
 ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηώσοντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν,  
 μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὡς πλείστην τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τρο-  
 φῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ  
 πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἄρχε-

5. μικρά: emphasized by contrast with a total absence of differences — ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν. — εἶη: opt. because σωφρόνων ἐστὶ amounts to an opt. with ἂν, — 'wise men would not undertake war,' etc. Cp. on 3. 4. 18. — τῶν θαυμαστῶν: pred. part. gen., the adj. being neuter.

6. ἦν: impf. with reference to the time when war broke out. — μηδέ: *i.e.* not even to begin war, much less to continue it now. — λέγεται μὲν: καὶ . . . δέ serves as correlative, instead of the expected λέγεται δέ. — Τριπτόλεμος: a legendary ruler in Eleusis, who was initiated into the mysteries by Demeter herself and who carried

from Attica throughout Greece both the cult of the goddess and the knowledge of her art, — agriculture. In all this sacred lore Callias, the δαδοῦχος, is naturally at home. — πρώτοις ξένοις: predicative. — Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ: see 3. 3. 3 and note. — Διοσκούροιν: Castor and Pollux, putative sons of King Tyndareus of Sparta. — ἢ ὑμᾶς . . . ἡμᾶς τε: a slight irregularity, instead of ἢ . . . ἢ or τε . . . τε. — μὴ οὐχί: for the double neg. see S. 2745, 2746; HA. 1034 b; B. 434; G. 1617; Gl. 572 a. — ἡμᾶς: *i.e.* you and ourselves. — δέ: *then*. For its use in an apodosis see S. 2837; HA. 10; 6 c; B.

σθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, κατα- 55  
λύεσθαι ἢ δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

7 Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλήης, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι  
ρήτωρ, ὧδε ἠγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν  
ἀ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ  
ἀγνοῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἷτινες βούλονται, ἣν ἂν ποιή- 60  
σονται φιλίαν, ταύτην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμένειν,  
διδρακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἷτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς  
δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρῆ εἶναι,  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα ἐμποδῶν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντί-  
θεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο 65  
πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠγῆσθε. καίτοι τί  
8 τοῦτο αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιείσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ  
ἀνακοινοῦμενοι τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἠγεῖσθε·  
ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται  
στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ 70  
πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν  
δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν  
ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελείσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν,  
ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βία κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὥστ'

βοι, N.; G. 1422. — καταλύεσθαι:  
sc. αὐτόν.

§§ 7-9. *The speech of Autocles.*

7. The following just arraignment of the selfish policy of the Spartans is the more interesting because reported, without comment, by a pro-Spartan historian. — διδρακτέον: sc. τούτοις. — τοῦτο πρῶτον: cogn. acc., *this is the first stipulation you make.* — ἀκολουθεῖν

. . . ἠγῆσθε: cp. 2. 2. 20. — τί . . . προσήκει: *how is this consistent with autonomy?*

8. τὸ . . . ἐναντιώτατον: in apposition with the following sentence. S. 994; HA. 626 and b; B. 318; G. 915; Gl. 504. — δεκαρχίας: see on 2. 2. 5. — τριακονταρχίας: as at Athens. See on 2. 3. 2. — ἀρχόντων: proleptic with ἐπιμελείσθε. — ὅπως . . . ἄρχωσιν: see

9 εοίκατε τυραννίσι μάλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἠδόμενοι. καὶ 75  
 ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις  
 εἶναι, μάλα γιννώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ εἰσοίεν  
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ  
 οἷς ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ  
 τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Κα- 80  
 δμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους  
 εἶναι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιούν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς  
 δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλείστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.  
 10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἠδο- 85  
 μένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε.  
 μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὡ  
 ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἁμαρτήματα καὶ  
 ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ  
 εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γιννώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν 90

οἱ ὡσιν I. 5. 9. — εοίκατε . . . ἠδό-  
 μένοι: *you manifestly delight*.  
 εοικα, like σύνοιδα, is followed by  
 a suppl. part. either in the nom.  
 or (much more frequently) the  
 dat. S. 2133; KG. 481, *Anm.* 3.  
 Cp. 4. 5. 7, 5. 4. 40. — πολιτείας:  
*free governments*.

9. βασιλεὺς προσέταπτεν: *i.e.* in  
 the Peace of Antalcidas. See note  
 on 5. 1. 31. — τῶν πόλεων: of Boeo-  
 tia. See 5. 1. 32. — αὐτούς: in-  
 tensive. — ὅπως: occasionally used  
 with the superl. instead of ὡς.  
 — πλεονεκτοῦντας: contrasted with  
 τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, a little

milder than ἀδικοῦντας. For the  
 meaning of φαίνεσθαι with the  
 part. see S. 2143; HA. 986; B.  
 661, N. 3; G. 1592, 1; Gl. 588 c.  
 Cp. also note on εοίκατε § 8.

§§ 10–17. *The speech of Callis-  
 tratus.*

10. παρὰ: *on the part of*. So  
 ἀπό (ἀφ' ἡμῶν) below. — τοὺς  
 ἀχθομένους: for almost all the  
 Greek states were represented at  
 this congress, as allies either of  
 Athens or of Sparta. — ὅπως . . .  
 ἁμαρτήματα: *that mistakes have  
 not crept in*. ὅπως is practically  
 equivalent to ὅτι or ὡς, though

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χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μάλλον 110  
 ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ  
 13 πεπράχθαι; εἶεν. τί μὴν ᾗκομεν; ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ  
 ἀποροῦντες γνοίητε ἄν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ  
 θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλετθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν  
 τῷ παρόντι. τί μὴν ἐστίν; εὐδηλον ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων 115  
 τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ βου-  
 λοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἔνεκα περισώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνω  
 14 μεν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι  
 ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν  
 τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούσαι, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστη 120  
 πόλει οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν  
 ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν τι  
 προσδοκήσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν  
 ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἰκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι; κατὰ  
 θάλαττά'. γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπι- 125  
 15 τηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε  
 γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ

κτέ.: in explanatory apposition  
 with τοῦτο. — ἑαυτῷ: for him. —  
 πεπράχθαι: passive.

13. εἶεν: so much for that, a  
 formula of transition. — ὅτι . . . οὐκ  
 ἀποροῦντες: sc. ᾗκομεν, that it is  
 not because we are in straits. —  
 τινὲς: i.e. the Thebans. — οὐκ ἀρε-  
 στά: οὐκ instead of μή, the regu-  
 lar neg. of the protasis, because it  
 limits ἀρεστά only. — ὧν ἔνεκα: =  
 τούτων ἔνεκα ὅτι, because. — περι-  
 σώσατε ἡμᾶς: i.e. in 404 B.C., de-  
 spite the wishes of the Thebans.

See 2. 2. 19 f. and cp. 2. 3. 25,  
 where the same verb is used in  
 reference to the same act. — ἃ  
 ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν: apparently the feel-  
 ings which we rightly conceived,  
 i.e. our deserved gratitude.

14. ἵνα: like ut in ut ita dicam,  
 whereas the Eng. uses an inf. —  
 εἰσὶ μὲν . . . καὶ: for the irregular  
 correlation cp. οὐ λέγεται μὲν § 6.  
 — τὰ ὑμέτερα . . . φρονούσαι: i.e.  
 which side with you.

15. ἀλλὰ μέντοι: = at vero. —  
 ὅτι μὲν . . . καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς: as in

ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθὶς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς 130 τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἠττηθέντες τὴν ἀσκησιν καταλύσω- 135 σιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν οἵτινες αὐτὸν εἰς τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. 17 ἂν χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέποτε καταστήναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀπο- 140 βαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.

18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ 145 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικὰ, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν

§ 14. — ἀλλά: see on δέ § 6. — μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ: a blending of the two formulas μᾶλλον ἢ and ἀλλὰ οὐ; hence the neg. is untranslatable.

16. ἀλλὰ μὴν: as ἀλλὰ μέντοι § 15. — τὴν ἀσκησιν: *their athletic training, i.e. their careers.* — ἐπι-

τύχωσι: *succeed*, as in 4. 5. 19.

17. ὥστ' . . . ἀποβαλεῖν: explaining τοιοῦτον. — ἀναστρεφοίμεθα: ἀναστρέφειν, like the Lat. *versari*, is sometimes weakened to practical equivalence with εἶναι.

§§ 18–20. *Peace is concluded. The exclusion of the Thebans.*



βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ 150  
 μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικου-  
 19 μένοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ-  
 μαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραψάμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 ὁμωμοκυῖαις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες 155  
 πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μετα-  
 γράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν τὸ

18. μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον: it will be remembered (see 5. 1. 36 and note) that the Spartans had interpreted the last clause of the Peace of Antalcidas as giving them the right and imposing upon them the duty of enforcing its provisions. As Xenophon says, they became *προστάται* of the treaty. It was because of their abuse of this position that the peace now concluded had no *προστάται* and bound no one to help coerce unwilling states. Herein lies the great difference between the two treaties.

19. ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτέ.: that the Spartans *took the oath for* (i.e. *in the name of*) *themselves and their allies* is not strange, despite the fact that these allies were conceded by the Spartans (see on 5. 1. 33) and proclaimed by the treaty itself to be autonomous. For the Spartan confederacy was an old established

confederacy, whose constitution and practical workings were well known. The Athenian confederacy, on the other hand, was of recent formation (see on 5. 4. 34), and the Athenians had emphasized in every way the independence of its members in order to clear themselves of the suspicion of striving after a subject empire such as they had ruled in the days before the Peloponnesian War. Hence in the present instance they were careful not to assume any right to act for their allies. — ἀπογραψάμενοι: *having signed their names.* — οἱ Θηβαῖοι . . . οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν: the appositive repeats the original subject in more definite, exact form. — μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοῦς: the Thebans were members of the Athenian confederacy under the name *Θηβαῖοι*, not *Βοιωτοί*, and it was as members of that confederacy that they were present at the congress. Hence

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λεων ἀπήγον καὶ Ἰφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμ-  
 ποντο, καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς  
 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀπο-  
 2 δοῦναι. Λακεδαιμόνι μὲντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων 5  
 τοὺς τε ἀρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπήγαγον, Κλεόμ-  
 βροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερω-  
 τῶντα τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, Προθόου λέξαντος  
 ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς  
 ὄρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι 10  
 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅποσον βούλοιτο ἐκάστη  
 πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μή τις ἐῷ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι,  
 τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βού-  
 λονται βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω  
 γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἶεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι 15  
 3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἤκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἢ δ' ἐκκλησία  
 ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκείνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγήσατο· ἤδη

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

2. **Κλεόμβροτον κτέ.**: an anacoluthon, the original plan of the sentence being lost in course of the long parenthesis which follows.—**ἐν Φωκεῦσι**: Cleombrotus had been sent to Phocis, probably in the early part of this year, to protect it from Theban attack. Cp. 3. 1.—**τὰ . . . τέλη**: as in 3. 4. 26.—**συμβαλέσθαι**: *i.e.* funds for the war, the temple of Apollo at Delphi to be the treasury.—**ὅσοι . . . βούλονται**: according to the

last clause of the treaty, 3. 18.—**γὰρ ἂν**: ἂν belongs to εἶναι.—**τοὺς τε θεοὺς . . . καὶ τὰς πόλεις**: the former, because the Spartans would thus be keeping their oaths; the latter, because no one would be compelled, as some of the allies in Cleombrotus' army actually were, to serve against their will.

3. **φλυαρεῖν**: since the Thebans had practically given notice of their intention to keep the Boeotian towns, it seemed absurd to disband an army that was already close to the scene.—

γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἤγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς 20 πόλεις. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦσθετο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας, ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ ἦ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενωπῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ 25 ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἶρει, 4 καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι 30 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρῦ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι 5 προσιόντες ἔλεγον· ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ 35 ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν

ἤγεν: *i.e.* the Spartans to their destruction. — ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ: resuming in a different form the sentence begun in § 2. — οὐχ ὅπως . . . ἀλλ' οὐδέ: as in 2. 4. 14. — ὡς ἀντιτάττοιτο: the purpose of οὐδὲ διαλύοντας. — διὰ Θισβῶν: *i.e.* by a more southern route than the Thebans had expected him to take. — Κρεῦσιν: see on 4. 5. 10. The possession of this

port secured Cleombrotus' communications with Peloponnesus.

§§ 4–15. *The battle of Leuctra.*

4. ἀλλ' ἢ: *except.* Cp. 1. 7. 15.

5. σου: poss. gen. with the following clauses, *i.e.* they will recall *your deeds* as therein described. Cp. 7. 5. 8 ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . ἐποίησατο, *I praise his pitching his camp.* — εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς κτέ.: see 5.

Θηβαίων ἐδήσασα, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἶπερ οὖν ἢ σαυτοῦ κήδη ἢ τῆς 40 πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ 45 Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀποστήσουντο μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσουντο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τὰπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ 50 αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἠττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνήμα, αἱ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ 55 Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ τε νεώ

4. 15 f. — ὕστερον στρατεύων: see abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — Ἀγησιλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος: see 5. 4. 36 f. and abstract of 5. 4. 42 f. — τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς: *i.e.* do not wish to be exiled. — κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων: *i.e.* the war party at Sparta interpreted Cleombrotus' inborn love of peace as merely a disloyal fondness for the Thebans.

6. οἱ προεστῶτες: the seven Boeotarchs, of whom Epaminondas was one. — αὐτῶν: gen. of separation. — πολιορκήσουντο: fut. mid. with passive meaning. S. 807; H.A. 496; B. 515, 1; G. 1248; Gl. 353. — πεφευγότες πρόσθεν: as described in 5. 2. 31.

7. λεγόμενος: passive. — τῶν παρθένων: Molpia and Hippo,

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Βοιωτῶν· ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μείζον τε καὶ ἀθροώ-  
 10 τερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα. ἔπειτα  
 δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν  
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἵππείας, 80  
 ἀντετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν  
 δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἵππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν  
 πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς,  
 τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρό-  
 11 τατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ 85  
 πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ  
 συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα  
 ὅποια δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο·  
 τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι  
 12 καὶ ἠκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον 90  
 μὲν οὖν τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος  
 τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν  
 ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς

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

10. πεδίου: pred. — τοῦ μεταξύ: sc. χωρίου. — πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους: Orchomenus (see on 3. 5. 6) was the only Boeotian city which still remained independent, despite the efforts of the Thebans to subjugate it. — πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς: see on 3. 1.

11. ὁ συντεταγμένος: *the man who was detailed, i.e.* to take a particular horse and serve in the cavalry. — λαβὼν ἂν . . . ἂν ἐστρατεύετο: for the impf. with ἂν, of customary action, see S. 1790;

HA. 835; B. 568; G. 1296; Gl. 461 a; and for the repetition of ἂν see S. 1765; HA. 864; B. 439, N. 2; G. 1312. — ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα: *i.e.* without any preliminary training.

12. εἰς τρεῖς: for the meaning of the prep. see on εἰς 3. 4. 13. — τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν: the tactical unit in the Spartan army, being one half of a πεντηκοστὺς (company) or one sixteenth of a μόρα (regiment). The strength of the ἐνωμοτία, here 36 men, varied naturally with that of the μόρα. See on 2. 4. 31. — τοῦτο . . .

δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ  
 πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζό- 95  
 μνοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν  
 13 εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμ-  
 βροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ  
 αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἠγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἠττηντο οἱ τῶν 100  
 Λακεδαιμονίων· φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἐαυ-  
 τῶν ὀπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι.  
 ὁμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἂν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγ- 105

τὸ βάθος: lit. *and that this turned out for them not more than twelve in depth, i.e. this formation resulted in their being not more, etc.* For πλέον (= εἰς πλείους) see on 2. 4. 11. So ἔλαττον below = ἐπὶ ἐλαττόνων.— συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν: *were massed together.* In the battle of Leuctra Epaminondas employed for the first time his famous λοξὴ φάλαγξ, or oblique line of battle, gathering his best troops in a deep column on the left wing and with them making the attack, while the remaining, weaker part of the line was held back, serving principally to keep the left wing from being surrounded. It will be remembered that as long ago as the battle of Nemea the Thebans had shown a fondness for the deep-column formation (4. 2. 18), and that at

Nemea and at Coronea they had defeated the troops opposed to them (4. 2. 20, 4. 3. 18). In both these battles, however, they occupied the right wing and were pitted against the allies of the Spartans. Epaminondas now puts his strength on the left wing in order to meet Cleombrotus and the Spartans themselves, who formed the opposing-right wing.

13. καὶ δὴ: = ἤδη, *already, straightway.* The following καί = *also.* — συνεβεβλήκεσαν . . . ἠττηντο . . . ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν: the plupf. sometimes denotes the *immediate* accomplishment of an action, 'it was all over with.' S. 1953; GMT. 52. — σαφεῖ . . . τεκμηρίῳ: pred. to τούτῳ, hence the absence of the article. Cp. 5. 2. 17. — γάρ: as in 5. 4. 1. — ζῶντα:



κείνῳ, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 14 τῷ χρόνῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέ-  
 μαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώ-  
 νυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς  
 τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου 110  
 ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἐώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέ-  
 κλωσαν· ὁμῶς δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἠττημένοι ἐπεὶ  
 διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν  
 οὕσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ χώραν ἐνθεν ὠρμηντο. 115  
 ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον  
 τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἠγούμενοι  
 τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ 120  
 15 μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι  
 ὀρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεώτας  
 ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὀρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων ἐκεῖ  
 ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους, αἰσθανό-

Cleombrotus was mortally wounded and died before the fight ended, — the first Spartan king since Leonidas to lose his life upon the battlefield.

14. πολέμαρχος: see on 2. 4. 33. — Σφοδρίας: cp. 5. 4. 20 f. — τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν: see on 4. 5. 8. — καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς: here begins the main clause, καί meaning *also*. The reference in ἱππεῖς is probably to the Spartan king's bodyguard,

a picked force of 300 men, who were really hoplites, though bearing the name ἱππεῖς. — συμφορεῖς: probably *aides*. — ἔτυχεν οὕσα: the trench, therefore, was not one which had been dug for purposes of defense. — πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ: for the order of words see on 4. 5. 4. — ἰστάναι: see on 2. 4. 7.

15. Σπαρτιατῶν: *i.e.* full Spartans or peers (ὅμοιοι), while Λακεδαιμονίων above includes *also*

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ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωπούς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιμόντας. 145

17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίπων μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης· ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης ἐστρίτευτο· καὶ τοὺς 150 ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον.

18 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὐπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ 155 ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι· γὰρ ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυῶνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. 160 ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυωνίων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ'

§§ 17–18. *The Spartans send out a relief force under Archidamus.*

17. μόραιν :: note the dual. Since there were six μόραι in all (2. 4. 31), Cleombrotus had evidently taken four with him to Phocis. — τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης: the oldest men who were ever called upon for service abroad. Cp. 5. 4. 13 and see on 2. 4. 32. — τῶν ἔξω μορῶν: i.e. the

four which had been under Cleombrotus and were now at Leuctra. By the present order the oldest five year-classes belonging to these μόραι were sent out to join them. — ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς: in public offices.

18. τῆς ἀσθενείας: described in 5. 4. 58. — ἔτι ἔζων: this phrase is used because a little later (5. 6–9) Xenophon tells of the overthrow and partial annihilation of Stasippus' faction. — ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν: see

19 ὧν διενουῦντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ  
Ἄρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν 165  
εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς  
νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον,  
λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπε-  
20 ποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων  
ἡ βουλή ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' 170  
ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν  
πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα  
ἐκάλεσαν, περί τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο.  
καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κῆρυξ. πρὸς  
μέντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ 175  
Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῆ τὸ  
21 μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου,  
ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβῶν δὲ τό τε  
ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππέας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ  
πολέμῳ τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς 180

abstract of Book 5, Chap. 2. —  
διαβιβάζειν: *i.e.* across the Corin-  
thian Gulf.

§§ 19–26. *The Theban herald  
is coldly received at Athens. Jason  
comes to the aid of the Thebans.  
A truce is concluded, and the de-  
feated Spartan army retires.*

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

20. ὅτι μὲν . . . ἠνιάθησαν: a

contrasted δέ clause — ‘but (al-  
though) they did not speak out  
their feelings’ — is suggested, but  
left unexpressed. See on 5. 2.  
12. — ἐπὶ ξένια: representatives  
of other states were regularly  
entertained as public guests in  
the Prytaneum (see on 1. 7.  
14). — Ἰάσονα: see abstract of  
Chap. 1.

21. ὡς βοηθήσων: this pretense  
(see on 1. 1. 33) put the Phocians,  
Jason’s enemies, off their guard.  
— διεπορεύθη: *i.e.* through Phocis.

τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὄφθεις ἢ ἀγγελθεὶς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαι τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γιγνόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ 22 δέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων 185 τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἶη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἶη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἢ ἔτι μείζω καταπράξαι ἢ στερηθῆ- 190 23 ναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης. οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἶεσθαι οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζονται, τοῦ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους 195 24 ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἶον μὲν εἶη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἶον δὲ νενικηκός. εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω 200

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

22. ἄνωθεν: *i.e.* from the top of the hill on the slope of which the Spartan camp was situated. Cp. § 14. — ἀντιπροσώπους: note that the Thebans are ready to assume the heavier part of the task. — ὥστε: used precisely as in 3. 17.

23. ἀναγκάζονται: *i.e.* should

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

24. ἐπιλαθέσθαι . . . πάθος: *to forget the disaster which has befallen you, i.e. by winning in the future such a victory as shall enable you to forget it.* The text,

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φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγόσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ<sup>220</sup> μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὲ ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπήγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

Sections 27-37. A digression on Jason and his successors.

CHAPTER 5, sections 1-21. A new peace congress is assembled under the presidency of Athens, and the several states swear to defend any whose autonomy may be violated.

The Mantineans rebuild their wall, disregarding the remonstrances of the Spartans. Civil war breaks out in Tegea; the partisans of Sparta are killed or banished by the opposing faction, aided by the Mantineans. The principal Arcadian cities, except Orchomenus, unite for mutual protection against Sparta and establish a central government. Agesilaus invades Arcadia, but retires without accomplishing anything. 371-370 B.C.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ 5 ἦσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραιᾶς, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἤθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακε-5

χαλεπὴν ὁδόν: cp. Cleombrotus' experiences on this same road, 5. 4. 17 f. — σύμμαχοι: *i.e.* those who had not joined Archidamus on his march northward.

CHAPTER 5, §§ 22-32. *The Thebans come to the aid of the Arcadians. The invasion of Laconia.* 370 B.C.

22. οἱ Ἀρκάδες: *i.e.* the Arca-

dians and their allies, *viz.* the Eleans and the Argives. Cp. § 23. Similarly, οἱ Θεβαῖοι below includes the Theban allies enumerated in § 23. — αὐτοὶ δέ: *while they themselves.* — Ἡραιᾶς: Heraea was a town in western Arcadia. — τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν: *to be members of the Arcadian confederacy.* See the above abstract. —

δαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρῆναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς  
 23 Ἡραίας καὶ συμμιγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ 10  
 ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἐώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἄρκαδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες 15 μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατεύμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκη. ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγενημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ 20 Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς. ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὲ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδα-

ἐνεπίμπρων: a most unusual form from ἐπίπρημι, following the inflection of contracts in -άω. Cp. S. 746 b; HA. 419; B. 170, 4; G. 630; Gl. 372, 2. — οὕτως: as in 4. 24.

23. ἔπειθον: conative, *urged*. — Φωκεῖς κτέ.: this roll of Theban allies indicates a vast extension of the power of Thebes in northern Greece, a result which naturally followed the battle of Leuctra but

is not alluded to by Xenophon save in this indirect way. See Introd. p. 31. — Ἡρακλεῶται: the Heracleans, as well as the Phocians, had fought on the side of the Spartans at Leuctra. Cp. 4. 2 and 9. — τὴν . . . ἐρημίαν: *the dearth of men*. The Spartans, few in number at best, had lost heavily at Leuctra, and had since been deserted by very many of their allies. — λέγοντες: *describing*. —



μῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακε-<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>24</sup> δαιμονίων χώραν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα,  
 ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἢ Λακωνικὴ  
 ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῶ  
 τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν <sup>30</sup>  
 Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους·  
 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη  
 φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ  
 συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύνα-  
 μιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ <sup>35</sup>  
 ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὲ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς  
<sup>25</sup> ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι  
 ἤκουον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνού-

πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν: the inf. with πρὶν after a negative sentence is unusual. See S. 2455 and d; GMT. 629; also note on I. I. 31.

24. Σκιρίτιδος: see on 5. 2. 24. — φρουροὺς: predicative. — τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων: see abstract above. — Μαλεάτιδος: a frontier district to the west of Sciritis. — ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν . . . καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν κτέ.: *that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather quickly and that they would fight, etc.* For this use of the part. with ὡς see Introd. IV. j. Note that in the second clause it is inconsistently replaced by the inf. in ind. disc. with αὐτοὺς, despite the introductory ὡς and the correla-

tion with καί . . . καί; also that δύναμιν is grammatically in apposition with τοῦτο.— οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς: Xenophon is not loath to ascribe to the Thebans a lack of courage. See Introd. p. 31. According to Plutarch (*Pelop.* 24) Epaminondas and his associates in the command of the army were near the close of their term of office, and by prolonging the expedition rendered themselves liable to the penalty of death.

25. ἤκουον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν . . . παρήσαν δέ: for the combination τε . . . δέ see on I. I. 34. Caryae was a village in northern Laconia, east of Sciritis. — ἤκουον . . . λέγοντες: sc. τινές. Cp. on ἔχων 2. I. 8.

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καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ 60  
 δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωρος,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν δια-  
 βαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ  
 ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλίται· ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν 65  
 Εὐρώταν παρήσαν κάοντες καὶ πορθοῦντες πολλῶν  
 28 κἀγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν  
 γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὀρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέ-  
 ποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον  
 ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλη διαταχθεὶς, μάλα ὀλίγοι 70  
 καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς  
 τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλωσιν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ὄπλα  
 λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν  
 29 ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολεμήσαιεν. καὶ  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλέον ἢ ἑξακισ- 75  
 χιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὐτοῖσι παρέϊχον συντεταγμένοι  
 καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἔμενον μὲν  
 οἱ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι

27. Σελλασίαν: see on 2. 2. 13. — γεφύρας: over the Eurotas River. — πόλιν: Sparta. — Ἀλέας: a title of Athena.

28. ἀτείχιστον . . . τὴν πόλιν: an unwalled city. See on 2. 3. 56. — ἄλλος ἄλλη διαταχθεὶς: a phrase which indicates to the eye the fewness of the Spartans. — λαμβάνειν (after πιστά): obj. of προειπεῖν. — ὡς . . . ἐσομένους: as ὡς συνελ-

θοῦσαν ἄν § 24. The part. limits the subj. of λαμβάνειν. — This wholesale emancipation of Helots seemed necessary on account of the defection of the Perioeci (§ 25).

29. ἀπογράψασθαι: as in 2. 4. 8. — αὐτοῖσι: i.e. as well as the enemy. — ἔμενον: remained true. — οἱ . . . μισθοφόροι: whom Agesilaus had brought home with him from Arcadia. See abstract above.

καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἤδη καὶ 80  
 30 τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἤττον ὠρρώδουν. ὡς δὲ προῖον  
 τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτη διέβαινον  
 τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπε-  
 δεύοιεντο, εὐθύς ὦν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ  
 τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάτ- 85  
 τουτο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, κατα-  
 λείποντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας  
 ἐτρέποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη  
 προῆλθον οἱ ἵππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον εἰς Γαῖαόχου  
 κατὰ τάξεις, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ 90  
 ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Λοκρῶν ἵππεῖς παρήσαν.  
 31 οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἵππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινό-  
 μενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες ὀπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς 95  
 ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν.  
 ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν  
 ὤρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἳ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ  
 τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρα-  
 32 τοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβα- 100

30. κατ' Ἀμύκλας: *opposite Amyclae*, a city a few miles south of Sparta. — τε . . . δέ: as in § 25. — ἀρπαγὴν: the Arcadians were notoriously fond of plundering. Cp. 5. 2. 19. — Γαῖαόχου: Doric form of the Homeric γαῖήοχος, a title of Poseidon. For the gen. see on ἐνός 5. 4. 6. The *race-course* was evidently a part of the sanctuary of

Poseidon, who, according to tradition, was the creator of the horse.

31. ποιήσαντες: agreeing with οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, whose parts are οὗτοι and οἱ ἵππεῖς below. — ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν: *sc. οἰκία*. For the Tyndaridae see on 3. 6. — ἔμενε: *stood firm*.

32. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ . . . αὐτούς: *and that they would make no fur-*

λείν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἤδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπᾶραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. 105 ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν περιόικων οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες 110 πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὠκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλουθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμησκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς αἰεὶ ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς 115 μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν,

*ther* (ἔτι) *attempt upon the city*. — θαρραλεώτερον: *more certain*. — Ἑλος καὶ Γύθειον: cities on the Laconian Gulf. — προσέβαλλον: it seems likely that the attack was successful, though the matter is uncertain. — ἐπέθεντο: *sc.* Γυθείῳ.

§§ 33–36. *Deliberations at Athens. The speeches of the Spartan ambassadors and their effect.*

33. δόγμα βουλῆς: = προβούλευμα, for which see on 1. 7. 7. — ἔτυχον παρόντες: not implying that the presence of these envoys was

accidental, for they were undoubtedly sent for the express purpose of soliciting Athenian aid, but rather that they chanced to reach Athens at just the time when the Athenians were preparing to discuss the matter. — ὑπολοίπων . . . αὐτοῖς: the order of words as in 3. 5. 3. — ὅθεν: *wherefore*, indicating the reason for ἔλεγον only, not for παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. — ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς: *cp.* ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ 5. 2. 35. — τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν: *i.e.* Hippias, son of Pisistratus, in 511 B.C. The plur. is used be-

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36 Ἀθήνας, σφείς ἐμποδῶν γένοιντο. ὁ δὲ πλείστος ἦν 135  
 λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικη-  
 σάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ'  
 αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τε-  
 γεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἐπεστρά-  
 τευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς 140  
 λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως  
 τοὺς Μαντινεάας ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον  
 ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν,  
 ὅτι ὄπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.

37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 145  
 ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ

referred to, see 2. 2. 19. — σφείς :  
 the Spartans.

36. ὁ πλείστος . . . λόγος : *i.e.* the  
 point which the Spartans talked  
 about most, as contrasted with  
 μέγιστον above, the point which  
 weighed most with the Athenians.  
 — κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους : see abstract  
 above, p. 320. — οὐ γὰρ . . . ἐπι-  
 στρατεύοιεν : continuing the indir.  
 quotation, although γὰρ gives the  
 clause an independent form. S.  
 2629; GMT. 675. — ἀδικησάντων  
 . . . βοηθησάντων : causal. — σφῶν :  
 referring to the Spartans, *i.e.* to the  
 logical subject of the clause πλεί-  
 στος ἦν λόγος. — ἐπιστρατεύοιεν :  
 pres., since the invading army  
 was at this moment in Laconia.  
 — οἱ Ἀρκάδες : particularly men-  
 tioned instead of the Thebans,  
 because it was between the Arca-

dians and the Spartans that the  
 trouble began. — βοηθησάντων τοῖς  
 Τεγεάταις κτέ. : for the facts alluded  
 to in the following see abstract  
 above, p. 320. — θόρυβος . . . οἱ  
 μὲν ἔφασαν κτέ. : the freedom of  
 talk and action here indicated was  
 characteristic of the Athenian As-  
 sembly. — δικαίως : limiting βοη-  
 θῆσαι, but placed early in its clause  
 for emphasis. — τῶν περὶ τὸν Στά-  
 σιππον : cp. οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον,  
 λακωνίζοντες 4. 18.

§§ 37-48. *The speeches of the  
 Corinthian Cliteles and the Phlia-  
 sian Procles.*

37. τούτων . . . ἐκκλησίας : *while  
 the Assembly itself (i.e. independ-  
 ently of the speakers) was trying  
 to determine these matters.* Note  
 that διορίζω is identical in deriva-  
 tion with the Eng. *determine.* —

ταῦτα μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν 150 ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδηλώσαμεν ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, εἰ μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ποιήσετε ; καὶ ταῦτα ᾧν 155 αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὄρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἱμεῖς ὁμόσαιμεν ; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβισαν 38 ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν . Ὅτι μὲν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο Λακε- 160 δαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι . τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴονται ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι 39 αἰτούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας 165 βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυτμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὅποτε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἶχετε. συμ-

ἀντιλέγεται: *is a disputed point.*

— εἰς τὴν χώραν . . . ἐλθόντες: *i.e.* on their way to Arcadia.— καὶ ταῦτα: as in 2. 3. 53.— ὡς . . .

εἰρηκότος: see Introd. IV. J.— ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια: parallel in fact, though not in form.

38. Προκλῆς: a particular friend of Agesilaus (5. 3. 13).—

τῶν ἄλλων: *i.e.* besides the Spartans.— τοῦ ἄρξαι: dependent upon ἐμποδῶν.

39. ἐγὼ μὲν: *i.e.* whatever others may think.— πόρρω: *i.e.* in



φορώτερόν γε μεντὰν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι 170  
 εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι  
 40 ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. εἰ δέ  
 τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε  
 ὅτι οὐχ οὓς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὓς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῆ φοβεῖσθαι 175  
 δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ καὶ  
 τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιώταις  
 καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἐρρωμενέστατοι ᾖσιν, ἵνα  
 ἔχωσιν, ἐὰν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν  
 41 προπεπονημένων. ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς 180  
 παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους  
 ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δο-  
 κοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλ'  
 εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὀρῶντες καὶ νῦν καὶ 185  
 εἰς αἰεὶ, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἳ τε σύμμαχοι  
 καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες Ἕλληνές  
 42 τε καὶ βάρβαροι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελής. ὥστε εἰ  
 κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρή ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς 190

Sparta. — βοηθήσαιτε: after this verb one may conveniently supply *if you should do so*. — διαμάχεσθαι: as in 4. 23.

40. ἀναφύγωσιν: see on 2. 3.  
 50. — ἐνθυμήθητε: the change in person (from τινές above) is made easy by the preceding ὑμῖν. — καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι: *i.e.* states as well as individuals. — ἐπικουρίαν

τῶν προπεπονημένων: lit. *an aid from their previous efforts, i.e.* in what their previous efforts have obtained for them.

41. κτήσασθαι: see on στρατεύειν 3. 5. 5. — συνεπίστανται: σύν-, uniting in this respect the contrasted subjects. — ἀμελής: *a matter of indifference*.

42. ὥς . . . γενήσεσθαι: see on

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ἀκούων ἐζήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύ-  
 γοντας ἐπικουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ'  
 ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἤδη παρὼν ὄρω Λακεδαιμονίους τε  
 τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους 215  
 φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε ἤκοντας καὶ δεομένους αὐ-  
 46 ὑμῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὄρω δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἱ τότε οὐκ  
 ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν  
 δεομένους ὑμῶν περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας  
 ὑμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, 220  
 ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ  
 εἶασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν  
 γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε ὑβρισ-  
 47 θῆναι μήτε ἀπολέσθαι εἶσαίτε. καλοῦ γε μὴν κακεί-  
 νου ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὑβριν διεσώσατε 225  
 τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε

accession of Athens changes the situation in this respect also.

45. ἀκούων: placed first in emphatic contrast with παρὼν ὄρω, then repeated (ἤκουον) in the clause depending upon ἐζήλουν. — αὐ: in their turn.

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

σθαι, which is also subj. of λέγεται, — your ancestors' deed in not allowing (lit. when they did not allow) . . . is told as a noble deed. Cp. on 4. 5. — τοὺς Ἀργείων κτέ.: after the defeat of the legendary expedition of the Seven against Thebes it was only by an Athenian army that the Thebans were compelled to permit the burial of their enemy's dead. Isocr. 4. 55.

47. σχόντες: checking. — τὴν Εὐρυσθέως κτέ.: the sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and

κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσαίτε; πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὄπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε 230  
 48 αὐτοῖς. ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἢ που ὑμῖν γε τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα φανείη, εἰ πολλὰ ἴσως καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπά- 235  
 θετε μνησθεῖτε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ 240  
 βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ, καὶ Ἴφικράτην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερά ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἴφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἠγείτο μὲν ὁ Ἴφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι 245  
 ἔργον ἠγήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὡς δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προθύμως

effective aid at Athens. — κάλλιον: sc. ἂν γένοιτο. — τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας: cp. 3. 6.

48. ὅποτε δὲ . . . ἀγαθοῖς: and when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so. ὅποτε is practically causal, as 'when' often is in Eng.

§§ 49–52. *The Athenians send an army under Iphicrates to aid the Spartans. The return of the Thebans, which Iphicrates fails to prevent.*

49. ἐγένετο: as in 3. 5. 7. — Ἀκαδημείᾳ: see on 2. 2. 8. — ποτέ: at length.

μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἠγοῖτο, προθύμως δ', εἰ πρὸς  
 50 τείχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Λακεδαί- 250  
 μονι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλείοι  
 πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὄμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν  
 ἄγοντες οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὅ τι ἠρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἐώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' 255  
 ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ  
 ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν  
 51 ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνοι  
 ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἴφι- 260  
 κράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς  
 Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν,  
 οὐ ψέγω· ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἅ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε,  
 πάντα εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως  
 πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ 265  
 τῷ Ὀνειῷ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε,

50. πολλοί: limiting all three nouns.— ἄγοντες . . . φέροντες: the former of animals, the latter of portable property.— χειμῶν: *i.e.* the latter part of the winter of 370-369 B.C.

51. ἀπεχώρουν: Xenophon omits all reference to the most important result of the Theban expedition, *viz.* the reestablishment of the independence of Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to Sparta. Epaminondas founded the city of Mes-

sene as a capital for the new state, and the descendants of exiled Messenians, gathered at his summons from all parts of the Greek world, were restored to their own. See Introd. pp. 27 and 31.— εἰς Κόρινθον: where in all probability Xenophon himself was living at this time. See Introd. p. 11 f.— τῷ Ὀνειῷ: a mountain range southeast of Corinth.— ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο κτέ.: in just this point Xenophon seems to have mistaken the intentions of Iphicrates. The great

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## BOOK VII

## THE THEBAN HEGEMONY. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

369–362 B.C.

CHAPTERS 1–5.3. Athens and Sparta conclude a formal alliance. The Thebans invade Peloponnesus and capture Sicyon. The Spartans win a decisive victory over the Arcadians and Argives. An unsuccessful attempt by the Thebans to impose a new “King’s Peace” upon the Greek states. The third Theban invasion of Peloponnesus.

A digression on the affairs of Phlius.

The career and death of Euphron, tyrant of Sicyon.

The Corinthians make peace with Thebes. War breaks out between the Arcadians and the Eleans, and a desperate battle is fought at Olympia during the progress of the games. Dissensions among the cities of the Arcadian confederacy.

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

4 Ἐν ὧσιν δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήρει, 5  
Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θετταλῶν πολ-  
λοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ.  
Φωκεῖς μὲντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθήκαι  
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν· ἐπ’ 5

CHAPTER 5, §§ 4–8. *The fourth Theban invasion of Peloponnesus. Epaminondas’ march to Tegea. His good generalship.* 362 B.C.

4. ταῦτα: the negotiations referred to in the above abstract.— Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήρει: in order to support those Arcadians who had remained loyal to Thebes. See

abstract above.— Εὐβοᾶς: as in 370 B.C. (6. 5. 23). — Ἀλεξάνδρου: tyrant of Pherae, who had become a subject ally of Thebes.— τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ: i.e. Thessalian cities which the Thebans had recently liberated from the rule of Alexander.— σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: as an indir. reflexive.

5 ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ  
 μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ  
 σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ  
 Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι  
 Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαν- 10  
 τιεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραί τε εἶναι καὶ  
 6 ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε μὲν δὴ  
 ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέᾳ,  
 ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας  
 λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς 15  
 μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς,  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ  
 συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι Θηβαίοις ὅτι ἐλατ-  
 7 τοῖντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆ-  
 σαν πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ 20  
 μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν  
 κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκένας, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ  
 παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος βοηθήσοντας

5. σφίσιν: *i.e.* the Thebans. See on ἐαυτῶν 1. 6. 36. — Μεσσηνίους: see on 6. 5. 51. — τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας: see on 6. 3. 14. — Μεγαλοπολίται: Xenophon nowhere mentions the important fact of the founding of Megalopolis in 370 B.C. as a capital for the Arcadian confederacy. See *Introd.* p. 27 and note 3. — εἴ τινες: = αἵτινες. — ἠναγκάζοντο: *sc.* to side, like their neighbors, with the Thebans.

6. Νεμέα: see on 4. 2. 14. —

παριόντας: *i.e.* on their way to Arcadia, to join their allies. — ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν: *to put it briefly.* For the dat. see S. 1497; HA. 771 b; B. 382; G. 1172, 2; Gl. 523 a; for the inf. see on 3. 5. 9. — πᾶν ἀγαθὸν . . . Ἀθηναῖοι: *that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans.* Note that ὅτι is cogn. acc.

7. οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντες: *i.e.* the enemies of the Thebans. — παρασκευάζεσθαι: *sc.* πορεύεσθαι. — διὰ Λακεδαίμονος: *i.e.* that they in-



τοῖς Ἀρκασίῳ, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμήσας ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας  
 8 ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. εὐτυχῆ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν 25  
 ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα  
 μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ  
 ἀνὴρ ἔλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ  
 ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιή-  
 σατο, ἐνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρα- 30  
 τοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι  
 πράττειτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ, εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἔξω στρα- 30  
 τοπεδευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε  
 τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντι- 35  
 πάλων εἶναι, ὅποτε ὁρῶν χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐ-  
 9 τούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὁρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν  
 αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τὸν τε χρόνον προβαί-  
 νοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς  
 πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ 40  
 οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπά-  
 λους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν  
 τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἦσθετο ἐξε-

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

8. εὐτυχῆ: made emphatic by its position. — γενέσθαι: *proved*. — ὅσα . . . ἔλλιπεῖν: the strongest words of praise which are found in the *Hellenica*, doubly significant because bestowed unwillingly upon an enemy of both Sparta and Athens. Cp. § 19 f. and see

Introd. p. 31. — αὐτοῦ: see on σου 6. 4. 5. — τῶν ἐτέρων: as in 4. 2. 15. — οἰόμενος: concessive. — κρείττων: Epaminondas' army seems to have been somewhat stronger numerically than that of the enemy. — χωρίοις: by places which they occupied, *i.e.* in position.

§§ 9–13. *Epaminondas invades Laconia.*

9. πεφυλαγμένους: *had taken*

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12 ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον 60  
 ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς  
 ἀπονουνομένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤγειτο  
 Ἄρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ  
 ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες 65  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι  
 ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν  
 13 Ἄρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν  
 Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλό-  
 μενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ και- 70  
 ροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρχίδαμος τροπαῖόν τε ἴστατο ἔνθα  
 ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων  
 14 ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζό- 75

ἀνέβαινεν: *i.e.* Epaminondas chose as a starting point for his advance a spot which was higher than the city itself instead of lower. He actually gained possession, according to Polybius 9. 8, of that part of the city which lay toward the Eurotas River.

12. τὸ . . . γενόμενον: acc. of specification, instead of a gen. dependent upon αἰτιᾶσθαι. Cp. 1. 7. 31. — τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι: *to hold the deity responsible, i.e.* to ascribe the issue to divine intervention. — ὅπερ . . . κώλυμα: *the very thing which seemed to present an obstacle*

to the enemy, *i.e.* a point behind which he would naturally have stayed and waited for the enemy's attack. The reference is manifestly to difficult ground of some sort. — οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες κτέ.: not the words of an unprejudiced historian. — See Introd. p. 31. — τῷ παντί: as in 2. 3. 22. — ὑπερδέξια: here simply *higher*. Cp. on 4. 2. 14.

13. οἱ ἔνδοθεν: the Spartans. For the adv. see on οἴκοθεν 1. 4. 10. — τοῦ καιροῦ: see on 2. 3. 24.

§§ 14–17. *The Thebans return to Arcadia. A cavalry battle near Mantinea.*

μενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἠτύχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, 80 τοὺς δ' ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς 15 οὔσης. καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἰππεῖς 85 ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῶ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ᾔσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν 90 Ἀθηναίων ἰππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιντο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι

14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες: *i.e.* such of them as were allied with Sparta. See abstract above, p. 336. — ὁμοῦ γενομένοις: referring only to Λακεδαιμονίοις, a part of whose army was away in Arcadia (§ 10). Similarly, ἠτύχηκόσι limits Λακεδαιμονίοις only. — τῶν δέ: *i.e.* the Thebans. — προσκαρτερῆσαι: *to endure this additional* (πρόσ-) *effort, i.e.* besides all their previous exertions. — εἰκός: *sc. ἐστί.*

15. ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος: whereas Epaminondas had been led to believe (§ 7) that the Athenians were coming by sea. — Κλεωνάς: a city about ten miles southwest of Corinth. — προσιόντες . . . καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι: *i.e.* some of them were already quartered in the city, while others were still coming up. — ἐργάτας: *i.e.* slaves. Cp. τῶν ἐλευθέρων below. — παῖδας . . . γεραιτέρους: the

16 ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ 95  
τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; οἱ καὶ  
πολὺ πλείους ὀρώντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ  
δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οὐδὲν τούτου  
ὑπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς  
τοῖς κρατίστοις ἵππεῦσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχε- 100  
σθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν  
τοὺς συμμάχους, ὡς εἶδον τάχιττα τοὺς πολεμίους,  
συνέρραξαν, ἐρώντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρώαν δόξαν.  
17 καὶ μαχόμενοι αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆ-  
ναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, 105  
καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους. οὐδὲν γὰρ  
οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο  
ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο,  
18 τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὓς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν. ὁ δ'  
αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν 110  
ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν

men of military age having gone to the rescue of Sparta (§ 14).

16. τούτων αὖ: αὖ with reference to the above-described valor of the Spartans. — πλείους: *sc.* ὄντας. — δυστυχήματος: the circumstance alluded to is unknown. — τοῖς: connect with δοκοῦσιν. — αἰσχυνόμενοι εἰ: see on εἰ 2. 3. 53. — ἐρώντες: *eagerly desiring*.

17. αἴτιοι . . . σωθῆναι: see on μεταίτιος 2. 3. 32. — ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: one of whom was Xenophon's own son. See Introd. p. 12. — ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο: rel. clause of

result. S. 2556; HA. 910; B. 597; G. 1445; Gl. 615. — προήκαντο: the rare 1 aor. mid. of προίημι. — ἦν οὓς: see on ἔστι . . . οὓς 2. 4. 6.

§§ 18–25. *The battle of Mantinea. The death of Epaminondas.*

18. ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας: the nom. is left without a verb, the sentence being ultimately continued in the changed form ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ. See Introd. IV. κ. — ἐξήκειν . . . τὸν χρόνον: it would seem that a definite time had been fixed for the length of the campaign, either

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προθύμως μὲν ἔλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύ-  
 οντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν  
 ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἤκονῶντο  
 καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπί- 135  
 21 δας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν,  
 ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ,  
 ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνί-  
 ζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν  
 ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συν- 140  
 τομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ  
 πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἤγειτο·  
 ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι  
 22 μάχην ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει  
 ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς 145  
 ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο  
 δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίῳν τὴν ἐν  
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν  
 ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς

2. 18. — ἔλευκοῦντο: see on 2. 4.

25. — ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ῥόπαλα: *painted clubs upon* their shields. The club, which was the weapon of the Theban national hero Hercules, seems to have been the Theban device. Cp. 3. 4. 17. — ὡς . . . ὄντες: *as though they were Thebans, i.e.* in order to deceive the enemy and profit by the great military reputation of the Thebans.

21. ἐξήγαγεν: from Tegea. — αὖ: contrasting the following notes on Epaminondas' tactics with the

preceding description of the spirit he had infused into his army. — καί: connecting πρὸς ἐσπέραν and ἀντιπέραν . . . Τεγέας. The cities of Mantinea and Tegea were about ten miles distant from one another, the intervening country being a plain bounded on east and west by mountains. — δόξαν . . . πολεμίοις: *he gave the enemy an impression.* — μή: although with the inf. in ind. disc. See on μηδένα 4. 5. 12.

22. ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα: as in 4. 5. 8. — ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν κτέ.: it

ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν 150  
 ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν  
 παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἤγειτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ  
 πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν  
 ἠσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις,  
 οἱ δὲ παρετάπτοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρα- 155  
 κας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ  
 23 ποιήσουσιν ἐώκεσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον  
 ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν δια-  
 κόψει, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα.

would seem that the entire army, marching to the mountain in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas and the Thebans at the head, faced about to the right upon reaching the mountain, thus forming a battle line (ἐξετάθη ἢ φάλαγξ) of even depth, with the Thebans on the left wing. Epaminondas, however, wished to increase — just as at Leuctra (see on 6. 4. 12) — the depth of the left wing. He therefore caused successive companies (λόχους) to face about again, and marched them along (παραγαγών) in column (ἐπὶ κέρως) behind the rest of the army to the left wing, there facing them about into line (εἰς μέτωπον). Thus he gave the left wing the desired depth, or, as Xenophon says, ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο . . . ἔμβολον, *made strong the beak-like formation around him.*

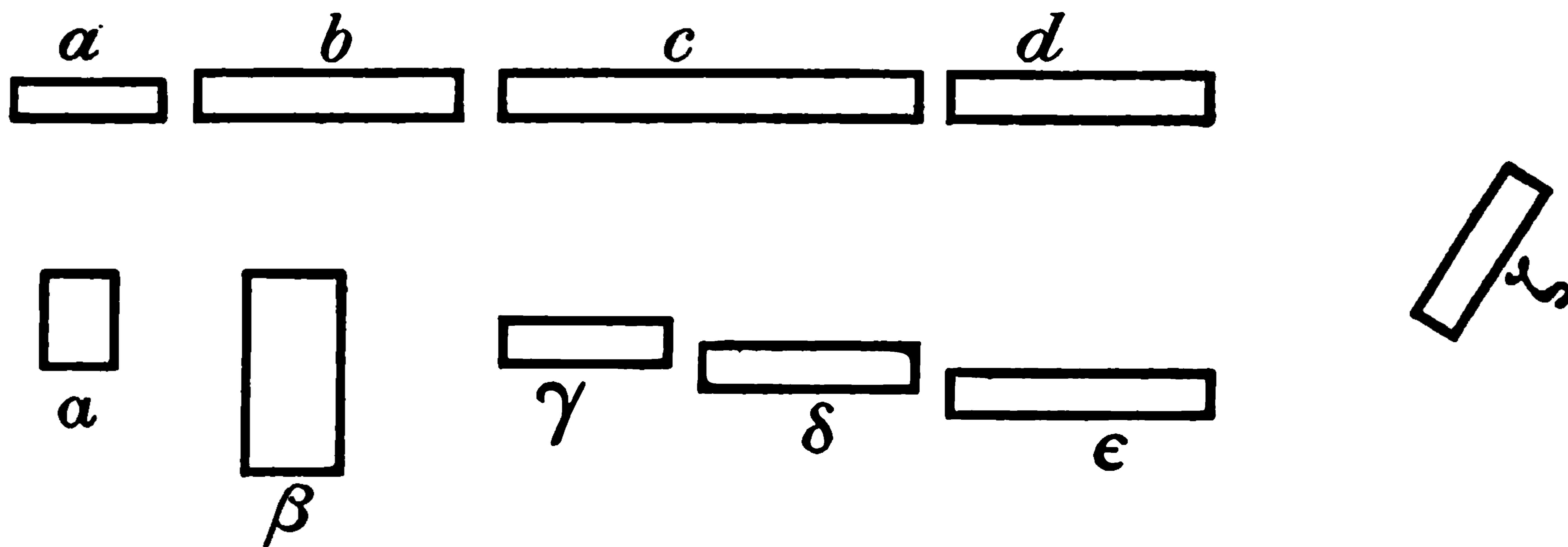
This ἔμβολον, or deep left wing, seems to have consisted entirely of Thebans; next to the right of the Thebans (according to Diod. 15. 85) were the Arcadians, then the contingents of the lesser allies, and on the right wing the Argives. On the right wing of the enemy, *i.e.* opposite the Thebans, were the Spartans and those Arcadians who were allied with them, on the left wing the Athenians. The commander-in-chief of the enemy's forces was probably a Mantinean, for the treaty between Mantinea and Sparta prescribed that each state should have the command within its own territory (§ 3). It would seem from § 9 that the Spartan contingent was commanded by Agesilaus.

23. ἀντίπρωρον ὥσπερ τριήρη: *prow on, like a trireme*, with reference to the deep, comparatively



καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνί- 160  
 ζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς  
 ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,  
 ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἵππείας οἱ μὲν  
 πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα  
 24 βάθος ἐφ' ἑξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπα- 165  
 μινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιή-  
 σατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων

SKETCH PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA



*a.* Peloponnesian and Athenian cavalry. *b.* Spartans and Arcadians.  
*c.* Other Peloponnesian contingents. *d.* Athenians.

*a.* Theban cavalry. *β.* Theban infantry. *γ.* Arcadians. *δ.* Other  
 Theban allies. *ε.* Argives. *ζ.* Cavalry and hoplites to threaten the  
 Athenians (§ 24).

τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενι-  
 κηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελή-  
 σοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινες φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν 170  
 ὀρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ

narrow attacking column of the  
 left wing. — πόρρω ἀπέστησεν: *i.e.*  
 far from the enemy. See on 6. 4.

12. — ἔρημον: agreeing grammatic-  
 ally with φάλαγγα, though logic-  
 ally with ἵππείας. — πεζῶν ἀμίππων:

light-armed foot soldiers inter-  
 mingled with the ranks of the  
 cavalry.

24. ἑαυτῶν: poss. gen. depend-  
 ing upon τῶν. — ὅπως μὴ . . . οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι: this provision against

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26 Τοίων δὲ πραχθέντων τούναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὐ<sup>190</sup>  
 ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνελλυθείας  
 γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων,  
 οὐδέ τις ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν  
 κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους  
 ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω<sup>195</sup>  
 μὲν τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἰστα-  
 μένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὡς  
 νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ὡς  
 27 ἠττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νενικηκέναι δὲ  
 φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῆ<sup>200</sup>  
 οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν  
 μάχην γενέσθαι. ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων  
 μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω. τὰ δὲ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

§§ 26–27. *The results of the battle. Conclusion.*

26. ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος: for this, as Diodorus (15. 86) truly says, was the greatest battle ever fought by Greeks against Greeks. — ἀντιτεταγμένων: constr. according to sense, as though with ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

27. οὔτε χώρα . . . ἐφάνησαν: *neither party was found to be any*

*better off* (πλέον ἔχοντες) *either by additional territory or city or sway.*

The dats. denote the degree of difference. — A general peace was concluded shortly after the battle on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*; since this involved, however, the recognition of the independence of Messenia, the Spartans refused to be parties to the treaty.

# APPENDIX I

## THE LIFE OF XENOPHON

THE principal ancient authority on this subject is Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of the Philosophers*.<sup>1</sup> Occasional bits of information (or misinformation) are scattered here and there in other authors.<sup>2</sup> More important, however, and more trustworthy than this external testimony is that which is furnished by Xenophon himself in his own writings, particularly the *Anabasis*.

Scholars have held differing opinions with regard to (*a*) the date of Xenophon's birth, (*b*) the question whether he returned to Athens immediately after the expedition with Cyrus, (*c*) the date and cause of his banishment, and (*d*) the date of his death. On all these points the statements contained in the text of the Introduction are supported by a preponderance of authority, but it is deemed proper to indicate in each case the divergent view:

(*a*) Diogenes Laertius<sup>3</sup> and Strabo<sup>4</sup> agree in stating that Xenophon served as a cavalryman at the battle of Delium (424 B.C.), and that in the retreat his life was saved by Socrates. If this be true, Xenophon must have been born about 444 B.C. In all likelihood, however, the story is merely a careless or mistaken *replica* of the familiar story about Alcibiades and Socrates.<sup>5</sup> The more generally accepted view, that Xenophon was born about 430 B.C., rests mainly on the internal evidence furnished by the *Anabasis*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2. 6.      <sup>2</sup> Strabo 9. 403, Pseudo-Lucian, *Macrob.* 21, Athenaeus 216 d, Philostratus, *Vitae Soph.* 1. 12, Dio Chrysostom 8. 130, M, Pausanias 5. 6. 5 f., Plutarch, *Agesilaus* 18 and 20, *de Exilio* 603 and 605, Diodorus Siculus 15. 76, 15. 89, 13. 42, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* 4, Marcellinus, *Vita Thucyd.* 45. — The best modern treatise on the life of Xenophon is that of A. Roquette, *De Xenophontis Vita*; cp. H. G. Dakyns, *The Works of Xenophon* (introduction to Vol. I.), E. Lange, *Xenophon: Sein Leben, seine Geistesart und seine Werke*, and P. Boldt, *Xenophontis Vitae Specimen*      <sup>3</sup> 2. 5. 22.      <sup>4</sup> 9. 403.      <sup>5</sup> Plato, *Symp.* 220, 221.      <sup>6</sup> Cp. also Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 55 and Athen. 216 d.

(b) It is possible, although direct evidence is wanting, that Xenophon returned to Athens immediately after delivering over his troops to Thibron.<sup>1</sup> Yet (1) only a few months later he was certainly serving in Asia under Thibron's successor, Dercylidas; (2) that he served under Thibron also is made probable both by his personal dislike for that commander<sup>2</sup> and by his detailed account of his doings; (3) and most important, Xenophon's own words in *Anab.* 7. 7. 57 seem to imply that his intention of returning home at this time was frustrated.

(c) Many modern scholars (Grote and Roquette among others) have held that Xenophon was banished after Coronea and in consequence of the part he played there. It seems impossible, however, to draw such an inference either from the manifestly erroneous statement of Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 51 or from Xenophon's words in *Anab.* 5. 3. 7. All the other evidence<sup>3</sup> is distinctly adverse. Further, it is manifest that during all the experiences of *Anab.* 5-7 Xenophon recalled with apprehension the fear expressed by Socrates.<sup>4</sup> Writing many years later<sup>5</sup> he would hardly have mentioned that fear or indicated its abiding presence with him, if it had not been in effect realized. Lastly, our knowledge of Xenophon does not justify the off-hand assumption that he would have ranged himself against his own countrymen at Coronea while still an Athenian citizen.

(d) The statement of Stesicleides (in Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 56) that Xenophon died in 360-359 B.C. is completely disproved by *Hell.* 6. 4. 35-37.<sup>6</sup> Further, it is generally held, on the ground of internal evidence, that Xenophon wrote his treatise *De Vectigalibus* in 355 B.C.; and the allusion to his great age in Ps. Luc. *Macrob.* 21 seems to point to c. 354 B.C. as the date of his death.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Grote, *History of Greece*, 9. 174.      <sup>2</sup> Cp. *Hell.* 3. 1. 5-7 and 4. 8. 18-22.      <sup>3</sup> Particularly the unqualified statements cited in *Introd.* p. 10, note 5.      <sup>4</sup> See *Introd.* p. 11.      <sup>5</sup> See below, p. 359, note 1.      <sup>6</sup> See below, p. 358.      <sup>7</sup> Cp. also Diog. Laert. 2. 6. 56 (the statement of Demetrius Magnes) and Diod. Sic. 15. 76.

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In modern times several facts have been observed or demonstrated which tend to corroborate the view that it was Xenophon's conscious purpose to supplement Thucydides. Dittenberger<sup>1</sup> and his followers have proved beyond reasonable doubt that that part of the *Hellenica* which covers the closing years of the Peloponnesian War was written much earlier than the succeeding part.<sup>2</sup> Further, in this first part of the *Hellenica* Xenophon is found to follow Thucydides' method of grouping events by years and seasons and indicating the beginning of each new year,<sup>3</sup> whereas in the later part he adopts the contrary method of grouping by topics and only seldom offers any chronological data.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it has been remarked<sup>5</sup> that in the first part of the *Hellenica* he likewise follows Thucydides in telling his story without personal comments or criticisms, which in the latter part appear with great frequency.<sup>6</sup>

In the light of such evidence, both internal and external, there can be no room for doubt or uncertainty regarding Xenophon's prime object in undertaking the *Hellenica*. Yet nothing is clearer than his entire failure in the opening sections of the *Hellenica* to carry on unbroken the various threads of Thucydides' narrative. Thus Thucydides<sup>7</sup> leaves the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets at Elaeus and Cyzicus respectively; the *Hellenica*<sup>8</sup> finds them at Abydos and Madytus. Thucydides<sup>9</sup> leaves Theramenes in Athens; the *Hellenica*<sup>10</sup> finds him arriving in the Hellespont from Macedonia. Dorieus, whom Thucydides<sup>11</sup> leaves at Miletus, appears in the *Hellenica*<sup>12</sup> as coming from Rhodes. Alcibiades is last mentioned by Thucydides<sup>13</sup> as returning to Samos; the *Hellenica*<sup>14</sup> brings him to the Hellespont, but without noting whence he comes or what he has meanwhile been doing. More puzzling than these inconsistencies are the opening words of the *Hellenica*: *And after this (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a*

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 357 and note 1.      <sup>2</sup> Cp. Introd. p. 22.      <sup>3</sup> See Introd. p. 23 f.

<sup>4</sup> The annalistic method is employed sometimes, yet infrequently, in the later part. Cp. Underhill's *Commentary on the Hellenica*, Introd. p. xvii.      <sup>5</sup> By Em. Müller, *De Xenophontis historiae graecae parte priore*.

<sup>6</sup> The further argument (advanced by Simon, *Xenophon-Studien* I. and Lange, *op. cit.*) that in the first part of the *Hellenica* Xenophon imitates Thucydidean peculiarities of style, seems to rest upon too slight evidence.      <sup>7</sup> 8. 107.

<sup>8</sup> 1. 1. 3-5.      <sup>9</sup> 8. 92.      <sup>10</sup> 1. 1. 12.      <sup>11</sup> 8. 84.      <sup>12</sup> 1. 1. 2.      <sup>13</sup> 8. 108.

<sup>14</sup> 1. 1. 5.

*few ships ; and straightway the Lacedaemonians and Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.* It is to be noted, in the first place, that the scene of this battle is not stated and cannot readily be inferred from Thucydides ; secondly, the *ταῦτα* of the opening phrase can hardly refer to the last event mentioned by Thucydides, *viz.* the journey of Tissaphernes ; thirdly, the words "another naval battle" imply a reference, which is not perfectly clear, to some preceding battle ; and lastly, one is left in the dark regarding Agesandridas. Thucydides, it is true, mentions<sup>1</sup> the fact that after winning the battle off Euboea<sup>2</sup> (against the same Thymochares whom he meets again in the *Hellenica*) he had been ordered to bring his fleet to the Hellespont to reënforce Mindarus, the Spartan admiral ; but on the way, if the statement of Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup> is to be trusted, he was wrecked off Mt. Athos and lost all his ships.

It is no doubt possible to explain this manifest looseness of connection between Thucydides and the *Hellenica* by assuming (1) that something has been lost from the beginning of the *Hellenica*<sup>4</sup> or (2) from the end of Thucydides' history,<sup>5</sup> or (3) that Xenophon intended to prefix an introduction to the *Hellenica* but failed to do so.<sup>6</sup> Yet assumptions of this kind must always be regarded as a last resort, justifi-

<sup>1</sup> 8. 107.    <sup>2</sup> See Introd. p. 18.    <sup>3</sup> 13. 41.    <sup>4</sup> Cp. especially Nitsche, *Über die Abfassung von Xenophons Hellenika* and Riemann, *Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hellenicon Xenophontis textus constituendus sit*; among recent editors Büchschütz, Sorof, Manatt, and Blake accept this theory. <sup>5</sup> Suggested as an alternative explanation by Riemann (*op. cit.*) and accepted as probable by Underhill and Edwards.    <sup>6</sup> Cp. Breitenbach (in his edition of the *Hellenica*, *Einl. zum ersten Bande*, §§ 64 and 112), who couples this theory with the contention that the *Hellenica* is an unfinished work. This may be true (as some other editors believe), though the defects which the *Hellenica* exhibits do not prove it (see Introd. p. 28 f.). It should be noted that the supposedly unfinished condition of the *Hellenica* cannot be adduced as an argument in support of either of the other two theories above mentioned. The view maintained by Peter (*Commentatio critica de Xen. Hell.* 14 f.) and Campe (*Neue Jahrb.* 105 (1872) 701 f.) that the *Hellenica* begins with a summary of the last chapters of Thucydides (so that the battle in *Hell.* 1. 1. 1 is identical with that in Thuc. 8. 95, etc.) is so lacking in all probability as barely to deserve notice. The same is true of the epitome theory, for which see Introd. p. 27 f. Cp. also Fabricius in *Philologus* 49 (1890) 574.



able only in case no other solution of the problem seems reasonable. In the present case, however, an examination of the *Hellenica* points the way to a wholly reasonable solution; for inconsistencies and omissions quite similar to those which break the continuity of the two histories are found in considerable numbers throughout the entire text of the *Hellenica* itself. This fact is so notorious that a few illustrations will suffice: (1) in 1. 1. 26 the Syracusan fleet is at Antandrus, but a little later (1. 1. 31) it is found at Miletus, — an unexplained change of position precisely analogous to those of the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets between the closing sections of Thucydides and the opening sections of the *Hellenica*; (2) in 1. 6. 16 Erasinides is blockaded at Mytilene, but in 1. 6. 29 he appears at Arginusae, — precisely as Dorieus and Theramenes shift their stations between Thucydides and the *Hellenica*; (3) in 1. 4. 2 “the Lacedaemonian ambassadors” are described as returning from Persia with their mission accomplished, although no previous reference has been made to them; (4) in 1. 3. 9 Calchedon is in the hands of the Peloponnesians, but when next mentioned (2. 2. 1) it is held by the Athenians; (5) the peace negotiations which followed the battle of Arginusae and (6) the loss of Nisaea by the Athenians are entirely passed over, though both are events of very considerable importance. Such cases as these, which are especially numerous in the first two books of the *Hellenica*,<sup>1</sup> show an habitual carelessness<sup>2</sup> on Xenophon’s part which seems to be far the best explanation of the puzzles contained in the opening sections of his history. It is simply characteristic carelessness that he does not note exactly where Thucydides has left the fleets and the leaders, and that his opening phrase — *μετὰ ταῦτα* — refers only loosely and in a general way to what has preceded. In the same loose way he speaks of “another naval battle,” having in mind the last *important* event described by Thucydides, *viz.* the battle of Cynossema. Finally, remembering Thucydides’ statement that Agesandridas was ordered to the Hellespont, he leaves it to the reader to assume that Agesandridas did in fact come to the Hellespont — whatever may have been his experiences on the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Breitenbach, *Einl.* §§ 8 and 10, who enumerates no less than thirty similar instances. <sup>2</sup> This is not too strong a term even on the supposition that the *Hellenica* is an unfinished work. It does not mean that Xenophon is an untrustworthy or incompetent historian, but he is careless of completeness and consistency in details.

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parts and regarding the time of composition of the earlier parts; but the statements concerning these points which are contained in the Introduction are believed to rest upon ample evidence.

That Part I. ended with 2. 3. 10 and was written much earlier than the succeeding parts seems to be proved by the following considerations: (a) With 2. 3. 10 the history of the Peloponnesian War, which it was Xenophon's primary purpose to complete,<sup>1</sup> is finished. (b) This Supplement to Thucydides, as it may be called, appears to have been regarded by ancient authorities<sup>2</sup> as a complete work in itself, to be distinguished in some measure from the rest of the *Hellenica*. (c) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 Xenophon follows<sup>3</sup> Thucydides' plan of chronicling events by years and marking (except in one case) the beginning of each successive year, but after 2. 3. 10 this method of treatment is abruptly dropped. (d) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 the author never speaks in the first person,<sup>4</sup> by way of comment on the incidents which he is narrating, whereas almost immediately after 2. 3. 10 such comments begin to appear.<sup>5</sup> (e) One of Xenophon's most marked characteristics is his religious spirit, which is shown by repeated references to divine interposition, by his scrupulous recounting of all religious observances of every kind, etc. This characteristic is not once illustrated in 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10, but very frequently thereafter.<sup>6</sup> (f) In 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 Xenophon usually states accurately the number of the forces engaged, of the slain, and of ships sunk or captured, while in the later parts he ordinarily reckons approximately, with an "about" or "few" or "many." (g) A minute study by various scholars of the stylistic peculiarities of

<sup>1</sup> See Introd. p. 19 f.      <sup>2</sup> Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 45 (cited above, p. 351): τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐτῶν (of the Peloponnesian War) πράγματα ἀναπληροῖ ὁ τε Θεόπομπος καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, οἷς συνάπτει τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν. Dionysius, *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* 4 (also cited above, p. 351): τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελεῖ Θεουκυδίδης (καὶ) ἐν ἧ καταλύονται τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον αὐθις ἀνίστανται. The text of the latter passage seems to be corrupt, but Dionysius is apparently distinguishing between a first and a second part of the *Hellenica*. Another bit of ancient evidence has been found in the citations of Harpocration, the grammarian, from the *Hellenica*, which prove that in his copy (apparently comprising *nine* books) the second book ended at 2. 3. 10, *i.e.* with the end of the Peloponnesian War. See Simon, *Xenophon-Studien* II.      <sup>3</sup> As already noted above, p. 352.      <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 352.      <sup>5</sup> First in 2. 3. 56.      <sup>6</sup> First in 2. 4. 14.

Xenophon, especially in the use of particles,<sup>1</sup> has revealed most marked differences between 1. 1. 1-2. 3. 10 and the later parts of the *Hellenica*, differences which may be said to prove conclusively that Part I. was written considerably earlier than Parts II. and III.<sup>2</sup>

Arguments which are no less definite and convincing establish the limits of Part II. (2. 3. 11-5. 1. 36, *i.e.* from 404 to 387 B.C.) and the fact that it was written many years before Part III.: (a) In 2. 4. 43,<sup>3</sup> where Xenophon is speaking of the final reconciliation between the opposing factions at Athens in 403 B.C., he says that "all parties still live together in harmony, and even to this day the commons abide by their oaths." Now, these words could not have been written *very much* later than the event described, *i.e.* than 403 B.C.; for in the changing political life of Athens and with the passing away of those who were concerned in the struggle of 404-403 B.C., the reconciliation which followed it would ere long have been forgotten, and it would be idle and meaningless for Xenophon to record the fact that the terms of the reconciliation were still observed. It is safe to say that "this day," *i.e.* the time when Xenophon wrote these words, was not more than twenty (or at most twenty-five) years after 403 B.C. But we shall find that much of Part III. was written considerably more than *forty* years<sup>4</sup> after 403 B.C., and much later, therefore, than Part II. (b) In 4. 3. 16 Xenophon says of the battle of Coronea that "no other battle of our time is to be compared with it." It seems clear that these words must have been written before the still more important battles of Leuctra (371 B.C.) and Mantinea (362 B.C.) were fought, — that is, a long time before Part III. was composed. (c) In 3. 5. 25 Pausanias, king of Sparta, being put upon trial for his life, is described as effecting his

<sup>1</sup> This method was first employed by Dittenberger (*Hermes* 16 (1881) 330 f.); after him by Roquette (*op. cit.*), Simon (*Xenophon-Studien* I. and IV.), Rosenstiel (*De Xen. historiae Gr. parte bis edita*), and Schanz (*Hermes* 21 (1886) 439 f.). The work of all these investigators is especially interesting and valuable because it furnishes independent confirmation of results previously obtained. Among other things, it seems to prove fully that the latter part of Book 2 (from 2. 3. 10 to the end) belongs with Part II. and not, as is sometimes maintained, with Part I. <sup>2</sup> Dittenberger and his followers are agreed that Part I. is the earliest of all Xenophon's works, excepting the *Cynogeticus*.

<sup>3</sup> It was this passage which led Niebuhr to maintain that the *Hellenica* could not have been a continuous composition. See above, p. 355, note 2. <sup>4</sup> That is, later than 358 B.C. See below.

escape to Tegea (395 B.C.), "and there" Xenophon adds, "he died a natural death." Yet in 5. 2. 3-6 (*i.e.* at the very beginning of Part III.) Pausanias again appears on the stage (385 B.C.). The natural inference is that in the earlier passage Xenophon mentioned the king's death because at that time he had no intention of referring to him again, that is, no intention of continuing his history beyond 387 B.C. (*d*) The year 387 B.C. was made memorable by the Peace of Antalcidas, which marked an epoch in Greek history and, for a time, appeared likely to be permanent. This date, therefore, might well have seemed to Xenophon a natural stopping place. (*e*) After describing the negotiation of the Peace of Antalcidas Xenophon devotes two sections (5. 1. 35 and 36, — the last of Part II.) to setting forth the results of that peace, with general observations on the war which preceded it. The whole passage seems like the summing-up of a writer who has finished his task. (*f*) Careful studies of the style and language<sup>1</sup> of Part II. have shown that it belongs to the middle period of Xenophon's literary activity, and far antedates Part III.

Part III. (5. 2. 1—the end), covering the period from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), is shown by its language and style to be one of the very latest of Xenophon's writings.<sup>2</sup> This fact tends to justify the very reasonable opinion<sup>3</sup> that it was not begun until the battle of Mantinea supplied the historian with a new impulse, as well as a new and manifestly proper stopping place.<sup>4</sup> In any event, Part III. was surely not finished until some years after Mantinea; for in 6. 4. 35-37,<sup>5</sup> in a digression upon Thessalian affairs, Xenophon describes the assassination of Alexander of Pherae, which took place in 358 or 357 B.C., and refers to the rule of his successor as continuing "up to the time when this narrative was written." Since Xenophon probably died about 354 B.C., the time of the composition of Part III. is thus fixed approximately.

The reasons for assigning Part I. to *c.* 393 B.C. are summarized in the Introduction.<sup>6</sup> It remains to consider the more difficult question of the probable date of Part II. It must have been written, as has

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 357 and note 1 thereon.      <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 357, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> First expressed by Nitsche (*op. cit.*).      <sup>4</sup> The importance of the battle of Mantinea was fully recognized by Xenophon. Cp. *Hell.* 7. 5. 26.      <sup>5</sup> This passage is important in its bearing upon the date of Xenophon's death. See above, p. 350.      <sup>6</sup> p. 22.

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time of its composition somewhat more definitely: (a) Xenophon chose 387 B.C. as an appropriate halting place because the Peace of Antalcidas, concluded in that year, was deemed a permanent settlement of the troubles which had vexed the Greek states; but when, in 379 B.C., war broke out again between Thebes and Sparta, it was seen that this treaty had by no means marked an enduring adjustment, but only a temporary cessation of hostilities. It seems likely, therefore, that Xenophon was not engaged upon Part II. as late as 379 B.C., for in that case he would hardly have concluded his story with the inconclusive Peace of Antalcidas. (b) In 4. 4. 15 Xenophon lauds the exemplary conduct of the Spartans toward Phlius, which had asked their protection and received a Spartan garrison. When the danger was past, the Spartans departed, gave back the town to its own inhabitants, and did not even ask, as a reward for their service, the restoration of a faction which had been exiled from Phlius for its pro-Spartan sympathies. All this took place in 391 B.C.; in 384 B.C. Sparta did ask and obtain the restoration of these exiles,<sup>1</sup> and in 379 B.C., for their sake, besieged and captured Phlius and treated its inhabitants with great severity.<sup>2</sup> It is held with much probability that 4. 4. 15 was written *after* 384 B.C., because the writer apparently has in mind the ultimate restoration of the exiles in that year, and, on the other hand, *before* 379 B.C., because he could hardly have praised the Spartans so generously after their harsh treatment of Phlius had effaced the memory of their former moderation. With this conclusion all the other above-mentioned indications agree, and, while certainty is not attainable, it is probable that the composition of Part II. should be assigned to the period between 385 and 380 B.C.

is referring to a real *Anabasis* of Themistogenes, and for the reason that his own had not yet been given to the world. For all the questions here considered cp. especially Nitsche (*op. cit.*), Simon (*Xenophon-Studien* I.), Bergk (*Griechische Litteraturgeschichte* 4. 313), and Christ (in Müller's *Handbuch* 7. 299).

<sup>1</sup> *Hell.* 5. 2. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> 5. 3. 10-17 and 21-25.

## APPENDIX IV

## THE INTERPOLATIONS IN PART I. OF THE HELLENICA

IN recent years most of the suspected passages in Part I. of the *Hellenica* have been generally and unhesitatingly condemned as spurious.<sup>1</sup> A few still remain questionable. It should be noted that a recently discovered papyrus fragment,<sup>2</sup> which probably dates from the third century A.D., contains the various interpolated phrases of 1. 3. 1 and 1. 2. 19; this fact, however, proves nothing more than that the interpolations in question were comparatively early.

**Chronological Data.** — It is unanimously agreed that the references in Part I. to the number of years elapsed since the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, to the eponymous magistrates, and to Olympiads are spurious.<sup>3</sup> Since this is so, some scholars<sup>4</sup> have been led to go further and maintain that the notices of the beginnings of new years are also interpolated. It is urged that only six of these notices are found instead of the required seven (for the years from 410 to 404 B.C. *inclusive*), that all appear in connection with admitted interpolations, and that one of them — at 1. 6. 1 — is misplaced.<sup>5</sup> These arguments, while not without force, are hardly convincing, and it must be regarded as probable<sup>6</sup> that the year notices are genuine, and that they have simply attracted to themselves the spurious data instead of being a part thereof. The one missing notice has been the subject of much discussion,<sup>7</sup> for the chro-

<sup>1</sup> The whole question of interpolations in Part I. has been exhaustively discussed by Brückner, *De notationibus annorum in histor. Gr. Xenophontis suspectis*; Em. Müller, *op. cit.*; Richter, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Interpolationen in den Schriften Xenophons*; Riemann, *op. cit.*; Unger, "Die historischen Glosseme in Xenophons Hellenika," *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayerischen Akademie*, 1882, 237 f.; Beloch, "Zur Chronologie der letzten Jahre des peloponnesischen Krieges," *Philologus* 43 (1884) 261 f.; Kruse, *Über Interpolationen in Xenophons Hellenika*; and Blake, in his edition of *Hellenica* 1-2, Appendix. <sup>2</sup> Π, in the Imperial Library at Vienna. <sup>3</sup> See Introd. p. 24 f.

<sup>4</sup> Brückner and Beloch (*opp. citt.*), who have been followed by Blake and (apparently) Underhill. All alike suspect the five notices in 1. 2. 1, 1. 3. 1, 1. 6. 1, 2. 1. 10, and 2. 3. 1, not the ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος of 1.4. 2. <sup>5</sup> See note on 1. 5. 16. <sup>6</sup> This is the opinion of all critics and editors except those above mentioned (note 4). In 1. 3. 1, however, τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους is probably an interpolation. See Introd. p. 25, note 3. <sup>7</sup> Begun by



nology of the years from 411 to 407 B.C. depends upon properly locating the place which it should have occupied. It is clear that the *Hellenica* begins with the late autumn of 411 B.C. and that the τῶ ἐπιόντι ἔτει of I. 6. 1 is 406 B.C. In the intervening space only three — instead of four — notices of the beginnings of new years are found. The fourth has been variously located, but the arguments of Beloch<sup>1</sup> have proved beyond reasonable doubt that it should be placed at I. 1. 11. Here, therefore, begins the year 410 B.C., and the notices of I. 2. 1, I. 3. 1, and I. 4. 2 refer respectively to 409, 408, and 407 B.C. The fact that Xenophon begins almost at the very close of 411 B.C. makes it comparatively easy to understand why he omits to mark the beginning of the following year.

**Historical Interpolations.** — The references to events in Sicily (I. 1. 37, I. 5. 21, 2. 2. 24, and 2. 3. 5) and in the Persian Empire (I. 2. 19 and 2. 1. 8–9) are universally condemned,<sup>2</sup> and the single item in regard to affairs in Thessaly (2. 3. 4), while it has found some defense, is almost certainly spurious.<sup>3</sup> The allusions to eclipses (I. 6. 1 and 2. 3. 4) and to the destruction of two temples of Athena by fire (I. 3. 1 and I. 6. 1) stand on a different footing from the Persian and Sicilian notes, because they may, so far as we know, be accurate.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, allusions of a similar sort are not infrequent in Thucydides.<sup>5</sup> The latter, however, is carrying out a declared and reasonable purpose in recording such events, whereas the references to them in Part I. of the

Dodwell (*Annales Thucyd. et Xenophont.*) and Haacke (*De postremis belli peloponnesiaci annis*), whose diverging views have each found many supporters (see Underhill, *Introd.* xl). It is Dodwell's view which has been adopted by Beloch (see above).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Cp. also Mülleneisen, *Die Zeitrechnung bei Th. und bei Xen.* and Brownson, "The succession of Spartan nauarchs in *Hellenica* I.," *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.* 34 (1903) 33 f. <sup>2</sup> See *Introd.* p. 25 f., and cp. especially Brückner, Riemann, Unger, Beloch, and Kruse, whom Keller, Underhill, and Blake among recent editors have followed. <sup>3</sup> This item, suspected by Brückner and Riemann, has been defended by Unger, but Kruse (whom Keller inclines to follow) urges convincing arguments against its genuineness. Kruse and Richter (*op. cit.*) also regard I. 2. 14 and I. 2. 18 as interpolations, but apparently without good reason. <sup>4</sup> The allusions to eclipses (calculated to have occurred on April 15th, 406 and Sept. 3d, 404 B.C.) are certainly accurate; regarding the other events nothing whatever is known. <sup>5</sup> Thucydides speaks in his introduction (I. 23) of the frequent eclipses of the sun

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F. Perizonianus 6, in the library of the University of Leyden, dated 1456.

Of these six Mss. B, M, D, and V are held to belong to a superior family, while C and F represent an inferior family.

B is universally regarded as far the best of all the Mss. In many instances it is quite alone in preserving the true reading.

M is a very carefully written Ms. and ranks next in excellence to B.

D and V, which are closely related to each other, were manifestly copied from a defective archetype, and in many cases the scribes have filled up the lacunae which they found with conjectures of their own. D is also full of minor mistakes and omissions, which show that it was never revised.

C is carelessly written and abounds in errors, yet occasionally it is the only one of the Mss. to preserve the true reading.

F is closely connected with C, but shows many readings which belong to the superior family only. Keller therefore supposes that the original from which it was copied had been corrected from a Ms. of the superior family.

In recent years two papyrus fragments have been discovered which contain small portions of the text included in these *Selections*:

Π, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, assigned to the early part of the third century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

π', among the Oxyrhynchus papyri, assigned to the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Π contains fragments from the first book, beginning with 1. 2. 2-3 and ending with 1. 5. 7-8. It is carelessly written and full of obvious mistakes, yet it sometimes<sup>3</sup> confirms the readings of B against the other Mss. and sometimes preserves a correct spelling where all the Mss. are in error.

π' is a small and practically valueless fragment from the third book, 3. 1. 3-7.

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—: Florence, 1527. Second edition, per Haeredes P. Juntae.

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- WELLS, E.: Oxford, 1691–1703, 5 vols. With introduction, maps, and  
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(Abbreviations: JP. = Jahrbücher für Philologie; RM. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie; ZAW. = Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft; Ph. = Philologus; Hm. = Hermes.)

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## B. CRITICAL NOTES

## BOOK I

1. 2. τούτων: del. Keller after Kondos. — ἦνοιγε: MSS. ἦνυτε, Kel. after Kondos. Cp. ἦνοιξεν 5. 13 and ἦνοιγον 6. 21, which are similarly changed by Kel., after Riemann, to ἦνυσεν and ἦνυτον. In all these



cases the forms contained in the Mss. — ἤνοιγε for ἀνέωγε, etc. — are admittedly unusual, and no other instance is cited where the verb ἀνοίγω has a similar meaning. Such a meaning, however, it has in modern Greek, and the English nautical phrase to “open out” is nearly or quite parallel. The basic idea of the verb seems to be to get clear and going, whatever the actual or threatened hindrance may have been. This suits all three passages somewhat better than the interpretations proposed by Blass (*Neue Jahrb.* 137 (1888) 465 f.) and Schenkl (*Bursian's Jahresber.* 17 (1879) 10). It is self-evident that the three passages support one another strongly.

1. 5. ἀνταναγαγόμενοι: Kel. after Hertlein. ἀνταναγόμενοι, Mss. — ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ: del. Kel. after Brückner, who pointed out that all the events described since the ἄμα ἡμέρα of § 2 must have filled more than a forenoon. But it is entirely easy, as many scholars have seen, to assume that the battle of § 5 took place on the day *after* the arrival of Dorieus.

1. 6. μέχρι: Kel. with Mss. μέχρι ὅσου (= as far as), Grosser. But μέχρι alone, and therefore temporal, serves the purpose, for in this passage the temporal meaning necessarily involves the local.

1. 8. Θράσυλλος: Kel. after Dindorf. Θράσυλος or Θρασύλος, Mss. The form with λλ, however, is found in Π (3. 6) and is supported by inscriptional evidence.

1. 13. ἀθρόαι: Kel. ἀθρόαι, Mss. Cp. Kühner-Blass, 22. 10. Similarly ἡθροίκει § 32, etc.

1. 16. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ: Kel. with Mss. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, Cobet and Sauppe.

1. 23. κᾶλα: Kel. after Bergk. καλά, Mss.

1. 27, 28: printed as in the Mss. Dindorf, followed by Kel. and most editors, inserts μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσιν after παραγγελλόμενα, Schneider after ἀντ' ἐκείνων, while Kurz puts παρήνεσαν . . . παραγγελλόμενα after πόλιν. If the interpretation of the whole passage indicated in the notes be accepted, these proposed changes are both unnecessary and improper.

1. 31. κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις: del. Kel. after Brückner.

1. 33. γυμνάσιον: del. Kel. after Cobet. Cp. Kruse, *Über Interpretationen in Xenophons Hellenika*, p. 12.

1. 35. Δεκελείας: suspected by Kel. and other scholars from a mistaken impression that Piraeus cannot be seen from Decelea. Ληλασίας, Otto. — καὶ Κλέαρχον: Mss. Κλέαρχον, Kel. after Dindorf.

1. 36. Σηστόν: Mss. Ἄβυδον, Blake after Grote. Kel. keeps Ση

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3. 19. *ειπών*: Kel. with V. The other Mss. omit it. Π, *ἀπολογούμενος*. — *ἀπολλυμένους*: Kel. with B (and Π). *ἀπολλυμένας*, the other Mss.

3. 20. *καλούμενον*: Kel. after Dindorf. *καλουμένας*, Mss.

4. 1. *Γορδίῳ*: Kel. with Mss. *Γορδείῳ*, Π. *Γορδιείῳ*, Dindorf.

4. 2. *ὄνομα*: del. Kel. after Holwerda. A manifest gloss on *Βοιώτιος* to indicate that it is the name of an individual. — *ἄγγελοι*: del. Kel. after Holwerda. — *καὶ ἔλεγον*: Mss. *λέγοντες*, Π. — *πάντων ὧν δέονται*: Mss. *ὧν δέονται πάντων*, Π.

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

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

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

4. 11. *ἔχει*: Mss. *ἔχοι*, Π.

4. 12. *αὐτὸν ἤρημένους*: Mss. except C. *αὐτὸν ἤρημένον*, Π.

4. 13. *λέγοντες οἱ μὲν*: Kel. after Schneider. *λέγοντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν*, Mss. — *ἀπελογήθη* (F has *ἀπηγγέλθη*) *ὡς*: del. Kel. after van den Es. *ἀπλοήθησθε καὶ ὡς*, Madvig. *ἀήττητος καὶ ὡς*, Grosser. Laves and Riemann assume a lacuna in the archetype. It seems clear that *ἀπελογήθη ὡς* cannot be right, whether the verb be taken in a middle or a passive sense (see Büchschütz's note); for manifestly this is not the defense that was offered either *by* or *for* Alcibiades in 411 B.C. The words may well have been a marginal note, indicating the subject of this and the following sections.

4. 16. *τοιούτοις . . . οἷοισπερ*: Morus. *τοιούτος . . . οἷοσπερ*, Mss. *τοιούτοις . . . οἷοις περιμένειν μὲν*, Kel. after Zurborg. *τοιούτοις . . . οἷοις δύνασθαι ἀπολλύναι*, Kurz. These changes appear to be for the worse.

4. 17. *ὄντων*: Kel. with Mss. *μελλόντων*, Liebhold. — *κινδυνεύσοι*: Blake and H. Richards (*Class. Rev.* 15 (1901) 200). *κινδυνεύσαι*, Kel. with Mss.

4. 18. *εὐθέως*: Mss. *εὐθύς*, Π.

4. 19. *αὐτοῦ* (or *αὐτοῦ*): Mss. except C. *ἑαυτοῦ*, Kel., following C.

4. 20. *πρότερον*: Mss. *πρῶτον*, Kel. after Dindorf.

4. 21. *τετάρτῳ*: Kel. after Cobet. *τρίτῳ*, Mss. The change is shown to be necessary by the allusions in §§ 12 and 20; yet it may be that Xenophon himself thoughtlessly wrote *τρίτῳ*.

4. 22. *χώρας*: del. Kel. after Cobet.

5. 11. ἤκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν: Kel. after Holwerda. ἤκοντα τειχίζειν, MSS. Phocaea, however, was in the hands of the Lacedaemonians (cp. 6. 33 and Thuc. 8. 31); hence we need a verb meaning 'to invest' rather than 'to fortify.'

5. 13. τότε δὴ καί: MSS. τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτός, Morus. τότε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, Grosser. Kel. following Hartman assumes a lacuna after δὴ. — ἤνοιξεν: MSS. ἤνυσεν, Kel. after Riemann. See on 1. 2.

5. 15. Ἡίονα: MSS. Τέων, Kel. after Schneider, because Diod. (13. 76) records the capture of Delphinium and that of Teos in immediate succession. But assuming that Diod. is right, it is wholly impossible to infer therefrom that Xen. (or the text of Xen.) is wrong. Eion at one time figured prominently in the story of the war (Thuc. 4. 102 ff.), and, when last mentioned by Thuc. (5. 10), it was in the hands of the Athenians. That its capture should be recorded here is by no means surprising, considering Xenophon's references to the operations of Thrasybulus in the Thraceward region (1. 12, 4. 9) and his frequent allusions to events which are not connected with the main course of his narrative (1. 32, 2. 14, 2. 18).

5. 16. Δέοντα: MSS. Λυσίαν, Kel. after Zeune, because (1) Diod. (13. 74) names Lysias in place of Leon, and (2) Lysias, and not Leon, appears in the list of the generals who fought at Arginusae (6. 30). Yet Leon's name is mentioned again in 6. 16 and, furthermore, is attested by the Scholiast on Aristid. *Panath.* 162. 19. See note on 6. 30.

5. 20. ἀναγαγόμενος: Kel. after Hertlein. ἀναγόμενος, MSS. Cp. 1. 5.

5. 21: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 25.

6. 1. φ̄ . . . Ἀθηνησιν: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* pp. 26 and 24. — καὶ . . . ἐτῶν: del. Kel. Cp. *Introd.* p. 24.

6. 2. οὗ . . . νῆες: del. Kel. after Cobet, but without sufficient reason.

6. 4. τῷ διαλλάττειν: MSS. τῷ αἰὲ διαλλάττειν, Kel. after Cobet. — πολλάκις . . . τοῦτο: the Ms. reading of this vexed passage is as follows: *πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γινωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ κινδυνεύοιέν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο.* That this is impossible is universally recognized; for ἀπείρους . . . ἐκεῖ simply repeats the preceding, and there is no conjunction to connect

παραπίπτοιεν and κινδυνεύοιεν. The text as printed adopts from Jacobs ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων for ἀνεπιτηδείων, from Cobet εὖ for οὐ, and from Laves the insertion of τε after κινδυνεύοιεν. This is a minimum of change. For, whatever the reading adopted (unless it be to delete the whole clause from ἀπείρους to τοῦτο), a conjunction must be inserted *somewhere*; and it is more likely that a τε should have fallen out before τι than any other conjunction in any other place. Aside from this insertion only two letters are changed from the Ms. reading. The first of these changes (from ἀνεπιτηδείων to ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων) is inevitable unless one deletes ἀπείρους . . . ἐκεῖ; and the second follows from the first. The sense of the text as printed seems better than that obtained by more violent emendations or by deletions. For the Lacedaemonians are said to make a great mistake "in changing their admirals," because often, as in the present case, the change is for the worse. We now expect some proof of this statement in the shape of a comparison between the man replaced and his successor, — all the more because the words are those, not of the enemies of Callicratidas, but of the friends of Lysander, who could hardly fail to have something to say in his praise. — Some of the other changes proposed are as follows: ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων γενομένων καὶ ἀκριβοῦντων τ. ν. κ. ἀ. ὡς χρηστέον εὖ γιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης π. κ. ἀ. τ. ἐ. καὶ κινδυνεύοιέν τι κτέ., Cobet; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀντὶ ξυνιέντων . . . κινδυνεύοιέν τέ τι κτέ., Richter; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἄριστα . . . ἀπείρους τε θαλάττης . . . καὶ κινδυνεύοντάς τι κτέ., Liebhold; ἀντ' ἐπ. γεν. καὶ ἀρτίως . . . εὖ γιγνωσκόντων . . . ἐκεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύοιέν τι κτέ., Riemann; [ἀπείρους . . . διὰ τοῦτο], Em. Müller followed by Kel.; [ἀπείρους . . . ἐκεῖ], κινδυνεύοιέν τέ τι κτέ., Laves. — τούτου δέ: MSS. τούτου δή, Kel. after Liebhold.

6. 11. δείξωμεν: MSS. except V. δείξομεν, Kel., following V.

6. 13. ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων: MSS. ἄτ' ἐμφρουρούντων, Cobet, from whom Kel. adopts the change from ἀλλ' to ἄτ'. It is to be noted, however, that ἄτε is not found in Part I. of the *Hell*.

6. 14. οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων: MSS. οὐδέν' ἄν' Ε., Kel. after Naber. — εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν: edd. εἰς τὸ κείνου (or 'κείνου) δυνατόν, MSS. Kel. brackets, following Kruse. The phrase may be, as Kruse thinks, a gloss on ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος. Yet κείνου (instead of ἐκείνου) hardly proves anything, for the forms of ἐκείνος are often carelessly written in the MSS. Thus in 2. 1. 13 all the MSS. have κείνον (which Kel. emends to ἐκείνον) and in 1. 3. 10 all but one have κείνην. For the

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7. 19. *πίθησθε*: MSS. *πίθησθε*, Kel. after Bisschop. But cp. Plato, *Rep.* 480 A and *Phaedo* 89 B, cited by Büchschütz. — *κἄν μίαν*: Kel. from schol. on Dem. *Olynth.* 2. 14 in Cod. Patm. *μίαν*, MSS.

7. 22. *εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε*: Kel. after Goldhagen. *εἰ βούλεσθε*, MSS.

7. 23. *διηρημένων*: Kel. after Leunclavius. *διηρημένης* or *διηρημένης*, MSS. — *ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι*: del. Kel. after Nitsche. *διηρημένων . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι*, del. Blake, followed by Underhill. It can hardly be questioned (see note *ad loc.*) that *ἐνὸς . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι* is a later addition. The preceding clause, however, seems to be genuine. For a division of the trial day into three parts — for the reason indicated by the interpolator — is not only natural, but was probably not unusual in Athenian practice. It is in line with the regular allowance of a fixed time (cp. Dem. *de Fals. Leg.* 378 *διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν*, and Harpocration thereon) to prosecutor and defendant, and also with the procedure in cases involving blood-guiltiness, where the trial covered three days, allotted in much the way which is described here. Further, if Xenophon wrote only *τούτων . . . ἕκαστον*, it is almost impossible to find a reason for the addition of the following phrases.

7. 24. *οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολοῦνται*: Kel. after Leunclavius. *οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπ.*, MSS. *οὐχ ὡς περ ἀδικοῦντες*, Stephanus. *οὐκ οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες*, Blake. *οὐκ ἀπολοῦνται*, Kurz. The Ms. error is most easily explained as due to the influence of *ἀδικοῦντες* (above), transforming *ἀδίκως*.

7. 27. *ἀποκτείναιτε· μεταμελήσαι*: Kel. after Peter. *ἀποκτείνητε* (*ἀποκτείνετε*), *μεταμελήσει*. (*μεταμελήση*), MSS. — *ἡμαρτηκότας*: Kel. with BCMDV. *ἡμαρτηκότες*, F.

7. 29. *ὄντας*: MSS. *ὄντες*, Kel. after Peter and Hartman. — *ἀμφότερ' ἄν*: Stephanus. *ἀμφότερα*, MSS., followed by Kel., who, however, inserts *ἄν* in the similar passage in 6. 14, *οὐκ ἔφη . . . ἀνδραποδισθῆναι*. It seems, on the contrary, that the inf. after *οὗ φημι* may be justly treated as an obj. inf., with fut. meaning whether it be pres. or aor., whereas this is impossible if the neg. is wanting. See Introd. IV. 1 and KG. 389, *Anm.* 7.

7. 30. *τούτων καταλιπεῖν*: Kel. with MSS. *τούτων καταλιπεῖν ἔταξαν*, Weiske. *τούτων ἔδοξε καταλιπεῖν*, Blake.

7. 31. *τριηράρχων*: del. Kel. after Breitenbach. There is no reason, however, for assuming that Thrasybulus and Theramenes were the *only* trierarchs left behind. — *τούτους*: edd. *τούτοις*, MSS. *τούτο*, Kel.

after Hartman. — τοὺς δὲ πρὸς: Kel. ed. maj. with MSS. τοὺς δὲ (τὰ) πρὸς, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

7. 32. παρισκενάσαντο: MSS. except F. παρεκελεύσαντο, Kel. with F.— ἦπερ . . . προσταθέντα: del. Kel. ed. maj. after Richter *et al.* In his ed. min. Kel. retains this phrase, but brackets, after Nauck, καὶ . . . ἀναιρέσεως. It is difficult, however, to find a reason for the insertion of καὶ . . . ἀν. by any commentator, whereas the τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ might well have seemed to demand an explanatory note such as is contained in ἦπερ . . . προσταθέντα. If the latter phrase be retained, it must be held to refer to the failure of the generals to sail against the enemy; but the generals were on trial for their failure to rescue the shipwrecked, and καὶ . . . ἀναιρέσεως shows that this fact was clearly in the speaker's mind at this point of his argument.

7. 33. οὐχ . . . προσταθέντα: del. Kel. after Brückner *et al.* The phrase is not only open to the objections urged against ἦπερ . . . προσταθέντα above, but is rendered still more suspicious by the personal acc. (instead of the regular gen.) after καταγνόντες. To understand ἱκανοὺς γενομένους, with Breitenbach, as the subj. of ἀγνωμονεῖν seems impossible in the absence of the article.

## BOOK II

1. 7. ἐτὼν . . . παρεληλυθόντων: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 24.

1. 8 and 9: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25.

1. 10. ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 24 f.

1. 12. πρὸς: del. Kel. after Kurz. ἤδη, Grosser. τὰ πρὸς, conj. Marchant. The prep. is undoubtedly awkward, but is used with a somewhat similar meaning in § 17 and in 1. 6. 5. Breitenbach seems to be wholly wrong in assuming the loss at this point of an allusion to the reënforcement of the Athenian fleet by 30 ships. It is true that at Aegospotami the Athenians had a fleet of 180; but 130 of their ships survived the battle of Arginusae and to this number must be added Conon's 40 ships. The difference between 170 and 180 is too slight to be made the basis for any conjecture.

1. 14. ὡς εἶχε: MSS., Kel. ed. maj. ἧς εἶχε, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

1. 15. προσβολῇ: del. Kel. after Dindorf. But the phrases τῇ ὑστεραία ἐκκλησίᾳ, Thuc. 5. 46. 1, and τῇ ὑστεραία (μάχῃ), *ib.* 7. 11. 2, seem to parallel and justify τῇ ὑστεραία προσβολῇ.



1. 17. ἔπλει: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπλεῖ, MSS.

1. 18. ἡ γὰρ . . . ἦν: del. Kruse, who argues that in the light of the first sentence of § 16 the reason here given is no reason at all. — παρήσαν: MSS. παρήσαν, Kel. after Cobet.

1. 23. καὶ . . . ἦν: del. Kel. after Richter, who argues that this phrase, taken in connection with ταῦτα . . . ἡμέρας below, would imply that the Athenians kept up the proceeding here described for five *whole* days, and, therefore, that the battle took place late in the day, and not in the morning. It seems absolutely unnecessary, however, to interpret Xenophon's words so strictly.

1. 24. καὶ . . . ἐπανάγοντο: del. Kel. after Richter.

1. 25. πρὸς τε . . . πόλιν: del. Kel. after Kruse.

1. 29. ἀπαγγέλλουσα: BMDV. ἀπαγγέλουσα, CF. ἀπαγγελοῦσα, V corr., followed by Kel.

1. 32. ὅς . . . κατεκρήμνισε: del. Kel. after Cobet and Hartman. But see note *ad loc.*

2. 3. κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ: del. Kruse *et al.* Kel. comments "nescio an recte." — Ἰστιαίᾱς: Kel. ed. min. after Cobet. Ἰστιαίας, Kel. ed. maj. after Schneider. Ἰστιέας, BCMDV.

2. 8. τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ: del. F. A. Wolf. Kel. omits the words entirely. Xen. is not in the habit of describing or identifying the places which he mentions, and he could hardly have felt it necessary to do so in the case of a spot so well known as the Academy. — Ἀκαδημίᾳ: Kel. after Cobet. Ἀκαδημία, MSS. Cp. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, 15. 30.

2. 10. εἰ μή: MSS. τοῦ μή, one inferior Ms. [εἰ]μή, Kel. after Dindorf. τὸ μή, Hertlein. μὴ οὐ, Hartman. The Ms. reading is undoubtedly loose and inaccurate, but it is not *per se* bad Greek nor is the author's meaning obscure.

2. 13. πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς: del. Kel. after Cobet. See note *ad loc.* πλησίον (only) del. Köppen, followed by many edd. Supposing, however, that τῆς Λακωνικῆς is genuine, it is extremely difficult to understand the insertion of πλησίον.

2. 15. Λακεδαιμόνιοις . . . ποιείσθαι: MSS. κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτέ., Kel. after Cobet. κράτιστον εἶναι del. Kurz.

2. 16. πλείω: MSS. πλέον, Kel. after Franke. πλείον, Dindorf. But see GS. 36.

2. 19: Kel., after Otto, assumes a lacuna before ἐρωτώμενοι.

2. 24: del. Kel. Cp. Introd. p. 25.

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3. 49. **ἰσχατότατα**: BCFM. **ἴσχατα**, Kel. after V and Cobet.

3. 54. **οἱ ἑνδεκα**: del. Kel. after Naber. The redundancy, however, seems to be that common to legal formulas.

4. 6. **ἕκαστος ἀπό**: Kel. after Laves assumes a lacuna between these words.

4. 8. **ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι**: MSS., followed by Kel. *et al.* **ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις**, Hermann, accepted by many edd. **ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις**, Classen. **τῶν Ἐλευσινίων**, Laves. **σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσι**, Palmer.

4. 13. **τοὺς φίλτάτους . . . ἀπεσημαίνοντο**: MSS. **τὰ φίλτατα**, Portus, Körppen. **τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπεσημαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φίλτάτους ἀπέκτεινον**, Wyttenbach. Other emendations of similar purport are offered by Kyprianos, Otto, and van Herwerden. The difficulty which all these critics seek to avoid — of giving **ἀπεσημαίνοντο** a personal obj. — appears to be imaginary.

4. 18. **πρὶν**: Kel. after Dindorf. **πρὶν ἄν**, MSS. See on 3. 48.

4. 26. **Αἰξωνέων**: Kel. and all edd. after Palmer. **ἔξω νέων**, MSS.

4. 30. **τὸ εὐώνυμον**: MSS. **τὸ εὐώνυμον (Ἐλευσῖνι)**, Kel. after van Herwerden.

4. 34. **ἄλλων**: MSS. **Ἄλῶν**, Kel. after Madvig.

4. 38. **ὡς**: om. V and some edd.

4. 39. **ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν**: inserted by Cobet, who is followed by Kel. and most edd.

4. 40. **ἠδίκησεν**: MSS. **ἠδίκηκεν**, Kel. and edd. after Dindorf. But cp. § 20, where (in almost the same phrase) the aor. is used in a *negative* clause, immediately followed by a series of perfs. in affirmative clauses.

4. 41. **περιελήλασθε**: Geist, followed by Underhill and Blake. **περιελήλυθεν**, most of the better MSS. **περιείληφθε**, Kel. after Laves. **παράλελυσθε**, Dindorf. **περιηλάθητε**, Sauppe. **παρελύθητε**, Cobet, followed by many edd.

### BOOK III

1. 5. **συνήγαγε μὲν**: MSS. **μὲν** del. Kel. after Cobet. See note *ad loc.* — **ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικόν**: MSS. **ὄκνῶν**, Büchschütz. **ὄρρωδῶν**, Palmer. **οὐχ ἰκανὸν ὄρων**, Bake. **τὸ ἰ. τὸ πολεμικόν**, Schneider. **τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἰ.**, Otto. **ὁ. Θ. πρὸς τὸ ἰ.**, van Herwerden, followed by Kel.

1. 6. **συνέμιξαν**: papyr. **π'**. **συνέμιξαν**, MSS. See on 1. 3. 7.

1. 8. **πορευσομένου**: Dindorf, Cobet. **πορευομένου**, MSS., followed by Kel.

3. 1. **ᾠσιώθησαν**: Kel. after Dindorf. **ᾠσειώθεσαν**, C. **ὡς εἰώθεσαν**, cet. MSS.

3. 2. **κα ὧς**: Kel. after Jacobs. **καὶ ὦ** (or **ῶ**), MSS. — **ὄν τῷ**: Kel. after Dindorf. **ὄν ται** or **ὄν ται** or **ὄν ται** or **οὐ ται**, MSS. Büchschütz regards the Doric forms, which are inconsistently used and uncertain, as perhaps due to copyists.

3. 3. **χωλεύσαι**: MSS. **χωλεύσαι** (τὴν βασιλείαν), Kel. after Otto. **χωλὸς βασιλεύση**, Tell.

4. 3. **ὄπου**: Kel. after Morus. **ὄποι**, Dindorf. **ὄσους**, MSS.

4. 4. **εἶπαν**: Kel. with B. **εἶπον**, cet. MSS. — **Γεραστόν**: Kel. with BCFM. **Γεραιστόν**, DV.

4. 5: Kel. following Cobet and Hartman inserts after **ἀδόλως**: **ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν**. **Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως**. Dindorf after **πίστιν**: **δόντα καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν** (omitting **παρ' ἐμοῦ** before **πίστιν**). Madvig, Büchschütz, and Marchant also assume a lacuna. The essential thing, however, is to quiet the suspicions of Agesilaus, and it seems unnecessary to refer here to any pledge *from* him. If a truce is ultimately concluded, it goes without saying that it will necessarily be two-sided. And there is no serious difficulty in understanding in **τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς** the region of which the Spartans are *de facto* in possession; Tissaphernes does not mean to keep the truce anyway, and he loses nothing by employing this conciliatory phrase, taking his cue from Agesilaus' **τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι**.

4. 6. **ἐπέμενε**: MSS. **ἐνέμενε**, Kel. after Cobet *et al.*, comparing *Ages.* 1. 11. See *Introd.* p. 13, note 2.

4. 8. **ἔμηνε**: MSS. **ἔδακνε**, Übelen.

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

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

4. 20. **ἄλλον**: Kel. with MSS. **Ἄδαϊον**, Tell, from *Plut. Ages.* 12; but see Schwabe, *Neue Jahrb.* 107 (1873) 381 f.

4. 22. **ὁ ἡγεμών**: inserted by most edd. from *Ages.* 1. 36. **εἶπε**, MSS., followed by Kel. The subject, however, cannot be Tissaphernes, for cp. § 25.

5. 2. **νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι**: Laves. **νομίζοντές τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι**, MSS., which Kel. retains, marking a lacuna. Other conjectures are: **νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι**, Liebhold; **αὐτῶν τὸ**

ἄρχειν, Sauppe after Schneider; νομίζοντές γε αὖ τὴν ἀρχὴν κτήσεσθαι, Simon. It seems clear, as Kurz contends, that the participial clause should state the *reason* for the eagerness of the Athenians; and the conjecture of Laves has been adopted in the text merely because it offers a readable and simple version of that reason.

5. 3. τελῆσαι: Kel. with MSS. ἐλάσαι, Schneider, on which Kel. comments "fortasse recte." λεηλατήσαι, Dindorf.

5. 4. ἦρξαντο: Kel. with MSS. ἦρξαν τοῦ, Cobet.

5. 5. ἐν Δεκελείῃ: Kel. with MSS. τῆς ἐκ λείας, Breitenbach.

5. 6. Μηλιᾶς: Kel. Μηλιέας, MSS.

5. 9. ἀπολώλατε: Kel. with MSS. ἀπολώλετε, Sauppe. ἀπωλώ-  
λαιτε, Dindorf.

5. 15. οὐκ ἔχόντων: Kel. and all edd. after Orelli. οὐχ ἐκόντων,  
MSS.

5. 16. χάριτα . . . μείζονα: Kel. with MSS. χάριτας . . . μείζονας (or  
χάριν . . . μείζονα), Cobet.

5. 19. ἐπέπεισον: Kel. and edd. after Stephanus. ἔπεισον, MSS.

5. 22. τό: Kel. with MSS. τῶν, Tillmanns.

5. 23. αὐτῶν: Kel. and most edd. αὐτῶν, MSS. See on 2. 3. 5.

5. 24. ἀποδοῖεν: MSS. except B. ὑποδοῖεν, Kel. with B.

#### BOOK IV

2. 3. ἀπιστερεῖτο: BMDV. ἀποστερεῖτο, F. ἀποστεροῖτο, C, fol-  
lowed by Kel. See, however, Introd. IV. E.

2. 6. ὅτι . . . εὐκρινεῖν: Kel. with MSS. εὖ κρίνειν, Otto. ὅτι τοὺς  
στρατευσομένους δεῖ διευκρινεῖν, Cobet. ὅτι τοὺς στρατευσομένους μόνους  
δεῖ ἐγκρινεῖν, Madvig. ὅστις τοὺς στρατευομένους διευκρινεῖ, Kurz. If  
the Ms. reading be retained, the meaning of εὐκρινεῖν still remains  
uncertain. An essential difficulty, as Büchsenschütz notes, is the fact  
that the prizes are stated to have been offered for equipment, not for the  
personnel or discipline of the troops.

2. 13. τὴν ἀμφιάλον: Kel. with MSS. ἀγχίαλον or αἰγιαλόν, Geist. εἰς  
or ἐπὶ ἀμφιάλον (with ἐπήεσαν) Breitenbach. εἰς τὴν ἀμφιάλον, Grote,  
Kurz. τὴν ἐπ' αἰγιαλόν, Schneider. τὴν ἀμφὶ Ἀλέαν, Herbst. τὴν  
Στυμφαλίαν or τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν, Jungclaussen. The view suggested in the  
note is based largely upon the reference to the Tegeans and Mantine-  
ans. Manifestly these were the only allies whom the Lacedaemonians  
had picked up at the time referred to in ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλον; for

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5. 18. **διών**: Kel. with MSS. **ἀπιών**, Cobet. — **ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐτι σκοταῖος**: Kel. with MSS. **ἐτι σκοταῖος ἀναστὰς ὄρθρου**, Campe. Büch-senschütz suggests **πρὸ ὄρθρου**. The difficulty is that Mantinea is seven or eight miles from Orchomenus. It seems possible, however, to understand **ὄρθρου** as referring to so early an hour that this distance could be covered before daylight.

5. 19. **εἰς Δέχαιον**: inserted by Kel. after van Herwerden.

8. 4. **τις . . . φοβείται**: Kel. after Dindorf. **τισι . . . φανείται**, MSS.

8. 5. **Αἰγαί εἰσι**: Kel. after Valckenaer. **Αἰγεῖς** or **Αἰγαιεῖς**, MSS. — **ἄ**: inserted by Kel. after Dindorf. — **ἄν**: inserted by Kel. after Schäfer.

8. 14. **ἐπεθύμει**: MSS. except B. **πάλαι ἐπεθύμει**, Kel. with B, but doubtfully. — **βασιλεύς**: Kel. after Morus. **οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ βασιλεύς**, MSS.

8. 15. **λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν**: Stephanus. **λόγοις ταῦτ' ἦν**, MSS. **οὐ βουλομένοις**, Kel. after Körppen. **τοῖς δ' ἐναντία ταῦτ' ἦν**, Kurz. **τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοι λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν**, Simon. **τοῖς δ' ἐς ἀντιλογίαν**, Grosser. — **τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι**: Kel. with C. **εἶναι τὰς νήσους**, the other MSS. — **ὡς Ἄργος**: Leunclavius. **ὡστ' Ἄργος** (**Ἄργους**) or **ὡς τᾶργος**, MSS. Del. Kel. after Liebhold.

## BOOK V

1. 27. **καὶ πρὸς**: Kel. after Cobet. **καί**, MSS. **διά**, Laves. **καὶ ὑπό**, Breitenbach. **αὐτῶν καὶ βραδυτήτος**, Liebhold.

1. 31. **ταῦτα**: MSS. **ταῦτά**, Kel. after Dindorf.

1. 32. **δέξασθαι**: Kel. with BCFMV. **δέξεσθαι**, D, followed by some edd. — **εἶναι**: MSS. **ἔσεσθαι**, some edd.

1. 34. **αὐτῆς**: BMV. **ἐαυτῆς**, Kel. with CFD. — **ἄκόντες**: MSS. **ἄκοντες**, Kel. after Grosser, from *Ages.* 2. 21.

1. 35. **τῇ**: MSS. except B. **ἐν τῇ**, Kel. with B.

2. 12. **τῶν πόλεων**: MSS. except D. **τῶν πόλεων πολλάς**, D, followed by some edd.

2. 13. **παρεσόμεθα**: Kel. with MSS. **παρεσοίμεθα**, Dindorf.

2. 14. **ὀκτακοσίων**: MSS. **ὀκτακισχιλίων**, Mitford. **τετρακισχιλίων**, Büch-senschütz. Cobet inserts **δῖς** (Grosser **τρίς**) before **ποσοῦτοι**. Cp. Diod. 15. 21, Dem. 19. 263.

2. 16. **γιγνομένης**: Kel. after Schneider. **γενομένης**, MSS. **ἄν γενομένης**, Hertlein. **γενησομένης**, Weiske.

2. 17. **ὑπ' ἐκείνους**: MSS. **ὑπ' ἐκείνοις**, Kel. after Cobet. — **γε μήν**: Kel. with CFV. **μήν**, BMD.

2. 22. **στρατιάν**: MSS. **στρατείαν**, Kel. after Leunclavius.

2. 33. ὑμᾶς: MSS. ὑμῖν, Kel. after Cobet.
2. 34. πότε ἀκούσεσθε: Kel. with MSS. μή ποτε ἀκούσησθε, Liebhold.
2. 35. συνεκαθίζετο: Kel. with BM. συνεκαθέζετο, D, followed by some edd.
4. 1. πρότερον: Wolf. πρώτον, Kel. with MSS. πρὸ τοῦ, Hertlein.
4. 2. Φιλλίδας: Kel. with B. Φυλλίδας, MD and most edd. — τὰ περί: Kel. with B. τὴν περί, CFMDV. τὴν περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, Cobet.
4. 6. προταμίον: Kel. with MSS. ταμειῖον, Stephanus and most edd.
4. 7. ἀποκτείναντες: MSS. ἀπέκτειναν, Kel. after Cobet.
4. 8. ἀνάκειον: Kel. after Dindorf. ἀναγκαῖον, MSS. — τῶν πολεμάρχων: Kel. after Dindorf. πολεμάρχων, MSS.
4. 9. ἐπιβοήθουν: inserted by Kel. Different verbs are proposed by other editors and critics. All are agreed that the entire passage is corrupt.
4. 13. λέξοιεν: Kel. after Dobrée. λέξειαν, MSS.
4. 17. ἐξέπεισεν: Kel. after Weiske and Cobet. ἐξέπλευσεν, MSS. ἐξέπνευσεν, Dindorf.
4. 19. οἷ: Kel. with MSS. ὦ, most edd.
4. 20. ἐκπολεμήσειε: Kel. after Dindorf. ἐκπολεμήσειε, MSS.
4. 21. οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ': Kel. after Voigtländer. οὐδὲ ταῦτ', MSS. οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν, Dindorf. οὐδ' αὐτός, Liebhold.
4. 35. ἀντειπεῖν: MSS. Kel. prefixes ἔχοι, after Hartman, although he admits the similar cases cited in note on 2. 2. 2. Dindorf drops ὅτι after εἰπών.
4. 36. γένοιτο: MSS. προσγένειτο, Kel. after Rinke.
4. 39. ἔτι: Kel. with MSS. ἄρτι, Courier. ἤδη, Hartman, who also writes καταβαινόντων for ἀναβαινόντων, or recasts the passage as follows: τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβαινόντων, τῶν δὲ καταβεβηκότων. τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἔτι καταβαινόντων, Grosser. Laves puts ἔτι after τῶν δ' and reads καταβαινόντων for ἀναβαινόντων. These changes seem to be for the worse.
4. 41. ἔσω: Kel. with BMDV. εἶσω, CF.

## BOOK VI

3. 2. ποιῆσθαι: Kel. with B. ποιήσασθαι, the other MSS.
3. 3: After Λύκαιος the MSS. add ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοῦς. These words are



dropped, for manifest reasons, by almost all editors and critics. — **καὶ Καλλίστρατος**: Kel. and edd. after Köppen. **Καλλίστρατος**, Mss.

3. 4. **ἐγὼ ἔχω**: Kel. **ἔχω**, Fritzsche. **ἐγώ**, Mss.

3. 5. **ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν**: Mss. **ὁμογνωμονοῖεν**, Kel. after Kurz.

3. 6. **ἡμᾶς δέ**: Mss. **ἡμᾶς δή**, Kel. after Stephanus.

3. 7. **φατέ**: Kel. with Mss. except C. **φατέ ὡς**, C.

3. 10. **ἄνθρωποι**: Kel. with B. **ἄνθρωποι**, the other Mss.

3. 11. **ὡς . . . πόλεις**: Breitenbach, Hartman, Bennett. **ὡς . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Mss. **οἷς . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Kel. **ὅσας . . . πόλεις**, Kurz. **ὧν . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Grosser. **ἐν ᾧ . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Marchant. **ἀφ' ὧν . . . τὰς πόλεις**, Sorof.

3. 13. **εὐδηλον ὅτι . . . ἡμῖν**: Kurz, Bennett. **εὐδηλον ὅτι εἰ . . . ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά**, Mss. Leunclavius, **ἡμῖν οὐδ' ὑμῖν**. Morus and Hartman, **ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν**. Stephanus, **ὑμῖν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡμῖν**. Breitenbach, **οὐκ ἄριστα** for **οὐκ ἀρεστά**, dropping **εἰ** and the second **ἀρεστά**. Sorof, **πράττουσιν, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά**. Underhill, **ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν**. The passage is manifestly corrupt, and, as Kel. says, "nondum sanatus." — **ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν**: Mss. **ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔγνωτε**, Kel. after Hartman.

3. 16. **ἐπιτύχωσι**: margin of Leunclavius' ed. **ἀποτύχωσι**, Mss.

3. 17. **ὥστ' ἢ**: Kel. after Hirschig. **ὥστε**, Mss.

4. 3: After **ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις** the Mss. proceed: **ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν · οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους**; del. Kel. and all edd. after Pirckheimer. — **ὡς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτόν**: Brodaeus. **ὡς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτούς**, Mss. Del. Kel. after Dindorf.

4. 5. **λέγεται**: Mss. **λέγει**, Kel. ed. min. after Nauck.

4. 8. **ἐναντία**: Kel. after Madvig. **τάναντία**, Mss.

4. 11. **δοθείη**: Kel. after Dobrée. **δοίη**, Mss.

4. 14. **οἱ μὲν ἵπποις**: Stephanus. **οἱ μὲν ἵπποι**, Mss. **οἱ μένιπποι**, Kel. after Madvig. **οἱ μὲν ἄμπποι**, Hemsterhuys. Schenkl supposes that some Doric technical term is hidden in **μὲν ἵπποι**.

4. 15. **ὄντων ἐκεῖ**: Kel. after Hartman. **ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ**, Mss.

4. 16. **ἀγγελῶν**: Mss. **ἀγγέλλων**, Kel. after Cobet.

4. 17. **ταῖν**: Mss. **τοῖν**, Cobet. — **ἀπό**: Mss. **τοὺς ἀπό**, Tillmanns. — **ἑστράτευντο**: Kel. after Dindorf. **ἑστρατεύοντο**, Mss.

4. 18. **ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ**: Mss. **ἐκέλευεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ**, Kel. after Grosser.

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5. 9. δειπνοποιήσασθαι : Kel. after Hirschig. δειπνοποιησάμενος καί, MDV. δειπνοποιησάμενος, CF. (Ms. B breaks off at 7. 1. 38.)
5. 10. ἀμυνομένων : Kel. with FMDV. ἀμυνουμένων, C.
5. 11. πλέον ἔχοντες : Kel. after Voigtländer. πλείονες, MDV. πλείονες, CF. · πλέον, Leunclavius. — καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινε : del. Kel. after E. Curtius.
5. 13. Ἐπαμεινώνδου : Kel. with C. Ἐπαμεινώνδα, FMDV.
5. 14. βοηθήσοιεν : Kel. after Schneider. βοηθήσαιεν, MSS.
5. 15. διελθόντες δὲ καί : Kel. with MDV. διελθ. δέ, C. διελθ. καί, F.
5. 16. τούτου : Kel. with CFMD. τούτων, V. — ὑπελογίσαντο : Kel. after Schneider. ἐπελογίσαντο, MSS. — ἰππεύσιν : Kel. with CF. ἰππεύειν, MDV.
5. 23. ἐφ' ἧς : Kel. after Rüstow. ἐφεξῆς, MSS.
5. 24. βοηθήσαιεν : Kel. with MSS. βοηθήσοιεν, Dindorf.
5. 25. ἠττώμενοι : MSS. ἠττημένοι, Kel. after Cobet.

# LIST OF PROPER NAMES

- Abarnis, promontory near Lampsacous, 2. 1. 29.
- Abydus, city on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, 1. 1. 5. 6. 11, 2. 16; 2. 1. 18; 4. 8. 3. 5. 6; 5. 1. 25 f. Abydenes, the, 2. 1. 18; 4. 8. 3. 6.
- Academy, the, gymnasium near Athens, 2. 2. 8; 6. 5. 49.
- Acanthus, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 11. Acanthians, the, 5. 2. 12. 23.
- Acarnanians, the, inh. of Acarnania, district in central Greece, 4. 2. 17; 6. 5. 23.
- Achaea, district in northern Peloponnesus, 4. 8. 10. Achaeans, the, 3. 5. 12; 4. 2. 18; 6. 4. 18; 7. 5. 18. Achaeans of Phthia (Phthiotis), district in southern Thessaly, 1. 2. 18. Achaean mountains of Phthia, 4. 3. 9.
- Acrorians, the, inh. of Acroria, district in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Adimantus, Athenian general, 1. 4. 21, 7. 1; 2. 1. 30. 32.
- Aegae, town in Aeolis, 4. 8. 5.
- Aegina, island in the Saronic Gulf, 2. 2. 9; 5. 1. 29. Aeginetans, the, 2. 2. 3. 9. Aeginetan obols, 5. 2. 21.
- Aegospotami, stream in the Thracian Chersonese, 2. 1. 21. 23.
- Aegosthena, town in Megaris, 5. 4. 18; 6. 4. 26.
- Aenesias, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 9.
- Aenianians, the, people in southern Thessaly, 3. 5. 6; 4. 3. 15.
- Aeolians, the, inh. of Aeolis, district in western Asia Minor, 3. 4. 11; 4. 3. 17.
- Aeschines, one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, 2. 3. 2. 13.
- Aexoneans, the, inh. of the Attic deme Aexone, 2. 4. 26.
- Agamemnon, commander of the Greeks in the Trojan War, 3. 4. 3.
- Agathinus, Corinthian admiral, 4. 8. 10. 11.
- Agesandridas, Spartan naval commander, 1. 1. 1, 3. 17.
- Agesilaus, Spartan king, 3. 3. 1-7. 5. 10, frequently.
- Agesipolis, Spartan king, 4. 2. 9.
- Agesistratus, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Agis, Spartan king, 1. 1. 33. 34. 35; 2. 2. 7. 11. 13, 3. 3; 3. 3. 1.
- Agrigentum, Greek city in Sicily, 1. 5. 21; 2. 2. 24.
- Agrotera, see Artemis.
- Alcibiades, Athenian general, 1. 1. 5-20, 2. 13-16, 3. 3-20, 4. 8-23, 5. 9-17; 2. 1. 25, 2. 1, 3. 42.
- Alcibiades, cousin of the preceding, 1. 2. 13.
- Alea, see Athena.
- Alexander, tyrant of Pherae and tagus of Thessaly, 7. 5. 4.
- Alexias, Athenian archon, 2. 1. 10.
- Alexippidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Ampheum, the, sanctuary of Amphion at Thebes, 5. 4. 8.

- Amphidolians, the, inh. of Amphidoli, town in Elis, 4. 2. 16.
- Amphipolis, Greek city in Macedonia, 4. 3. 1.
- Amyclae, city in Laconia, 6. 5. 30. Amyclaeans, the, 4. 5. 11. 12.
- Amyntas, king of Macedonia, 5. 2. 12. 13.
- Anaetius, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Anaxicrates, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Anaxilaus, Byzantine, 1. 3. 18.
- Androclidas, Theban party leader, 3. 5. 1. 4; 5. 2. 31. 35.
- Andros, island southeast of Euboea, 1. 4. 21. 22, 5. 18. Andrians, the, 1. 4. 22; 2. 1. 31. 32.
- Angenidas, Spartan ephor, 2. 3. 10.
- Antalcidas, Spartan admiral and statesman, 4. 8. 12-15; 5. 1. 25-36; 6. 3. 12.
- Antandrus, town in northwestern Asia Minor, 1. 1. 25. 26, 3. 17; 2. 1. 10.
- Antandrians, the, 1. 1. 26.
- Antigenes, Athenian archon, 1. 3. 1.
- Antiochus, Athenian, Alcibiades' pilot, 1. 5. 11. 12. 13.
- Antiphon, Athenian, 2. 3. 40.
- Anytus, Athenian, 2. 3. 42. 44.
- Apaturia, Athenian festival, 1. 7. 8.
- Aphrodisia, 5. 4. 4. See note.
- Apollo, 3. 3. 3, 5. 5; 6. 4. 2, 5. 27.
- Apollonia, city in Chalcidice, 5. 2. 11.
- Apollonians, the, 5. 2. 13.
- Aracus, Spartan admiral and statesman, 2. 1. 7, 3. 10; 6. 5. 33.
- Arcadia, district in Peloponnesus, 6. 5. 22. 51; 7. 5. 10. Arcadians, the, 3. 5. 12; 5. 2. 19; 6. 5. 22-50; 7. 5. 7-20. Arcadian league, the, 6. 5. 22.
- Archedemus, Athenian demagogue, 1. 7. 2.
- Archestratus, Athenian general, 1. 5. 16.
- Another, 2. 2. 15.
- Archias, Theban polemarch, 5. 4. 2. 6.
- Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, 6. 4. 18. 19. 26; 7. 5. 12. 13.
- Archytas, Spartan ephor, 2. 1. 10, 3. 10.
- Aresias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, 2. 3. 2.
- Arginusae, islands between Lesbos and the Asiatic coast, 1. 6. 27. 28. 33. 38.
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- Result: intended 1. 6. 20; possible 2. 1. 14; with *ὡς* instead of *ὥστε* p. 36; rel. clause of 7. 5. 17.

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