Xenophon ...
XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I—V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
CARLETON L. BROWNSON
COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVIII
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INTRODUCTION

The *Hellenica* is Xenophon's history of his own times. Beginning in the autumn of 411 B.C., when the author was probably about twenty years of age, it covers the events of the following fifty years, down to 362 B.C.

The Peloponnesian War, which was primarily a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta but which involved the entire Greek world, began in 431 and ended in 404 B.C. The historian of this war was Thucydides, himself at one time a general on the Athenian side. Thucydides died, however, without completing his task, and it is at the point where his history breaks off that Xenophon begins. The first part of the *Hellenica* accordingly brings the story of the Peloponnesian War to a conclusion (411–404 B.C.); Xenophon then goes on to describe the internal disorders which ensued in Athens (404–401 B.C.); the war undertaken by the Spartans, now the undisputed "leaders of all Hellas," against the Persian Empire (399–387 B.C.); the indecisive contest known as the Corinthian War (394–387 B.C.), in which various Greek states united in an attempt vii
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to curb the growing power of Sparta; the inglorious Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), whereby the Persian king assumed to confirm Sparta's title as mistress of the Greek world; the later years of Spartan leadership (387–371 B.C.), marked especially by sometimes harsh, sometimes treacherous, but ultimately futile, efforts to check the rise of Thebes; the humiliation of Sparta and the triumph of Thebes in the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.); and the following period of Theban supremacy (369–362 B.C.), brought to a close by the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), in which the Thebans were victorious but lost their great commander, Epaminondas. The Hellenica, then, is the story of Sparta's triumph over her old enemy, Athens, of her day of power, and of her overthrow by a new enemy, Thebes.

A historian who should set himself the task of narrating the events of his own lifetime might naturally be expected to write his history part by part, as time went on, instead of waiting till toward the close of his life to tell the whole story in its entirety. In fact, the investigations of many scholars have shown that the Hellenica falls into three main divisions, written at considerable intervals: Part I. (i. i. 1–ii. iii. 10), completing Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War; Part II. (ii. iii. 11–v. i. 36), from the close of the Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Antalcidas; and Part III. (v. ii. 1–the end), from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea. The dates of the composition of these
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Various parts have been approximately fixed as follows: Part I., 393 B.C. or a very little later; Part II., between 385 and 380 B.C.; and Part III., between 362 and 354 B.C.

Xenophon was in many respects admirably fitted to be the historian of the epoch which he describes. An Athenian by birth and training, he was still a citizen of the world. He not only lived for considerable periods in various other states of Greece—Sparta, Elis, and Corinth—but he had become acquainted through personal experience with the Greeks of Asia and with the Persian Empire. In early life he had been a devoted follower of Socrates, while in later years he was an intimate friend of King Agesilaus of Sparta, whom he accompanied on several of the campaigns described in the Hellenica. He might have been presumed to possess the temper to write an impartial history and the information and capacity to write an accurate one.

Nevertheless, the Hellenica is neither accurate nor impartial. Not that Xenophon is guilty of errors of commission, for from these the Hellenica is notably free; but his omissions are so frequent and so considerable that the reader is either sadly puzzled or in many cases is given an utterly wrong impression. Thus, while it is clear that the primary purpose of the Hellenica was to complete Thucydides' interrupted narrative, Xenophon is by no means careful to secure precise continuity between the closing chapters of Thucydides and his own opening chapters; and he is
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just as little solicitous about securing precise continuity between the different chapters of the *Hellenica* itself; instead, we find him alluding to events as though already described of which he has told us nothing or introducing us without explanation to a personage who is unknown to us. More serious is the fact that some important omissions appear to be intentional and dictated by the author's partiality. He is not prejudiced in favour of Athens because it was his native city, nor yet against Athens because it had banished him. It is between Sparta and Thebes that he cannot hold the scales true. In his ardent admiration for all things Spartan, he excuses Sparta's defeats and fails to mention her humiliations; while in his almost unconcealed hatred toward the Thebans, he puts wrong constructions upon their acts and abridges the record of their achievements.

It is necessary to dwell more upon Xenophon's imperfections as a historian than upon his excellences in order to correct the wrong impression which a reading of the *Hellenica* might otherwise produce. His excellences, however, are not few nor slight. He is clear-sighted, straightforward, and sound in his judgments of men and events; and if he sometimes, especially when his Spartan sympathies are involved, fails to tell the whole truth or opens the way to wrong inferences, he still is never guilty of direct misstatement. His narrative, often plain to the point of bareness, possesses the great merits of clearness, directness, and entire freedom from exaggeration or
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a striving after effect; and his style is not only characterized at all times by grace and ease, but not infrequently by beauty and power. All in all, his history is much the best authority we have for the half century which it covers.¹

¹ The other more important authorities for the history of this period are: (1) Diodorus Siculus, who lived during the age of Augustus and compiled from various sources a rhetorical and uncritical history of the world (Books xiii.–xv. treating of the period covered by the Hellenica); and (2) Plutarch, in his lives of Alcibiades, Lysander, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Artaxerxes. Aristotle, in his Constitution of the Athenians, and Lysias, in two orations dealing with the rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, contribute additional information of great value to supplement the earlier portion of Xenophon’s narrative.
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

1.—MANUSCRIPTS

Among the numerous MSS. of the Hellenica six are generally recognized as of superior excellence, and are ranked in the following order:

B. Parisinus 1738, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.
M. Ambrosianus A 4, at Milan, dated 1344.
D. Parisinus 1642, in the National Library at Paris, of the fifteenth century.
V. Marcianus 368, in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
C. Parisinus 2080, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century.
F. Perizonianus 6, in the Library of the University of Leyden, dated 1456.

A recently discovered papyrus fragment, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna and assigned to the third century A.D., has been found valuable in confirming the readings of the best MS., B, and in preserving correct spellings where the MSS. are in error. It includes portions of the first book, and is designated Π.

2.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

(a) Complete Works of Xenophon.

ALDUS: Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

MARCHANT, E. C.: Oxford, 1900—, 5 vols., of which 4 have thus far appeared.


(b) Separate Editions of the Hellenica.

Keller, O.: Editio minor (Teubner text), 1890.
Bennett, C. E.: Boston, 1892. Books V–VII.

The present edition adopts the text of Keller, all departures therefrom, as well as important emendations made or accepted by Keller, being mentioned in the critical notes.
XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK I
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Α

1. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ύστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἁθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλύγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχθησαν αὐθίς Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἅθηναιοί, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου.

2. Μετ’ ὀλύγον δὲ τούτων 1 Δωριέως ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥώδου εἰς Ἐλλησποντοῦ εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμώνος τέταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα. κατιδών δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἅθηναιῶν ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἰ δὲ ἀνηγάγουσα ἐπ’ αὐτῶν εἰκοσι ναυσὶν, ὅς ὁ Δωριέως φυγῆν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτῶν τριήρεις, ὡς ἦν οἶγε, 2 περὶ τὸ 3 Ροϊτείου. ἔγγυς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἅθηναιῶν ἑμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἅθηναιοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.

4. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδών τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλῖω θύων τῇ Ἁθηνᾶ, ἐβοήθησε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλευε, ὅπως ὅν ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἅθηναιοι

1 τούτων MSS.: Keller brackets.
2 ἦν οἶγε MSS.: ἦνυτε Kel.
XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK I

I. After this, not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.

Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter, Dorieus, the son of Diogoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher descried him, he signalled to the generals, and they put out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus, fleeing from them towards the shore, beached his triremes, as fast as he got them clear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Rhoeeteum. And when the Athenians came near, the men under Dorieus fought, from their ships and from the shore, until the Athenians sailed away to Madytus, to the rest of their fleet, without having accomplished anything.

Now Mindarus caught sight of the battle as he was sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, and hurryings to the sea he launched his triremes and set out, in order to pick up the ships under Dorieus. And

1 i.e. after the last events described by Thucydides. The scene is the Hellespont.
XENOPHON

ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡδόνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ. 1 καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶτων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισ- 6 πλεῖ δυοὶ δεούσαις εἰκοσὶ ναυσὶν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθη, καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἢν ἐμάχητο, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς αὐτού 7 ἰππεύσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύσετο. συμφρά- ξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παρα- ταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναύς τῶν πολεμίων λα- βόντες κενὰς καὶ δὲ αὐτὸι ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, 8 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεύθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἀλλαὶ ἄλλη φῶχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ ὁ Θράσυβλος, εἰς ὅν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ὄθηνας ἐπέλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιῶν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐλλη- σπόντου ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδης κατά τας καὶ δώρα ἁγιόν τις συλλαβῶν εἱρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα
10 πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὑστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεσων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἄλοντος ἐν Καρία ὕππων εὐπορήσαντες 11 νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαξομενᾶς.

Oi δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναίοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίν- δαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἐξῆ- 1 εἰ ἐωθινοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.
the Athenians set out against him and did battle, 411 B.C. along the strand near Abydus, from morning till late afternoon. They were at some points victorious and at others defeated, when Alcibiades sailed into the Hellespont to their support, with eighteen ships. Thereupon the Peloponnesians took to flight in the direction of Abydus; and Pharnabazus came along the shore to their aid, and riding his horse into the sea as far as possible, bore a share in the fighting and cheered on his followers, cavalry and infantry. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians made a barrier of their ships and marshalled themselves on the shore and fought. At length the Athenians sailed away to Sestus after capturing thirty of the enemy's ships, though without their crews, and recovering those which they had previously lost themselves. From Sestus all but forty of their ships went off in different directions, outside the Hellespont, to collect money; and Thrasyllus, who was one of the generals, set sail for Athens to report these events and to ask for troops and ships.

After this Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont; and when Alcibiades with a single trireme went to visit him, bearing friendly offerings and gifts, Tissaphernes seized him and imprisoned him in Sardis, saying that the King ordered him to make war upon the Athenians. Thirty days later, however, Alcibiades, together with Mantitheus, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, provided themselves with horses and made their escape from Sardis by night to Clazomenae.

Meanwhile the Athenians at Sestus, learning that 410 B.C. Mindarus was planning to sail against them with
κοντά, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαξομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἑπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἰς Κύκκου, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἠλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἐκεῖ- λευσεν. ἐπει δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἦδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ᾧς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισδόθη Θηρα- μένης εἰκοσι ναυσίν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Ὁρασύβουλος εἰκοσιν ἔτερας ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφό- τεροι ἡγουμενηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτους διώκειν αὐτὸν ἦχελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἵστα αὐτός ἐπελευσεν εἰς Πάριον ἄθροια δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἀπασία ἐν Παρίῳ ἦς καὶ ὁγδοή- κοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἄνηγγόντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὀραν Ἐκκον εἰς Προκόν- νησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἰς καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν ὡμεραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἕκκλησίαν ποιήσαν παρεκελεύσετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἰς καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζο- μαχίαν καὶ τειχομαχίαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν, ἐφ' ἥ- χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ- 6

βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁμήσαυτος τὰ πλοία πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρὰ- ἐμαυτῶν, ὅπως μηδὲς ἑξαγγέλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξε τε, διὸ ἄλλο- σχέτοι εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τῇ-

ξημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασά

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sixty ships, withdrew by night to Cardia. There Alcibiades joined them, coming from Clazomenae with five triremes and a dispatch boat. But upon learning that the Peloponnesian ships had set out from Abydus to Cyzicus, he proceeded overland to Sestus and gave orders that the ships should sail around to that place. When they had arrived there and he was on the point of putting out to sea for battle, Theramenes sailed in from Macedonia with a reinforcement of twenty ships, and at the same time Thrasybulus arrived from Thasos with twenty more, both of them having been engaged in collecting money. And after bidding them also to follow after him when they had removed their cruising sails,\(^1\) Alcibiades set off with his own ships to Parium; and when all the ships had come together at Parium, to the number of eighty-six, they set sail during the ensuing night, and on the next day at breakfast time arrived at Proconnesus. There they learned that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, and also Pharnabazus with his army. Accordingly they remained that day at Proconnesus, but on the following day Alcibiades called an assembly of his men and told them that they must needs fight at sea, fight on land, and fight against fortresses. "For we," he said, "have no money, but the enemy have an abundance of it from the King." Now on the preceding day, when they had come to anchor, Alcibiades had taken into his custody all the vessels in the harbour, even the small ones, in order that no one should report to the enemy the size of his fleet, and he made proclamation that death would be the punishment of any one who was caught sailing across to the other side of the strait. And after the assembly he made preparations for battle and, in the

\(^1\) Thus "'clearing for action.'"
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

μενος ός ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαιν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύμικον ὄντος πολλώ. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυμῖκον ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἦλιου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορὰ τας τοῦ Μνιδάρου ναός γυμναξόμενας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπει-

17 λημένας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἔξηκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίων, ἱδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριή-

18 ρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἡ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἐφυγὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνορ-

μίσαντες τὰς ναός ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἑναυτῖοι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν

19 περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἴδων δὲ ὁ Μνι-

20 δάρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφυγοῦν. τὰς

21 δὲ ναοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φύσοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόπινος πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκείνας δὲ

22 αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακοσίοι.

Ἐκείθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι

ἐπὶ Κύμικον. οἱ δὲ Κυμικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοπο-

νησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλεπτόντων αὐτὴν ἔδε-

χοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας

αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν

παρὰ τῶν Κυμικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασά-

μενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόπινον, ἐκείθεν δ’ ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν.

καὶ Περίνθοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαστο εἰς τὸ ἅστυ τὸ

στρατόπεδον. Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ,

χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς

Καλλικτίνης εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτὴν,

καὶ δεκατευτηρίου κατασκεύασαν εἰς αὐτῇ, καὶ

τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοῖων
midst of a heavy rain, set out for Cyzicus. When he was near Cyzicus, the weather cleared and the sun came out, and he sighted the ships under Mindarus, sixty in number, engaged in practice at some distance from the harbour and already cut off from it by his own fleet. But the Peloponnesians, when they saw that the Athenian triremes were far more numerous than before and were near the harbour, fled to the shore; and mooring their ships together, they fought with their adversaries as they sailed down upon them. Alcibiades, however, with twenty of his ships sailed round the fleets and landed on the shore. When Mindarus saw this, he also landed, and fell fighting on the shore; and those who were with him fled. And the Athenians took away with them to Proconnesus all the Peloponnesian ships, except those of the Syracusans; for these were burned by their own crews.

From Proconnesus the Athenians sailed on the next day against Cyzicus; and the Cyzicenes admitted them, inasmuch as the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had evacuated the city. There Alcibiades remained for twenty days, and after obtaining a great deal of money from the Cyzicenes, but without doing any further harm in the city, sailed back to Proconnesus. From there he sailed to Perinthus and Selymbria. And the Perinthians admitted the Athenian forces to their city, and the Selymbrians, while not admitting them, gave them money. From there they proceeded to Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, and fortified it, established a custom house in the city, and proceeded to collect the tithe-duty from vessels sailing out of the Pontus\(^1\); they also left there

\(^1\) i.e. a tax of ten per cent. on all goods passing out through the Bosporus,
καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῶν δύο, Ἐθραμέθην καὶ Εὐμαχόν, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο δύναντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οί δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὄχοντο.

23 Παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μίνδαρον ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθῆνας λέγοντα τάδε: Ἐρρει τὰ κάλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσεῦνα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες.

24 ἀπορίσες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακαλεσάμενοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐνεκαξύλων, ὡς ὅντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἔως ἂν τὰ σῶματα σῶα ᾗ, ἵματιόν τ' ἐδώκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιοι δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἔαυτοι παραβαλλάττιας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριπάρχους ἐκέλευεν ναυπηγεῖσθαι τρίηρες ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὡς ἐκαστὸι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματα τε δίδοσε καὶ υλὴν ἕκ τῆς Ἰθής κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγομένων δὲ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἀμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοὺς τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἦρεσαν πάνων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολειτεία Συρακοσίων ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἑστὶ. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

26 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτῳ ἦγεν ἐλθῃ τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὁτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἔαυτῶν στρα-
as a garrison thirty ships and two of the generals, Theramenes and Eumachus, to have charge of the fort, to attend to the outgoing ships, and to harm the enemy in any other way they could. The other generals returned to the Hellespont.

Meanwhile a letter dispatched to Lacedaemon by Hippocrates, vice-admiral under Mindarus, was intercepted and taken to Athens; it ran as follows: “The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We know not what to do.” Pharnabazus, however, urged the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies not to be discouraged over a matter of ship-timber—for he said there was plenty of that in the King’s land—so long as their bodies were safe; and he not only gave to each man a cloak and subsistence for two months, but he also armed the sailors and set them as guards over his own coastline. Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the various states, he bade them build triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida. And while the ship-building was going on, the Syracusans helped the Antandrions to finish a portion of their wall, and in the garrison-duty made themselves most popular. For this reason the Syracusans now enjoy at Antandrus the privileges of benefactors and citizens. As for Pharnabazus, after making these arrangements he went at once to the relief of Calchedon.

At this time word came from home to the Syracusan generals that they had been banished by the democratic party.¹ Accordingly they called together their

The generals being of the oligarchical party in Syracuse.
τιώτας Ἐρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἕαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὡς ἄδικως φεύγοιεσχάπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον παρήνεσαν τε προθύμοις εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὦσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἀνδράς ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἂεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἁρχοντας, μέχρι ἀν ἀφικώνται οἱ ἡρμημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἁρχεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν; εἰ δὲ τις ἐπικαλοίται τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἐφασαν χρήσαι διδόναι, μεμημένους ὅσας τε γναμμαχίας αὐτοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς νεικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήψατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγίττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτωμένου, δεσμένων ἔμειναν, εὗς ἀφίκωντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοὶ, Δήμαρχος τ' Ἐπικύδου και Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμος Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριήραρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωτοι, ἀπετέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ίδια δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἐρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ἃν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστά-

1 §§ 27, 28 as the MSS.: Kel. inserts μεμημένους . . . ὑπάρχουσαν after παραγγελλόμενα.
soldiers and, through Hermocrates as spokesman, lamented their misfortune in being unjustly and illegally banished, all without exception. They urged their soldiers to continue zealous in the future, as they had been in the past, and to be true men in obeying every order; and they directed them to choose new commanders, to hold office until those who had been chosen to fill their places should arrive from Syracuse. The men, however, and particularly the captains and marines and steersmen, set up a shout at this and bade the generals remain in command. They replied that they ought not to indulge in partizan opposition to their own government. "But if anyone," they said, "has any charge to bring against us, you should give us a hearing, remembering how many naval battles you have won and how many ships you have captured when fighting by yourselves, and how often when associated with others you have proved yourselves invincible under our leadership, occupying the most honourable post in the line of battle on account of our skill and your own zealous spirit, exhibited both on land and sea.". But when no one brought any charge against them, at the request of the troops they remained until their successors arrived,—Demarchus, the son of Epicydes, Myskon, the son of Menecrates, and Potamis, the son of Gnosis. Then, after most of the captains had taken oath that, when they returned to Syracuse, they would bring their generals back from exile, they sped them on their ways, commending them all; but in particular those who had associated with Hermocrates felt exceedingly the loss of his care and enthusiasm and democratic spirit. For the best of those whose acquaintance he
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tους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπι-
βατῶν, ἐκάστης ἤμερας πρὸ καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν
συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνήν τὴν ἕαυτον ἀνε-
κοινοῦτο ὁ τι ἐμέλλει ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν,
κάκεινος ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τά μὲν ἀπὸ
tοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσάμενος. ἐκ τοῦ-
tον Ἐρμοκράτης τὰ τολλά ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
ηὐδόξει, λέγειν τὰ δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ
κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας 1 δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν
Δακεδαίμον Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντο καὶ
Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὅντα λέγειν, ἄφικ-
μενος παρὰ Φαρμάβαζου, πρὶν αἰτήσαι χρῆματα
λαβῶν, παρασκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούς
cάθοδον ἕνενυς τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
ἢκον οἵ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μιλήτου
cαὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναύς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Ἔν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως
gενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνίσται καὶ ὁ Δά-
κων ἄρμοστης Ἐπεόνικος. καταιτιάθεις δὲ ταῦτα
πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιπίδας ὁ Λάκων
ἐφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος
ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατη-
σιπίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.

33 Περὶ δὲ τούτου τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν
Ἀθηναίοις οὔτως Ἀχις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προομὴν
ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων 2 Θράσυλλος δὲ ἔξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ
tοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅντας ἀπαντᾷ
παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον, 3 ὡς μαχούμενος, ἀν

1 κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 τῶν Ἀθηναίων MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 After Λύκειον the MSS. have γυμνάσιον : Kel. brackets.

14
made, both captains and steersmen and marines, he used to gather every day in the morning and at evening to his own tent, where he communicated to them whatever he was planning to say or to do; he instructed them also, sometimes directing them to speak *ex tempore* and sometimes after deliberation. As a result of this Hermocrates enjoyed the greatest reputation in the general council, and was thought superior to all others as speaker and adviser. He now went to visit Pharnabazus; and since he had once brought an accusation against Tissaphernes at Lacedaemon, in which Astyochus supported him as witness, and had been adjudged to speak the truth, he received money from Pharnabazus before he asked for it, and busied himself with collecting mercenaries and triremes with a view to his restoration to Syracuse. Meanwhile the Syracusans who succeeded the banished generals arrived at Miletus and took over the ships and the troops.

At about this time a revolution took place in Thasos, and the partisans of Lacedaemon and the Laconian governor Eteonicus were driven out of the island. And Pasippidas the Laconian, who was accused of having managed this intrigue, in collusion with Tissaphernes, was banished from Sparta, while Cratesippidas was sent out to the fleet which Pasippidas had collected from the allies, and assumed command of it at Chios.

During these days also, and while Thrasylus was in Athens, Agis made a raid from Decelea up to the very walls of the city; and Thrasylus led forth the Athenians and all others who were in the city and marshalled them beside the Lyceum, with the intention of engaging the enemy if they approached.

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1 A gymnasium outside the walls.
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34 προσίωσιν. ἵδων δὲ ταύτα Ἀγις ἀπήγαγε ταχεωσ, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὄλγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταύτα ἐτὶ προσβυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ’ ἣ ἴκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὅπλατα τε αὐτῶν καταλέξασθαι χελίους, ἢππέας δὲ ἐκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.

35 Ἀγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἵδων πλοία πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέντα, ύδεύν ὄφελος ἐφή εἶναι τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πολύν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους ἐφρεγεῖν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τὶς σχῆσι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοτιζομεν ἐκαὶ καὶ. Ἐλεάρχος τὸν Ῥαμφίον πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψει εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζαντίον.

36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληροθεισῶν νεῶν ἐκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκάιδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἡ ταχείων ἀχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ ἄεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοία διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι ἐφυγον εἰς Σηστῶν, ἔκειθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζαντίον ἐσώθησαν.

37 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐλήγεν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνι Αὐνίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιάς αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.  

1 ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας Kel. regards as corrupt.  
2 καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets.  
3 This paragraph and several later passages which summarize in the same way events outside of Greece are regarded by Kel. and almost all other edd. as interpolations. They are often inaccurate and always needless. Apparently they were inserted in unskilful imitation of the well-known practice of Thucydides.
When Agis saw this, he withdrew in haste, and some few of his rear line were killed by the Athenian light troops. In consequence of this occurrence the Athenians were still more ready to give Thrasylus the help for which he had come, and they voted that he might choose out for service a thousand hoplites, a hundred horsemen, and fifty triremes.

Meanwhile Agis, who could see from Decelea great numbers of grain-ships sailing into Piraeus, said that it was useless for his troops to be trying all this long time to shut off the Athenians from access to their land, unless one should occupy also the country from which the grain was coming in by sea; and that it was best to send to Calchedon and Byzantium Clearchus, the son of Rhamphias, who was diplomatic agent for the Byzantines at Sparta. When this was resolved upon, fifteen ships were manned by the Megarians and the other allies, more properly transports than warships, and Clearchus set out with them. Three of his ships were destroyed in the Hellespont by the nine Attic ships which were continually on duty there to protect the Athenian merchantmen, but the rest escaped to Sestus and from there made their way safely to Byzantium.

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians, under the leadership of Hannibal, made an expedition against Sicily, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and in the course of three months captured two Greek cities, Selinus and Himera.
XENOPHON

II. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, φ ήν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἑνενήκοστῇ, ἥ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς ἐνίκαι Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρον μὲν οὖντο εἰς Σπάρτην Ἐναρχίητον, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἄθηναις Ἐκτήμωνος, τ' Ἀθηναίοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Ἐρασίλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοία λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστῶς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἁμα καὶ πελτασταῖς χρησάμενος ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου 2 τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. έκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα» καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἔδησεν καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθησάντως τινες τοῖς Πυγελευσί νεκρομένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοῦς 3 ἑδίωκον, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθησάντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ἄλγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ως διακοσίας, καὶ τρο- 4 παίδων ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ύστερα τε ἐπέλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύ- οντο εἰς Κολοφώναν. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσέκώ- ρησαν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιουσίας νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σῖτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπτησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ 5 ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὄν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθη- ναίοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἱδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων

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1 φ... Εὐκτήμωνος rejected by Kel. and edd. generally, as are later passages of the same sort, for reasons similar to those stated in the note on i. 37.

18
II. In the next year—in which was celebrated the ninety-third Olympiad, when the newly added two-horse race was won by Euagoras of Elis and the stadium¹ by Eubotas of Cyrene, Euarchippus being now ephor at Sparta and Euctemon archon at Athens—the Athenians fortified Thoricus; and Thrasyllus took the ships which had been voted him, equipped five thousand of his sailors so that he might employ them as peltasts also, and set sail at the beginning of the summer for Samos. After remaining there for three days he sailed to Pygela; and there he laid waste the country and attacked the wall of the town. A force from Miletus, however, came to the aid of the Pygelans, and finding the Athenian light troops scattered, pursued them. Thereupon the peltasts and two companies of the hoplites came to the aid of their light troops and killed all but a few of the men from Miletus; they also captured about two hundred shields and set up a trophy. On the next day they sailed to Notium and from there, after making the necessary preparations, marched to Colophon; and the Colophonians gave them their allegiance. It was now the time when the grain was ripening, and during the following night they made a raid into Lydia, burned many villages, and seized money, slaves, and other booty in great quantities. Stages, the Persian, however, was in this region, and when the Athenians had scattered from their camp for private plunder, he captured one of them and killed seven others, despite the fact that their cavalry

¹ The 200 yards foot-race.
6 ἕνα μὲν ξων έλαβεν, ἐπτά δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. ὘ράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἐφεσον πλευσόμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τούτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἰππεὰς ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἑποθεῖν
7 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὘ράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσόν ἀποβηβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππεὰς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσήγη δύο στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν Ἐφέσιοι οἱ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ’ ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἰκοσὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἐτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαν μετὰ ἕυκλεέος τε τοῦ Ἰππώνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἄριστογένους
8 στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιοι δύο. Οὔτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες εξ αὐτῶν ωσεὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδίωξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἐφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπόλοιποι αὐτῶν ωσ τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαίον ἐνταῦθα ἐστησαν καὶ ἐτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησῷ. τοὺς δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Σελινούσιοι κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεία ἐδοσαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ

1 εἰς Ἐφεσον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 Σελινούσιοι δύο Kel. regards as corrupt.
came to the rescue. After this Thrasylus led his army back to the coast, with the intention of sailing to Ephesus. But when Tissaphernes learned of this plan, he gathered together a large army and sent out horsemen to carry word to everybody to rally at Ephesus for the protection of Artemis. And now, on the seventeenth day after his raid, Thrasylus sailed to Ephesus; and having disembarked the hoplites at the foot of Mount Coressus, and the cavalry, peltasts, marines, and all the rest near the marsh on the opposite side of the city, he led forward the two divisions at daybreak. The defenders of the city sallied forth to meet the attack,—the Ephesians, the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought them, the crews of the original twenty Syracusan ships and of five others which chanced to have arrived there at the time, newly come from Syracuse under the command of Eucle, the son of Hippon, and Heralcides, the son of Aristogenes, and finally, the crews of two Selinuntine ships. All these contingents directed their first attack upon the hoplites at Coressus; and after routing them, killing about a hundred of them, and pursuing the rest down to the shore, they turned their attention to those by the marsh; and there also the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed. So the Ephesians set up a trophy there and a second at Coressus. They also gave to the Syracusans and Selinuntines, who had especially distinguished themselves, the prizes for valour, not only general prizes, but many to particular individuals among them, while upon any one of them who at any time might desire it they conferred the privilege of dwelling in Ephesus tax free; and to the Selinuntines, after
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ἀεί. Σελίνουσίους δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλέσει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν.

11 Οἱ δ᾽ Αθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑπὸσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κὰκεὶ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἐπλεοῦν ἐπὶ Δέσβου καὶ Ἕλλησπόντου.

12 ὁρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Δέσβου ἔλθον παραπλεοῦσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ έκκοσι καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ᾽ ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς Ἐφέσου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Ἐράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναίον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὁντα ἀνεψιόν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σητείαν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπασα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον.

14 Καὶ χειμών ἐπήει, ἐν φ’ οἱ αἰχμαλώτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργάμενοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς φίλοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στρατεύμα πάν ὁ πρῶτος στρατιώται συκ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς μετὰ Ῥασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸι μὲν ὄντες ἄρτητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἤτοι ἡκούν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαξον ἀπαντες Λάμψακον τείχιζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ

22
Selinus had been destroyed, they gave the rights of Ephesian citizenship as well.

As for the Athenians, after obtaining a truce and recovering the bodies of their dead, they sailed back to Notium, buried the dead there, and sailed on towards Lesbos and the Hellespont. While they were at anchor in the harbour of Methymna, in Lesbos, they saw sailing past them from Ephesus the twenty-five Syracusan ships; and putting out to the attack they captured four of them, men and all, and chased the rest back to Ephesus. And Thrasylus sent home to Athens all the prisoners with the exception of Alcibiades; this Alcibiades, who was an Athenian and a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades the general, he caused to be stoned to death. Then he set sail to Sestus to join the rest of the army; and from Sestus the entire force crossed over to Lampsacus.

And now the winter came on. During the course of it the Syracusan prisoners, who were immured in stone quarries in Piraeus, dug through the rock and made their escape by night, most of them to Decelea and the rest to Megara. Meanwhile at Lampsacus Alcibiades endeavoured to marshal his entire army as a unit, but the old soldiers were unwilling to be marshalled with the troops of Thrasylus; for they said that they had never known defeat, while the others had just come from a defeat. Both contingents, however, wintered there together, occupying themselves in fortifying Lampsacus. They also made an expedition against Abydus; and Pharnabazus, who came to its aid with a large force of cavalry, was

1 By the Carthaginians, shortly after the events here narrated.
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ηττήθεις ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκεβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱστέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατότον, δυν ἢρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. 17 ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιώται αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥσπάζωντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλουν. ἐξῆλθον δὲ τιναὶ καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἦπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλείας χώραν.

18 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Δακεδαίμονι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφήκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ εἶν Ἡρακλεία τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἁχαιοὶ τοὺς ἑπόκοινες, ἀντιτεταγμένους πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολέμους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὡστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβώτῃ.

19 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὕτως, ἐν ὑπὲρ Μήδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεγέρησαν αὐτῷ. 1 III. Τοῦ δ' ἐπίπλοτος ἔστως ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπτάθη πρηστήρος ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπει δ' ὁ χειμών ἔληγε, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἐαρὸς ἄρχομένου, δυνοῦν καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἑτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων, 2 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέλευσαν εἰς Προκόμησον. 2 παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὄρμησαν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας

1 This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.
2 τοῦ ... ἐμπεσόντος and Παντακλέους ... παρεληλυθότων are probably interpolations. See crit. note on ii. 1.
defeated in battle and put to flight. And Alcibiades pursued him with the Athenian cavalry and one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, under the command of Menander, until darkness covered the retreat. As a result of this battle the soldiers came together of their own accord and the old troops fraternised with those under Thrasyllus. The Athenians also made some other expeditions during the winter into the interior and laid waste the King’s territory.

At the same period the Lacedaemonians granted terms to the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasmium, allowing them to evacuate Coryphasmium unmolested. At about the same time, also, the colonists of Heracleia, in Trachis, were betrayed by the Achaeans in a battle where both peoples were drawn up against their enemies, the Oetaeans, and as a result about seven hundred of the Heracleots perished, together with the Lacedaemonian governor, Labotas.

So this year ended, being the year in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of the Persians, were again reduced to subjection.

III. During the ensuing year the temple of Athena at Phocaea was struck by lightning and set on fire. When the winter ended and spring began,—Pantacles being now ephor and Antigenes archon, and the war having continued for twenty-two years—the Athenians sailed with their entire force to Proconnesus. From there they set out against Calchedon and Byzantium, and went into camp near Calchedon. Now the Calchedonians, when they learned that the
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αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἀπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιδυνοὺς Ὀράκας ἀστυγείτονας.

3 ὡντας. Ἀλκibiάδης δὲ λαβὼν τὸν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖοι κελεύσας, ἔλθων εἰς τοὺς Βιδυνοὺς ἀπήτευ τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκibiάδης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἐχων καὶ πίστεως πεπωμένος, ἀπετείχε τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶν τῇ ἦν ἐξυλίνῳ.

5 τείχει. ἔνταῦθα Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Δακεδαλ-μώνος ἁρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξηγαγεν τοὺς στρατιώτας ως μαχούμενοι· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίου ἀντι-παρετάξαντο αὐτῷ. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτείχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιῶτας καὶ Ἰππος πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θάρ-συλλος ἐμάρκητο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλῖταις χρόνου πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκibiάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἀμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οṕ δυνά-μενος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τὸν ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτείχισμά-των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἕρακλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

7 ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκibiάδης μὲν ὕχετο εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερόνησον χρήματα πρά-ξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς
Athenians were approaching, had put all their portable property in the keeping of the Bithynian Thracians, their neighbours. Alcibiades, however, taking a few of the hoplites and the cavalry, and giving orders that the ships should sail along the coast, went to the Bithynians and demanded the property of the Calchedonians, saying that if they did not give it to him, he would make war upon them; so they gave it over. And when Alcibiades returned to his camp with the booty, after having concluded a treaty with the Bithynians, he proceeded with his whole army to invest Calchedon by building a wooden stockade which extended from sea to sea, taking in the river also in so far as this was practicable.¹ Thereupon Hippocrates, the Lacedaemonian governor, led forth his troops from the city to do battle; and the Athenians marshalled themselves against him, while Pharnabazus, outside the stockade, with infantry and horsemen in great numbers, tried to aid Hippocrates. Now for a long time Hippocrates and Thrasyllus fought, each with his hoplites, until Alcibiades came to the rescue with a few hoplites and the cavalry. Then Hippocrates was killed, and those who were with him fled back into the city. At the same time Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates owing to the narrowness of the space, since the stockade came down close to the river, retired to the Heracleium in the Calchedonian territory, where he had his camp. After this Alcibiades went off to the Hellespont and the Chersonese to collect money; and the rest of the generals concluded

¹ "From sea to sea," i.e. from Bosporus to Propontis. The "river" broke the line of the stockade, but the latter was carried as near as possible to each bank of the river.
Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἶκοσι τάλαντα
dούνα Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα
9 πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγείν, καὶ ὁρκοῦσι ἔδοσαν
καὶ ἐλαβον παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον ὑποτελείν τὸν
φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν
καὶ τὰ ὅφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίοις
dὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίως, ἔως ἂν οἱ παρὰ
10 βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθοσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
τοῖς ὁρκοῖς ὁμίλοις ἐπὶ πάντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ Ση-
λυμβρίαν ἤν ἐκείνην δὲ ἐλῶν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον
ἡκεν, ἔχων Χερσονήσιτας τε παιδημεί καὶ ἀπὸ
Θράκης στρατιῶτας καὶ ἰππεῶς πλείους τρια-
kοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξίων δεῖ κάκεινον
ὁμώναι, περιέμενεν εἰς Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι
ἐκ τοῦ Βυζάντιου ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη
11 ὡμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεινος αὐτῷ ὄμειται. μετὰ
tαύτα ὁμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοτόλει οἰς Φαρνά-
βαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάτει, ὁ δὲ ἐν
Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέῳ
καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὁρκοῦν καὶ ἱδίᾳ ἀλλή-
lοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν
εὐθὺς ἀπῆκε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευ-
μένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύκλουν.
ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλο-
kύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτολέμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν
δὲ τούτως Ἀργείων Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος
ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις.

1 πρέσβεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.
a compact with Pharnabazus which provided that, in consideration of their sparing Calchedon, Pharnabazus should give the Athenians twenty talents and should conduct Athenian ambassadors to the King; they also received from Pharnabazus a pledge under oath that the Calchedonians should pay to the Athenians precisely the same tribute they had been accustomed to pay and should settle the arrears of tribute, while they on their side made oath that the Athenians would not wage war upon the Calchedonians until the ambassadors should return from the King. Alcibiades was not present at the exchange of these oaths, but was in the neighbourhood of Selymbria; and when he had captured that city, he came to Byzantium, bringing with him all the forces of the Chersonesians and soldiers from Thrace and more than three hundred horsemen. Now Pharnabazus thought that Alcibiades also ought to give his oath, and so waited at Calchedon until he should come from Byzantium; but when he came, he said that he would not make oath unless Pharnabazus also should do the like to him. In the end, Alcibiades made oath at Chrysopolis to the representatives of Pharnabazus, Mitrobates and Arnapes, and Pharnabazus at Calchedon to the representatives of Alcibiades, Euryptolemus and Diotimus, both parties not only giving the official oath but also making personal pledges to one another. Immediately after this Pharnabazus went away, leaving word that the ambassadors who were going to the King should meet him at Cyzicus. The Athenians who were sent were Dorotheus, Philocides, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus, and with them two Argives, Cleostratus and Pyrrolochus; ambassadors of the Lacedae-
Πασιππίδας καὶ ἔτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἐρμοκράτης, ἦδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακούσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.

14 Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτων ἦγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἅθηναιοὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιορκοῦν περιτείχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἀκροβολισμοῦ καὶ προσβολᾶς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζάντιῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἔλιξος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοωτοῖ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ’ Ἅθηναιοὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ’ ἰσχύν, ἐπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζάντιῶν προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστῆς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἠν τούτο ποιήσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἀπαντά ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἔλιξῳ, δεῖβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθὸν τοῦτος στρατιωταῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἰ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι· 1 καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἄντανδρῳ 2 καὶ ἡ Ἀγησανδρίδας ἐίχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης δὲν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὡς ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθεῖσαι, ἀβρόαὶ δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζάντιου.

18 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζάντιων, 3 Κύδων καὶ Ἅριστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος,

1 ἄλλαι: Kel. inserts ἄλλα after it.
2 καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts ὡς after ἐπὶ.
3 Βυζάντιων: Kel. here inserts πρὸς ἔργον ἐπτάποτο ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε'.
monians also went along, Pasippidas and others, and with them Hermocrates, who was already an exile from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus.

While Pharnabazus was conducting this party, the Athenians were besieging Byzantium; they had built a stockade around the city, and were attacking its wall with missiles from a distance and by close assault. Within Byzantium was Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, its governor, and with him some Laconian Perioeci, a few emancipated Helots, a contingent of Megarians, under the command of Helixus the Megarian, and one of Boeotians, under the command of Coeratadas. Now the Athenians, finding that they were unable to accomplish anything by force, persuaded some of the Byzantines to betray the city. Meanwhile Clearchus, the governor, supposing that no one would do that, arranged everything as well as he could, turned over the charge of the city to Coeratadas and Helixus, and crossed to the opposite shore to meet Pharnabazus, in order to get from him pay for the soldiers and also to collect ships. His plan was to assemble those which had been left behind by Pasippidas as guardships and were now in the Hellespont, those at Antandrus, and those which Agesandridas, a lieutenant of Mindarus, had under his command on the Thracian coast, and finally, to have other ships built; then, after gathering them all together, he thought to harry the allies of the Athenians and so draw off their army from Byzantium. But when Clearchus had sailed away, those who wanted to betray the city of the Byzantines set about their work,—Cydon, Ariston, Anaxicrates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. This
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19 ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ύστερον ἐν Δακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν εἰς τῶν, ὡς ὁ προ-
δοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παιδᾶς ὅρων καὶ
γυναῖκας λυμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὁ καὶ
οὗ Δακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνότα σῖτον Κλέ-
αρχον τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι·
διὰ ταῦτ' ὅν τοὺς πολέμοις ἐφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ
ἀργυρίον ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Δακεδαιμονίους·

20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες
τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον εἰσή-
γαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἑλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ
"Ελίξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὔδεν τούτων εἰδότες
ἔβοηθον μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάντη οἱ πολέμοι κατείχον, οὔδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι

21 ποιήσαντες, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς. καὶ οὕτω
μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας
ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαίνοντων ἐν Πειραιᾷ ἔλαθεν
ἀποδρᾶς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

IV. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυ-
γίας ἐν Γορδίῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμώνα τὰ περὶ τὸ

2 Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἦκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ
τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα
ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τὶς Δακεδαιμονίων
πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ¹ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ

3 ἀλλοί ἄγγελοι, ² καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Δακεδαιμόνιοι
πάντων ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἰς παρὰ βασι-

λέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

1 The MSS. add ὅρωμα here: Kel. brackets.
2 ἄγγελοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

32
Anaxilaus was afterwards tried for his life at Lacedaemon because of this betrayal, but was acquitted, on the plea that he did not betray the city, but rather saved it; he was a Byzantine, he said, not a Lacedaemonian, and when he saw children and women perishing of starvation,—for Clearchus, he said, gave whatever provisions the city contained to the soldiers of the Lacedaemonians,—he had for this reason admitted the enemy, not for the sake of money nor out of hatred to the Lacedaemonians. As has been said, however, these betrayers made their preparations, and then, opening by night the gates that lead to the Thracian Square, as it is called, let in the Athenian army and Alcibiades. Now Helixus and Coeratadas, who knew nothing of what was going on, hurried to the market-place with all their troops; but when they found that the enemy were masters everywhere and that they could do nothing, they surrendered themselves. They were all sent off to Athens, and as they were disembarking at Piraeus, Coeratadas slipped away in the crowd and made his escape to Decelea.

IV. As for Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, while they were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, they heard what had happened at Byzantium. But as they were continuing their journey to the King, at the opening of the spring, they met not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning,—Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted,—but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the

1 The reference is uncertain.
καὶ συμπολεμήσων Δακεδαιμονίως, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοὺς κἀτω πάσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ἡ ἐνήν καὶ τάδε. Καταπέμπτων Κῦρον
4 κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλῶν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. ταῦτ’ ὅσι ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον,
ἐβουλοῦντο μὲν μάλιστα¹ παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, 5 εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἰκαδὲ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθη-
6 ναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατείχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκον τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε
7 ἀποπέμψειν, ὃς μηδὲν μέμψηται ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνυ-
αυτοῖ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδείχθη τοῦ Κῦρον ἀφεῖναι αὐ-
τοὺς, φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριο-
βαρζάνεα παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἀλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.
8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιω-
τῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκείθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεὼν εἴκοσιν ἐπλευσε τῆς Καρίας ἐς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκείθεν δὲ
συλλέξας ἐκατον τάλαντα ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμῳ.
9 Ὑρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσίν ἐπὶ Ὑρά-
κης φίχετο, ἐκεί δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τα πρὸς

¹ μὲν μάλιστα MSS.: μάλιστα μὲν Kel.
HELLENICA, I. iv. 3–9

Lacedaemonians in the war. This Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea¹ and bearing the King’s seal, which contained among other things these words: "I send down Cyrus as caranus"—the word "caranus" means "lord"—"of those whose mustering-place is Castolus." When the Athenian ambassadors heard all this and saw Cyrus, they wished, if it were possible, to make their journey to the King, but otherwise to return home. Cyrus, however, directed Pharnabazus either to give the ambassadors into his charge, or at any rate not to let them go home as yet, for he wished the Athenians not to know of what was going on. Pharnabazus, accordingly, in order that Cyrus might not censure him, detained the ambassadors for a time, now saying that he would conduct them to the King, and again, that he would let them go home; but when three years had passed, he requested Cyrus to release them, on the plea that he had given his oath to conduct them back to the coast, since he could not take them to the King. So they sent the ambassadors to Ariobarzanes and directed him to escort them on; and he conducted them to Cius, in Mysia, whence they set sail to join the Athenian army.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, wishing to sail home with his troops, made straight for Samos; from there he sailed, with twenty of the ships, to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria; and after collecting there a hundred talents, he returned to Samos. Thrasybulus, however, with thirty ships, went off to the Thracian coast, where he reduced all the places which had

¹ i.e. the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as contrasted with the interior of the Persian Empire.
Δακεδαλμονίους μεθεσθηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Ὄρασύλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθηνὰς κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἤκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εἰλοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Ὄρασύλλουν ἀπόντα, Κόμωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκόθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχου ἡ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἰκόσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ὡς ἔτυνθαντο Δακεδαλμονίους αὐτοῦ παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἰκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ εὖ ἐαντὶ εὗνοιν οὐςαν καὶ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἡρμήνευσαν καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα ἡ Πλυντήρια ἤγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινὲς οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὔδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίον ἔργον τολμήσατι ἀν ἄφασθαι.

Καταπλέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως χόλος ἡροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἱδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες ὅι μὲν ὡς κράτιστοι εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνοις οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπι- βουλευομενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττῶν ἐκεῖνον δυνα- μένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ

1 In the MSS. λέγοντες is followed by ὅτι, and μόνος (below) by ἀπελογηθῆ ὃς: Kel. brackets.
revolted to the Lacedaemonians, and especially Thasos, which was in a bad state on account of wars and revolutions and famine. Thrasylus finally, with the rest of the fleet, sailed home to Athens; but before he arrived, the Athenians had chosen as generals Alcibiades, who was still in exile, Thrasybulus, who was absent, and as a third, from among those at home, Conon. And now Alcibiades sailed from Samos with his twenty ships and his money to Paros, and from there directed his course straight to Gytheium, in order to take a look at the thirty triremes which he heard the Lacedaemonians were making ready there and to see how his city felt toward him, with reference to his homecoming. And when he found that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that they had chosen him general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, he sailed in to Piraeus, arriving on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria and the statue of Athena was veiled from sight,—a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business.

When he sailed in, the common crowd of Piraeus and of the city gathered to his ships, filled with wonder and desiring to see the famous Alcibiades. Some of them said that he was the best of the citizens; that he alone was banished without just cause, but rather 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

1 When the clothing of the ancient wooden statue of Athena Polias was removed and washed (πλύσειν).
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΝΟ

αὐτῶν ἵδιον κέρδος πολιτεύόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὐξώντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ. έθέλοντος δὲ τὸτε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἁρτί γεγενημένης ὡς ἑσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἔχθροι τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτῶν

15 ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος. ἐν ὑμν. χανίας δουλεύων ἄραγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθρίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοστάτους πολέτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν ὅρων ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὧτῳς ὁφελοῦσα φυγῆ ἀπειργομένος. οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν ὀώντων αὐτῶν ἐναι καὶ δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως. ὑπάρχει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου αὐτῶ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οὔστοπερ 1 πρῶτον, ὑστερον δὲ δυνασθείσων ἀπολλύσαι τούς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειψθέντας δὲ αὐτὸ τούτο ἁγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίσσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι.

17 Οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτῶν κακῶν μόνος αὐτοῖς εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλις γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι. 2 ἡγεμόνων καταστήσαι.

18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθείς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὔθεως, φοβοῦμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς.

1 τοιούτοις . . . οἴσσετε Morus: τοιούτοις . . . οἴσσετε MSS.: τοιούτοις . . . οἷοι περιμένειν μὲν Kel.
2 κινδυνεύσοι Blake: κινδυνεύσαι Kel.: κινδυνεύσαι MSS.
HELLENICA, I. iv. 13–18

to their own private gain, whereas he was always advancing the common weal, both by his own means and by the power of the state. At the time in question, they said, he was willing to be brought to trial at once, when the charge had just been made that he had committed sacrilege against the Eleusinian Mysteries; his enemies, however, postponed the trial, which was obviously his right, and then, when he was absent, robbed him of his fatherland; thereafter, in his exile, helpless as a slave and in danger of his life every day, he was forced to pay court to those whom he hated most; and though he saw those who were dearest to him, his fellow-citizens and kinsmen and all Athens, making mistakes, he was debarred by his banishment from the opportunity of helping them. It was not the way, they said, of men such as he to desire revolution or a change in government; for under the democracy it had been his fortune to be not only superior to his contemporaries but also not inferior to his elders, while his enemies, on the other hand, were held in precisely the same low estimation after his banishment as before; later, however, when they had gained power, they had slain the best men, and since they alone were left, they were accepted by the citizens merely for the reason that better men were not available.

Others, however, said that Alcibiades alone was responsible for their past troubles, and as for the ills which threatened to befall the state, he alone would probably prove to be the prime cause of them.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, who had come to anchor close to the shore, did not at once disembark, through

1 In 415 B.C., just before the departure of Alcibiades with the Syracusan expedition.
2 The Spartans and the Persians.
XENOPHON

ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἑσκότευ
19 τοὺς αὐτού ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείσχαι. κατίδουν
dὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ
ἀνεψιον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους
μετ’ αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβᾶς ἀναβαινεί εἰς τὴν πόλειν
μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἰ τις ἀπτοῦτο, μὴ
20 ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὔκ ἠσβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς
ηδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ
οὐδενὸς ἀντεπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν
ἀυτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἷος τε ὅσοι σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν
τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον ¹ μὲν τὰ μυστηρία
τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλασσαν ἁγόντων διὰ τὰ
πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἔξαγαγόν τοὺς
21 στρατιώτας ἀπαντὰς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο
στρατιῶν, ὁπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
ἰππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ναῦς δὲ ἐκατόν.
καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ’
'Ανδρόν ἀφεστηκών τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ’
αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευ-
κολοφίδου συνεπέμφησαν ἥργηνοι κατὰ γῆν
στρατηγοῖ.

22 Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς
'Ανδρίας χώρας ² εἰς Γαύριον ἐκβοσθῆσαντας δὲ
τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἑτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς, καὶ
23 τοὺς Δάκωνας οὗ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ
τροπαίον τε ἐστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὁλίγας

¹ πρότερον MSS.: πρῶτον Kel.
² χώρας MSS.: Kel. brackets.
fear of his enemies; but mounting upon the deck of his ship, he looked to see whether his friends were present. But when he sighted his cousin Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and his other relatives and with them his friends, then he disembarked and went up to the city, accompanied by a party who were prepared to quell any attack that anyone might make upon him. And after he had spoken in his own defence before the Senate and the Assembly, saying that he had not committed sacrilege and that he had been unjustly treated, and after more of the same sort had been said, with no one speaking in opposition because the Assembly would not have tolerated it, he was proclaimed general-in-chief with absolute authority, the people thinking that he was the man to recover for the state its former power; then, as his first act, he led out all his troops and conducted by land the procession\(^1\) of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which the Athenians had been conducting by sea on account of the war; and after this he collected an armament of fifteen hundred hoplites, one hundred and fifty horsemen, and one hundred ships. Then, in the fourth month after his return to Athens, he set sail for Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians; and with him were sent Aristocrates and Adeimantus, the son of Leucolophides, the generals who had been chosen for service by land.

Alcibiades disembarked his army at Gaurium, in the territory of Andros; and when the men of Andros and the Laconians who were there came forth to meet him, the Athenians routed them, shut them up in their city, and killed some few of them. Accordingly Alcibiades set up a trophy, and after

\(^1\) From Athens to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ήμερας ἐπελευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὅρμῳμενος ἐπολέμηκεν.

V. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι πρῶτον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησίππιδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρελημνύων Λύσανδρον ἔξεπεμψαν ναῦαρχον. οὐ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβόν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἐπέλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμείνε ναῦς ἐχων ἑξθεμήμοντα μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἔπει δὴ ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος

2 πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Τισσα-φέρνους ἐλεγον ἀ πεποιηκός εὖ, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἔδεωντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον

3 γενέσθαι. Κύρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἐφη ταύτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν ἔχων δὲ ἦκεν τάλαντα πεντακόσια. ἦδη δὲ ταύτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἐφη, ἀ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐδωκεν, ἔαν δὲ καὶ ταύτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψει. ἐφ' οὖ δὲ

4 ἐκάθητο, ὃντα ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταύτ' ἐπήνουν καὶ ἐκέλευσον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμήν. Ἀττικῆν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἄν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύται ἀπολείφουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείων χρήματα ἀνα-

5 λώσει. οἱ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἐφ' αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατὸν δὲ εἶναι παρ' ᾧ βασιλεῦς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνήκειας οὕτως ἑχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηλὶ τοῦ

1 The Attic drachma = about 9d. or 18 cents; it was the average wage of an ordinary day-labourer.

2 Since the war would be brought to a speedy conclusion, the Athenian sailors going over to the Lacedaemonian fleet for the sake of the higher wage.

42
remaining there a few days, sailed to Samos, and from Samos as a base prosecuted the war.

V. Not long before this the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as admiral, since Cratesippidas’ term of office had expired. And after Lysander had arrived at Rhodes and secured some ships there, he sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from there to Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus arrived at Sardis. On his arrival Lysander went up to visit him, accompanied by the ambassadors from Lacedaemon. Then and there they told Cyrus of the deeds of which Tissaphernes had been guilty, and begged him to show the utmost zeal in the war. Cyrus replied that this was what his father had instructed him to do, and that he had no other intention himself, but would do everything possible; he had brought with him, he said, five hundred talents; if this amount should prove insufficient, he would use his own money, which his father had given him; and if this too should prove inadequate, he would go so far as to break up the throne whereon he sat, which was of silver and gold. The ambassadors thanked him, and urged him to make the wage of each sailor an Attic drachma a day, explaining that if this were made the rate, the sailors of the Athenian fleet would desert their ships, and hence he would spend less money. He replied that their plan was a good one, but that it was not possible for him to act contrary to the King’s instructions; besides, the original compact ran in this way, that the King should give thirty minae per month to

3 A mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols. A ship’s crew normally numbered 200 men; hence 30 minae per month per ship = 3 obols per day per man.
μηνός διδόναι, ὅπόσας δὲν βούλωνται τρέφειν.
6 Λακεδαίμονι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἔστειλεν τησσερίμετρα μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπίδωσεν ὁ Κύρος ἢρετο τῷ βολόντα χαρίζοντα ποιήσαν, εἶπεν ότι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναῦτῃ, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προσβεμένον εἶναι.
7 ὅβολον προσβείσθαι. ὥστε τὸ τότε τέτταρες ὀβόλοι ἴνα ὁ μισθὸς, πρὸτερον δὲ τριώμβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προσφελόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προείσκετο, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προσβεμένον εἶναι.
8 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχουν, ἐπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύρον πρέσβεις διά
9 Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὗ προσεδέχετο, δεσμένους Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἀπερ αὐτός ἔποιεσε πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν ἐκλήματι μηδὲ οἰνίσεις ἱσχυρὸν ὅσων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτὸι ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες.
10 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὖσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγει, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχον αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Ὠρασύβουλον ἔξω Ἐλλησπόντου ἤκουστ' ἀποτείχειν Φῶκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἔπιστεῖλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναύς.
11 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ ὑπὶ καὶ ἄλλη ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτάς τὰς πρώτας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεών παρέπτει. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλύγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδώκετο αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
each ship, whatever number of ships the Lacedae-
monians might wish to maintain. Lysander accord-
ingly dropped the matter for the moment; but after
dinner, when Cyrus drank his health and asked him
by what act he could gratify him most, Lysander
replied: "By adding an obol to the pay of each
sailor." And from this time forth the wage was four
obols, whereas it had previously been three. Cyrus
also settled the arrears of pay and gave them a
month's wage in advance besides, so that the men of
the fleet were much more zealous. Now when the
Athenians heard of this, they were despondent, and
sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes.
Cyrus, however, would not receive them, although
Tissaphernes urged him to do so and advised him to
see to it that no single Greek state should become
strong, but that all be kept weak through constant
quarrelling among themselves,—the policy he him-
self had followed on the advice of Alcibiades.¹

As for Lysander, when he had finished organising
his fleet, he hauled ashore the ships which were at
Ephesus, now ninety in number, and kept quiet,
while the ships were being dried out and repaired.
Meantime Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had
come out from the Hellespont and was investing
Phocaea, sailed across to see him, leaving in com-
mand of the fleet Antiochus, the pilot of his own
ship, with orders not to attack Lysander's ships.
Antiochus, however, with his own ship and one other
sailed from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus and
coasted along past the very prows of Lysander's
ships.² Lysander at first launched a few ships and
pursued him, but when the Athenians came to the

¹ cp. Thuc. 8. 46.
² On this incident see Plutarch, Alc. 35.
'Αθηναίοι τῷ 'Αντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείστοι ναυσὶ τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἐκ τοῦ Νωτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τρήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἔκα. στος ἤρωιζεν ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναίοι διεσπαρμέναι ταῖς ναυσὶ, μέχρι οὗ ἐφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τρήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἠφηγοῦν, οἱ δὲ ἠξωγρήθησαν. Δύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλάβὼν καὶ τροπαίον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νωτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναίοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα 'Αλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἰ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Δύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγεν διὰ τὸ πολλὰς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Ακαδαμώνοι δὲ ὅλῳ γνστον αἴροισι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡλίονα.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν οίκῳ 'Αθηναίοι, ἐπειδὴ ἴγγελθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἰσὶν τῷ 'Αλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δὲ ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολυσκείναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἰλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδουτα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασίνιδην, Ἀριστοκράτῃ, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Ἐράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονῆρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τρήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρονησον εἰς τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κόνων ἐκ

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1 δή: Kel. here assumes a lacuna.
2 ἤρωιζεν MSS.: ἤρωιζεν Kel. 3 Ἡλίονα MSS.: Τέων Kel.
4 Δέοντα MSS.: Λυσαλ Κελ.
aid of Antiochus with more ships, he then formed into line of battle every ship he had and sailed against them. Thereupon the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium and set out, as each one got a clear course. From that moment they fell to fighting, the one side in good order, but the Athenians with their ships scattered, and fought until the Athenians took to flight, after losing fifteen triremes. As for the men upon them, the greater part escaped, but some were taken prisoners. Then Lysander, after taking possession of his prizes and setting up a trophy at Notium, sailed across to Ephesus, while the Athenians went to Samos. After this Alcibiades came to Samos, set sail with all his ships to the harbour of Ephesus, and formed the fleet in line at the mouth of the harbour as a challenge to battle, in case anyone cared to fight. But when Lysander did not sail out against him, because his fleet was considerably inferior in numbers, Alcibiades sailed back to Samos. And a little later the Lacedaemonians captured Delphinium and Eion.

When the Athenians at home got the news of the battle at Notium, they were angry with Alcibiades, thinking that he had lost the ships through neglect of duty and dissolute conduct, and they chose ten new generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes. So Alcibiades, who was in disfavour with the army as well, took a trireme and sailed away to his castle\(^1\) in the Chersonese. After this Conon set sail from Andros, with

\(^1\) Which he had constructed, says Plutarch (*Alc. 36*), to serve him as a place of refuge in case of possible trouble.
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τῆς Ἀνδροῦ σὺν αἷς εἰχε ναυσίν εἴκοσιν ψηφισμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπελευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρόν ἐπεμψαν

19 Φανοσθένην, τέταρτας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυὸν τρίηριον Ἰονίων ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπαντὰς ἔδησαν Ἀθηναίοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, οὐντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφίσμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολεμεύοντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἔλεησαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὔδε

20 χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δὲ ἔπει εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἦ ἐκατόν, καὶ ταῦτας ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλήξετο.

21 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἠλήγεν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν τριήρεις καὶ πέξης στρατιὰς ὀδοκαὶ κυριάσων ἔλιον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ ἐπτὰ μήνας.¹

VI. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἦτε, δὲ ἦ εἰς σελήνη ἐξελίπειν ἐστέρας καὶ ὁ πάλαις τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθηνησίων, ² οἱ Λακεδαι-

¹ This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.
² Ἐπὶ Ἀθηνησίων is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 1.
the twenty ships which he had, to Samos, there to assume command of the fleet in accordance with the vote which the Athenians had passed. They also sent Phanosthenes to Andros, with four ships, to replace Conon. On the way Phanosthenes fell in with two Thurian triremes and captured them, crews and all; and the men who were thus taken were all imprisoned by the Athenians, but their commander, Dorieus, a Rhodian by birth, but some time before exiled from both Athens and Rhodes by the Athenians, who had condemned him and his kinsmen to death, and now a citizen of Thurii, they set free without even exacting a ransom, taking pity upon him. When, meanwhile, Conon had arrived at Samos, where he found the Athenian fleet in a state of despondency, he manned with full complements seventy triremes instead of the former number, which was more than a hundred, and setting out with this fleet, in company with the other generals, landed here and there in the enemy's territory and plundered it.

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians made an expedition to Sicily with one hundred and twenty triremes and an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and although defeated in battle, starved Acragas into submission after besieging it for seven months.

VI. In the ensuing year—the year in which there was an eclipse of the moon one evening, and the old temple of Athena at Athens was burned, Pityas being now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens—

1 On the Acropolis. On its identity see D'Oogie, Acropolis of Athens, Appendix III.
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μόνοι τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ παρελθηκότος ἦδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσιον
2 ἐτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Δυσάνδρος τὰς ναύς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδόιη καὶ ναυμαχία νεικικής. οὐ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἶ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὔ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆσι, 2 ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναύς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττο-
3 κρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου πολυ-
πραγμονεῖν ἀλλοι ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλι-
κρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Δυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυς ἐ
προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ἀρδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντάκοντα ναύς. ταῦτας δὲ πάσας ἄθροισα, οὖσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν,
παρεσκεύαζε τὸ ἀπαντησόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
4 καταμαθὼν δὲ υπὸ τῶν Δυσάνδρου φίλων κατα-
στασιαζόμενοι, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὄπηρετούν-
των, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροοῦντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεισιν ὅτι
Δακεδαμόνοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ 3
dιαλλάττευν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἄντι ἐπι-
tηθείσων 4 γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυνιόντων τὰ
 ναυτικά καὶ ἄνθρωποι ὡς χρηστέον εὗ 5 γι-
γνωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ
ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τῆ 6 τι παθεῖν
dιὰ τοῦτο. ἐκ τούτου δὲ 7 ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συν-

1 καὶ . . . ἐτῶν is probably an interpolation. See crit.
2 note on ii. 1.
3 οὐ . . . νῆσι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
4 τῷ: Kel. inserts ἐτὰ after it.
5 ἀντι ἐπιτηθείων Jacobs: ἀνεπιτηθείων MSS., Kel.
6 ἐν Cobet: οὐ MSS., Kel.
the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take command of the fleet, since Lysander's term of office had ended (and with it the twenty-fourth year of the war). And when Lysander delivered over the ships, he told Callicratidas that he did so as master of the sea and victor in battle. Callicratidas, however, bade him coast along from Ephesus on the left of Samos, where the Athenian ships were, and deliver over the fleet at Miletus; then, he said, he would grant him that he was master of the sea. But when Lysander replied that he would not meddle when another was commander, Callicratidas, left to himself, manned with sailors from Chios and Rhodes and other allied states fifty ships in addition to those which he had received from Lysander. And after assembling the entire fleet, a total of one hundred and forty ships, he prepared to meet the enemy. But when he found out that Lysander's friends were intriguing against him,—they not only rendered half-hearted service, but also spread the report in the cities that the Lacedaemonians made a serious mistake in changing their admirals; for in place of men who were proving themselves fit and were just coming to understand naval matters and knew well how to deal with men, they frequently sent out men who were unacquainted with the sea and unknown to the people near the seat of war; and there was danger, they said, of their meeting with disaster on this account,—after hearing of all this Callicratidas called together the

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6 τε inserted by Laves: Kel. follows the MSS., but brackets αδελφος . . . τοῦτο. Other editors emend in various ways.
7 δὲ MSS.: δὴ Kel.
ΧΕΝΟΡΡΟΝ

καλέσας τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

5 Ἕμοι μὲν ἄρκει οἰκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλοις τῖς ἐμπειρότεροι περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ καλῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς πεμφθεῖσ οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὅσ ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ὧ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὅσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἀριστα ὑμῶν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἰκαδὲ ἀποπλεῦν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστώτα ἐνθάδε.

6 Οὐδὲνδε τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἰκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἢ ἕκει, ἔλθων παρὰ Κῦρον ἦτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὡ δὲ αὐτῷ εἴπε

7 δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικράτιδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεῖς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσειν ὁργίσθεις καὶ εἴπον ἀθλιωτάτοις εἶναι τοὺς "Ελλήνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύοντες ἐνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἀν σωθή οἰκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μιλήστος.

8 κακείθεν πέμψας τρῆρεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἰπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἦ Μιλῆσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἰκοι ἀρχουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἄξιον προδυμοτάτως εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκούντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείστα κακὰ ἥδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπον-
HELLENICA, I. vi. 4–8

Lacedaemonians who were there and addressed them as follows:

"I, for my part, am content to stay at home, and if Lysander or anyone else professes to be more experienced in naval affairs, I will not stand in his way so far as I am concerned; but it is I who have been sent by the state to command the fleet, and I cannot do otherwise than obey my orders to the best of my power. As for you, in view of the ambition which I cherish and the criticisms which our state incurs,—and you know them as well as I do,—give me whatever advice seems to you best on the question of my remaining here or sailing back home to report the conditions which exist here."

Since no one dared to propose anything else than that he should obey the authorities at home and do the work for which he had come, he went to Cyrus and asked for pay for the sailors; Cyrus, however, told him to wait for two days. But Callicratidas, indignant at being thus put off and driven to anger by having to dance attendance at his gates, declaring that the Greeks were in a sorry plight, toadying to barbarians for the sake of money, and saying that if he reached home in safety he would do his best to reconcile the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, sailed away to Miletus; and after despatching triremes from there to Lacedaemon to get money, he gathered the Milesians in assembly and spoke as follows:

"Upon me, men of Miletus, lies the necessity of obeying the authorities at home; and as for you, I claim that you should show the utmost zeal in this war, because you dwell among barbarians and in the past have suffered very many
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9 θέναι. δὲὶ δ’ ύμᾶς ἔξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχους ὅπως ἀν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, έως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Δακε- δαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὐς ἔγαγ ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἄξον- 

tas, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Δύσανδρος Κύρων ἀποδόνω ὡς περιττὰ ὅντα οὐχεῖται. Κύρων δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἔπ᾿ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεγθήναι, ἐγώ δ᾿ ἐπὶ τάς ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾶν

11 οὐκ ἐξυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχυόμαι δ᾿ ύμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἁγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃ ἂν ἑκείνα προσδεχόμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν1 τοῖς ἑρμῆσι πιστεύειν.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ’ εἶπεν, ἀνυστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ 

μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες 

ἐσηγούντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαγγελ- 

λόμενοι ἱδία. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνος καὶ ἐκ 

Χιοῦ πεντεδραχμάν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδια- 

σάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Δέσβου ἐπὶ Μῆθυμναν 

πολεμίαν οὐσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μῆ- 

θυμναῖων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ2 ἐμφρούρων δυτικῶν 

Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀπτι- 

κιζόντων, προσβάλων αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ 

κράτος. τὰ μὲν ὑμῖν χρήματα πάντα διηρπασαν 

οὶ στρατιώται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνῆ- 

θροίσεν ὁ Καλλικράτιδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ 

κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς 

Μῆθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα.3

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1 δεῖξωμεν MSS. except V: δεῖξωμεν V and Kel.
2 ἀλλ᾽ MSS.: ἀτ’ Kel.
3 οὐδένα MSS.: οὐδέν’ ἀν Kel.
ills at their hands. And you should as leaders show the other allies how we may inflict the utmost harm upon the enemy in the shortest time, until the people return from Lacedaemon whom I have sent thither to get money; for the money which Lysander had on hand he gave back to Cyrus, as though it were unneeded surplus, and went his way; and as for Cyrus, whenever I visited him he invariably put off giving me an audience, and I could not bring myself to dance attendance at his gates. But I promise you that for whatever good results we achieve while we are waiting for the funds from Sparta I will make you an adequate return. Let us then, with the help of the gods, show the barbarians that even without paying court to them we can punish our enemies."

When he had said this, many arose, particularly those who were accused of opposing him, and in alarm proposed a grant of money, offering private contributions as well. And taking this money and supplying from Chios a payment of five drachmae apiece for his seamen, he sailed against Methymna, in Lesbos, which was hostile. And when the Methymnaeans refused to surrender,—for there was an Athenian garrison in the place and those who had control of the government were partisans of Athens,—Callicratidas attacked the city and captured it by storm. All the property which it contained the soldiers seized as booty, but all the captives Callicratidas assembled in the market-place; and when his allies urged him to sell into slavery the Methymnaeans as well as the Athenians, he said that while
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'Ελλήνων εἰς τὸ ἔκεινον δυνατῶν ἄνδραποδισθήναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο. Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτῶν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἁμα τῇ ἠμέρᾳ ἑδίωκεν ὑποτεμόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν,
d' ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι. 2 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὅλιγας ἐκκελέχθαι τους ἀρίστους ἑρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Δέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Δέσβου καὶ Ἐρασίνης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διῶκων ναυσὶν ἐκατόν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἐφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθέοις, ἰμαγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὕσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνεῖλκυσε.

Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολυόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους παιδημεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στρατεύμα διεβίβασε· χρήματα τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.

Ο δὲ Κόνων ἐπελ ἐπολυορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν

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1 eis τὸ ἔκεινον δυνατῶν Dindorf: eis τὸ κελνο (or 'κελνο) δυνατῶ MSS. Kel. follows the MS. reading, but brackets the phrase.
2 ὅπως . . . φύγοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 Δέσβου MSS.: Kel. regards the reading as corrupt. See on v. 16.
he was commander no Greek should be enslaved if 406 B.C.
he could help it. Accordingly on the next day he
let the Methymnaeans go free, but sold the members
of the Athenian garrison\(^1\) and such of the captives as
were slaves; then he sent word to Conon that he would
put a stop to his playing the wanton with his bride,
the sea. And when he caught sight of Conon putting
out to sea at daybreak, he pursued him, aiming to cut
off his course to Samos, so that he could not direct
his flight thither. Conon’s ships, however, made
good speed as he fled, because the best oarsmen had
been picked out of a great many crews and assembled
in a few; in the end he sought refuge in the harbour
of Mytilene, in Lesbos, and with him two more of
the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. But Callicratidas,
pursuing with one hundred and seventy ships,
waited into the harbour simultaneously. And Conon,
thwarted in his plan by the enemy’s swiftness, was
forced to give battle at the mouth of the harbour
and lost thirty ships; their crews, however, escaped
to the land; and the remainder of his ships, forty in
number, he drew up on shore under the wall of the
city. Thereupon Callicratidas anchored in the har-
bour and blockaded him on that side, holding the
outlet to the sea. As for the land side, he summoned
the Methymnaeans to come to his aid with their
entire force and brought over his army from Chios;
and money came to him from Cyrus.

When Conon found himself blockaded both by
land and by sea, and was unable to procure provisions

\(^1\) i.e. Callicratidas agrees with his allies in regarding the
sale of the Athenians as a matter of course. What he
objected to was the enslaving of the inhabitants of captured
towns which had chanced to be in possession of the
Athenians.
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εὐπορήσατι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἔβοηθον διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἀριστὰς πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀριστός τοὺς ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας 20 καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλόντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνείχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἰς, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσέθεμεν σίτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἦδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμούντες ὀλυγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύνοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ οὗ τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησσόντου ὀρμησεν, ἢ δὲ εἰς 21 τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ᾽ ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἀκαστοί ἦνοιν, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι, ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοτοιούμενοι εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐθώκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἄμα τὸ ἠλιθῶ ὑνοῦντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆργον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν 22 ἀνδράσιν. η δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησσόντου φυγούσα ναύς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνὰς ἔξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνων πολιορκομένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὀρμήσατο 23 εἰς τὸν εὐριτὸν τῶν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικράτιδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ᾽ ἐφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ.

ἠνοίγον MSS.: ἠνυτον Kel.
2 ἐγειρόμενοι MSS.: ἐπειγομένοι Kel.

58
Hel lenica, i. vi. 19-23

from anywhere,—and the people in the city were many, and the Athenians could not come to his aid because they had not learned of these events,—he launched two of his fastest ships and manned them before daybreak, picking out the best oarsmen from his whole fleet, shifting the marines to the hold of the ships, and setting up the side screens. They continued in this way through the day, but each evening he had them disembark when darkness came on, so that the enemy might not perceive that they were so doing. On the fifth day they put on board a moderate quantity of provisions, and when it came to be midday and the blockaders were careless and some of them asleep, they rowed out of the harbour, and one of the ships set out for the Hellespont and the other to the open sea. And the blockaders, as they severally got their ships clear of one another, cutting away their anchors and rousing themselves from sleep, hastened to the pursuit in confusion, for it chanced that they had been breakfasting on the shore; and when they had embarked, they pursued the vessel which had made for the open sea, and at sunset they overhauled her and, after capturing her in battle, took her in tow and brought her back, men and all, to their fleet. But the ship which fled toward the Hellespont escaped, and on its arrival at Athens reported the blockade. Meanwhile Diomedon, seeking to aid Conon, blockaded as he was, anchored with twelve ships in the strait of Mytilene. Callicratidas, however, sailed down upon him suddenly and captured ten of his ships, Diomedon escaping with his own ship and one other.

1 Temporary screens set up along the bulwarks, ordinarily serving for protection against missiles, here for concealment.
XENOPHON

24 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ὀρκίαν ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν, ἐνεπήφισαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσίν ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰςβιβάζουσι τούς ἐν τῇ ἡλίκῃ ὅντας ἀπαντᾶσι καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ πληρώσασι τὰς δέκα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλῶν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήκησαν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ κεῖθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα. ἦθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἡ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰςβαίνειν ἀναγκάσασι τοὺς ἀπαντᾶς ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ εἶ τινες αὐτοῖς ἐτυχον ἔξω οὖσαι ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἡ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν. οἱ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούσαν τὴν βοήθειαν ἦδο ἐν Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλυσεν πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἰκοσί καὶ ἐκατὸν ἀναχθεῖς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῇ Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέα ἄκρα.  

27 τῆς Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἵδων τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως προσπέσοι. ὡδῷρ δὲ ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βροντάλ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπελεῖ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.

28 Οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ

1 The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης: Kel. brackets.
2 The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέα ἄκρα: Kel. brackets.
When the Athenians heard of what had happened and of the blockade, they voted to go to the rescue with one hundred and ten ships, putting aboard all who were of military age, whether slave or free; and within thirty days they manned the one hundred and ten ships and set forth. Even the knights went aboard in considerable numbers. After this they sailed to Samos and from there got ten Samian ships; they collected also more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, forcing everybody to embark, and in like manner whatever Athenian ships happened to be abroad. And the total number of the ships came to more than one hundred and fifty. Now Callicratidas, when he heard that the relief expedition was already at Samos, left behind him at Mytilene fifty ships with Eteonicus as commander, and setting sail with the remaining one hundred and twenty, took dinner at Cape Malea in Lesbos. On the same day it chanced that the Athenians took dinner on the Arginusae islands. These lie opposite Mytilene. And when Callicratidas saw their fires during the night and people reported to him that it was the Athenians, he proposed to put to sea at about midnight, in order to attack them unexpectedly; but a heavy rain coming on, with thunder, prevented the setting out. And when it ceased, he sailed at daybreak for the Arginusae.

The Athenians stood out to meet him, extending their left wing out to sea and arranged in the

1 It was only in rare cases that the Athenians employed slaves for military service.
2 Who were ordinarily exempt from service at sea.
3 That is, between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.
εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι δὲ. Ἀριστοκράτης 
μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἤγειτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσὶ 
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἔτεραις πεντεκαίδεκε 
ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν Περικλῆς, Διὼ 
μέδουντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης. παρὰ δὲ Διομέδουντα 
Σάμμων δέκα ναυσὶν ἔπι μιᾶς τεταγμένοις ἔστρα 
τήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμμως ὑμάτι Πιπεῦσιν ἐχόμενα 
δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς 
ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτας αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἰ 
τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρα 
Πρωτόμαχος εἰχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσὶν παρὰ δὲ 
αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἔτεραις πεντεκαίδεκε 
ἐπετέ 
τακτο Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Δυσίας, ἔχουν τὰ 
ὑπὸς ναῦς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὖτω δὲ 
ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖν' χεῖρον γὰρ 
ἐπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι 
ἤσαν ἀπασαὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ 
περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον 
πλεῖν. εἰχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.

32 Ἔρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδα κυβερ- 
νῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἰ ἐκαλὼς ἔχων ἀπο- 
πλεῦσαι αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ 
πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ 
Σπάρτη οὔδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται ἕνα 
αὐτοῦ ἀπο- 
θανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι.

33 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμαχήσαν χρόνου πολῶν,

1 οὔδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται Blake: οὐ δέοι μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται 
Kel.: οὔδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται MSS.

1 Ten taxiarchs, one for each Athenian tribe, commanded 
the contingents (τάξεις) furnished by their several tribes. 
2 Manifestly subordinate officers, but the precise meaning 
of the title in the Athenian navy is unknown.
following order: Aristocrates, in command of the left wing, led the way with fifteen ships, and next in order Diomedon with fifteen more; and Pericles was stationed behind Aristocrates and Erasinides behind Diomedon; and beside Diomedon were the Samians with ten ships, drawn up in single line; and their commander was a Samian named Hippeus; and next to them were the ten ships of the taxiarths, also in single line; and behind these the three ships of the nauarchs and also some ships from the allies; and the right wing was under the command of Protomachus, with fifteen ships; and beside him was Thrasyllus with fifteen more; and Lysias, with the same number of ships, was stationed behind Protemachus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. The ships were arranged in this way so as not to give the enemy a chance of breaking through the line; for the Athenians were inferior in seamanship. But all the vessels of the Lacedaemonians were arranged in single line, with a view to breaking through the enemy and circling round him, inasmuch as they had superior seamen. And Callicratidas was on the right wing. Now Hermon the Megarian, the pilot of Callicratidas' ship, said to him that it was well to sail away; for the triremes of the Athenians were far more numerous. Callicratidas, however, said that Sparta would fare none the worse if he were killed, but flight, he said, would be a disgrace.

After this they fell to fighting, and fought for a

3 The διέκφυσε 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 sterns or sides of the hostile ships. In the περιπλοῦς the same object was accomplished by rowing around the end of the enemy's line.
χενόφων

πρῶτον μὲν ἄθροιαὶ, ἐπείτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικράτιδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεῶς ἀποπεσῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἡφαιστή Πρωτό-
μαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνικησαν, ἐντεύθεν φυγῇ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ 1 καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν-
οί δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργυρούσας κατέ-
πλευσαν. ἀπόλοιπον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες
πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων
τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν πρὸςεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελο-
ποννησίων Δακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν
οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἦ
ἐξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ
Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλου τριπάρχους
ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινῶν πλεῖων ἐπὶ τὰς
καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώ-
πους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ’ Ἐτεονίκου τῇ
Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους
ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμών διεκόλυσεν αὐτοὺς
μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαίον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ
ηὐλίζοντο.

36 Τῷ δ’ Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα
ἐξῆγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν
πάλιν ἐξῆγεμψεν εἰς τῶν ἐνοῦσι σιωτῇ ἐκ-
πλεῖν καὶ μηδὲν διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ
αὐθίς πλεῖον εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστε-
φανώμενος καὶ βοῶτας ὅτι Καλλικράτιδας
νεικήκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὀτὶ αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
νῆς ἀπολόλασιν ἀπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτ’
ἐποίουν αὐτὸς δ’, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλευον, ἔθυμε

1 πλειστών δὲ MSS.: πλειστῶν, τινῶν δὲ Kel.
long time, their ships at first in close order and afterwards scattered. But when Callicratidas, as his ship rammed an enemy, fell overboard into the sea and disappeared, and Protomachus and those with him on the right wing defeated the opposing Lacedaemonian left, then began a flight of the Peloponnesians to Chios, though very many went to Phocaea; while the Athenians sailed back to the Arginusae. The loss on the Athenian side was twenty-five ships, crews and all, with the exception of a few men who were brought to shore, and on the Peloponnesian side nine Laconian ships, out of a total of ten, and more than sixty ships of the allies. After this victory it was resolved by the Athenian generals that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who were ship-captains, and some of the taxarchs, should sail with forty-seven ships to the aid of the disabled vessels and the men on board them, while they themselves went with the rest of the fleet to attack the ships under Eteonicus which were blockading Mytilene. But despite their desire to carry out these measures, the wind and a heavy storm which came on prevented them; accordingly, after setting up a trophy, they bivouacked where they were.

As for Eteonicus, the dispatch-boat reported to him the whole story of the battle. He, however, sent the boat out again, telling those who were in it to sail out of the harbour in silence and not talk with anyone, and then to sail back immediately to his fleet, wearing garlands and shouting that Callicratidas had been victorious in battle and that all the ships of the Athenians had been destroyed. This they proceeded to do; and when they were sailing in,
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tα ευαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοτοιείσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῆ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίου (ἣν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐριοῦ) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῇ

38 ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀθῆναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἔπει τε πολέμου ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαν-
tῆσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡδὴ ἀνημένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργονοσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑτεούκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίου, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

VII. Οἱ δ’ ἐν οίκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατη-

γοὺς ἐπαυσάν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο εἰλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν
dὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθῆνας, τῶν
dὲ δὲ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέ-
dους καὶ Δυσίδου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Ἡρα-

36 σύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέθημος ο τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκός εἰς Ἀθῆνας καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδη ἑπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων δὲ Ἐλλησπόν-

του αὐτοῦ ἔχειν χρήματα δύναται τοῦ δήμου· κατη-

gόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἐδοξε τῷ
dικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην. μετὰ δὲ
tαῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ
Eteonicus began to offer sacrifices for the good news, and gave orders that the soldiers should take their dinner, that the traders should put their goods into their boats in silence and sail off to Chios (for the wind was favourable), and that the triremes also should sail thither with all speed. And he himself led his land forces back to Methymna, after setting fire to their camp. Conon now launched his ships, and, since the enemy had stolen away and the wind was quieter, went to meet the Athenians, who had by this time set out from the Arginusae, and told them what Eteonicus had done. The Athenians put in to Mytilene, sailed thence against Chios, and, accomplishing nothing there, sailed back towards Samos.

VII. Now the people at home deposed the above-mentioned generals, with the exception of Conon; and as his colleagues they chose two men, Adeimantus and Philocles. As for those generals who had taken part in the battle, two of them—Protomachus and Aristogenes—did not return to Athens, but when the other six came home—Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides, Archedemus, who was at that time a leader of the popular party at Athens and had charge of the two-obol fund, brought accusation against Erasinides before a court and urged that a fine be imposed upon him, claiming that he had in his possession money from the Hellespont which belonged to the people; he accused him, further, of misconduct as general. And the court decreed that Erasinides should be imprisoned. After this the generals made a statement before the Senate in regard to the battle.

1 For the relief of poverty and distress caused by the war, not to be confounded with the theoretic fund; see Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, Vol. II. pp. 212 ff.
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te tēs ναυμαχίας kai tōu meγéθουs tōu xeiμῶνos. 
Tμοκράτουs δ’ εἰπόντος ὁti kai tōuς ἄλλους χρῆ 
δεθέντας εἰσ τῶν δῆμων παραδοθῆναι, ἥ βουλῆ
4 ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἧ 
tῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηρα-
μένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν 
διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγοὺς. ὁτι μὲν γὰρ 
ὑδενδὸς ἄλλου καθῆπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδέκινυε 
μαρτύριον ἢν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν 
βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο ὤνδὲν αἰτιώμενοι
5 ἢ τὸν xeiμῶνa. μετὰ ταύτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ 
βραχέως ἐκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προτέθη 
σφίζον τόγον κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα 
διηγοῦντο, ὡτι αὐτὸι μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους 
πλέονες, την δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προσ-
τάσαν τῶν τρυπάρχων ἀνδρᾶσιν ἰκανοῖς καὶ 
ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἦδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θμασυβοῦλῳ
6 καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· καὶ εἴπερ γε τινὰς δέοι, 
περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς 
αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τοῦτοι οἱ προσετάχθη. καὶ 
οὐχ οτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευδό-
μεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ 
μέγεθος τοῦ xeiμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν
7 ἀναίρεσιν. τοῦτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς 
kυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολ-
λούς. τοιαύτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· 
ἐβούλοντο δέ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυάσθαι 
ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν
and the violence of the storm; and upon motion of Timocrates, that the others also should be imprisoned and turned over to the Assembly for trial, the Senate imprisoned them. After this a meeting of the Assembly was called, at which a number of people, and particularly Theramenes, spoke against the generals, saying that they ought to render an account of their conduct in not picking up the shipwrecked. For as proof that the generals fastened the responsibility upon no person apart from themselves, Theramenes showed a letter which they had sent to the Senate and to the Assembly, in which they put the blame upon nothing but the storm. After this the several generals spoke in their own defence (though briefly, for they were not granted the hearing prescribed by the law) and stated what they had done, saying that they themselves undertook to sail against the enemy and that they assigned the duty of recovering the shipwrecked to certain of the captains who were competent men and had been generals in the past,—Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and others of that sort; and if they had to blame any, they could blame no one else in the matter of the recovery except these men, to whom the duty was assigned. "And we shall not," they added, "just because they accuse us, falsely say that they were to blame, but rather that it was the violence of the storm which prevented the recovery." They offered as witnesses to the truth of these statements the pilots and many others among their shipcompanions. With such arguments they were on the point of persuading the Assembly, and many of the citizens rose and wanted to give bail for them; it was decided, however, that the matter should be
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ἐκκλησίαν (τότε γὰρ ὅψε ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔδω καθεώρων). τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτι τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοιντο.

8 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγγυνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεσαν σφίγγαν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἰηραμένη παρασκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἰμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῆ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦκοιεν, ὡς ἂν συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλιξείνου ἐπέσαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεύθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἔποιουν, εἰς ἂν ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήγαγε τὴν ἐαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τῇνδε: Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγοροῦντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογομένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναῖοις ἀπαντάς κατὰ φυλάς. θείναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλήν ἐκάστην δύο υδρίας: ἐφ’ ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῆ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ἄδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοί οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτι δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ύστεραν. ἄν δὲ δόξωσιν ἄδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημίωσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεύσαι, τὸ δ’ ἐπιδέκατον τῆς

1 Athenian procedure required in general that a matter should first be considered by the Senate, whose προβουλεύμα, or preliminary resolution, was then referred to the Assembly for final action.

2 A family festival, at which the members of each Athenian clan gathered together.
postponed to another meeting of the Assembly (for by that time it was late in the day and they could not have distinguished the hands in the voting), and that the Senate should draft and bring in a proposal regarding the manner in which the men should be tried.

After this the Apaturia was celebrated, at which fathers and kinsmen meet together. Accordingly Theramenes and his supporters arranged at this festival with a large number of people, who were clad in mourning garments and had their hair close shaven, to attend the meeting of the Assembly, pretending that they were kinsmen of those who had perished, and they bribed Callixeinus to accuse the generals in the Senate. Then they called an Assembly, at which the Senate brought in its proposal, which Callixeinus had drafted in the following terms: “Resolved, that since the Athenians have heard in the previous meeting of the Assembly both the accusers who brought charges against the generals and the generals speaking in their own defence, they do now one and all cast their votes by tribes; and that two urns be set at the voting-place of each tribe; and that in each tribe a herald proclaim that whoever adjudges the generals guilty, for not picking up the men who won the victory in the naval battle, shall cast his vote in the first urn, and whoever adjudges them not guilty, shall cast his vote in the second; and if they be adjudged guilty, that they be punished with death and handed over to the Eleven, and that their property be confiscated and the tenth thereof belong

* A Board which had charge of condemned prisoners and of the execution of the death sentence.
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11 θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
φάσκων ἐπὶ τεῦχος ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι ἐπιστέλ-
λειν δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγ-
γείλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο
τοὺς ἄριστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

12 τὸν δὲ Καλλίξειον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα
φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέων Εὐρυπτόλεμος τε ὁ
Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου
ἐνοι ταῦτα ἐπήνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔβοα δεινὸν
eἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐάσει τὸν δήμον πράττειν δ ἀν
βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Δυκίσκου
καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἤπερ καὶ
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν,
ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἧγαγκάσθησαν

13 ἀφιέναι τὰς κλῆσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινῶν
οὐ φασκόντων προθήσεων τῇ διαψήφισιν παρὰ
tὸν νόμον, αὕτῳ Καλλίξειοι ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει
αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόον καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ
φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεως φοβηθέντες ὡμολό-
γουν πάντες προθήσεων πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ
Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ
16 νόμον πάντα ποιήσεων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς
Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὁ ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναίοι,
ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Πειρικλέους ἀναγκαίον μοι ὄντος

1 Athena, the state deity, into whose treasury a tenth part of the revenue derived from confiscations was regularly paid.
2 An executive committee of the Senate, who presided over the meetings of both Senate and Assembly.

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to the goddess.” And there came before the Assembly a man who said that he had been saved by floating upon a meal-tub, and that those who were perishing charged him to report to the people, if he were saved, that the generals did not pick up the men who had proved themselves most brave in the service of their country. Now Eurypylemus, the son of Peisianax, and some others served a summons upon Callixeinus, alleging that he had made an unconstitutional proposal. And some of the people applauded this act, but the greater number cried out that it was monstrous if the people were to be prevented from doing whatever they wished. Indeed, when Lyciscus thereupon moved that these men also should be judged by the very same vote as the generals, unless they withdrew the summons, the mob broke out again with shouts of approval, and they were compelled to withdraw the summons. Furthermore, when some of the Prytanes refused to put the question to the vote in violation of the law, Callixeinus again mounted the platform and urged the same charge against them; and the crowd cried out to summon to court those who refused. Then the Prytanes, stricken with fear, agreed to put the question,—all of them except Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus; and he said that in no case would he act except in accordance with the law. After this Eurypylemus mounted the platform and spoke as follows in defence of the generals:

“I have come to the platform, men of Athens, partly to accuse Pericles, though he is my kinsman

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3 *i.e.* the βημα.

καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδουτος φίλου, τὰ δ' υπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἃ μοι
dοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ
μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας
βουλομένους πέμπτεν γράμματα τῇ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ
ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Ὀηραμένει καὶ Ὀρασυβοῦ-
λῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἔπτα τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι
tοὺς ναυαγοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέλοντο. εἶτα νῦν
τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἑκεῖνων ἰδίᾳ ἀμαρτώ-
tων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἑκεῖνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύομενοι
κινδυνεύονσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι
πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν
μάλιστ' ἀληθή πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες
ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ
μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς. συμβου-
λεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμὸν οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλων
οὔδενὸς ἑστιν ἐξαπατηθήναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδε-
κούντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἵ ἄν βούλησθε δίκη,
kαὶ ἀμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ
πλέον, ἀλλὰ κἂν μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον
πιστεύοντες ἢ υμῖν αὐτοῖς. οὕτω δὲ, ὁ ἄνδρας
Ἀθηναίοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμα
ἐστιν ἱσχυρότατον, ὁ κελεύει, εάν τις τῶν
Ἀθηναίων δήμον ἄδικη, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν
tῷ δήμῳ, καὶ εὰν καταγγωσθῇ ἄδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν

1 πείθησθε MSS.: πίθησθε Kel.
and intimate, and Diomedon, who is my friend, partly to speak in their defence, and partly to advise the measures which seem to me to be best for the state as a whole. I accuse them, because they persuaded their colleagues to change their purpose when they wanted to send a letter to the Senate and to you, in which they stated that they assigned to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, with forty-seven triremes, the duty of picking up the shipwrecked, and that they failed to perform this duty. Such being the case, are these generals to share the blame now with Theramenes and Thrasybulus, although it was those alone who blundered, and are they now, in return for the humanity they showed then, to be put in hazard of their lives through the machinations of those men and certain others? No! at least not if you take my advice and follow the just and righteous course, the course which will best enable you to learn the truth and to avoid finding out hereafter, to your sorrow, that it is you yourselves who have sinned most grievously, not only against the gods, but against yourselves. The advice I give you is such that, if you follow it, you cannot be deceived either by me or by anyone else, and that with full knowledge you will punish the guilty with whatever punishment you may desire, either all of them together or each one separately, namely, by first granting them at least one day, if not more, to speak in their own defence, and by putting your trust, not so much in others, but in yourselves. Now you all know, men of Athens, that the decree of Cannonus is exceedingly severe: it provides that if anyone shall wrong the people of Athens, he shall plead his case in fetters before the people, and if he be adjudged
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eἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρῆματα αὐτοῦ δημενθῇ καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοί ἐστιν ἑκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος πολείσθαι ἢ τὴν ὀλὴν πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅσ' ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, έὰν τις ή τὴν πόλιν προδίδῃ ή τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα ἐν δικαιστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγγωσθῇ, μή ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ 'Αττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρῆματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τοῦτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, δ' ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρίνεσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ένα ἐκαστὸν διηρημένων τῆς ήμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν φ' συλλέγεσαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐὰν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν εάν τε μή, έτέρου δ' ἐν φ' κατηγορησαί, έτέρου δ' ἐν φ' ἀπολογήσασθαι.1

24 Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικούντες τεῦξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ύψ' ὑμῶν, δ' 'Αθηναίοι, καὶ

25 οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολούνται. ὡμέας δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρίνετε καὶ οὔ συμπολεμήσετε Δακεδαμονίους τοὺς ἑκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ γενικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολλύσαντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

1 ἐνὸς ... ἀπολογήσασθαι appears to be an interpolation. Kel. brackets.
guilty, he shall be put to death by being cast into the pit, and his property shall be confiscated and the tenth part thereof shall belong to the goddess. Under this decree I urge you to try the generals, and, by Zeus, if it so please you, Pericles, my kinsman, first of them all; for it would be base for me to think more of him than of the general interests of the state. Or if you do not wish to do this, try them under the following law, which applies to temple-robbers and traitors: namely, if anyone shall be a traitor to the state or shall steal sacred property, he shall be tried before a court, and if he be convicted, he shall not be buried in Attica, and his property shall be confiscated. By whichever of these laws you choose, men of Athens, let the men be tried, each one separately,¹ and let the day be divided into three parts, one wherein you shall gather and vote as to whether you judge them guilty or not, another wherein the accusers shall present their case, and another wherein the accused shall make their defence.

"If this is done, the guilty will incur the severest punishment, and the guiltless will be set free by you, men of Athens, and will not be put to death unjustly. As for yourselves, you will be granting a trial in accordance with the law and standing true to religion and your oaths, and you will not be fighting on the side of the Lacedaemonians by putting to death the men who captured seventy ships from them and defeated them,—by putting to death these men, I say, without a trial, in violation of the law. What

¹ It was a general principle of Athenian law—perhaps specifically stated in the decree of Cannonus (see above)—that each accused person had the right to a separate trial.
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26 τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα ούτως ἐπελύγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὔχ ύμεῖς δὲν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνῃτε καὶ ἔλευ-
θερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὔκ ἂν
παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὡσπερ Καλλίξεινος τὴν βου-
λήν ἐπείσεν εἰς τὸν δήμου εἰσενεγκεῖν μιὰ ψήφῳ;
27 ἀλλʼ ἵσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αὐτίον ὄντα ἀποκτεί-
ναιτε· μεταμελήσαι δὲ ὑστερον ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς
ἀλγεινὺν καὶ ἀνωφέλεις ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ
28 περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας. δεινά
δ' ἂν ποιῆσαίτε, εἰ' Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν
dήμου καταλύντι, εῖτα δ' Ὁινόην προδιδόντι
Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις οὔσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολο-
γήσασθαι ἦ ἐβούλετο καὶ τάλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον
προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ύμῖ WN
κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
29 πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ
ὑμεῖς γε, ὃ ' Ἀθηναίοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας1 τοὺς
νόμους, δι' οὖς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἔστε, φυλάτ-
tontes, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειρᾶσθε.
'Επανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα
καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενήσθαι τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ
eἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευν
ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἀπαντᾷ ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ
ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, 'Ερασίνιδης δ' ἐπὶ
toûs πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχιστὴν

1 ὄντας MSS.: ὄντες Kel.
is it, pray, that you fear, that you are in such excessive haste? Do you fear lest you will lose the right to put to death and set free anyone you please if you proceed in accordance with the law, but think that you will retain this right if you proceed in violation of the law, by the method which Callixeinus persuaded the Senate to report to the people, that is, by a single vote? Yes, but you might possibly be putting to death some one who is really innocent; and repentance afterwards—ah, remember how painful and unavailing it always is, and especially when one's error has brought about a man's death. You would do a monstrous thing if, after granting in the past to Aristarchus, the destroyer of the democracy and afterwards the betrayer of Oenoe to your enemies the Thebans, a day in which to defend himself as he pleased, and allowing him all his other rights under the law,—if, I say, you shall now deprive the generals, who have done everything to your satisfaction, and have defeated the enemy, of these same rights. Let no such act be yours, men of Athens, but guard the laws, which are your own and above all else have made you supremely great, and do not try to do anything without their sanction.

"And now come back to the actual circumstances under which the mistakes are thought to have been committed by the generals. When, after winning the battle, they sailed in to the shore, Diomedon urged that they should one and all put out to sea in line and pick up the wreckage and the shipwrecked men, while Erasinides proposed that all should sail with the utmost speed against the enemy at

1 In 411 B.C. Aristarchus helped to establish the short-lived oligarchical government of the Four Hundred.
πλείων ἀπαντας. Ὁράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερος ἀν ἑφη γενέσθαι, ἀν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπτοσι, ταῖς δὲ ἕπι τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλυπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς. αὐταὶ ἀπασαὶ γίγνονται ἐπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέταρας περὶ ἐκάστην ναύν τῶν ἀπολωλυμένων δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων τριηράρχων ἡς καὶ Ὁρασύβουλος καὶ Ὁραμένης, δὲ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκ-κλησίᾳ κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἀλλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τι τούτων οὐχ ἱκανός καὶ καλὸς ἔπραξαν; οὐκόν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας ὑπέ-χειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ὁ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων, ότι οἱ χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πράξαι διώ οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, διὸ εἰς τῶν ἠμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεώς διασωθεῖς, διν κελεύουσι τῇ αὕτη ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸτε δεόμενον ἀναίρέσεσιν.
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Mytilene. But Thrasyllus said that both things would be accomplished if they should leave some of the ships there and should sail with the rest against the enemy; and if this plan were decided upon, he advised that each of the generals, who were eight in number, should leave behind three ships from his own division, and that they should also leave the ten ships of the-taxiarchs, the ten of the Samians, and the three of the nauarchs. These amount all told to forty-seven ships, four for each one of the lost vessels, which were twelve in number. Among the captains who were left behind were both Thrasybulus and Theramenes, the man who accused the generals at the former meeting of the Assembly. And with the rest of the ships they planned to sail against the enemy's fleet. Now what one of these acts did they not do adequately and well? It is but just, therefore, that those, on the one hand, who were detailed to go against the enemy should be held to account for their lack of success in dealing with the enemy, and that those, on the other hand, who were detailed to recover the shipwrecked, in case they did not do what the generals ordered, should be tried for not recovering them. This much, however, I can say in defence of both parties, that the storm absolutely prevented them from doing any of the things which the generals had planned. And as witnesses to this fact you have those who were saved by mere chance, among whom is one of our generals, who came through safely on a disabled ship, and whom they now bid you judge by the same vote (although at that time he needed to be picked up himself) by

6 παρεσκευάζοντο MSS. except F: παρεκκλείοντο Kel. with F. 6 καὶ . . . ἀνασφέως MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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hydrate τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. Ἡμὶ τοῖνυν, οὖ άνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, αντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἥττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονείν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγρόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἄδυνμας, οὐχ ἰκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πράξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα. ἡμὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἡ θανάτῳ ξημίου ποιηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

34 Ταύτ’ εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνοσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἐκαστον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἀπαντᾶς κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτόλεμον· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονώς γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὅκτω ὄντων. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἔξ. καὶ οὔ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ψήφον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἄθηναιοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οὖνας τὸν δήμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς

1 ἡπερ...προσταχθέντα condemned by Richter and others: retained by Kel. But τοὺς...προσταχθέντα can only refer to the captains, and it was the generals who were on trial.
2 οὐχ...προσταχθέντα condemned by Brückner and others, whom Kel. follows, for the reason stated in the preceding note.
which you judge those who did not do what they were ordered to do. Do not, then, men of Athens, in the face of your victory and your good fortune, act like men who are beaten and unfortunate, nor, in the face of heaven's visitation, show yourselves unreasonable by giving a verdict of treachery instead of helplessness, since they found themselves unable on account of the storm to do what they had been ordered to do; nay, it would be far more just for you to honour the victors with garlands than, yielding to the persuasions of wicked men, to punish them with death."

When Euryptolemus had thus spoken, he offered a resolution that the men be tried under the decree of Cannonus, each one separately; whereas the proposal of the Senate was to judge them all by a single vote. The vote being now taken as between these two proposals, they decided at first in favour of the resolution of Euryptolemus; but when Menecles interposed an objection under oath and a second vote was taken, they decided in favour of that of the Senate. After this they condemned the generals who took part in the battle, eight in all; and the six who were in Athens were put to death. And not long afterwards the Athenians repented, and they voted that complaints be brought against any who had deceived the people, that they furnish bonds-

1 Apparently questioning the legality of Euryptolemus' proposal. Under the law such an objection should have suspended the consideration of the matter before the Assembly, but in this case it seems to have had no such result.

2 Α προβολή was a complaint presented to the Assembly, alleging an offence against the state. The Assembly, acting as a grand jury, might then hold the accused for trial before a court.
καταστήσαι, ἕως ἀν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξεινον τούτων. προσβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ἡ Κλεο-φὼν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὖτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξεινος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἁστυ, μισοῦμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.
men until such time as they should be brought to trial, and that Callixeinus be included among them. Complaints were brought against four others also, and they were put into confinement by their bondsmen. But when there broke out afterwards a factional disturbance, in the course of which Cleophon was put to death, these men escaped, before being brought to trial; Callixeinus indeed returned, at the time when the Piraeus party returned to the city, but he was hated by everybody and died of starvation.

1 A popular leader of the democratic party.
2 i.e. in the restoration which followed the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants (Hell. ii. iv. 39–43).
BOOK II
Β

I. Οἱ δ’ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιώται ὄντες, ἐως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφήν οὐκ ἔχουν γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οίς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἔδοκει, ἵνα

2 ἀλλήλους μᾶθοιεν ὅποσοι εἴσαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεονίκος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τὸ χρότο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τὸ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρήσατο· σφαλερὸν ἔδοκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὀπλὰ ὄρμησωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἀν κρατησώσι, τὸ τ’ αὐτοπολύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους· πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας διαβολὴν σχοῖνεν καὶ ὁ

3 στρατιώται δύσοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὅσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχείριδια ἐχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίστως εἶσαν ἰατρεῖον, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβοι δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτῶν τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν.
I. The troops that were at Chios under Eteonicus \(^1\) subsisted, so long as the summer lasted, upon the produce of the season and by working for hire up and down the island; when winter came on, however, and they were without food and poorly clad and unshod, they got together and agreed to make an attack upon Chios; and it was decided that those who approved this plan should carry a reed, so that they could tell how numerous they were. Now when Eteonicus learned of the plot, he was uncertain how to deal with the matter on account of the great number of the reed-bearers. To attack them openly seemed to him to be dangerous, for he feared that they might rush to their arms, gain possession of the city, turn enemies, and so ruin everything, in case they should prevail; while, in the other case, to be putting allied soldiers to death in such numbers was also clearly a serious matter, for in this way the Lacedaemonians might incur harsh criticism among the other Greeks as well, and the troops might be disaffected toward the cause. Accordingly he took with him fifteen men armed with daggers and proceeded through the city, and meeting a man suffering from ophthalmia as he was leaving a physician’s house, a reed in his hand, he put him to death. And when an uproar resulted and people asked why the man had been put to death,

\(^1\) See i. vi. 36 f.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ ΕΡΡΙΠΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΌΣΟΙ ΕΙΧΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΥΣ, ΑΕΙ
5 Ο ΑΚΟΥΝ ΔΕΔΙΟΣ ΜΗ ΟΦΘΕΙΝ ΕΧΩΝ. ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ Ο ΕΤΕΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΣΥΝΓΚΑΛΕΣΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΙΟΥΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ ΣΥΝΕΝΕΓΚΕΙΝ, ΌΠΩΣ ΟΙ ΝΑΥΤΑΙ ΛΑΒΩΣΙ ΜΙΣΘΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΣΩΣΙ ΤΙ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΕΙΣΗΘΕΝΤΑΙ ΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΝΑΙΣ ΕΣΘΗΜΕΝ ΕΙΣΒΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΜΕΡΕΙ ΠΑΡ’ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΝ ΝΑΙΝ ΠΑΡΕΘΑΡΡΥΝΕ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΗΝΕ ΠΟΛΛΑ, ΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΙΔΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΘΩΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΔΙΕΔΩΚΕ.
6 ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΟΙ ΧΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΆΛΛΟΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ ΣΥΛΛΕΥΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΟΥ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙ- ΜΟΝΑ ΠΡΟΣΒΕΙΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΑΙΤΗΣΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΝΑΙΣ, ΕΥ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΑΝ, ΌΣΕ 7 ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΝΟΣΙΩ ΕΝΙΚΗΣΕ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΙΑΝ. ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕ- ΠΕΜΦΘΕΑΝΤΑΝ ΠΡΟΣΒΕΙΣ, ΣΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΆΓΓΕΛΟΙ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΔΑΚΕΔΑΙ- ΜΟΝΟΙ ΕΘΕ΢ΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΕΑ, ΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ ΔΕ “ΑΡΑΧΟΝ” ΠΟΥ ΤΑΡ ΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΝΑΥΑΡΧΕΙΝ. ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΝΑΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΘΟΟΝ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟ, ΕΤΩΝ ΗΔΗ ΤΡΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΨ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΠΑΡΕΛΗΨΗΣΟΝ.1
8 ΤΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΤΡΙ ΕΝΙΑΝΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΟΣ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΒΟΙΩΣΑΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΤΡΑΙΟΥ, ΒΙΕΙΣ ΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΑΡΕΙΑΛΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΞΕΡΧΟΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ, ΌΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΤΕΣ ΟΥ ΔΙΕΩΣΑΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ

1 ΕΤΩΝ ... ΠΑΡΕΛΗΨΗΣΟΝ is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on 1. ii. 1.
Eteonicus ordered his followers to give out word that it was because he had the reed. As a result of this announcement all those who were carrying reeds threw them away, each man as he heard the report being afraid that he might be seen with one. After this Eteonicus called together the Chians and bade them contribute money, in order that the sailors might get their pay and not attempt anything seditious; and the Chians did so. At the same time he ordered his men to embark upon their ships; and going along past each ship in its turn he encouraged and advised them at length, as though he knew nothing of what had happened, and distributed a month's pay to all hands.

After this the Chians and the rest of the allies gathered at Ephesus and resolved, in view of the existing situation, to send ambassadors to Lacedaemon to report the facts and to ask for Lysander as commander of the fleet, a man who was in high favour among the allies as a result of his former command, when he won the battle of Notium. Ambassadors were accordingly sent, and with them went also envoys from Cyrus with the same request. And the Lacedaemonians granted them Lysander as vice-admiral, but made Aracus admiral; for it was contrary to their law for a man to hold the office of admiral twice; nevertheless, they put the ships under the command of Lysander—the war having now lasted twenty-five years.

It was in this year that Cyrus put to death Autoboesaces and Mitraeus, who were sons of Darius' sister—the daughter of Darius' father Xerxes—because upon meeting him they did not thrust their

1 See I. v. 11-14.
κόρης τὰς χειρᾶς, ὅ ποιοῦσι βασιλεύα μόνον. ἢ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρῖς, ἐν ἢ τὴν χειρὰ
9 ἔχων οὐδὲν ἀν δύνατο ποιῆσαι. Ἱεραμένης μὲν ὅν
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν
eilna ei periòseisai tìn lìan 'hbrin tou'ton. ὃ δὲ
autòn metapémpetai ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, pémvasa ag-
γέλουs.1
10 Ὁ δ’ ἐπιώντι ἤτει, ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύον-
tos, ἄρχοντος δ’ ἐν Ἀθηναίς Ἀλεξίου,2 Δύσανδρος
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνυκον
ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας
συνήθροισεν, εἰ ποῦ τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ’ ἐπε-
σκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυτηγεῖτο.
11 ἔλθων δὲ παρὰ Κύρων χρήματα ἦτει. ὁ δ’ ἀυτῷ
ἐπει ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνήλωμένα εἰς,
καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἐκαστὸς τῶν
ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ’ ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ
Λύσανδρος τάργυριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηρά-
χους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὄφειδόμενον
μυσθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντι δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ πρὸς3 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ
Σάμῳ.
13 Κύρως δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Δύσανδρον,
ἐπει αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤκεν ἄγγελος λέγων
ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκείνων καλοῖ, ὅν ἐν Θαμυρίωις
τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγύς Καδουσίων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐστράτευσαν
ἐν ἀφεστῶται. ἦκουτα δὲ Δύσανδρον ὦν εἰς ναυ-
μαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους

1 §§ 8 and 9 are probably interpolated. See crit. note on
1. i. 37.
2 ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου is probably an interpolation. See crit.
note on 1. ii. 1.
3 πρὸς MSS.: Kel. brackets.
hands through the corē, an honour they show the King alone. (The corē is a longer sleeve than the cheiris, and a man who had his hand in one would be powerless to do anything.) In consequence, Hieramenes and his wife said to Darius that it would be shameful if he were to overlook such wanton violence on the part of Cyrus; and Darius, on the plea that he was ill, sent messengers and summoned Cyrus to come to him.

In the following year—Archytas being now ephor, and Alexias archon at Athens—Lysander arrived at Ephesus and sent for Eteonicus to come thither from Chios with the ships, while he also gathered together all the other ships that were anywhere to be found; then he occupied himself with refitting these vessels and building more at Antandrus. Meantime he went to Cyrus and asked for money; and Cyrus told him that the funds provided by the King had been spent, in fact much more besides, showing him how much each of the admirals had received; nevertheless he did give him money. And upon receiving it Lysander appointed to each trireme its captain and paid his sailors the wages that were due them. Meanwhile the Athenian generals also were getting their fleet in readiness, at Samos.

At this point Cyrus sent for Lysander, for a messenger had come to him from his father with word that he was ill and summoned him, he being at Thamneria, in Media, near the country of the Cadusians, against whom he had made an expedition, for they were in revolt. And when Lysander arrived, Cyrus warned him not to give battle to the Athenians unless he should far outnumber them in ships; for,
XENOPHON

ναύς εἴχε· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεία καὶ έαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτον ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οὗ αὐτῷ ἰδιοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἐδώκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ώς1 εἰχε φίλιας πρὸς τῇ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἴδια, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

15 Δύσανδρος δ' ἐπεί αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοῦσι τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετά- πεμπτος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήκηθη τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρείαις τῇ ἵστεραι προσβολήν2 κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μιξο- βάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ὀδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώ- μενοι τῇ βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἠφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευά- ζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὕπαρχοι προσείοντο Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κη- φισόδοτον. Δύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ὀδον παρὰ τῇ Ἰωνίαν ἐπέλει πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλευν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστη- κυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγγειλό τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθη- ναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν. Δύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλευε εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον ὦσαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ

1 ὡς MSS.: ἢ Kel.
2 προσβολή MSS.: Kel. brackets.
Cyrus said, both the King and he had money in abundance, and hence, so far as that point was concerned, it would be possible to man many ships. He then assigned to Lysander all the tribute which came in from his cities and belonged to him personally, and gave him also the balance he had on hand; and, after reminding Lysander how good a friend he was both to the Lacedaemonian state and to him personally, he set out on the journey to his father.

Now Lysander, when Cyrus had thus given over to him all his money and set out, in response to the summons, to visit his sick father, distributed pay to his men and set sail to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria. There he attacked a city named Cedreiae which was an ally of the Athenians, and on the second day's assault captured it by storm and reduced the inhabitants to slavery; they were a mixture of Greek and barbarian blood. Thence he sailed away to Rhodes. As for the Athenians, they harried the territory of the King, using Samos as a base, and sailed against Chios and Ephesus; they were also making their preparations for battle, and had chosen three generals in addition to the former number,—Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. Meanwhile Lysander sailed from Rhodes along the coast of Ionia to the Hellespont, in order to prevent the passing out of the grain-ships and to take action against the cities which had revolted from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians likewise set out thither from Chios, keeping to the open sea; for Asia was hostile to them. But Lysander coasted along from Abydus to Lampsacus, which was an ally of the Athenians; and the people of Abydus and the other cities
οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν τεξῆς ἢγεῖτο 19 δὲ Ὠφραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβάλοντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἱρούσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιώται ὑσίαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνον καὶ σῖτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεῖων πλήρης τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα
20 σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἄθηναιοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὥρμίσατο τῆς Χερρούσου ἐν Ἑλαιοῦντι ναυσίν ὀγδοῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακου, καὶ εὔθὺς ἀνήρ- 21 χθῆσαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισά- μενοι ἐπλέουσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου διεἰσε ὡς ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος τάυτῃ στά- δίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοι- ούντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ, ἐπεὶ ὁδόρος ἦν, ἐσήμην εἰς τάς ναῦς ἀριστοποιοσα- μένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παρα- βάλλοντε, προεύπειν ὡς μηδὲς κινήστωι ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδ' ἀνάξιοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἀρτίῳ ἀνύχθωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρατάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω ἀντανή- γαγε λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὧφε ἦν, 2 ἀπέ- 23 πλεύσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεὶ δὲ δὲ ἐκβοῦσι, κατιδόντας δὲ τὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐτὴν ἤκουν. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέταρας 25 ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγγειον. 3 Ἄλκι- 1 παρῆσαν MSS.: παρῆσαν Kel.
2 καὶ ... ἦν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 καὶ ... ἐπανήγγειον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
were at hand on the shore to support him, being commanded by Thorax, a Lacedaemonian. Then they attacked the city and captured it by storm, whereupon the soldiers plundered it. It was a wealthy city, full of wine and grain and all other kinds of supplies. But Lysander let go all the free persons who were captured. Now the Athenians had been sailing in the wake of Lysander's fleet, and they anchored at Elaeus, in the Chersonese, with one hundred and eighty ships. While they were breakfasting there, the news about Lampsacus was reported to them, and they set out immediately to Sestus. From there, as soon as they had provisioned, they sailed to Aegospotami, which is opposite Lampsacus, the Hellespont at this point being about fifteen stadia\(^1\) wide. There they took dinner. And during the ensuing night, when early dawn came, Lysander gave the signal for his men to take breakfast and embark upon their ships, and after making everything ready for battle and stretching the side screens,\(^2\) he gave orders that no one should stir from his position or put out. At sunrise the Athenians formed their ships in line for battle at the mouth of the harbour. Since, however, Lysander did not put out against them, they sailed back again, when it grew late in the day, to Aegospotami. Thereupon Lysander ordered the swiftest of his ships to follow the Athenians and, when they had disembarked, to observe what they did, and then to sail back and report to him; and he did not disembark his men from their vessels until these scout-ships had returned. This he did for four days; and the Athenians continued to sail out and offer battle. Meantime Alcibiades, who could

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\(^1\) The stadium = c. 600 feet.  
\(^2\) See i. vi. 19 and note.
 Xenophon 

βιάδης δὲ κατιδών ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὄρμοντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾶ πόλει, τὰ δ᾽ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα στάδιους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστοῦ παρῆλθε τρίς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν. οὐ δὲ στρατηγοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ Τυθεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπίειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτὸι γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἔκεινοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν φύχετο.

26 Δύσανδρος δ᾽ ἔπει ἡ ἡμέρα πέμπτῃ ἐπιτήδεισι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὶ πάν παντεῖς αὐτοὺς ἕκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἔποιον πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ᾽ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, τα τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὑνοῦμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγησαν, ἀποπλέοντας τοὺς παλιν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τῶν πλοίων. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.

27 Δύσανδρος δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐσήμην τὴν ταχίστην πλείων, συμπαρῆσα δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἵδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δικροτοὶ ἤσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν

1 πρὸς τε . . . πόλιν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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discern from his castle that the Athenians were 405 B.C. moored on an open shore, with no city near by, and were fetching their provisions from Sestus, a distance of fifteen stadia from their ships, while the enemy, being in a harbour and near a city, had everything needful, told the Athenians that they were not moored in a good place, and advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestus and thus gain a harbour and a city; "for if you are there," he said, "you will be able to fight when you please." The generals, however, and especially Tydeus and Menander, bade him be gone; for they said that they were in command now, not he. So he went away. And now Lysander, on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against him, told his men, who followed them back, that as soon as they saw that the enemy had disembarked and had scattered up and down the Chersonese, —and the Athenians did this far more freely every day, not only because they bought their provisions at a distance, but also because they presumed to think lightly of Lysander for not putting out to meet them,—they were to sail back to him and to hoist a shield when midway in their course. And they did just as he had ordered. Straightway Lysander gave a signal to his fleet to sail with all speed, and Thorax with his troops went with the fleet. Now when Conon saw the oncoming attack, he signalled the Athenians to hasten with all their might to their ships. But since his men were scattered here and there, some of the ships had but two banks of oars manned, some but one, and some were entirely empty; Conon's own ship, indeed, and seven others accompanying him, which were fully manned, put
άθροιαί καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πώςας
Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους
ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον εἰς
tὰ τειχύδρια.
29 Κύνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἔπει ἐγνὼ
tῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατα-
σχῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Δαμψάκου ἄκραν
ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσανδροῦ νεῶν
ιστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὅκτω ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε
παρ’ Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς
30 Ἀθῆνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὰ γεγονότα. Λύσαν-
δρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ
tάλλα πάντα εἰς Δάμψακου ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ
καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ
Ἀδείμαντον. ἦ δ’ ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατεργάσατο,
ἐπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληστὴν εἰς
Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγέλλοντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὅς
31 ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπῆγαγείλε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε
βουλευτεσθάι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
cατηγορεῖ ἐγγύνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἡ
τε ἦδη παρενεμομήκεσαν καὶ ἐγνήσιμον ἦσαν
ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξίὰν
χείρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ἐορηθέντων πάντων,
καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ
Ἀνδριάν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατα-
κρημνίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ’ ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν
32 Ἀθηναίων, δς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ

1 ἀπαγγέλλουσα BMD: ἀπαγγελθοῦσα CFV, followed by Kel.
HELLENICA, II. 1. 28–32

to sea in close order, and the Paralus with them, but all the rest Lysander captured on the beach. He also gathered up on the shore most of the men of their crews; some, however, gained the shelter of the neighbouring strongholds.

But when Conon, fleeing with his nine ships, realized that the Athenian cause was lost, he put in at Abarnis, the promontory of Lampsacus, and there seized the cruising sails that belonged to Lysander's ships; then he sailed away with eight ships to seek refuge with Euagoras in Cyprus, while the Paralus went to Athens with the tidings of what had happened. As for Lysander, he took his prizes and prisoners and everything else back to Lampsacus, the prisoners including Philocles, Adeimantus, and some of the other generals. Furthermore, on the day when he achieved this victory he sent Theopompus, the Milesian buccaneer, to Lacedaemon to report what had happened, and Theopompus arrived and delivered his message on the third day. After this Lysander gathered together the allies and bade them deliberate regarding the disposition to be made of the prisoners. Thereupon many charges began to be urged against the Athenians, not only touching the outrages they had already committed and what they had voted to do if they were victorious in the battle,—namely, to cut off the right hand of every man taken alive,—but also the fact that after capturing two triremes, one a Corinthian and the other an Andrian, they had thrown the crews overboard to a man. And it was Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had thus made away with these men. Many other

1 One of the "state triremes," which were employed for various public missions and as dispatch-boats,
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cαι ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλῆν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μένοις ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἦττάθη μεντοῦ ὕπο τινῶν προδούναι τὰς ναὰς.

Αὐσανδρὸς δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, δὲ γὰρ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμησε, τῇ εἰθ ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἐπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουρῶν ὑποστόντος ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδότες Ἀλκιβιάδη τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἐφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὑστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο. 2 Ἀθηναίοι. Δύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουρῶς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ τινὰ που ἄλλον ἱδοι Ἀθηναίον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλοθι δ' οὐ, εἰδῶς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἄν πλείους συμπερισσῶν εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν, θάττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδειεὶν ἑσσάθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενελαον ἀρμοστήν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Δάμφακον τὰς ναὰς ἐπεσκεύαξεν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθηναίς τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἷμωγη ἕκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τεῖχῶν εἰς ἀστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἐτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων ὡστ' ἐκείνης

1 ὡς . . . κατεκρήμησε MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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HELENICA, II. 1. 32–II. 3

stories were told, and it was finally resolved to put to death all of the prisoners who were Athenians, with the exception of Adeimantus, because he was the one man who in the Athenian Assembly had opposed the decree in regard to cutting off the hands of captives; he was charged, however, by some people with having betrayed the fleet. As to Philocles, who threw overboard the Andrians and Corinthians, Lysander first asked him what he deserved to suffer for having begun outrageous practices towards Greeks, and then had his throat cut.

II. After setting in order the affairs of Lampsacus, Lysander sailed against Byzantium and Calchedon. And the people of those cities admitted him, allowing the Athenian garrisons, by the terms of the surrender, to withdraw. And those who had betrayed Byzantium to Alcibiades fled at this time to the Pontus, but afterwards they went to Athens and became Athenian citizens. Now the Athenian garrisons, and in fact every other Athenian whom he saw anywhere, Lysander sent home to Athens, giving them safe conduct if they sailed to that one place and not if they went to any other; for he knew that the more people were collected in the city and Piraeus, the more quickly there would be a scarcity of provisions. Then, after leaving Sthenelaus, a Laconian, as governor of Byzantium and Calchedon, he sailed back to Lampsacus and occupied himself with refitting his ships.

It was at night that the Paralus arrived at Athens with tidings of the disaster, and a sound of wailing ran from Piraeus through the long walls to the city, one man passing on the news to another; and during
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τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμηθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολολότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτε αὐτοὶ ἔαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Δακεδαιμονίων ἁπάκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαῖᾶς καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινῆτας καὶ ἄλλους πολιούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἢ ἐδοξεῖ τοὺς τέλεμαν ἀποχώσαι πλὴν ἔνος καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ ταλλὰ πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5 Δύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τούτου Ἑλπιστόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίας ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ εἰς δὲ τὰ ἔτη Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τρίηρες ἐχοντα Ἐτεούκον, διὰ τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Δακε-6 δαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ η ἄλλη Ἑλλάς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων οὕτω δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν ηγεμόσιν ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. Δύ-7 σανδρὸς δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Δακεδαιμόνια ὤτε προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσὶ. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξῆσαν παν-δημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννησιοὶ πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Δακεδαιμονίων βασι-8 λέως Παυσανίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντεῖ θηροἰσθησαν,
that night no one slept, all mourning, not for the lost alone, but far more for their own selves, thinking that they would suffer such treatment as they had visited upon the Melians,\(^1\) colonists of the Lacedaemonians, after reducing them by siege, and upon the Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans and Aeginetans\(^1\) and many other Greek peoples. On the following day they convened an Assembly, at which it was resolved to block up all the harbours except one, to repair the walls, to station guards, and in all other respects to get the city ready for a siege. They busied themselves, accordingly, with these matters.

Meanwhile Lysander, sailing out of the Hellespont with two hundred ships, arrived at Lesbos and arranged the affairs of Mytilene and the other cities of the island; and he sent Eteonicus with ten triremes to the places on the Thracian coast, and Eteonicus brought over everything in that region to the side of the Lacedaemonians. Indeed, the rest of the Greek world also had fallen away from the Athenians immediately after the battle, with the exception of Samos; there the people slaughtered the aristocrats and held possession of their city. After this Lysander sent word to Agis, at Decelea, and to Lacedaemon that he was coming with two hundred ships. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians took the field with their whole force, and likewise the rest of the Peloponnesians excepting the Argives, at the command of Pausanias, the other king of the Lacedaemonians. And when all had been gathered refuge, in Peloponnesus, and put to death (Thuc. ii. 27 and iv. 57). The other peoples mentioned had been similarly exiled, enslaved, or massacred.
<XENOPHON>

άναλαβών αὐτοῦς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπεῖεν·
δευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. Δύσανδρος δὲ ἄφικό-
μενος εἰς Αχιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αχινήταις,
ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθρόισας, ὡς δὲ
αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁσίοι τῆς
αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλα-
μίνα ὁμισάτο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ έκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τού εἰσ-
πλοῦν.

10 Οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν ἦπορον τὶ χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὗτε νεὼν
οὗτος συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὗτος σίτου ἐνομίζον
δὲ οὐδεμιᾶν εἶναι σωτηρίαν εἰ μὴ 1 παθεῖν ἅ ὅ
τι μικροῦ καὶ μικροπολίταις οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶ
αὐτία ἐτέρα ὃ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχον. διὰ τὰ ταῦτα
τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκατέρωθυν,
καὶ ἀποθυσκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ
διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς
ηὔχθη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ’
Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαίμονίως
ἐχουσι τὰ τεῖχα καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
ταὐτοὺς συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. οὐ δὲ αὐτοῦς εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα ἐκέλευσεν ιέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτὸς.
ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἄθη-
ναῖοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ’
ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Λακωνίκης 2
καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἅ ἐλέησαν, ὡντα
ἀλάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευν

1 ei μὴ MSS.: Kel. brackets ei: τὸ μὴ Hertlein: μὴ οὐ
Hartman.
2 Sellasia was in Laconia. Kel. accordingly brackets, after
Cobet, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνίκης.
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together, Pausanias led them to Athens and encamped in the Academy. Meantime Lysander, upon reaching Aegina, restored the state to the Aeginetans, gathering together as many of them as he could, and he did the same thing for the Melians also and for all the others who had been deprived of their native states. Then, after laying waste Salamis, he anchored at Piraeus with one hundred and fifty ships and closed the entrance to the harbour against all merchantmen.

Now the Athenians, being thus besieged by land and by sea, knew not what to do, since they had neither ships nor allies nor provisions; and they thought that there was no way out, save only to suffer the pains which they had themselves inflicted, not in retaliation, but in wantonness and unjustly upon the people of small states, for no other single reason than because they were in alliance with the Lacedaemonians. On this account they restored to the disfranchised their political rights and held out steadfastly, refusing to make overtures for peace even though many were dying in the city from starvation. When, however, their provisions had entirely given out, they sent ambassadors to Agis declaring their wish to become allies of the Lacedaemonians while still keeping their walls and Piraeus, and on these terms to conclude a treaty. But Agis bade them go to Lacedaemon, saying that he himself had no authority. And when the ambassadors reported to the Athenians this reply, they sent them to Lacedaemon. But when they were at Sellasia, near Laconia, and the ephors learned from them what proposals they were bringing,—the same, namely, as those which they had presented to Agis,—
ἀπειναί, καὶ εἰ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἦκεν
14 δούλουσαμένον. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἰκαδε
cαι ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία
ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν. φῶντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι,
cαὶ ἔως ἃν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς
τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς
καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν. Ἀρ-
χέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαίμονίοις
κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ’ οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην
ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδείχθη προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
tειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα στάδιον καθελεῖν ἐκατέρους.
ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ-
βουλεύειν.

16 Τοιούτων δὲ ὅντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκ-
kλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ
Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἦκει Λακεδαίμονίοις πότερον
ἐξανδραποδισθήσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέ-
χοσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἡ πίστεως ἐνεκα. πεμ-
φθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσανδρῷ τρεῖς μῆνας
καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναίοι ἐμελλόν
διὰ τὸ ἐπιτελοῦτενα τῶν σιτῶν ἀπαντᾷ ὅ τι τις
17 λέγοι ὀμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνὶ,
ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος
τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
ἴναι. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὃν ἐρωτήτο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλὰ τούς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευ-

1 Λακεδαίμονίοις... προυκαλοῦντο MSS.: κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ’
oĩς Λακεδαίμονίοι προυκαλοῦντο Kel.
2 πλείω MSS.: πλέον Kel.

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they directed them to go back again without coming a step farther and, if they really had any desire for peace, to take better counsel before they returned. And when the ambassadors reached home and reported this to the people, despondency descended upon all; for they imagined that they would be reduced to slavery, and that while they were sending another set of ambassadors, many would die of the famine. Nevertheless, no one wanted to make any proposal involving the destruction of the walls; for when Archestratus said in the Senate that it was best to make peace with the Lacedaemonians on the terms they offered—and the terms were that they should tear down a portion ten stadia long of each of the two long walls,—he was thrown into prison, and a decree was passed forbidding the making of a proposal of this sort.

This being the condition of affairs in Athens, Theramenes said in the Assembly that if they were willing to send him to Lysander, he would find out before he came back whether the Lacedaemonians were insistent in the matter of the walls because they wished to reduce the city to slavery, or in order to obtain a guarantee of good faith. Upon being sent, however, he stayed with Lysander three months and more, waiting for the time when, on account of the failure of provisions, the Athenians would agree to anything and everything which might be proposed. And when he returned in the fourth month, he reported in the Assembly that Lysander had detained him all this time and had then directed him to go to Lacedaemon, saying that he had no authority in the matters concerning which Theramenes asked for information, but only the ephors. After this Thera-
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tης εἰς Δακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτὸς

18 Δύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντε
μετ' ἄλλων Δακεδαίμονίων Ἄριστοτέλειν, φυγάδε
Αθηναίοι σχίσα, διὸ ἀποκρίνατο Θηραμένει ἐκεῖ.

19 νους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηρα-
μένες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἔπει ήσαν εἰ
Σελλασία, ἑρωτώμενοι 1 δὲ ἔπει τίνι λόγῳ ἦκοιεν
εἰπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα
οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευσέν αὐτούς. ἔπει δ' ἦκοιν,
ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἦ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι
καὶ Θῆβαι μᾶλλον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
τῶν Ἐλλήνων, μὴ σπέρμεθα Ἀθηναίοις, ἄλλο

20 ἐξαιρεῖν. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὖν ἔφασαν πόλιν
Ἐλληνίδα ἀνδραποδεῖν μέγα ἁγαθόν εἰργασμένην
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἐλλάδι,
ἄλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ὧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη
καὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναίς πλῆν
δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας
τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Δακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἐπεσθαί καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
ὅποι ἂν ἠγώνται.

21 Θηραμένες δὲ καὶ οὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπ-
anέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσίντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὁχλὸς περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ
ἀπρακτοὶ ἦκοιεν· οὖ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ
22 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ

1 ἑρωτώμενοι : Kel. assumes a lacuna before it.
menes was chosen ambassador to Lacedaemon with full power, being at the head of an embassy of ten. Lysander meanwhile sent Aristotleles, an Athenian exile, in company with some Lacedaemonians, to report to the ephors that the answer he had made to Theramenes was that they only had authority in the matter of peace and war. Now when Theramenes and the other ambassadors were at Sellasia and, on being asked with what proposals they had come, replied that they had full power to treat for peace, the ephors thereupon gave orders to summon them to Lacedaemon. When they arrived, the ephors called an assembly, at which the Corinthians and Thebans in particular, though many other Greeks agreed with them, opposed making a treaty with the Athenians and favoured destroying their city. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not enslave a Greek city which had done great service amid the greatest perils that had befallen Greece,¹ and they offered to make peace on these conditions: that the Athenians should destroy the long walls and the walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and by sea wherever they should lead the way.

So Theramenes and his fellow-ambassadors brought back this word to Athens. And as they were entering the city, a great crowd gathered around them, fearful that they had returned unsuccessful; for it was no longer possible to delay, on account of the number who were dying of the famine. On the

¹ i.e. the Persian wars.
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υστεραία ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' ὦς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγοῦρει δὲ αὐτῶν ὂθηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πεῖθεσθαι Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαμείν. ἀντει-πόντων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῶ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνε-πανεσάντων, ἐδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δύσανδρός τε κατέπλευ εἰς τὸν Πειραιάκα καὶ οἱ φυγάδες καθῆκαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκα-πτον ὑπ᾽ αὐλητρίδων πολλῆς προθυμίας, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἀρχεῖν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν δὲ μεσοῦντι Διονύ-σιος ὁ Ἐρμοκράτος Συρακόσιος ἑτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρῶτον ἤπειρετῶν ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόνων Ἀκρά-γαντα, ἐκλειπόντων τῶν Σικελιώτων τὴν πόλιν.¹

III. Τῷ δ᾽ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ὥς ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἦ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Ὀστηλός. Ἐνδιόν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ᾽ ἐν 'Ἀθηναίων ἄρχοντος, διὸ ἐν ὁλιγαρχίᾳ ἦρέθη, οὐκ ὁνομάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ὁλιγαρχία ὡδε.²

2 ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἀνδρὰς ἔλεσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψασιν, καθ' ὅσι πολιτεύσασιν. καὶ ἦρέθησαν οἴδε: Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μυσίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρε-σίας, Διοκλής, Φαίδριας, Χαϊρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,

¹ § 24 is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. i. 37.
² ὡδε is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. ii. 1.
³ τοὺς πατρίους MSS.: Kel. br.ckets.
next day the ambassadors reported to the Assembly the terms on which the Lacedaemonians offered to make peace; Theramenes acted as spokesman for the embassy, and urged that it was best to obey the Lacedaemonians and tear down the walls. And while some spoke in opposition to him, a far greater number supported him, and it was voted to accept the peace. After this Lysander sailed into Piraeus, the exiles returned, and the Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls to the music of flute-girls, thinking that that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece.

So the year ended, in the middle of which Dionysius of Syracuse, the son of Hermocrates, became tyrant, after the Carthaginians had been defeated in battle by the Syracusans, but had captured Acragas by famine, the Siceliots abandoning the city.

III. In the following year—in which was celebrated an Olympiad, wherein Crocinas the Thessalian was victorious in the stadium, Endius being now ephor at Sparta and Pythodorus archon at Athens. Since, however, Pythodorus was chosen during the time of the oligarchy, the Athenians do not use his name to mark the year, but call it "the archonless year." And this oligarchy came into being in the way hereafter described¹—it was voted by the people to choose thirty men to frame the ancient laws² into a constitution under which to conduct the government. And the following men were chosen: Polychares, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Eucleides, Hieron, Mnesiloichus, Chremon, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phaedrias, Chaereleos, Anaetius, Peison,

¹ See critical note on the text.
² i.e. those of Cleisthenes and Solon, as contrasted with the radical, extreme democracy of more recent times. cp. Arist. 'Aθ. πολ. xxix. 17.
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Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀμομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μινισθείδης. τοῦτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Δύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἀγίς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὸν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν περὶ ἥλιου ἐκλείψεως Δυκόφρων ὁ Φεραιός, Βουλόμενος ἄρξαι δὴ τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιομένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρίσιοις τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ¹

5 Ἔν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαι καὶ Καμάριων ἀπόλεσε. μετὰ δὲ λίγον ἔδω καὶ Λεοντίνοι Συρακοσίοι συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονύσιον καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἵππεις ὑπὸ Διονύσιον εἰς Κατάννην ἀπεστάλησαν. ²

6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολυρρούμενοι ὑπὸ Δυσάνδρου πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὀμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἡδὲ ἐμελλέν ὁ Δύσανδρος, ὀμολογήσαν ἐν ἰμάτιον ἔχων ἑκαστὸς ἀπείναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραδόονται ⁷ καὶ οὕτως ἔξηλθον. Δύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδόοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνότα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἀρχοντας καταστήσας φουρεῖν ²

¹ Κατὰ . . . ἀπέκτεινεν condemned by Dindorf: Kel. retains the section, though doubtfully, while bracketing § 5. It seems altogether likely that §§ 4 and 5 are alike interpolations. See crit. note on 1. i. 37.

² φουρεῖν MSS.: Kel brackets.
Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, 404 B.C. Theognis, Aeschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Pheidon, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesitheides. When this had been done, Lysander sailed off to Samos, while Agis withdrew the land force from Decelea and dismissed the several contingents to their cities.

It was near this date, and at about the time of an eclipse of the sun, that Lycophron of Pherae, who wanted to make himself ruler of all Thessaly, defeated in battle those among the Thessalians who opposed him, namely the Larisaean and others, and slew many of them.

It was at the same time also that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, was defeated in battle by the Carthaginians and lost Gela and Camarina. Shortly afterwards also the Leontines, who had been dwelling at Syracuse, revolted from Dionysius and the Syracusans and returned to their own city. And immediately thereafter the Syracusan horsemen were despatched by Dionysius to Catana.

Meanwhile the Samians were being besieged by Lysander on every side, and when, seeing that at first they refused to come to terms, he was on the point of making an attack upon them, they came to an agreement with him that every free person should depart from the city with but one cloak and that all else should be surrendered; and on these terms they withdrew. And Lysander gave over the city and everything therein to the former citizens, and appointed ten rulers to guard it; then he dismissed.
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ἀφήκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικῶν κατὰ πόλεις ταῖς δὲ Δακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκροτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πληθί δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὐς παρὰ τῶν πόλεωι ἐλάμβανε δώρα ἰδία, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἡ περιεγένοτο τῶι φόρωι, οὗ αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἶ ἄλλο εκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

9 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Δακεδαίμονίωι ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὁ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι ἕτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν ὧν ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἰδὲ ἐγένοντο, Ἀινησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ’ οὐ ἦξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ’ Εὐβοίας ἀλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπουδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἴδε: Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστριάδας, Ἐβαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλής, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Δέων, Χαρίλας, Πατησίάδας; Κλεοσθένης, Δυκάριος, Ἐπίρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξίππιδας, Μισγολαίδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλής, Πιτύας, Ἀρχυς, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ’ οὐ Δύσανδρος πράξα τὰ εἰρημένα οὐκαδὲ κατέπλευσέν. 2

10 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἤρεθήσαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ καθῆρθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ’ ὅτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ’ οὕστινας πολιτεύσομεντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἐμελλόν συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ

1 πλην δώδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 εἰς δὲ... κατέπλευσέν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. ii. 1.
the naval contingents of the allies to their several cities and sailed home with the Laconian ships to Lacedaemon, taking with him the prows of the captured ships, the triremes from Piraeus except twelve, the crowns which he had received from the cities as gifts to himself individually, four hundred and seventy talents in money, being the balance that remained of the tribute money which Cyrus had assigned to him for the prosecution of the war, and whatever else he had obtained during the course of the war. All these things he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians at the close of the summer—with which ended the twenty-eight years and six months of the war, during which years the eponymous ephors were the following: Aenesias first, in whose term the war began, in the fifteenth year of the thirty years' truce which followed the conquest of Euboea, and after him the following: Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Exarchus, Agesistratus, Angelidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chaerilas, Patesiadas, Cleothenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaïdas, Isias, Aracus, Euarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Endius; it was in Endius' term that Lysander sailed home after performing the deeds above described.

Now at Athens the Thirty had been chosen as soon as the long walls and the walls round Piraeus were demolished; although chosen, however, for the purpose of framing a constitution under which to conduct the government, they continually delayed framing and publishing this constitution, but they appointed a Senate and the
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tάσ ἄλλας ἀρχάς κατέστησαν ὃς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. 12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὖς πάντες ἦδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζωντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου καὶ ἢ τε βουλή ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὀντες τοιούτοι οὐδὲν ἡχοῦσιν. ἔπει δὲ ἠρξαντο βουλεύσασθαι ὅπως ἀν ἔξει ὁ αὐτοὶ τῇ πόλει χρῆσαι ὅπως βούλωσαν, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα Ἁἰσχύνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Δύσανδρον φρουρός σφίσει συμπράξαει ἕλθείν, ἐὼς δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιήσαμεν καταστήσαντο τὴν πολιτείαν θρέ- ψειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπισχυνόντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφῆμαι. οὐ δὲ ἔπει τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τού μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευνον πάση θεραπεία, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ὃ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὕς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὅλους ἄξιους, ἄλλ' ἤδη οὐς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρῳδομένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλουτας λαμβάνειν.

15 Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ ὸηρα- μένει ὄμογυνόμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἔπει δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετῆς ἦν ἔπι τῷ πολλοῦ ἀποκτείνω, ἀτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ ὸηραμένης ἀντε- 118
other magistrates as they saw fit. Then, as a first step, they arrested and brought to trial for their lives those persons who, by common knowledge, had made a living in the time of the democracy by acting as informers and had been offensive to the aristocrats; and the Senate was glad to pronounce these people guilty, and the rest of the citizens—at least all who were conscious that they were not of the same sort themselves—were not at all displeased. When, however, the Thirty began to consider how they might become free to do just as they pleased with the state, their first act was to send Aeschines and Aristoteles to Lacedaemon and persuade Lysander to help them to secure the sending of a Lacedaemonian garrison, to remain until, as they said, they could put “the scoundrels” out of the way and establish their government; and they promised to maintain this garrison at their own charges. Lysander consented, and helped them to secure the dispatch of the troops and of Callibius as governor. But when they had got the garrison, they paid court to Callibius in every way, in order that he might approve of everything they did, and as he detailed guardsmen to go with them, they arrested the people whom they wished to reach,—not now “the scoundrels” and persons of little account, but from this time forth the men who, they thought, were least likely to submit to being ignored, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers.

Now in the beginning Critias and Theramenes were agreed in their policy and friendly; but when Critias showed himself eager to put many to death, because, for one thing, he had been banished by the
κοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὼς εἰς θανατοῦν, εἰ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο. Ἔπει καὶ ἔγω, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἐνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπο-μεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δὲ (ἐτὶ γὰρ οἰκεῖως ἔχρητο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροὶ τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους διακαλλύειν. Εἰ δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντα ἐσμὲν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἦττον τί οἰεί ὡσπερ ¹ τυραννίδος τάυτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρὴναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἰ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄποθυμοκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοὶ ἦσαν συνιστάμενοι τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἐσοιτό ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λῆψιν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων, ἄδυναν ἐσοιτο ἡ ὀλυγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτων μέντοι Κρητίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἣδι φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τόν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνέσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχίλιους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αἱ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀτοπον δοκοῖ ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ² βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι τρισχίλιος, ³ ὡσπερ τὸν ἅριμον τούτου ἔχοντα τίνα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἄγαθον εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἐξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς

1 οἰεὶ ὡσπερ MSS.: οἰεὶ ὡσπερ Kel.
2 τὸ πρῶτον μὲν MSS.: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Kel.
3 τρισχίλιος MSS.: τρισχίλιος καταλέξαι Kel.

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democracy, Theramenes opposed him, saying that it was not reasonable to put a man to death because he was honoured by the commons, provided he was doing no harm to the aristocrats. "For," said he, "you and I also have said and done many things for the sake of winning the favour of the city." Then Critias (for he still treated Theramenes as a friend) replied that it was impossible for people who wanted to gain power not to put out of the way those who were best able to thwart them. "But if," he said, "merely because we are thirty and not one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for us to keep a close watch over this government, just as one would if it were an absolute monarchy, you are foolish." But when, on account of the great numbers continually—and unjustly—put to death, it was evident that many were banding together and wondering what the state was coming to, Theramenes spoke again, saying that unless they admitted an adequate number of citizens into partnership with them in the management of affairs, it would be impossible for the oligarchy to endure. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, who were by this time alarmed and feared above all that the citizens would flock to the support of Theramenes, enrolled a body of three thousand, who were to share, as they said, in the government. Theramenes, however, objected to this move also, saying that, in the first place, it seemed to him absurd that, when they wanted to make the best of the citizens their associates, they should limit themselves to three thousand, as though this number must somehow be good men and true and there could neither
τούτων πουηροὺς οὖν τε εἴη γενέσθαι: Ἑπείτα δ’, ἡφη, ὥρω ἐγιγνεῖ δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ἢττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζόμενοις.

20 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ’ ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ’ ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ’ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαξοι, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολίτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείληπτο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξω ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ τι βούλουντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας ἔνεκα ἀπεκτείνουν, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ’ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἐνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀποκτείναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσμήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ῥημαῖσιν λαβεῖν ὅτινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἀλλ’ οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἡφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστοσιν εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ’ ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιες ζην εἶναι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδέν ἀδικοῦσα, ἴνα χρήματα λαμβάνομεν; τῶς οὖ ταῦτα τῷ 22 παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ’ ἐμποδὸν νομίζουντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τι βούλουσθο, ἐπε-
be excellent men outside this body nor rascals within it. "Besides," he said, "we are undertaking, in my opinion, two absolutely inconsistent things,—to rig up our government on the basis of force and at the same time to make it weaker than its subjects."

This was what Theramenes said. As for the Thirty, they held a review, the Three Thousand assembling in the market-place and those who were not on "the roll" in various places here and there; then they gave the order to pile arms, and while the men were off duty and away, they sent their Lacedaemonian guardsmen and such citizens as were in sympathy with them, seized the arms of all except the Three Thousand, carried them up to the Acropolis, and deposited them in the temple. And now, when this had been accomplished, thinking that they were at length free to do whatever they pleased, they put many people to death out of personal enmity, and many also for the sake of securing their property. One measure that they resolved upon, in order to get money to pay their guardsmen, was that each of their number should seize one of the aliens residing in the city, and that they should put these men to death and confiscate their property. So they bade Theramenes also to seize anyone he pleased; and he replied: "But it is not honourable, as it seems to me," he said, "for people who style themselves the best citizens to commit acts of greater injustice than the informers used to do. For they allowed those from whom they got money, to live; but shall we, in order to get money, put to death men who are guilty of no wrong-doing? Are not such acts altogether more unjust than theirs were?" Then the Thirty, thinking that Theramenes was an obstacle to
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βουλεύονσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἵδια πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλοις πρὸς ἄλλου διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν

24 βουλήν. ἔπει δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὅδε.

Ὅ άνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνῄσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὁ πολιτείαν μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται. πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλυγαρχίαν μεθιστάσαι διὰ τὸ πολυανιρρωπότατην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν

25 δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνώντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοι ὑμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνώντες δὲ ὅτι Δακεδαιμονίας τοῖς περισσώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕποτ' ἄν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰὲ ἃν πιστοὶ διατηλοῦει, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων γυμνῇ τῆς
tην πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ εἰάν τινα αἰσθανόμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλυγαρχίᾳ, ὡσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ὑμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτῶν διδόναι.

27 Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Ἡθραμένην τοιοῦτοι οἱ δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ
their doing whatever they pleased, plotted against him, and kept accusing him to individual senators, one to one man and another to another, of injuring the government. And after passing the word to some young men, who seemed to them most audacious, to be in attendance with daggers hidden under their arms, they convened the Senate. Then when Theramenes arrived, Critias arose and spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate, if anyone among you thinks that more people than is fitting are being put to death, let him reflect that where governments are changed these things always take place; and it is inevitable that those who are changing the government here to an oligarchy should have most numerous enemies, both because the state is the most populous of the Greek states and because the commons have been bred up in a condition of freedom for the longest time. Now we, believing that for men like ourselves and you democracy is a grievous form of government, and convinced that the commons would never become friendly to the Lacedaemonians, our preservers, while the aristocrats would continue ever faithful to them, for these reasons are establishing, with the approval of the Lacedaemonians, the present form of government. And if we find anyone opposed to the oligarchy, so far as we have the power we put him out of the way; but in particular we consider it to be right that, if any one of our own number is harming this order of things, he should be punished.

"Now in fact we find this man Theramenes trying, by what means he can, to destroy both ourselves and you. As proof that this is true you will discover,
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taúta álηθῆ, διν κατανοήτε, εὑρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τοῦτοι τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιοῦμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοῖς έξ άρχῆς ταύτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιοι μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρὸς γ’ ἄν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο·

28 νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπει καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἄσφαλεῖ καταστῇ,

29 ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δὼμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὡστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθροὶ αὐτῷ προσῆκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότην ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν δεδόναι τῇ δίκῃ. καίτοι τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσοι χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτος δ’ ἔχθιον, ὅσοι πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὕτως πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὅν δ’ ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὗτε ἐσπείραστο πῶποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ’ ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.

30 Ἡνα δὲ εἰδήτε ὅτι οὐ καίνα ταύτα οὕτος ποιεῖ; ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἔστιν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὕτος γὰρ έξ άρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τῶν πατέρα Ἠγνωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ μετα-
HELENICA, II. iii. 27–30

you consider the matter, that no one finds more fault with the present proceedings than Theramenes here, or offers more opposition when we wish to put some demagogue out of the way. Now if he had held these views from the beginning, he was, to be sure, an enemy, but nevertheless he would not justly be deemed a scoundrel. In fact, however, he was the very man who took the initiative in the policy of establishing a cordial understanding with the Laec- daemonians; he was the very man who began the overthrow of the democracy, and who urged you most to inflict punishment upon those who were first brought before you for trial; but now, when you and we have manifestly become hateful to the democrats, he no longer approves of what is going on,—just so that he may get on the safe side again, and that we may be punished for what has been done. Therefore he ought to be punished, not merely as an enemy, but also as a traitor both to you and to ourselves. And treason is a far more dreadful thing than war, inasmuch as it is harder to take precaution against the hidden than against the open danger, and a far more hateful thing, inasmuch as men make peace with enemies and become their trustful friends again, but if they catch a man playing the traitor, they never in any case make peace with that man or trust him thereafter.

“Now to let you know that this man’s present doings are nothing new, but that he is, rather, a traitor by nature, I will recall to you his past deeds. This man in the beginning, although he had received honours at the hands of the democracy, was extremely eager, like his father Hagnon, to change the democracy into the oligarchy of the Four Hundred,¹

¹ See note on i. vii. 28.
στήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἔπει δ’ ἤσθετο ἀντίπαλον τι τῇ ὁλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὐ ήγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ’ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· οἶθεν δὴπο καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσίν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἄπ’ ἀμφοτέρων.1 δεὶ δὲ, ὥ Ὑπράμενες, ἀνδρὰ τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὕτω προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἀν δὲ τὶ ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ἐν ἡ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἔως ἀν εἰς οὐρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοιντο ποτε ἐνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδὰν τι ἀντικόψῃ
dεῖ, εἰς τάναντια πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολον εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολογίζεται, πλείστοις δ’ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιώνων. οὕτως δὲ τοῦ ἔστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεῖς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος δύος τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισσώθησι.

33 Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερὸς ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελομένος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτὲ φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαί, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ

1 kal... ἀμφοτέρων MSS.: Kel. brackets.
and he was a leader in that government. When, however, he perceived that some opposition to the oligarchy was gathering, he took the lead again—as champion of the democrats against the oligarchs! That is the reason, you know, why he is nicknamed 'Buskin': for as the buskin seems to fit both feet, so he faces both ways. But, Theramenes, the man who deserves to live ought not to be clever at leading his comrades into dangerous undertakings and then, if any hindrance offers itself, to turn around on the instant, but he ought, as one on shipboard, to hold to his task until they come into a fair breeze. Otherwise, how in the world would sailors reach the port for which they are bound, if they should sail in the opposite direction the moment any hindrance offered itself? It is true, of course, that all sorts of changes in government are attended by loss of life, but you, thanks to your changing sides so easily, share the responsibility, not merely for the slaughter of a large number of oligarchs by the commons, but also for the slaughter of a large number of democrats by the aristocracy. And this Theramenes, you remember, was the man who, although detailed by the generals to pick up the Athenians whose ships were disabled in the battle off Lesbos,1 failed to do so, and nevertheless was the very one who accused the generals and brought about their death in order that he might save his own life!

"Now when a man clearly shows that he is always looking out for his own advantage and taking no thought for honour or his friends, how in the world can it be right to spare him? Ought we not surely, knowing of his previous changes, to take care that

1 See i. vi. 35, vii. 4 ff.
tàς μεταβολάς, ώς μη καὶ ἡμᾶς ταύτῳ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τούτων ὑπάγομεν καὶ ώς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ώς προδίδοντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. 34 ώς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοησάτε. καλλιστὴ μὲν γὰρ δῆποι δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Δακεδαιμονίων· εἴ δὲ ἐκεῖ 1 ἐπιχειρήσει τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντί τοῦ τούτος πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴσεθε αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἄξιοθήναι; καὶ ύμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτου ἄλλ' ύμων αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ώς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὶς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσει τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ύμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35 'Ο μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθήξετο. Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθῆσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὦ τελευταῖοι κατ' ἐμοῦ εἴπε. φησὶ γὰρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήποτε κατ' ἐκείνους λόγου, ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθὲν μοι υφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἄνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Δέσβων ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ώς διὰ τῶν χειμῶν, οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας δυνατὸν ἢ, ἐδοξά τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἶον τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἀνδρας,

1 ἐκεῖ Dindorf: ἐκεῖν Kel. with MSS.
HELENICA, II. iii. 33-35

he shall not be able to do the same thing to us also? 404 B.C. We therefore arraign him on the charge of plotting against and betraying both ourselves and you. And in proof that what we are thus doing is proper, consider this fact also. The constitution of the Lacedaemonians is, we know, deemed the best of all constitutions. Now in Lacedaemon if one of the ephors should undertake to find fault with the government and to oppose what was being done instead of yielding to the majority, do you not suppose that he would be regarded, not only by the ephors themselves but also by all the rest of the state, as having merited the severest punishment? Even so you, if you are wise, will not spare this Theramenes, but rather yourselves; for to leave him alive would cause many of those who hold opposite views to yours to cherish high thoughts, while to destroy him would cut off the hopes of them all, both within and without the city."

When Critias had so spoken, he sat down; and Theramenes rose and said: "I will mention first, gentlemen, the last thing Critias said against me. He says that I brought about the death of the generals by my accusation. But it was not I, as you know, who began the matter by accusing them; on the contrary, it was they who accused me, by stating that although that duty was assigned me by them, I failed to pick up the unfortunates in the battle off Lesbos. I said in my defence that on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men, and it was decided by the state that my plea was a reasonable one, while the generals were clearly accusing themselves. For though they said it was possible to save the men,
προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ἤχοντο.

οὗ μέντοι θανμάζω γε τὸ Κρήτην παρανενομε-κέναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρῶν ἔτυγχανεν, ἀλλὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὄπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὅπως μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἐπράττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο.

Τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἰ τις ὁμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἄρχης βούλεται παῦσαι, τούς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἱσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δύκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οὖραι ἄχας κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ θυν πράττει ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὁμᾶς τε καταστήσει εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἄρχας ἀποδεικθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογομένους συνοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγνωσκόμενε· ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὕτω ἢρξαντο ἀνδρὰς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς συναμβάνειν, ἵνα τούτῳ κἀγω ἡρξάμην τάναντως τούτως γιγανώσκειν. ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθύμησκοντος μὲν Δέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμώνου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὗτος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἰκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ δὲ οὗτοι τούτῳ φοβηθοῦντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇ τῇ πολεμεῖα ἐσούντο· ἐγνωσκόν ἵνα συναμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δη-μοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ δὲ οὗτοι δυσμενεῖς ἦμῖν γενήσοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφόντος ὑψὸς ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὡς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὐ πλεοῦσας παρεῖ-

1 παρανενοκέκαι Wolf: παρανενομηκέκαi MSS.; παρανενο-μίκεκαi Kel.
they nevertheless sailed away and left them to perish. I do not wonder, however, that Critias has misunderstood the matter; for when these events took place, it chanced that he was not here; he was establishing a democracy in Thessaly along with Prometheus, and arming the serfs against their masters. God forbid that any of the things which he was doing there should come to pass here.

"I quite agree with him, however, on this point, that if anyone is desirous of deposing you from your office and is making strong those who are plotting against you, it is just for him to incur the severest punishment. But I think you can best judge who it is that is doing this, if you will consider the course which each of us two has taken and is now taking. Well then, up to the time when you became members of the Senate and magistrates were appointed and the notorious informers were brought to trial, all of us held the same views; but when these Thirty began to arrest men of worth and standing, then I, on my side, began to hold views opposed to theirs. For when Leon the Salaminian was put to death,—a man of capacity, both actually and by repute,—although he was not guilty of a single act of wrong-doing, I knew that those who were like him would be fearful, and, being fearful, would be enemies of this government. I also knew, when Niceratus, the son of Nicias, was arrested,—a man of wealth who, like his father, had never done anything to curry popular favour,—that those who were like him would become hostile to us. And further, when Antiphon, who during the war supplied from his own means two fast-sailing triremes, was put to death by
χέτο, ἦπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἔνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν ἐφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλὸν γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἄπαντες πολέμοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλῆθους παρηρῴντο, οὐ νομίζον χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὕδε γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιος ἑώρων τοῦτου ἐνεκα βουλομένους περισσῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναλμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὑφελεῖν· ἔξεσθ' γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἔδεντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδὲ γε τὸ φρονοῦν μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξόν αὐτῶν τῶν πολετῶν τοσοῦτοι προσλαμβάνειν, ἐώς ῥάδιως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσεων. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδες γεγομένους, οὐκ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε 'Ἀντονον οὔτε Ἱλικιάδην φυγαδεύειν. ἦδεν γὰρ ὅτι οὔτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἐσοίτο, εἰ τῷ µὲν πλῆθει ἡγεμόνες ἵκανοι προσγενήσοντο, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένους σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιτο.

Ο ταῦτα οὖν νοοθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενῆς ἀν δικαιῶς ἡ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὶ, ὁ Κρητία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχοις πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτα- σθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, 134
us, I knew that all those who had been zealous in the state's cause would look upon us with suspicion. I objected, also, when they said that each of us must seize one of the resident aliens; for it was entirely clear that if these men were put to death, the whole body of such aliens would become enemies of the government. I objected likewise when they took away from the people their arms, because I thought that we ought not to make the state weak; for I saw that, in preserving us, the purpose of the Lacedaemonians had not been that we might become few in number and unable to do them any service; for if this had been what they desired, it was within their power, by keeping up the pressure of famine a little while longer, to leave not a single man alive. Again, the hiring of guardsmen did not please me, for we might have enlisted in our service an equal number of our own citizens, until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of our subjects. And further, when I saw that many in the city were becoming hostile to this government and that many were becoming exiles, it did not seem to me best to banish either Thrasybulus or Anytus or Alcibiades; for I knew that by such measures the opposition would be made strong, if once the commons should acquire capable leaders and if those who wished to be leaders should find a multitude of supporters.

"Now would the man who offers openly this sort of admonition be fairly regarded as a well-wisher, or as a traitor? It is not, Critias, the men who prevent one's making enemies in abundance nor the men who teach one how to gain allies in the greatest numbers,—it is not these, I say, who make one's
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

άλλα πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαι-ρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτεῖνοντες, οὔτοι εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἕναντίους ποι-οῦντες καὶ προδίδοντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους

44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτοὺς δι’ αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀλλὰς γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀλήθη λέγω, ἄδε ἐπισκέ-ψασθε. πότερον οἴσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀντών καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἄν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ὅ ὁ ὅντοι πράττον-σιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἢμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπῶν ἄν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.

45 ἂ δ’ αὐ τείπεν ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλ-λεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπον ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακε-δαιμώνιοι πάση πολιτεία μᾶλλον ἄν ἡ δημοκρατία πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίσεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανερὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ χώρατι ἐρύμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑταῖροις τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ’ αἰσθό-μενοι ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τούτ’ ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων.

46 Ἄποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορον με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πει-ρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὡστὶς δὲ μηδετέρως ἀρέσκει, τούτου δὲ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι

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enemies strong; but it is much rather those who unjustly rob others of property and put to death people who are guilty of no wrong, who, I say, make their opponents numerous and betray not only their friends but also themselves, and all to satisfy their covetousness. And if it is not evident in any other way that what I say is true, look at the matter in this way: do you suppose that Thrasybulus and Anytus and the other exiles would prefer to have us follow here the policy which I am urging by word, or the policy which these men are carrying out in deed? For my part, I fancy that now they believe every spot is full of allies, while if the best element in the state were friendly to us, they would count it difficult even to set foot anywhere in the land! Again, as to his statement that I have a propensity to be always changing sides, consider these facts also: it was the people itself, as everybody knows, which voted for the government of the Four Hundred, being advised that the Lacedaemonians would trust any form of government sooner than a democracy. But when the Lacedaemonians did not in the least relax their efforts in prosecuting the war, and Aristoteles, Melanthius, Aristarchus, and their fellow-generals were found to be building a fort on the peninsula,\(^1\) into which they proposed to admit the enemy and so bring the state under the control of themselves and their oligarchical associates,—if I perceived this plan and thwarted it, is that being a traitor to one’s friends?

“He dubs me ‘Buskin,’ because, as he says, I try to fit both parties. But for the man who pleases neither party,—what in the name of the gods should

\(^1\) Commanding the harbour of Piraeus.
ΧΡΗ; ΣΥ ΓΆΡ ΔΗ ΕΝ ΜΈΝ ΤῊ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΆ ΠΆΝΤΩΝ ΜΙΣΟΔΗΜΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΕΝΟΜΙΖΟΥ, ΕΝ ΔΈ ΤῊ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΆ ΠΆΝΤΩΝ ΜΙΣΟΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΣ ΓΕΓΕΝΉΣΑΙ. ΕΓΩ Δ', Ω ΚΡΙΤΙΆ, ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΜΈΝ ΆΕΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΌ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥ ΠΡÓΣΘΕΝ ΟΙΟΜΈΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΗΝ ΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΊΑΝ ΕΪΝΑΙ, ΠΡῚ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ Δ' ΑΠΟΡΊΑΝ ΔΡΑΧΉΙΣ ΑΝ ΑΠΟΔΌΜΈΝΟΙ ΤῊΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΥΤΉΣ ΜΕΤΈΧΟΙΕΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣΔΈ Γ' ΑΥ ΆΕΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΊΟΣ ΕΙΜĽ ΟΙ ΟΥΚ ΟΪΝΟΤΑΙ ΚΑΛΗΝ ΑΝ ΕΓΓΕΝΈΣΘΑΙ ΟΛΓΑΡΧΊΑΝ, ΠΡĬΣ ΕΙΎ ΤΌ ΥΠΌ ΟΛΓΩΝ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΊΘΑΙ ΤῊΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΉΣΕΙΑΝ, ΤΟ ΜΈΝΤΟΙ ΣῊΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΈΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘ' ΙΠΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤ' ΑΎΣΤΊ- ΔΩΝ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΝ ΔΙΑΤΆΤΤΕΙΝ ΤῊΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΊΑΝ ΠΡΌΣΘΕΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΉΝ ΕΪΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΒῚΝ ΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΒΆΛΛΟΜΆΙ.

ΕΙ Δ' ΕΧΕΙΣ ΕΙΧΕΙΝ, Ω ΚΡΙΤΙΆ, ΟΠΟΥ ΕΓΩ ΣῊΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΙΣ Ὡ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΓΑ- ΘΟΥΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΕΡΕΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΊΑΣ ΕΠΕΧΕΙΡΗΣΑ, ΛΈΓΕ; ΕἼΝ ΓΆΡ ΕΛΕΓΧΘΏ Η ΒῊΝ ΤΑῦΤΑ ΠΡΆΤΤΩΝ Ὡ ΠΡÓΤΕΡΟΝ ΠῊΠΟΤΕ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΚΏΣ, ΟΜΟΛΟΓΩ ΤᾹ ΠΆΝΤΩΝ ἘΣΧΑΤΏ- ΤΑΤΆ 1 ΠΆΘΌΝ ΔῊ ΔΙΚΆΙΟΣ ἌΡΘΟΝ看他EΙΝ.

'ΏΣ ΔΈ ΕΙΣΩΝ ΤΑŬΤΑ ἘΠΑΥΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔῊΛΗ ἘΓΈΝΕΤΟ ΕΥΜΕΝΏΣ ἘΠΙΘΌΡΗΣΑΣΑ, ΓΝΟΥΣ Ὡ ΚΡΙΤΙΆΣ ΩΤΙ ΕΙ ΕΠΙΤΡΈΠΟΙΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΔΙΑΨΗΦΙΞΕΘΑΙ ΠΕΡῚ ΑΥΤΌΥ, ΑΝΑΦΕΥΧΌΙΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΟ ΟΥ ΒΙΩΤΌΝ ἩΓΗΣΆΜΕΝΟΣ, ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΏΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΧΘΕΙΣ ΤῊ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΆΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΞΗΛΘΕ, ΚΑΙ ἘΠΙΣΤΉΝΑΙ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΤᾹ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΊΔΙΑ ἘΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΦΑΥΕΡΩΣ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΕΠῚ ΤΟΙΣ

1 ἘΣΧΑΤΏΤΑΤΑ BCFM: ἘΣΧΑΤΑ Kel. with V.

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we call him? For you in the days of the democracy were regarded as the bitterest of all haters of the commons, and under the aristocracy you have shown yourself the bitterest of all haters of the better classes. But I, Critias, am forever at war with the men who do not think there could be a good democracy until the slaves and those who would sell the state for lack of a shilling should share in the government, and on the other hand I am forever an enemy to those who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to the point of being ruled absolutely by a few. But to direct the government in company with those who have the means to be of service, whether with horses or with shields,¹—this plan I regarded as best in former days and I do not change my opinion now. And if you can mention any instance, Critias, where I joined hands with demagogues or despots and undertook to deprive men of standing of their citizenship, then speak. For if I am found guilty either of doing this thing now or of ever having done it in the past, I admit that I should justly suffer the very uttermost of all penalties and be put to death.”

When with these words he ceased speaking and the Senate had shown its good will by applause, Critias, realizing that if he should allow the Senate to pass judgment on the case, Theramenes would escape, and thinking that this would be unendurable, went and held a brief consultation with the Thirty, and then went out and ordered the men with the daggers to take their stand at the railing² in plain

¹ i.e. could equip themselves at their own expense as horsemen or (μετ᾽ ἄσπιδων) as hoplites.
² Separating the Senate from the auditorium.
51 ἰδρυφάκτους. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν Ἡγώ, ὁ Βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, δὲ ἀν ὅρων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἔγω οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασίν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τοῦ φανερῶς τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κανονῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὐντων μηδένα ἀποθνῄσκειν ἂνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἔγω οὖν, ἐφη, Ὁθραμένην τούτοις ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἀπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἐφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52 Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ Ὁθραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιν καὶ εἶπεν Ἡγώ δ', ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὑπὸ ἀν υἱόωτοι τὰ ἐγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἔμοι τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἁγνῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἄρκεσε οἷς ὁ βοῦληται, ἀλλ' ὄντερ νόμον ὁ θεός ἐγγαγαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ υμῶν καὶ ἔμοι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλ' καὶ περὶ θεοῦ ἀσεβεστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κάγαθοι, θαυμάξω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γυγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν οὖν οὖν εὐεξάλειπτων ἐκάστοι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκείλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κήρυξ τοὺς ἐνδεκα ἐπὶ
sight of the Senate. Then he came in again and said: "Senators, I deem it the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be, in case he sees that his friends are being deceived, not to permit it. I, therefore, shall follow that course. Besides, these men who have taken their stand here say that if we propose to let a man go who is manifestly injuring the oligarchy, they will not suffer us to do so. Now it is provided in the new laws that while no one of those who are on the roll of the Three Thousand may be put to death without your vote, the Thirty shall have power of life or death over those outside the roll. I, therefore," he said, "strike off this man Theramenes from the roll, with the approval of all the Thirty. That being done," he added, "we now condemn him to death."

When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar and said: "And I, sirs," said he, "beg only bare justice,—that it be not within the power of Critias to strike off either me or whomsoever of you he may wish, but rather that both in your case and in mine the judgment may be rendered strictly in accordance with that law which these men have made regarding those on the roll. To be sure," said he, "I know, I swear by the gods, only too well, that this altar will avail me nothing, but I wish to show that these Thirty are not only most unjust toward men, but also most impious toward the gods. But I am surprised at you," he said, "gentlemen of the aristocracy, that you are not going to defend your own rights, especially when you know that my name is not a whit easier to strike off than the name of each of you." At this moment the herald of the Thirty ordered the Eleven\textsuperscript{1} to seize Theramenes; and when

\textsuperscript{1} See on i. vii. 10.
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tòn Θηραμένην ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἤγομένουν αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἰπὲ μὲν ὁ Κριτίας: Παραδίδομεν ὡμίν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τούτου κατακεκριμένου κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἐνδέκα ὃς δὲ τὰ ἐκ τοῦτων πράττετε.

55 Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὠσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἑπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλή ἤσυχία εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἄγνοοντες ὅτι ἐγκεκρίθη έχουντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἀνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα ολα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥήμα καὶ τούτῳ αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειν, ἐπήρετο: Ἀν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἀρ’, ἔφη, οἰμώξοιμαι; καὶ ἔπει γε ἀποδεησκεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κόνιον ἔπτε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἐφασαν ἀποκοταββίσαντα εἶπεν αὐτῶν: Κριτία τοῦτ’ ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἄγνω, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαποῦ τῷ θανάτῳ παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολυπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

56 1 οἱ ἐνδέκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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they came in, attended by their servants and with Satyrus, the most audacious and shameless of them, at their head, Critias said: "We hand over to you," said he, "this man Theramenes, condemned according to the law. Do you, the Eleven, take him and lead him to the proper place and do that which follows."

When Critias had spoken these words, Satyrus dragged Theramenes away from the altar, and his servants lent their aid. And Theramenes, as was natural, called upon gods and men to witness what was going on. But the senators kept quiet, seeing that the men at the rail were of the same sort as Satyrus and that the space in front of the senate-house was filled with the guardsmen, and being well aware that the former had come armed with daggers. So they led the man away through the market-place, while he proclaimed in a very loud voice the wrongs he was suffering. One saying of his that is reported was this: when Satyrus told him that if he did not keep quiet, he would suffer for it, he asked: "Then if I do keep quiet, shall I not suffer?" And when, being compelled to die, he had drunk the hemlock, they said that he threw out the last drops, like a man playing kottabos,¹ and exclaimed: "Here's to the health of my beloved Critias." Now I am not unaware of this, that these are not sayings worthy of record; still, I deem it admirable in the man that when death was close at hand, neither self-possession nor the spirit of playfulness departed from his soul.

¹ The game consisted in throwing the last drops from a wine-cup into a basin, at the same time pronouncing the name and wishing the health of the person whom one loved.
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IV. Ῠηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξοῦ ἢδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῖς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἐξὸ τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἤγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἄγρους ἔχουσιν. Φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Ῥῆβας τῶν ὑποχώρουντων.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ὁρασύβουλος ὀρμήθεις ἐκ ᾿Οῃ-βῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλῆν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἱσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχίλιοι καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεύσι καὶ μάλυ εἰθερίας οὐσίας. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὕθως μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν 3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. Βουλο-μένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολυρχήσειν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἑπιτηδεῖων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ἵστεραιᾳ. οἱ δὲ νυφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὶ τῶν σκευο- 4 φόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γιγνώ-σκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων λεηλατήσουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς δοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τούς τε Δακωνικούς πλὴν ὅλων φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων δύο φυλάσ. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδεύσα- 5 μενοὶ ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ὁρασύ-βουλος, ἢδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλῆν περὶ 144
IV. So, then, Theramenes died; but the Thirty, thinking that now they could play the tyrant without fear, issued a proclamation forbidding those who were outside the roll to enter the city and evicted them from their estates, in order that they themselves and their friends might have these people's lands. And when they fled to Piraeus, they drove many of them away from there also, and filled both Megara and Thebes with the refugees.

Presently Thrasybulus set out from Thebes with about seventy companions and seized Phyle, a strong fortress. And the Thirty marched out from the city against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry, the weather being very fine indeed. When they reached Phyle, some of the young men were so bold as to attack the fortress at once, but they accomplished nothing and suffered some wounds themselves before they retired. And while the Thirty were planning to invest the place, so as to force them to surrender by shutting off their avenues for receiving provisions, a very heavy snow storm came on during the night and continued on the following day. So they came back to the city in the snow, after losing a goodly number of their camp-followers by the attacks of the men in Phyle. Then the Thirty, knowing that the enemy would also gather plunder from the farms if there were no force to protect them, sent out all but a few of the Laconian guardsmen and two divisions of the cavalry to the outlying districts about fifteen stadia from Phyle. These troops made their camp in a bushy spot and proceeded to keep guard. Now by this time about seven hundred men were gathered at Phyle, and
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ἔπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς. Θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὀπλὰ ὤσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα
6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἤσυχον εἶχεν. ἔπειλ δὲ πρὸς ἦμεραν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἦδη ἀνύσταντο ὅποι
ἐδείτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἰπποὺς ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ
ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὀπλὰ δρόμῳ προσέπτησαν· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὐς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον,
πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδώξαν ἐξ ἣ ἐπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον ἦ
ἐκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἵππεσῶν Νικόστρατον τε τῶν ἐκατὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι
7 καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαίον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὀπλὰ
tε ὁσα ἐλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπήλθαν ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἰππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν
μὲν πολεμών οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δὲ ἐως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνε-χώρησαν εἰς ἄστον.
8 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἔλευσιν
ἐξειδίσασθαι, ὡστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγελάντες τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν ἥλθον εἰς Ἂρχαὶ τῶν
τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἰππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶν
καὶ τόσης φυλακῆς προσδέσουντο, ἐκέλευν ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἂν

1 ἕκαστος: Kel. assumes a lacuna after it.
during the night Thrasybulus marched down with them; and about three or four stadia from the guardsmen he had his troops ground their arms and keep quiet. Then when it was drawing towards day and the enemy were already getting up and going away from their camp whithersoever each one had to go, and the grooms were keeping up a hubbub as they curried their horses, at this moment Thrasybulus and his men picked up their arms and charged on the run. They struck down some of the enemy and turned them all to flight, pursuing them for six or seven stadia; and they killed more than one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, and among the cavalry Nicostratus, nicknamed "the beautiful," and two more besides, catching them while still in their beds. Then after returning from the pursuit and erecting a trophy and packing up all the arms and baggage they had captured, they went back to Phyle. And when the cavalry from the city came to the rescue, there were none of the enemy left to be seen; so after waiting until their relatives had taken up the bodies of the dead, they returned to the city.

After this the Thirty, deeming their government no longer secure, formed a plan to appropriate Eleusis, so as to have a place of refuge if it should prove necessary. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, having issued orders to the cavalry to accompany them, went to Eleusis. There they held a review of the townspeople under guard of the cavalry, pretending that they wanted to know how numerous they were and how large an additional garrison they would require, and then ordered them all to register; and each man when he had registered had to pass out
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dià τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγαλῷ τούς μὲν ἱππέας ἔθην καὶ ἔθην κατέστησαν, τὸν δὲ ἐξίοντα ἂν οἱ ὑπηρετήσαν συνέ-δουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Δυσί-μαχον τὸν ὑπερχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παρα-
9 δοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐνδέκα. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ἡμιεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἐλεξεν Ἡμεῖς, ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, ούδὲν ἦτον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὡσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὔτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνει-
λημμένων Ἑλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἦστιν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβήσθε. δεῖξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τούτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψήφον. οἱ δὲ Δακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ἡμιεῖον ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἢ ἐν συνελεγμένους, ἄφε
κεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τῶν Πειραιῶν. οἱ δὲ τριά-
κοντα ἐπεὶ ἠσθοῦτο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἔβοθον σύν
τε τοῖς Δακωνικοῖς καὶ σύν τοῖς ἱππέου καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις. ἐπείτα ἔχωρον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν
10 Πειραιῶν ἀμαξίτων ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυ-
λῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχειρήσαν μὴ ἀνίεναι αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ
11 δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὧν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖ-
by the gate in the town wall in the direction of the sea. Meanwhile they had stationed the cavalry on the shore on either side of the gate, and as each man passed out their servants bound him fast. And when all had thus been seized, they ordered Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, to take them to Athens and turn them over to the Eleven. On the following day they summoned to the Odeum the hoplites who were on the roll and the cavalry also. Then Critias rose and said: "We, gentlemen," said he, "are establishing this government no less for you than for ourselves. Therefore, even as you will share in honours, so also you must share in the dangers. Therefore you must vote condemnation of the Eleusinians who have been seized, that you may have the same hopes and fears as we." Then he showed them a place and bade them cast their ballots therein, in plain sight of everybody. Now the Laconian guardsmen were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed; and these proceedings were pleasing also to such of the citizens as cared only for their own advantage.

Soon after this Thrasybulus took the men of Phyle, who had now gathered to the number of about one thousand, and came by night to Piraeus. When the Thirty learned of this, they at once set out against him, with the Laconian guardsmen and their own cavalry and hoplites; then they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus. And for a time the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but when they saw that the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, needed a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous,

1 A building designed for musical performances. It was just outside the city, to the south-east.
σθαί οὕτω πολλοίς οὐσί, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μονιχίαν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἀστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὡστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὀδὸν ἡ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μονιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγ-μένοι ἐχώρουν ἀνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλής ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὀδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἦταχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὕτω μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.

’Ἐν φ’ δὲ προσήχαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Ὀρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν. Ἀνδρεὶς πολίται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ύμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσίοντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὐς ύμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεφάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὐθεὶ δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἄδικοντας καὶ οἰκίων ἐξήλαυνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται οὐ οὕτω μὲν οὐποτε φῶντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ ἴναι ἑχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δει-
they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia.\(^1\) And the men from the city, when they came to the market-place of Hippodamus,\(^2\) first formed themselves in line of battle, so that they filled the road which leads to the temple of Artemis of Munichia and the sanctuary of Bendis; and they made a line not less than fifty shields in depth; then, in this formation, they advanced up the hill. As for the men from Phyle, they too filled the road, but they made a line not more than ten hoplites in depth. Behind the hoplites, however, were stationed peltasts and light javelin-men, and behind them the stone-throwers. And of these there were many, for they came from that neighbourhood.

And now, while the enemy were advancing, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields and did the same himself, though still keeping the rest of his arms, and then took his stand in the midst of them and spoke as follows: "Fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you and to remind others that those who form the right wing of the approaching force are the very men whom you turned to flight and pursued four days ago, but the men upon the extreme left—they, yes they, are the Thirty, who robbed us of our city when we were guilty of no wrong, and drove us from our homes, and proscribed those who were dearest to us. But now, behold, they have found themselves in a situation in which they never expected to be, but we always prayed that they might be. For with arms in our hands we stand face to face with them; and the gods, because

\(^1\) On the eastern side of the Piraeus peninsula.  
\(^2\) The architect of the market-place, as well as of the whole town of Piraeus.
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πνοοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οὶ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἦμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἦμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχεῖρωμεν, πολλῶν ὤντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὐσὶ τροπαία

15 ἵστασθαι διδόσαι καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ὧ δ' οὕτω μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν υπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὁρθὸν ἰέναι δύναυτ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξείσθημέθα τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.

16 καὶ ἤτο μὲν ἂν τὸν δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἦσον μάχεσθαι. νῦν δὲ, ἂν ἡμεῖς, ὡσπερ προσηκεῖ, προθύμως ἀφιητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὔδεὶς ἢ γε μεστίῃ ἤ ὀδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ὦστε ἐξέσται ὡσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἄν βουλόμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.

17 ἀλλ', ὁ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν ὅπως ἐκαστὸς τις ἐαυτῷ συνείσται τῇ νίκῃς αὐτιώτατος ὁμ. αὐτῇ γὰρ ἦμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οίκους καὶ ἑλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἵ εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὁ μακάριοι δήτα, οἳ ἄν ἦμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ, μνημεῖον γὰρ οὔδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὅν καλού τεύξεται. ἕξαρξι χεῖν ὅν ἐγὼ ἤνικ' ἄν καιρὸς ἤ,pαιάνα. ὅταν δὲ τοῦ Ἐννάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν,
once we were seized while dining or sleeping or trading, because some of us also were banished when we were not only guilty of no offence, but were not even in the city, are now manifestly fighting on our side. For in fair weather they send a storm, when it is to our advantage, and when we attack, they grant us, though we are few in number and our enemies are many, to set up trophies of victory; and now in like manner they have brought us to a place where the men before you, because they are marching up hill, cannot throw either spears or javelins over the heads of those in front of them, while we, throwing both spears and javelins and stones down hill, shall reach them and strike down many. And though one would have supposed that we should have to fight with their front ranks at least on even terms, yet in fact, if you let fly your missiles with a will, as you should, no one will miss his man when the road is full of them, and they in their efforts to protect themselves will be continually skulking under their shields. You will therefore be able, just as if they were blind men, to strike them wherever you please and then leap upon them and overthow them. And now, comrades, we must so act that each man shall feel in his breast that he is chiefly responsible for the victory. For victory, God willing, will now give back to us country and homes, freedom and honours, children, to such as have them, and wives. Happy, indeed, are those of us who shall win the victory and live to behold the gladdest day of all! And happy also he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious. Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalius\(^1\) to

\(^1\) i.e. Ares.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

tότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὃν ὑβρίσθημεν
tιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἀνδρας.

18 Ὁ ταύτα δ' εἶπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἑναντίους ἥσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρῆγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἔπιτιθέσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσου τις ἢ τρωθείη. Ἐπειδὰν μὲντοι τούτο γένηται, ἥγησόμεθα μὲν, ἕφη, ἥμεις, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μὲντοι θάνατος, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἔπεψατο, ἀλλ' ἔπει ἀνέλαβον
tὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὀστερὸν ὑπὸ μοῖρας τινὸς ἀγό-
μενος ἐκπηδῆσας πρῶτος, ἔμπεσον τοῖς πολεμίωις ἀποθυῆσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔνικων καὶ κατεδώξαν μέχρι τοῦ ἰμαλοῦ. ἀπεθανοῦν δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκonta Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιῶι δεκά ἄρχοντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος,
tῶν δ' ἄλλων περί ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτώνας οὐδὲνὸς τῶν πολι-
tῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἔπει δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργοὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες

19 20 ἀλλήλους πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλέοκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μᾶλ' εὐφωνος ὄν, κατασιω-
πησάμενος ἐλέξειν 'Ἀνδρεῖς πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτείναι βούλεσθε; ἥμεις γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πῶς ἐποίησαμεν, μετε-
σχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἵερόν τῶν σεμνότατων καὶ θυσίῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατίωται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύ-
our aid, then let us all, moved by one spirit, take vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered."

After saying these words and turning about to face the enemy, he kept quiet; for the seer bade them not to attack until one of their own number was either killed or wounded. "But as soon as that happens," he said, "we shall lead on, and to you who follow will come victory, but death, methinks, to me." And his saying did not prove false, for when they had taken up their shields, he, as though led on by a kind of fate, leaped forth first of all, fell upon the enemy, and was slain, and he lies buried at the ford of the Cephisus; but the others were victorious, and pursued the enemy as far as the level ground.1 In this battle fell two of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus, one of the Ten who ruled in Piraeus, Charmides, the son of Glauccon, and about seventy of the others. And the victors took possession of their arms, but they did not strip off the tunic1 of any citizen. When this had been done and while they were giving back the bodies of the dead, many on either side mingled and talked with one another. And Cleocritus, the herald of the initiated,2 a man with a very fine voice, obtained silence and said: "Fellow citizens, why do you drive us out of the city? why do you wish to kill us? For we never did you any harm, but we have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most splendid festivals, we have been companions in the dance and schoolmates and comrades in arms, and we have braved many dangers

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1 Worn underneath the breastplate. The victors, then, appropriated the arms and armour of the dead, but not their clothing.  
2 i.e. in the Eleusinian mysteries.
καμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἔλευ-
θερίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων καὶ 
συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων 
γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλως, αἰδοῦ-
μενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμα-
ράτανοιτες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς 
ἀνοσιώτατοις τριάκοντα, οί ἱδίων κερδέων ἐνεκα 
ὁλὴν δὲν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν 
ὄκτῳ μηαίν ἡ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἐτη 
πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύ-
εσθαί, οὕτως τὸν πάντων αἰσχροῦτόν τε καὶ καλε-
πώτατον καὶ ἀνικοῦτον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοὺς 
καὶ ἀνθρώπος πόλεμον ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους 
παρέχουσιν. ἄλλες ἐν γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ 
tῶν υἱῶν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς 
ἄλλα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐστίν οὗτος πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαύτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες 
καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαύτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν 
ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ. τῇ δὲ υποτελεία ὁ μὲν 
τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινὸς καὶ ἐρημοὶ συνεκα-
θητοῦ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου 
ἐκαστοὶ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο 
πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεσπονήκεσά τι 
βιαώτερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντὸν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγαν ὡς οὐ 
χρεία καθυφίασθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιᾷ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπί-
στευον μὴδὲν ἤδικηκέναι, αὐτοῖς τε ἄνελογζον 
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοντο τοῦ-
των τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν 
χρήμα πείθεσθαι οὕτῳ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύσαι τὴν 
πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκεῖνος

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with you both by land and by sea in defence of the common safety and freedom of us both. In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, in the name of our ties of kinship and marriage and comradeship,—for all these many of us share with one another,—cease, out of shame before gods and men, to sin against your fatherland, and do not obey those most accursed Thirty, who for the sake of their private gain have killed in eight months more Athenians, almost, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. And when we might live in peace as fellow citizens, these men bring upon us war with one another, a war most utterly shameful and intolerable, utterly unholy and hated by both gods and men. Yet for all that, be well assured that for some of those now slain by our hands not only you, but we also, have wept bitterly."

Thus he spoke; but the surviving officials of the oligarchy, partly because their followers were hearing such things, led them back to the city. On the following day the Thirty, utterly dejected and with but few adherents left, held their session in the council-chamber; and as for the Three Thousand, wherever their several detachments were stationed, everywhere they began to quarrel with one another. For all those who had done any act of especial violence and were therefore fearful, urged strenuously that they ought not to yield to the men in Piraeus; while those who were confident that they had done no wrong, argued in their own minds and set forth to the others that there was no need of their suffering these evils, and they said that they ought not to obey the Thirty or allow them to ruin the state. In the end they voted to depose the Thirty
μὲν καταπάυσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἔλεσθαι. καὶ εἰλοντο
dέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24 Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον. οἱ
dὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἀστεῖ καὶ μᾶλα τεταραγμένων καὶ
ἀπιστοῦντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἑπτάρχοις ἐπε-
μέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ
Ὀιδέω, τοὺς τε ἱπποὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες,
καὶ δὲ ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας
sylvania τὰς ἀσπίδας κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον
sylvania τοῖς ἱπποῖς, ἀεὶ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσουσίν
τινες αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ
tε ἰδὴ δύντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ
μὲν ξύλων, οἱ δὲ οἰσώνων, καὶ ταῦτα ἔλευκοῦντο.
πρὸν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες,
oitines συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἰεν, ἱσοτέ-
λειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆκαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπλῖται,
potllo de γυμνῆτες ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ
ἱππεῖς ὅσελ ἐβδομήκοντα. προνομάς δὲ ποιοῦ-
μενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκα-
θευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως
άλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὑπολοις ἐξῆκε, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς
ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ λῆστάς ἐχεροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς,
καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἑκακούργουν. περιέτυ-
χου de καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τις εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν

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1 i.e. in order to serve both as horsemen and as hoplites. See below and cp. note on iii. 48.

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and choose others. And they chose ten, one from each tribe.

The Thirty thereupon retired to Eleusis; and the Ten, with the aid of the cavalry commanders, took care of the men in the city, who were in a state of great disquiet and distrust of one another. In fact, even the cavalry did guard duty by night, being quartered in the Odeum and keeping with them both their horses and their shields; and such was the suspicion that prevailed, that they patrolled along the walls from evening onwards with their shields, and toward dawn with their horses, fearing continually that they might be attacked by parties of men from Piraeus. The latter, who were now numerous and included all sorts of people, were engaged in making shields, some of wood, others of wicker-work, and in painting them. And having given pledges that whoever fought with them should be accorded equality in taxation with citizens even if they were foreigners, they marched forth before ten days had passed, a large body of hoplites with numerous light troops; they also got together about seventy horsemen; and they made forays and collected wood and produce, and then came back to spend the night in Piraeus. As for the men in the city, none of them went forth from the walls under arms except the cavalry, who sometimes captured foraging parties made up of the men from Piraeus and inflicted losses upon their main body. They also fell in with some people of Aexone

2 i.e. outside the walls (see note on Odeum, § 9). In their "distrust of one another" (see above) they sought by this means to prevent desertions to Piraeus.

3 A favoured class of resident aliens, the ἰσορελεῖς, stood upon an equal footing with Athenian citizens in respect to taxes.
XENOPHON

ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἑπτῆδεῖα πορευομένοις καὶ τού-
tους Δυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ
λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων
27 ἱππεῶν. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιαῖ
tῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπὶ ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον
φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν,
ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσ-
έβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανο-
ποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, δὴ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν
ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμου μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσ-
άγειν, τὰ ξεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιάιους λίθους
ἀγεῖν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο
τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἔγνεντο, πολλὰ εἰς
ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα τῶν
μὲν τριάκοντα εἶ Ἐλευσῖνοι, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ κατα-
λόγῳ εἶ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς
ἀφεστήκοτος τοῦ δῆμου ἀπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων,
Δύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶνον τε εἶπε ταχὺ
ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιαὶ κατὰ τε γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἑπτῆδείων ἀποκλει-
σθείσαν, συνέπραξεν ἐκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς
dανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἄρμοστήν,
Λίβνην δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι.

29 καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτῶς μὲν Ἐλευσίναδε συνέλεγεν
ὅπλας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος
κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι

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who were going to their own farms after provisions; and Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, put these men to the sword, although they pleaded earnestly and many of the cavalrymen were much opposed to the proceeding. In retaliation, the men in Piraeus killed one of the cavalrymen, Callistratus, of the tribe of Leontis, having captured him in the country. For by this time they were very confident, so that they even made attacks upon the wall of the city. And perhaps it is proper to mention also the following device of the engineer in the city: when he learned that the enemy were intending to bring up their siege-engines by the race-course which leads from the Lyceum, he ordered all his teams to haul stones each large enough to load a wagon and drop them at whatever spot in the course each driver pleased. When this had been done, each single one of the stones caused the enemy a great deal of trouble.

And now, when the Thirty in Eleusis sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon, and likewise those in the city who were on the roll, and asked for aid on the plea that the commons had revolted from the Lacedaemonians, Lysander, calculating that it was possible to blockade the men in Piraeus both by land and by sea and to force them to a quick surrender if they were cut off from provisions, lent his assistance to the ambassadors, with the result that a hundred talents was loaned to the Athenian oligarchs and that Lysander himself was sent out as governor on land and his brother Libys as admiral of the fleet. Accordingly, Lysander proceeded to Eleusis and busied himself with gathering a large force of Peloponnesian hoplites; meanwhile the admiral kept guard on the sea, to prevent any supplies from coming in by
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

αὐτῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὡστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὐ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὔτω δὲ προχωροῦντων Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἀμα μὲν εὐδοκιμῆσοι, ἀμα δὲ ἱδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθηναίας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρούραν. συνείπουτο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορυθηίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐροκεῖν ἀν στρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦνται· ἐπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἑγώνωσκον Λακεδαίμονιοι βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκεῖαν καὶ πιστὶν ποιήσονται.

'Ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλομένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιῶν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.1 πέμπτων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἕαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοής ἐνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενής αὐτοῖς ὑν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπήλθε, τῇ ύστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαίμονιῶν δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἰππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν κωφῶν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαπτειχιστότατος εἰῃ ὁ Πειραιεὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεοι

1 τὸ εὐώνυμον MSS.: Kel. inserts Ἑλευσῖν after it.
water to the besieged; so that the men in Piraeus were soon in difficulties again, while the men in the city again had their turn of being confident, in reliance upon Lysander. While matters were proceeding in this way, Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, persuaded three of the five ephors and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. And all the allies likewise followed with him, excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession.

So Pausanias encamped on the plain which is called Halipedum, near Piraeus, himself commanding the right wing, while Lysander and his mercenaries formed the left. Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piraeus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked them, at least so far as to raise the war-cry, in order that it might not be evident that he felt kindly toward them. And when he had retired without accomplishing anything by his attack, on the next day he took two regiments of the Lacedaemonians and three tribes of the Athenian cavalry and proceeded along the shore to the Still Harbour, looking to see where Piraeus could best be shut off by a wall. As he was returning, some of the enemy

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1 Apparently the inlet to the west of the main harbour of Piraeus.
XENOPHON

tynes kal prágmatá autw paréichon, áchésthéis paríghgeile toús mévn Íptéas élán eis autóous énéntas, kal tá déka áf' Íbhs sýnepésteiá. sún dè toís állois autóis épìkholóúthei. kal ápé-

kteina mévn éghús triákota tón psilón, toús d' álloús katedíwzaxan prós to Peiraióis théatrou.

33 ékei dé étuxchon éksoplízómenoi ói te peltastai pántes kal ói óplíita tún ek Peiraióis. kal ói mévn psiloi énús ekdrámontes hkomítizox, éballo, étóxeun, Ísfereidónwv ói dé Lakedaímónioi, épeli autón polloí étutrwskontou, mála pieuázomenoi ánexówroun épi póda: ói d' én toútw polú mállon épékewnto. éntaútha kal ápobhúshkei Xáírwn te kal Ííbrachos, ámfw polémárchw, kal Lakráthhs ó olympiánikhs kal álloi oí tebampénei Lakedaí-

34 mouiónv pro tónn psilón en Kerameikh. Írwn dé
tauta ó Phrasúboulos kal ói álloi óplíita, éboshoun, kal tachú parétaexantō pro tónn állovn ép' ókto. ó dé Paussanías mála pístheis kal ánaxoríghas ósou stádia tétarra ἥ πέντε pro s lófon tina, paríghgelles tois Lakedaímóniois kal tois állois sýmmáchoi épichreíon prós éan-
tóon. ékei dé suntaxámenos panteilwos bátheian tìn pálaagga ἤγεν ἐπὶ tois 'Athevaiouvs. ói d' eis xéiras mévn édëxantō, épeita dé oí mévn éxeów-

σθησαν eis tón en tais 'Alaís pílou, oí dé

1 állovn MSS.: 'Alwv Kel.
attacked him and caused him trouble, whereupon, becoming angry, he ordered the cavalry to charge upon them at full speed, and the infantrymen within ten years of military age to follow the cavalry; while he himself with the rest of his troops came along in the rear. And they killed nearly thirty of the enemy's light troops and pursued the rest to the theatre in Piraeus. There, as it chanced, the whole body of the light troops and likewise the hoplites of the men in Piraeus were arming themselves. And the light troops, rushing forth at once, set to throwing javelins, hurling stones, shooting arrows, and discharging slings; then the Lacedaemonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy; and at this the latter attacked much more vigorously. In this attack Chaerón and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs, were slain, and Lacrates, the Olympic victor, and other Lacedaemonians who lie buried before the gates of Athens in the Cerameicus. Now Thrasybulus and the rest of his troops—that is, the hoplites—when they saw the situation, came running to lend aid, and quickly formed in line, eight deep, in front of their comrades. And Pausanias, being hard pressed and retreating about four or five stadia to a hill, sent orders to the Lacedaemonians and to the allies to join him. There he formed an extremely deep phalanx and led the charge against the Athenians. The Athenians did indeed accept battle at close quarters; but in the end some of them were pushed into the mire of the marsh of Halae and others gave

1 i.e. the youngest ten year-classes, each year-class including those who reached military age (i.e. the age of 20) in the same year.
2 The title of the commander of a Lacedaemonian regiment.
Δέκλιναν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν.

35 Ὅδε Παυσανίας τροπαίον στηράμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὗδ ὡς ὀργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ πέμπτων ἔδιδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιᾷ ὁ δὲ χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. διήστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσείναι ὡς πλεῖστοις συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινὴ ἀμφότεροι Δακεδαίμονι-αίς φίλοι εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἐφόρος ὃν συνήκουν· ὅσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὔτος τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἐπεμπὸν τοὺς τ’ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Δακεδαίμονιον σπουδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀστεί ἰδιώτας.

36 Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἔπει σέμνως οὗτοι ἡμέρες εἰς Δακεδαίμωνα, ἐπεμπόν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείς λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδίδοσι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἢ ἔχουσιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτῶν Δακεδαίμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὧ τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δὲ ἐφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιᾷ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Δακεδαίμονίοις, παραδίδοναι τὸν τε

37 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουγιχίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάν-

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way; and about one hundred and fifty of them were 408 B.C. slain.

Thereupon Pausanias set up a trophy and returned to his camp; and despite what had happened he was not angry with them, but sent secretly and instructed the men in Piræus to send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were with him, telling them also what proposals these ambassadors should offer; and they obeyed him. He also set about dividing the men in the city, and gave directions that as many of them as possible should gather together and come to him and the ephors and say that they had no desire to be waging war with the men in Piræus, but rather to be reconciled with them and in common with them to be friends of the Lacedaemonians. Now Naucleidas also, who was an ephor, was pleased to hear this. For, as it is customary for two of the ephors to be with a king on a campaign, so in this instance Naucleidas and one other were present, and both of them held to the policy of Pausanias rather than to that of Lysander. For this reason they eagerly sent to Lacedaemon both the envoys from Piræus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from the city party as private individuals, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus. When, however, these men had departed for Lacedaemon, the authorities in the city also proceeded to send ambassadors, with the message that they surrendered both the walls which they possessed and themselves to the Lacedaemonians, to do with them as they wished; and they said they counted it only fair that the men in Piræus, if they claimed to be friends of the Lacedaemonians, should in like manner surrender Piræus and Munichia. When the ephors and the members
των αυτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ, ἔσπερεμψαν πεντεκαΐδεκα ἀνδρὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέ-
ταξαν σὺν Παυσανία διαλλάξαι ὅτῃ δύναυτο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διηλλαξαν ἐφ' οὗτε εἰρήνην μὲν
έχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔαν-
τῶν ἐκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιαῖ ἀρξάμενων δέκα. εἰ δὲ τινὲς
φοβοῦντο τῶν ἔξ ἅστεως, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

39 Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διήκε
τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες
 σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίσεις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ
'Αθήνᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίη-
σαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἐρασύβουλος
ἐλεξεν 'Τμίν, ἔφη, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἅστεως ἀνδρεῖς,
συμβουλεύον ἐγὼ γυνώνι ὡμᾶς αὐτοῖς. μάλιστα
δ' ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσασθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν
μέγα φρονητέουν ἔστιν, ὡστε ἴμων ἀρχεῖν ἐπίχει-
ρεῖν. πότερον δικαίοτεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
δήμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ἃν οὐδέν πώποτε ἐνέκα
χρημάτων ύμᾶς ἡδίκησεν' ὡμείς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι
πάντων ὑστες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐνέκα κερδῶν
πεποίηκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαίοσύνης οὐδέν ὑμῖν
προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπὶ ἀνδρεία ὑμῶν μέγα
φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτων
γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους;
ἀλλὰ ἡνωμὴν φαίνετ' ἂν προεχεῖν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ
τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους
Πελοποννησίους υπὸ τῶν οὐδέν τούτων ἐχώντων

1 ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, whom Kel.
follows.
2 ἡδίκησεν MSS.: ἡδίκηκεν Kel.

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of the Lacedaemonian assembly had heard all the ambassadors, they dispatched fifteen men to Athens and commissioned them, in conjunction with Pausanias, to effect a reconciliation in the best way they could. And they effected a reconciliation on these terms, that the two parties should be at peace with one another and that every man should depart to his home except the members of the Thirty, and of the Eleven, and of the Ten who had ruled in Piraeus. They also decided that if any of the men in the city were afraid, they should settle at Eleusis.

When these things had been accomplished, Pausanias disbanded his army and the men from Piraeus went up to the Acropolis under arms and offered sacrifice to Athena. When they had come down, the generals convened an Assembly. There Thrasybulus spoke as follows: "I advise you," he said, "men of the city, to 'know yourselves.' And you would best learn to know yourselves were you to consider what grounds you have for arrogance, that you should undertake to rule over us. Are you more just? But the commons, though poorer than you, never did you any wrong for the sake of money; while you, though richer than any of them, have done many disgraceful things for the sake of gain. But since you can lay no claim to justice, consider then whether it is courage that you have a right to pride yourselves upon. And what better test could there be of this than the way we made war upon one another? Well then, would you say that you are superior in intelligence, you who having a wall, arms, money, and the Peloponnesians as allies, have been worsted by men who had
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περιελήλασθε 1; ἀλλ’ ἔτι Λακεδαιμονίως δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οὐγε ὀσπερ τούς δάκνοντας κύνας κλουφ δήσαντες παραδι- δόσιν, οὔτω κάκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἦδι-
42 κημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οὐχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἀνδρεῖ, ἄξιῶ ἐγὼ δὲν ὁμωμόκατε παρα-
βῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδεἰξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὐορκοὶ καὶ ὅσιοὶ ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν δέοι παράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

43 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχάς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολυ-
τεύοντο· ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἄκουσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι παν-
δῇμεὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰσ-
πέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαῖος ἔπεισαν συναλλαγήναι. καὶ ὀμόσαντες ὄρκους ἡ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὡμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

1 περιελήλασθε Geist: περιελήλαθεν MSS.: περιελήφθε Kel.

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none of these? Is it the Lacedaemonians, then, think you, that you may pride yourselves upon? How so? Why, they have delivered you up to this outraged populace, just as men fasten a clog upon the necks of snapping dogs and deliver them up to keepers, and now have gone away and left you. Nevertheless, my comrades, I am not the man to ask you to violate any one of the pledges to which you have sworn, but I ask you rather to show this virtue also, in addition to your other virtues,—that you are true to your oaths and are god-fearing men.” When he had said this and more to the same effect, and had told them that there was no need of their being disturbed, but that they had only to live under the laws that had previously been in force, he dismissed the Assembly.

So at that time they appointed their magistrates and proceeded to carry on their government; but at a later period, on learning that the men at Eleusis were hiring mercenary troops, they took the field with their whole force against them, put to death their generals when they came for a conference, and then, by sending to the others their friends and kinsmen, persuaded them to become reconciled. And, pledged as they were under oath, that in very truth they would not remember past grievances, the two parties even to this day live together as fellow-citizens and the commons abide by their oaths.
BOOK III
Γ

I. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηνᾶςι στάσις οὕτως ἐπελεύθησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κύρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Δακε- 
δαίμονα ἥξιον, οἱσπερ αὐτὸς Δακεδαίμονιος ἦν 
ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ 
Δακεδαίμονιος αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐφοροι 
δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτὸν, Σαμῖφ τῷ τότε 
ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἰ τι δέοιτο. 
κἀκεῖνος μὲν τοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδείχθη ὁ Κύρος 
ἐπράξεν ἐχὼν γὰρ τὸ ἔαυτον ναυτικόν σὺν τῷ 
Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε 
τὸν τὴς Κιλικίας Ἀρχοντα Σύνενσιν μὴ δύνασθαι 
κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσαί Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ 
2 βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κύρος στρατευμά τε συνε- 
λέξει καὶ τούτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ 
ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ 
τούτον ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, 
Θεμιστοκλῆς τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοὶ άξιος βασι- 
λεί δύο ἄξιος γεγενήθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν 
πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὃν τε αὐτὸς

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1 Artaxerxes.
2 At Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C.

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BOOK III

I. So ended the civil strife at Athens. Shortly after this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon and asked that the Lacedaemonians should show themselves as good friends to him as he was to them in the war against the Athenians. And the ephors, thinking that what he said was fair, sent instructions to Samius, at that time their admiral, to hold himself under Cyrus’ orders, in case he had any request to make. And in fact Samius did zealously just what Cyrus asked of him: he sailed round to Cilicia at the head of his fleet, in company with the fleet of Cyrus, and made it impossible for Syennessis, the ruler of Cilicia, to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the Persian king. As to how Cyrus collected an army and with this army made the march up country against his brother,¹ how the battle² was fought, how Cyrus was slain, and how after that the Greeks effected their return in safety to the sea—all this has been written by Themistogenes³ the Syracusan.

Now when Tissaphernes, who was thought to have proved himself very valuable to the King in the war against his brother, was sent down as satrap both of the provinces which he himself had previously ruled

¹ Unknown except for this reference. It would seem that Xenophon’s own Anabasis was not published at the time when these words were written.
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πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὁν Κύρος, εὐθὺς ἦξιον τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἄμα μὲν ἐλευθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἀμα δὲ φοβοῦμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὃτι Κύρον, ὃτ’ ἔξη, ἀντ’ ἐκείνων ἠρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἔδέχοντο αὐτὸν, εἰς Δακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἦξιον, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσὶν, ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἄσιᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὡς ἦ τε χώρα μὴ δροῦτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοῖ τῶν ἐλευθεροῖ εἶν. 4 οἱ οὖν Δακεδαίμονιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἀρμοστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμώ- δων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχίλιοι. ἦτήσατο δ’ ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους ἱππεάς, εἰπών ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ’ ἐπέμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ 5 δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιοντο. ἐπεί δ’ εἰς τὴν Ἄσιαν ἄφικοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν¹ στρα- τιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνιδῶν πόλεων πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπείδοντο δ’ τῇ Δακεδαίμονιος ἀνήρ ἐπιτάττοι, καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁ Ὁβίρων τὸ ἱππικόν² εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάτα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὄν, δύνατο ταύτῃ τῆς χώρας ἄδικωτον 6 διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεί δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἄναβαντες μετὰ Κύρον συνεμείξαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἦδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκούσαν προσέλαβε καὶ

¹ μὲν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
² ὁ Ὁβίρων τὸ ἱππικόν MSS.: Kel. inserts πρὸς before τὸ ἱππ.
and of those which Cyrus had ruled, he straightway demanded that all the Ionian cities should be subject to him. But they, both because they wanted to be free and because they feared Tissaphernes, inasmuch as they had chosen Cyrus, while he was living, instead of him, refused to admit him into their cities and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon asking that the Lacedaemonians, since they were the leaders of all Hellas, should undertake to protect them also, the Greeks in Asia, in order that their land might not be laid waste and that they themselves might be free. Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent them Thibron as governor, giving him an army made up of a thousand emancipated Helots and four thousand of the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also asked from the Athenians three hundred cavalrymen, saying that he would provide pay for them himself. And the Athenians sent some of those who had served as cavalrymen in the time of the Thirty, thinking it would be a gain to the democracy if they should live in foreign lands and perish there. Furthermore, when they arrived in Asia, Thibron also gathered troops from the Greek cities of the mainland; for at that time all the cities obeyed any command a Lacedaemonian might give. Now while he was at the head of this army, Thibron did not venture to descend to level ground, because he saw the enemy's cavalry, but was satisfied if he could keep the particular territory where he chanced to be from being ravaged. When, however, the men who had made the march up country with Cyrus joined forces with him after their safe return, from that time on he would draw up his troops against Tissaphernes even on the plains, and he got possession of cities, Pergamus by voluntary
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Τενθρανίαν καὶ Ἄλσαρναν, ὅν Εὔρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Δακεδαίμονίου· ἐκεῖνοι δ' αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα δῷρον ἐκ βασιλείας ἐδόθη ἀντί τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ οὗτες, ἔχουσε ο μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαγάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριαν καὶ Γρύνειον· δῷρον δὲ καὶ αὐταί ἀι πόλεις ἤσαν παρὰ βασιλείας Γογγύλωρ, ὁτι μόνον Ἦρετριέων μηδίσας 7 ἐφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ὁς ἄσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θῖβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισαν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλομένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐλείν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ύπόνομον ὄρυτεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄργυμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὐχελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαίοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἀπολιπόντο τά Λάρισας στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

8 Ἔν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἦδη οὗτος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου,¹ Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ

1 πορευομένου Dindorf: πορευομένου Kel. with MSS.

1 Xerxes, in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 101 ff.

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surrender, and likewise Teuthrania and Halisarna, two cities which were under the rule of Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lace-daemonian; and this territory had been given to Demaratus by the Persian king as a reward for accompanying him on his expedition against Greece. Furthermore, Gorgion and Gongylus gave in their allegiance to Thibron, they being brothers, one of them the ruler of Gambrium and Palaegambrium, the other of Myrina and Grynium; and these cities also were a gift from the Persian king to the earlier Gongylus, because he espoused the Persian cause,—the only man among the Eretrians who did so,—and was therefore banished. On the other hand, there were some weak cities which Thibron did actually capture by storm; as for Larisa (Egyptian Larisa, as it is called), when it refused to yield he invested and besieged it. When he proved unable to capture it in any other way, he sunk a shaft and began to dig a tunnel therefrom, with the idea of cutting off their water supply. And when they made frequent sallies from within the wall and threw pieces of wood and stones into the shaft, he met this move by making a wooden shed and setting it over the shaft. The Larisaeans, however, sallied forth by night and destroyed the shed also, by fire. Then, since he seemed to be accomplishing nothing, the ephors sent him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria.

When, in pursuance of his intention to march against Caria, he was already at Ephesus, Dercylidas arrived to take command of the army, a man who

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Because Cyrus the Great settled there a number of captured Egyptians. *Cyrop. vii. i. 45.*

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στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μᾶλα μηχανητικὸς· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὦ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιώθεις ἔφυγε· κατηγόρον γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐφείλ ἀρπάζειν τῷ 9 στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὦ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἔπει παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γυνοὺς ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλους τὸν Τισσαφέρη καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἄπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἀρμοστὴς γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Δυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἑστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἑχὼν, ὃ δοκεῖ κηλῆς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαῖοις Ἀκεδαμομνίων ἀταξίας γὰρ ζημίωμα ἔστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἡδιον ἐπὶ τῶν Φαρνάβαζου ἦε. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσοῦτον διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὡστε παρῆγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μὲχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους.

'Ἡ δὲ Αἰολίς αὐτὴ ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἔως μὲν ἔξη, Ζήνης Δαρδανέως· ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζόμενον τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν στατασέαν, Μανία ἢ τοῦ Ζήνης γυνῆ, Δαρδανεὶς καὶ αὐτὴ, ἀναξεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὡστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ 180
was reputed to be exceedingly resourceful; indeed, he bore the nickname "Sisyphus." Thibron accordingly went back home, and was condemned and banished; for the allies accused him of allowing his soldiers to plunder their friends. And when Dercylidas took over the command of the army, being aware that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were suspicious of each other, he came to an understanding with Tissaphernes and led away his army into the territory of Pharnabazus, preferring to make war against one of the two rather than against both together. Besides, Dercylidas was an enemy of Pharnabazus from earlier days; for after he had become governor at Abydus at the time when Lysander was admiral, he was compelled, as a result of his being slandered by Pharnabazus, to stand sentry, carrying his shield—a thing which is regarded by Lacedaemonians of character as a disgrace; for it is a punishment for insubordination. On this account, then, he was all the more pleased to proceed against Pharnabazus. And from the outset he was so superior to Thibron in the exercise of command that he led his troops through the country of friends all the way to the Aeolis, in the territory of Pharnabazus, without doing any harm whatever to his allies.

This Aeolis belonged, indeed, to Pharnabazus, but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he lived, acted as satrap of this territory for him; when Zenis fell ill and died, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue, took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus him-

1 A district in north-western Asia Minor. The northern part of it was included in the satrapy of Pharnabazus.
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παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρνάβαζῳ, ἐπορεύετο. 11 ἐλθοῦσα δ’ εἰς λόγους εἶπεν Ὅ Γαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἄνήρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τάλλα φίλος ἢν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπεδίδον ὡστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἀν οὖν ἔγω σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεὶ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δὲ τί σοι μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοι δὴπον ἐσταὶ ἀφελομένη ἐμὲ 12 ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Γαρνάβαζος ἔγων δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ δ’ ἔπει κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τε φόρινας οὐδὲν ἦτον τάνδρος ἀπεδίδον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁπότε ἀφικνοίτο πρὸς Γαρνάβαζον, ἄεὶ ἤγε δώρα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχουν κάλλιστα 13 καὶ ἤδιστα ἔδεχετο αὐτὸν, καὶ ἂς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττίδια Λάρισαν τε καὶ Ἀμαξίτων καὶ Κολωνᾶς, ἄινικῆ μὲν Ἐλληνικῆ προσβαλόντα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτῇ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρμα-μάξης θεωμένην. δὴ ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δώρᾳ ἀμέτρως ἔδίδον, ὡστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ἄινικὸν κατεσκεύασατο. συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Γαρνάβαζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἡ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὡστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Γαρνάβαζος

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self and to use for winning the favour of his concubines and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. And when she had gained an audience with him, she said: "Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? And if I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another." When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap. And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colone—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours,
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14 καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστην ὅτε παρεκάλεί. ἦδη δ’ οὖσας αὐτῆς ἔτων πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνήρ αὐτῆς ὁν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς υπὸ τινων ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἶχε γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ’ ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὀσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσήκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσῃ καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὀσπερ ἄν γυνη γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοντο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνίξας αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτῆς, τὸ τε ἐξὸς ὁντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἕτων ὁντα ὄς ἐπτακάλεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἔχυρας πόλεις κατέσχεν, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἔδέχοντο αὐτῶν, ἄλλα Φαρναβάζῳ ἔσφιξεν αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φουροῖ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἢξιόν ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὀσπερ ἡ Μανία. δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἐστ’ ἄν αὐτὸς ἔλθων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔφη ζην βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανία.

16 Ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἄφικνειται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Δάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξίτων καὶ Κολωνᾶς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπτων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἦξιον ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίγνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἡλεῖς καὶ Κοκυλίτις ἐπέθυντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φουροῦντες Ἐλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἔπειτ’ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάνιν τι καλῶς περιείποντο· ὁ δ’ ἐν Κεβρήνι, 184
and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. 399 B.C.
Now when she was more than forty years old, Meidias, who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station, and since, although she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. When he had done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. The other cities, however, would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. And Pharnabazus in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live if he failed to avenge Mania.

It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived, and he forthwith took possession in a single day of Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae, the cities on the coast, by their voluntary act; then he sent to the cities of Aeolis also and urged them to free themselves, admit him into their walls, and become allies. Now the people of Neandria, Ilium, and Cocylion obeyed him, for the Greek garrisons of those cities had been by no means well treated since the death of Mania; but the man who commanded the garrison in Cebren, a
μάλα ἵσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακήν ἔχων, νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζῳ τὴν πόλιν, τυμηθῆναι ἄν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἔδεχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυμομένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ πάλιν ἔθυνε. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ μέχρι τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυμόμενος, μάλα χαλέπῳς φέρων ἐσπευδε γὰρ πρὸν Φαρνάβαζου βοηθῆσαι ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Ἀιολίδος. Ἀθηνάδας δὲ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φιλοαἰφινόν διατρίβοντα, αὐτός δ' ἴκανος εἶναι τὸ ὑδωρ ἀφέλεσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμὸν σὺν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἐνδοθέν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτῶν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπῆλασαν. ἀγθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονταί ἐκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἃ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοί, οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτὸι δὲ βούλωσθον σὺν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἦτι δὲ διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἢκε λέγων ὃτι ὅσα λέγοιειν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὄσπερ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκὼς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἤγειτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δὲ ἀναπετά-

1 ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ MSS.: ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ Kel.
very strong place, thinking that if he succeeded in keeping the city for Pharnabazus he would receive honours at his hands, refused to admit Dercylidas. Thereupon the latter, in anger, made preparations for attack. And when the sacrifices that he offered did not prove favourable on the first day, he sacrificed again on the following day. And when these sacrifices also did not prove favourable, he tried again on the third day; and for four days he kept persistently on with his sacrificing, though greatly disturbed by the delay; for he was in haste to make himself master of all Aeolis before Pharnabazus came to the rescue. Now a certain Athenadas, a Sicyonian captain, thinking that Dercylidas was acting foolishly in delaying, and that he was strong enough of himself to deprive the Cebrenians of their water supply, rushed forward with his own company and tried to choke up their spring. And the people within the walls, sallying forth against him, inflicted many wounds upon him, killed two of his men, and drove back the rest with blows and missiles. But while Dercylidas was in a state of vexation and was thinking that his attack would thus be made less spirited, heralds came forth from the wall, sent by the Greeks in the city, and said that what their commander was doing was not to their liking, but that for their part they preferred to be on the side of the Greeks rather than of the barbarian. While they were still talking about this, there came a messenger from their commander, who sent word that he agreed with all that the first party were saying. Accordingly Dercylidas, whose sacrifices on that day, as it chanced, had just proved favourable, immediately had his troops take up their arms and led them toward the gates; and the people threw
σαντες ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα
φρουροὺς εὐθὺς ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν
Γέργιθα.

20 Ὁ δὲ Μείδιας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον,
ὅκυν ὃ ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν
Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἄν εἰς λόγους, εἰ
ὀμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πόλεως
ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἔνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων
ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὅποιους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ
λαβὼν δέκα ἔξηλθε, καὶ συμμείξας τῇ Δερκυλίδᾳ
ἵρωτα ἐπὶ τίσιν ἀν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δὲ
ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ’ ὅτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε
καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔαν καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦγε
πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μείδιας ὅτι οὐκ
ἀν δύνατο κωλύειν βία τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰσαειν
αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ
ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τους μὲν τοῦ
Μείδιου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοὺς
πολίτας τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος,
ὡςπερ Ἑλληνας καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρή, οὕτω
πολιτεῦειν, ἐξελθὼν ἤγειτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέργιθα.
συμπρούμενον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Σκη-
ψίων, τιμῶντες τε καὶ ἡδομενοί τοῖς πεπραγμέ-
νοις. ὁ δὲ Μείδιας παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἤξιον τὴν
τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ
Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔληγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς
ἀτυχήσοι. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦγε πρὸς τὰς
πύλας σὺν τῷ Μείδιᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἥκολού-
θει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο.
them open and admitted him. And after stationing a garrison in this city also, he marched at once against Scepsis and Gergis.

Now Meidias, who was expecting the coming of Pharnabazus and on the other hand was by this time afraid of his own citizens, sent to Dercylidas and said that he would come to a conference with him if he should first receive hostages. And Dercylidas sent him one man from each of the cities of the allies, and bade him take as many and whoever he pleased. Meidias took ten and came forth from the city, and when he met Dercylidas asked him on what conditions he could be an ally of the Lacedaemonians. Dercylidas replied, on condition of allowing his citizens to be free and independent; and as he said this he proceeded to advance upon Scepsis. Then Meidias, realizing that he would not be able, against the will of the citizens, to prevent his doing so, allowed him to enter the city. And Dercylidas, when he had sacrificed to Athena on the acropolis of Scepsis, led forth Meidias' garrison, gave over the city to the citizens, and then, after exhorting them to order their public life as Greeks and freemen should, departed from the city and led his army against Gergis. And many of the Scepsians took part in the escort which accompanied him on his way, paying him honour and being well pleased at what had been done, and Meidias also followed along with him and urged him to give over the city of the Gergithians to him. And Dercylidas told him only that he would not fail to obtain any of his rights; and as he said this, he was approaching the gates of the city together with Meidias, and the army was following him in double file as though on a peaceful mission.
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Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων καὶ μᾶλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὀρῶνς τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου. Κέλευσον, ὁ Μειδία, ἀνοίξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἤγη μὲν σὺ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κανταύθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ἄκνει μὲν ἀνοίγει τὰς πύλας, φοβοῦμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμαι συλληφθῆ, ἐκέλευσεν ἀνοίξαι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχουν αὐτὸν ὁ Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἅρπολιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιῶτας ἐκέλευε τέθεοι περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐθεῖ πρὸ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔτεθυτο, ἀνείπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίουν δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὁς μισθοφορῆσοντας. Μειδίας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν τοῖς Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὁ τι ποιοῖ, εἴπεν· Ἑγὼ μὲν τοῖς ἀπειμι, ἔφη, ξενία σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δὲ· Οὔ, μὰ Δι', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε ὁւν παρ᾽ ἦμῖν· ἐν χ' δὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζηται, ἔγω καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ διασκεψάμεθα καὶ ποιήσομεν.

25 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκαθέζοντο, ἥρωτα τὸ Δερκυλίδας. Εἰπὲ μοι, ὁ Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλυτε; Μάλιστα, ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἥσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηνήσιων εἴποι. Ψεῦδεται σε οὕτως, ὁ Δερκυλίδα. 'Τμεῖς δὲ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν.
Now the men on the towers of Gergis, which were extremely high, did not throw their missiles because they saw Meidias with him; and when Dercylidas said: "Bid them open the gates, Meidias, so that you may lead the way and I may go with you to the temple and there sacrifice to Athena," Meidias, although he shrank from opening the gates, nevertheless out of fear that he might be seized on the spot, gave the order to open them. When Dercylidas entered he proceeded to the acropolis, keeping Meidias with him as before; and he ordered the rest of his soldiers to take their positions along the walls while he, with those about him, sacrificed to Athena. When the sacrifice had been completed he made proclamation that the spearmen of Meidias' bodyguard should take their positions at the van of his own army, saying that they were to serve him as mercenaries; for Meidias, he said, no longer had anything to fear. Then Meidias, not knowing what to do, said: "Well as for me," said he, "I will go away to prepare hospitality for you." And Dercylidas replied: "No, by Zeus, for it would be shameful for me, who have just sacrificed, to be entertained by you instead of entertaining you. Stay, therefore, with us, and while the dinner is preparing you and I will think out what is fair toward one another and act accordingly."

When they were seated Dercylidas began asking questions: "Tell me, Meidias, did your father leave you master of his property?" "Yes, indeed," he said. "And how many houses had you? How many farms? How many pastures?" As Meidias began to make a list, the Scepsians who were present said, "He is deceiving you, Dercylidas." "Now don't you," said he, "be too petty about the details."
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μικρολογείοςθε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρίδα, Ἐυπερέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἰπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκούν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν. Ἔμετερ' ἄν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατούμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἦμων Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἤγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὃπον κεῖται τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου. ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἰκήσιν, ἦν παρειλήφει ο μείδιας, ἡκολούθει· κάκεινος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς- ἤλθεν, ἐκάλει ο Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προείπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴ τι κλέπτοντες ἀλώσινοτο τῶν Μανίας, παραχρήμα ἀποσφαγῆςουτο. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὅ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατε- σμήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. ἔξιον δὲ οὐς ἦρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἰπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἦμῶν, ὁ ἄνδρες, εἰργασται τῇ στρατιά ἐγγὺς ἐναυτοῦ ὀκτακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· ἄν δὲ τι προσεργασώ- μεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἰπε· γυνώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσονται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου· Ἐμὲ δὲ ποὺ χρή οἰκεῖν, ὁ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, ὁ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ Σκῆψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδα οἰκία.

II. Ὄ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὀκτὼ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρύς.
When the list of the inheritance of Meidias had been made Dercylidas said: "Tell me, to whom did Mania belong?" They all said that she belonged to Pharnabazus. "Then," said he, "do not her possessions belong to Pharnabazus too?" "Yes, indeed," they said. "Then they must be ours," he said, "since we are victorious; for Pharnabazus is our enemy. Let some one, then," said he, "lead the way to the place where the possessions of Mania—or rather of Pharnabazus—are stored." Now when the rest led the way to the dwelling of Mania, to which Meidias had succeeded, the latter also followed. And when Dercylidas entered he called the stewards, told his servants to seize them, and announced to them that if they were caught concealing any of Mania's property they should have their throats cut on the spot; so they showed it to him. When he had seen all, he shut it up, sealed it, and set a guard upon it. As he came out he said to some of the commanders of divisions and captains whom he found at the doors: "Gentlemen, we have earned pay for the army—eight thousand men—for almost a year; and if we earn anything more, that, too, shall be added." He said this because he knew that upon hearing it the soldiers would be far more orderly and obedient. And when Meidias asked: "But as for me, Dercylidas, where am I to dwell?" he replied: "Just where it is most proper that you should dwell, Meidias, —in your native city, Scepsis, and in your father's house."

II. After Dercylidas had accomplished these things and gained possession of nine cities in eight days, he set about planning how he might avoid being a burden to his allies, as Thibron had been, by winter-
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eίδη τούς συμμάχους, ὃσπερ Ὀἰβρων, μηδὲ αὐτὸς Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονών τῇ ἱππῳ κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔρωτά πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίζας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτεχνίσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῷ οἰκήσει Φρυγία, σπουδᾶς εἴλετο.

2 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἔλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνία Θράκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πάνυ τι ἀχθομένου πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἁσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἁγῶν τὴν Βιθυνία καὶ ἀφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀθρυσῶν ἵππεῖς τε ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὡς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡληνικοῦ ὡς εἰκοσὶ στάδια, αἰτούντες φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἔζησαν ἐπὶ λείαι, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδρά-3 ποδά τε καὶ χρήματα. ἦδη δὲ ὅντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοίς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ' ἔζησαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλυσαν Ἑλληνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες παμπληθεῖς πελτασταί καὶ ἵππεῖς ἀμ' ἡμέρα προσπέττουσι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὡς διακόσιοι υἱοίν. ἐπειδή δ' ἐγγύς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐβάλλον, οἱ δ' ἑκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔπειτε ἐτιτρώσκοντο μὲν καὶ

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ing in a friendly country, and how, on the other hand, Pharnabazus might not, despising the Lacedaemonian army because of his superiority in cavalry, harm the Greek cities. So he sent to Pharnabazus and asked him whether he preferred to have peace or war. And Pharnabazus, thinking that Aeolis had been made a strong base of attack upon his own dwelling-place, Phrygia, chose a truce.

When these things had taken place, Dercylidas went to Bithynian Thrace and there passed the winter, by no means to the displeasure of Pharnabazus, for the Bithynians were often at war with him. And during most of the time, Dercylidas was plundering Bithynia in safety and had provisions in abundance; when, however, a force of Odrysians, about two hundred horsemen and about three hundred peltasts, came to him as allies from Seuthes¹ across the strait, these troops, after making a camp about twenty stadia from the Greek army and enclosing it with a palisade, asked Dercylidas for some of his hoplites as a guard for their camp and then sallied forth for booty, and seized many slaves and much property. When their camp was already full of a great deal of plunder, the Bithynians, learning how many went out on the raids and how many Greeks they had left behind as a guard, gathered together in great numbers, peltasts and horsemen, and at daybreak made an attack upon the Greek hoplites, who numbered about two hundred. When the attacking party came near, some of them hurled spears and others threw javelins at the Greeks. And the latter, wounded and slain one after another, and

¹ King of the Odrysians, who dwelt "across the strait" (i.e. the Bosporus) in Thrace.
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ἀπεθνησκον, ἔποιουν δ' οὔδεν κατειργμένοι ἐν τῷ σταυρῷματι ὡς ἀνδρομήκει ὑπρι, διασπάσαντες τὸ 4 αὐτῶν ὁχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ ἦ μὲν ἐκθέοιεν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνθεν δὲ καὶ ἐνθεν ἡκόντιζον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ’ ἐκάστη ἐκδρομὴ κατέβαλλον τέλος δὲ ὅσπερ ἐν αὐλῷ περασθέντες κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ἦσθον τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν.

5 ταχὺ δὲ ταύτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς σκινοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Ἐρηκῶν ἀποκείναντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον ὡστε οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ήρον ἡ νεκροῦς γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανήλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολὺν οἶνον ἐκπών ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὃμοι δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἴχνον καὶ ἔκασον τὴν Βιθύνια.

6 Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ ἀποπορεύομενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφίκειται εἰς Δάμφακον. ἐνταῦθα δ’ οὖντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἶκοι τελῶν Ἀρακός τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντιοθένης. οὗτοι δ’ ἠλθοῦν ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδα ἐρούντες μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ

1 Before εν the MSS. have ἀποχωρῆσαντες. Kel. brackets.

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unable to do the enemy any harm because of being shut up in the palisade, which was about the height of a man, finally broke through their own fortification and charged upon them. Then the Bithynians, while they gave way at whatever point the Greeks rushed forth, and easily made their escape, since they were peltasts fleeing from hoplites, kept throwing javelins upon them from the one side and the other and struck down many of them at every sally; and in the end the Greeks were shot down like cattle shut up in a pen. About fifteen of them, however, made their escape to the main Greek camp, and these fifteen only because, as soon as they perceived the situation, they had slipped away in the course of the battle unheeded by the Bithynians. As for the latter, when they had accomplished this speedy victory, had slain the Odrysian Thracians who guarded the tents, and recovered all the booty, they departed; so that the Greeks, on coming to the rescue when they learned of the affair, found nothing in the camp except dead bodies stripped bare. But when the Odrysians returned, they first buried their dead, drank a great deal of wine in their honour, and held a horse-race; and then, from that time on making common camp with the Greeks, they continued to plunder Bithynia and lay it waste with fire.

At the opening of the spring Dercylidas departed from Bithynia and came to Lampsacus. While he was there, Aracus, Naubes, and Antisthenes arrived under commission of the authorities at home. They came to observe how matters stood in general in Asia, and to tell Dercylidas to remain there and continue in command for the ensuing year; also to


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dε σφύσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἴπειν ὡς δὲν μὲν πρόσθεν ἑπόλου μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὁτι δὲ νῦν οὐδὲν ἥδικουν, ἐπαινοῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου εἴπειν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἀν δὲ δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτοὺς. ἔπει μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεστηκώς ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἀλλ', ὁ ἀνδρεὶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἥμεις μὲν ἔσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἰτίον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δέ, αὐτὸλ ἢδη ἰκανοὶ ἔστε γιγνώσκειν.

8 Συσκηνούντων δὲ τῶν τε οἴκοθεν πρέσβεων καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀρακον ὅτι καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερσονησί-τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονί. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιν την Χερσονήσουν ἐργάζεσθαι φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἀγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωκών εἰ δ’ ἀποτελείσθηε ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ σφίσιν ἄν γὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλος ὀπόσι βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων. ὥστε ἔφασαν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζεων, εἰ καὶ πεμφθεὶς τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πό-9 λεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὁ οὖν Δερκυ-λίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἢ ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας, ἀλλ’ ἐπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδομενὸς δὴ ἐμελλὼν

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tell him that the ephors had given them instructions to call together the soldiers and say that while the ephors censured them for what they had done in former days, they commended them because now they were doing no wrong; they were also to say in regard to the future that if the soldiers were guilty of wrong-doing the ephors would not tolerate it, but if they dealt justly by the allies they would commend them. When, however, they called together the soldiers and told them these things, the leader of Cyrus' former troops replied: "But, men of Lacedaemon, we are the same men now as we were last year; but our commander now is one man, and in the past was another. Therefore you are at once able to judge for yourselves the reason why we are not at fault now, although we were then."

While the ambassadors from home and Dercylidas were quartered together, one of Aracus' party mentioned the fact that they had left ambassadors from the Chersonesians at Lacedaemon. And they said that these ambassadors stated that now they were unable to till their land in the Chersonese, for it was being continually pillaged by the Thracians; but if it were protected by a wall extending from sea to sea, they and likewise all of the Lacedaemonians who so desired would have an abundance of good, tillable land. Consequently, they said, they would not be surprised if some Lacedaemonian were in fact sent out by the state with an army to perform this task. Now Dercylidas, when he heard this, did not make known to them the purpose which he cherished, but dismissed them on their journey through the Greek cities to Ephesus, being well pleased that

1 Probably Xenophon himself.
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ὁψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς διαγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἑπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἦγου μενετέον οὐ, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδᾶς ἐχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἡ πόλεμον. ἐλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπονδᾶς, οὔτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνα πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Θράκης πορευέται καὶ ξενισθείς ὑπὸ Σευθοῦ ἀφίκεται εἰς Χερρόνησον. ἦν καταμαθὼν πόλεις μὲν ἐνδεκα ἡ δώδεκα ἔχουσαν, χώραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὕσαν, κεκακακωμένην δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, ἔπει μέτρου ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἀθλα ἀυτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐκτειχίσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπὸ ἐκαστοὶ ἄξοι εἰεν, ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τείχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἡρινοῦ χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὰς δὲ κἀκαθήν σπόριμου, πολλὰς δὲ πεφυτευμένην, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νυμᾶς παντοδαποῖς κτήνεις. τἀῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπισκεπτῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἔωρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἦρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχουσα χωρίον ἱσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ ἀγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ

1 After πόλεις the MSS. have φιλίας. Kel. brackets.
they were going to see the cities enjoying a state of peace and prosperity. So they departed. But Dercylidas, having now found out that he was to remain in Asia, sent to Pharnabazus again and asked whether he preferred to have a truce, as during the winter, or war. Since Pharnabazus on this occasion again chose a truce, under these circumstances Dercylidas, leaving the cities of that region also in peace, crossed the Hellespont with his army to Europe, and after marching through a portion of Thrace which was friendly and being entertained by Seuthes, arrived at the Chersonese. And when he learned that this Chersonese contained eleven or twelve towns and was an extremely productive and rich land, but had been ravaged, even as was stated, by the Thracians, and found also that the width of the isthmus was thirty-seven stadia, he did not delay, but after offering sacrifices proceeded to build a wall, dividing the whole distance part by part among the soldiers; and by promising them that he would give prizes to the first who finished their part, and also to the others as they severally might deserve, he completed the wall, although he had not begun upon it until the spring, before the time of harvest. And he brought under the protection of the wall eleven towns, many harbours, a great deal of good land suited for raising grain and fruit, and a vast amount of splendid pasture-land for all kinds of cattle. When he had done this, he crossed back again to Asia.

As he was now inspecting the cities of Asia, he saw that in general they were in good condition, but found that exiles from Chios held possession of Atarneus, a strong place, and from this as a base were pillaging Ionia and making their living thereby.
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ξώντας ἀπὸ τοῦτον. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῶτος ἐνήν αὐτοῖς, περισσοτεροποδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ ἐν ὅκτῳ μησὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητὴν, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκπλευ πάντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεία, ἦν εἰς αὐτὸ καταγωγή, ὁπότε ἀφικνώτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, ἦ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὅδον.

12 Καὶ μέχρι τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διήγον Τισσαφέρνης τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνυόμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἰς ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνη, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἀφίεναι αὐτοῦμοι τὰς Ἕλληνιδὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἐνθαπερ οἱ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὔτως ἄν ἐφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν ἅταυτὸν ἄυτον, ἀὐτοῦμοι σφῶς ἀφίεναι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλείων. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἀφιμένος, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο Τισσαφέρνης, ἀμα δὲ διαμαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἔτουμος εἰς κοινῆ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀλλοίς τε γὰρ ὑπεφθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπώς ἔφερεν ἀπεστηρημένος. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων. Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν,

1 After αὐτῶν the MSS. have συγχωρῆσειν. Kel. brackets. 202
HELENICA, III. ii. 11–13

When he learned further that they had a large stock of grain in the city, he invested and besieged them; and in eight months he brought them to terms, appointed Dracon of Pellene to have charge of the city, and after storing in the place all kinds of supplies in abundance, so that he might have it as a halting-place whenever he came there, departed to Ephesus, which is distant from Sardis a three days' journey.

Up to this time Tissaphernes and Dercylidas, and the Greeks of this region and the barbarians, continued at peace with one another. Now, however, embassies came to Lacedaemon from the Ionian cities and set forth that it was in the power of Tissaphernes, if he chose, to leave the Greek cities independent; therefore they expressed the belief that if Caria, the particular province where the residence of Tissaphernes was, should suffer harm, under these circumstances he would very quickly leave them independent. When the ephors heard this, they sent to Dercylidas and gave orders that he should cross the river into Caria, and that Pharax, the admiral, should coast along with his ships to the same place. They accordingly did so. Now it chanced that at this time Pharnabazus had come to visit Tissaphernes, not only because Tissaphernes had been appointed general-in-chief, but also for the purpose of assuring him that he was ready to make war together with him, to be his ally, and to aid him in driving the Greeks out of the territory of the King; for he secretly envied Tissaphernes his position as general for various reasons, but in particular he took it hardly that he had been deprived of Aeolis. Now when Tissaphernes heard his words,
ἔφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἔμοι ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
περὶ τούτων βουλευσόμεθα. ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν,
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἰκανᾶς φυλακᾶς εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα
καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.
ὡς δὲ ἦκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερα-
κότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὡς
όκνοις μὴ ὁ Γεσσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
ἐρήμην ὦςαν καταθέσαντες φέρωσι καὶ ἀγωσὶ τὴν
χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὖν
οὐδὲν τι συντεταγμένον τῷ στρατεύματι, ὡς προ-
ἐλημνιθῶν τῶν πολέμων εἰς τὴν Ἑφεσίαν,
ἐξαιένθη ὃρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ
tῶν μνημάτων καὶ ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ
παρ᾽ ἐαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι
παρατεταγμένους ἢ αὐτοῖς ἢν ἢ ὅδοις Κάρας τε
λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἔτυγχανε
παρὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὅσον εἶχον
ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἰππικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν
Γεσσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρνα-
βάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐανύμῳ.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν
ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἰπὲ παρατάπτεσθαι
τὴν ταχύστην εἰς ὅκτω, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ
κράστηδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱπ-
πέας, ὅσον γε δὴ καὶ οἶνους ἐτύγχασαν ἔχουν
αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐθύμετο. ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
στράτευμα, ἤσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρασκευάζετο ὡς
μαχούμενον. ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πρίηνης τε καὶ
Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νῆσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πό-
λεων, οἱ μὲν τινὲς καταληπτότες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ τὰ
ὀπλα ἀπεδίδρασκον καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος ἐν

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he said: "First, then, cross over with me into Caria, and then we will consult about these matters." But when they were there, they decided to station adequate garrisons in the fortresses and to cross back again to Ionia. And when Dercylidas heard that they had crossed the Maeander again, he told Pharax that he was afraid Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus might overrun and pillage the land, unprotected as it was, and so crossed over himself to Ionia. Now while they were on the march, the army being by no means in battle formation, since they supposed that the enemy had gone on ahead into the territory of the Ephesians, on a sudden they saw scouts on the burial-mounds in front of them; and when they also sent men to the tops of the mounds and towers in their neighbourhood, they made out an army drawn up in line of battle where their own road ran—Carians with white shields, the entire Persian force which chanced to be at hand, all the Greek troops which each of the two satraps had, and horsemen in great numbers, those of Tissaphernes upon the right wing and those of Pharnabazus upon the left.

When Dercylidas learned of all this, he told the commanders of divisions and the captains to form their men in line, eight deep, as quickly as possible, and to station the peltasts on either wing and likewise the cavalry—all that he chanced to have and such as it was; meanwhile he himself offered sacrifice. Now all that part of the army which was from Peloponnesus kept quiet and prepared for battle; but as for the men from Priene and Achilleium, from the islands and the Ionian cities, some of them left their arms in the standing grain (for the grain was tall in the plain of the Maeander) and ran away, while all


ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

tw Μαιάνδρου πεδίω. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐμενον, δήλοι ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγηγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν. ὁ μὲν τισσαφέρνης τὸ τε Κύρειον στράτευμα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας νομίζων ὁμοίως εἶναι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὦτι εἰς λόγους βούλομαι αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἰδή τῶν πεπολεμησάμεν υπὸ μέντοι ἐκείνοις βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα δἐ τοιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτείν καὶ ληπτείν. δοξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περαυθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν εἰς Λευκοφρυν, ἐνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἑρῶν μᾶλα ἅγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἡ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὑδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐστράφθη, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραῖα εἰς τὸ συγκεκύμενον χωρίον ἠλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθεσθαι ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίς ἀν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονόμους ἐφ’ ἐβασιλεῦς τὰς Ἐλληνιδᾶς πόλεις, ὢς Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὦτι εἰ ἐξέλθοι τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰσπόντες ἀλλήλους σπουδᾶς ἐποίησαντο, ἐως ἀπαγγελθεῖν τὰ λεχθέντα Δερκυλίδα μὲν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλεία.
those who did stand showed clearly that they would not stand very long. On the other side Pharnabazus, it was reported, was urging an engagement. But Tissaphernes, remembering the way Cyrus' troops had made war with the Persians and believing that the Greeks were all like them, did not wish to fight, but sent to Dercylidas and said that he wanted to come to a conference with him. And Dercylidas, taking the best-looking of the troops he had, both cavalry and infantry, came forward to meet the messengers and said: "For my part I had prepared to fight, as you see; however, since he wishes to come to a conference, I have no objection myself. But if this is to be done, pledges and hostages must be given and received." When this plan had been decided upon and carried out, the armies went away, the barbarians to Tralles in Caria, and the Greeks to Leucophrys, where there was a very holy shrine of Artemis and a lake more than a stadium in length, with a sandy bottom and an unfailing supply of drinkable, warm water. This, then, was what was done at that time; but on the following day the commanders came to the place agreed upon, and it seemed best to them to learn from one another on what terms each would make peace. Dercylidas accordingly stated his condition, that the King should leave the Greek cities independent; and Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus stated theirs, that the Greek army should depart from the country and the Lacedaemonian governors from the cities. When they had stated these terms to one another, they concluded a truce, to continue until the proposals should be reported by Dercylidas to Lacedaemon, and by Tissaphernes to the King.
Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὅργιζομενοι τοῖς Ἥλειοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποίησαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες καταδεικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυνοι καὶ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἄγώνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἦρκε, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἁμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἴμιοχον, μαστιγοῦσας αὐτόν,

22 ἁνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν. τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ἀγίδος πεμφθέντος θύσαι τῷ Διῷ κατὰ μαντείαν τινὰ ἐκώλυνοι οἱ Ἥλειοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἄρχαιον εἰὴ οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηρίαζεσθαι τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἐφ'

23 Ἐλλήνων πολέμῳ ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπήλθεν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ὅργιζομενοι ἐδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτοὺς. πέμψαντες οὖν πρόσβεις εἰς Ἡλιον εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοῖ εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτοῦς. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιόσοιεν ταῦτα, ἐπιληψίδας γὰρ ἔχοιν τὰς πόλεις, φρουράν ἔφηναν οἱ ἐφόροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἀγίως ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν κατὰ

1 i.e. at the Olympic games. 2 A Lacedaemonian.
HELLENICA, III. II. 21–23

While these things were being done in Asia by 899 B.C. Dercylidas, the Lacedaemonians at the same time were engaged in war at home, against the Eleans. They had long been angry with the Eleans, both because the latter had concluded an alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and because, alleging that judgment had been rendered against the Lacedaemonians, they had debarred them from both the horse-races and the athletic contests;¹ and this alone did not suffice them, but furthermore, after Lichas² had made over his chariot to the Thebans and they were proclaimed victorious, when Lichas came in to put the garland upon his charioteer, they had scourged him, an old man, and driven him out. And again, at a later time, when Agis was sent to sacrifice to Zeus in accordance with an oracle, the Eleans would not allow him to pray for victory in war, saying that even from ancient times it was an established principle that Greeks should not consult the oracle about a war with Greeks; so that Agis went away without sacrificing. It was in consequence of all these things that the ephors and the assembly were angry, and they determined to bring the Eleans to their senses. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Elis and said that it seemed to the authorities of Lacedaemon to be just that they should leave their outlying towns independent. And when the Eleans replied that they would not do so, for the reason that they held the towns as prizes of war, the ephors called out the ban.³ And Agis, at the head of the army, made his entrance into the territory of Elis

³ φρουράν φαίνειν was a Lacedaemonian phrase covering both the declaration of war and the mobilization of the army.
24 Λάρισουν. ἂρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγύνεται. ὁ δὲ Ὁγις θείων ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε τὸ στρατεύμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἡλείοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡςας ἦδεσαν δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὖσας. περιόντει δὲ τῷ ἐκινωτῷ φαίνοντι πάλιν οἱ ἐφοροὶ φρουρῶν ἔπι τὴν Ἡλικιαν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ὁγιδί πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἱ τὲ ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁγίδος δι' Ἀυλῶνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Δεσπραῖται ὑποστάντες τῶν Ἡλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστοι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ Ἡπιταλίεις. διαβαινοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχόρουν Δεσπρών Και Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς.

26 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἔλθον εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν ἔθυμε τῷ Διῳ τῷ Ὁλυμπίῳ κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσαις δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάνων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνης, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας: ὡστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἔκοντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετείχον τῆς ἄρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὡστερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοπονήσῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος γὰρ ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ.
through Achaea, along the Larisus. Now when the army had but just arrived in the enemy's country and the land was being laid waste, an earthquake took place. Then Agis, thinking that this was a heaven-sent sign, departed again from the country and disbanded his army. As a result of this the Eleans were much bolder, and sent around embassies to all the states which they knew to be unfriendly to the Lacedaemonians. In the course of the year, however, the ephors again called out the ban against Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians, took part with Agis in the campaign. Now when Agis entered Elis by way of Aulon, the Lepreans at once revolted from the Eleans and came over to him, the Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epitalians. And while he was crossing the river, the Leetrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over to him.

Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country; insomuch that many more of the Arcadians and Achaeans, on hearing the news, came of their own accord to join the expedition and shared in the plunder. In fact this campaign proved to be a harvest, as it were, for Peloponnesus. When Agis reached the city he did some harm to the suburbs and the gymnasia, which were beautiful, but as for the city itself (for it was unwalled) the Lacedaemonians thought that he was unwilling, rather than unable, to capture
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dύνασθαι ἔλειν. δησυμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ
οὕσης τῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι
οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν, τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρή-
σασθαί τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον, τὴν
πόλιν 1 δὲ αὐτῶν προσχωρῆσαι τοῖς Δακεδαι-
μονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες εξ οἴκιας ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγᾶς
ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλοις τῇ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ
ὀμοίων τινα Ὀρασυδαίων ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ
δήμου προστάτῃ φύοντο Ὀρασυδαῖον ἀπεκτονέαν,
ὡστε ὁ μὲν δήμος παντελῶς κατημόρησε καὶ ἰσυ-
χίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ᾽ ὕφοντο πεπρα-
γμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο
τὰ ὀπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Ὀρασυδαῖος ἔτι
καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὔπερ ἐμεθύσῃ. ὡς δὲ
ἥσθετο ὁ δήμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν, 2 περιπλῆσθη
ἡ οἶκια ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ἐσμοῦ
μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμόν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠγεῖτο ὁ Ὀρασυ-
δαῖος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δήμον, γενομένης μάχης
ἐκράτησεν ὁ δήμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
Δακεδαίμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρῆσαντες ταῖς σφαγάς.
ἔπει δ' αὖ ὁ Ἀγμ. ἀπ' τῶν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλ-
φείον, φρούρους καταληπτῶν ἐν Ἕπιταλῷ πλησίον
τοῦ Ἀλφείου καὶ Λύσιππον ἀρμοστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἑξ
Ἦλιος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διήκεν, αὐτοῖς
δὲ οἰκαδε ἀπῆλθε.

30 Καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χει-
μῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν
ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Ὀρασυδαίως εἰς Δακε-
δαίμονα συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τείχος περιελεῖν

1 τὴν πόλιν: inserted by Leunclavius, whom Kel. follows.
2 After τέθνηκεν the MSS. have ο Ὀρασυδαίως. Kel. brackets.
it. Now while the country was being ravaged and the Lacedaemonian army was in the neighbourhood of Cyllene, the party of Xenias—the man of whom it was said that he measured out with a bushel measure the money he received from his father—wishing to have their city go over to the Lacedaemonians and to receive the credit for this, rushed out of a house, armed with swords, and began a slaughter; and having killed, among others, a man who resembled Thrasydaeus, the leader of the commons, they supposed that they had killed Thrasydaeus himself, so that the commons lost heart entirely and kept quiet, while the men engaged in the slaughter supposed that everything was already accomplished and their sympathizers gathered under arms in the marketplace. But it chanced that Thrasydaeus was still asleep at the very place where he had become drunk. And when the commons learned that he was not dead, they gathered round his house on all sides, as a swarm of bees around its leader. And when Thrasydaeus put himself at their head and led the way, a battle took place in which the commons were victorious, and those who had undertaken the slaughter were forced to flee to the Lacedaemonians. As for Agis, when he departed and crossed the Alpheus again, after leaving a garrison in Epitalium near the Alpheus, with Lysippus as governor, and also leaving there the exiles from Elis, he disbanded his army and returned home himself.

During the rest of the summer and the ensuing winter the country of the Eleans was plundered by Lysippus and the men with him. But in the course of the following summer Thrasydaeus sent to Lacedaemon and agreed to tear down the walls of Phea
καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Δετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταῦτας καὶ Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Δασιῶν τῶν ὑπ’ Ἄρκαδῶν ἀντιλεγόμενον. Ἡπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἤξιον οἱ Ἡλείαι ἔχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ ἐφασαν τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βία πριαμένους ἢ βία ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττῶν λαμβάνειν, ἀφεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἡμάγκασαν τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἂρχαίον Ἡλείως ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιούμενους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἰκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἡλείων πρὸς Δακεδαιμόνιους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἡλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ἀγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιῶν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων ἤδη ὦν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἐτὶ ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἐτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθιστάσθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Δεστυχίδης, νῦς φάσκων Ἀγιὸς εἶναι, Ἁγη-
and Cyllene, to leave the Triphylian towns of Phrixa and Epitalium independent, likewise the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians, and besides these the Acrorians and the town of Lasion, which was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans, however, claimed the right to hold Epeum, the town between Heraea and Macistus; for they said that they had bought the whole territory for thirty talents from the people to whom the town at that time belonged, and had paid the money. But the Lacedaemonians, deciding that it was no more just to get property from the weaker by a forced purchase than by a forcible seizure, compelled them to leave this town also independent; they did not, however, dispossess them of the presidency of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, for they thought that the rival claimants were country people and not competent to hold the presidency. When these things had been agreed upon, a peace and an alliance were concluded between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. And so the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleans ended.

III. After this Agis, having gone to Delphi and offered to the god the appointed tithe of his booty, on his way back fell sick at Heraea, being now an old man, and although he was still living when brought home to Lacedaemon, once there he very soon died; and he received a burial more splendid than belongs to man. When the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king, Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, con-

1 The Pisatans, who had had charge of the Olympic shrine and games up to 580 B.C.
2 σίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δεστυχίδου. Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγνησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλὰ νῦν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ νῦς ὁμ μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὦς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἀν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμὸ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὅν τυ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι εαυτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδᾶν ως μᾶλα σευ ψευδομένω κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῷ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθεστάτος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἔξ ὃν γὰρ τοῦ ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένον. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ᾽ 3 ἐξελον. Διοπείθησι δὲ, μᾶλα χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, Δεστυχίδης συναγορεύουν εἰπέν ως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμός εἰς φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Ἀυσανδρός δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγνησίλαον ἀντείπεν ως οὐκ οἷον τὸν θέου τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὅν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσει. παντάπασι γὰρ ἄν χωλήν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὅποτε 4 μὴ οἱ ἄφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῦντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφωτέρων Ἀγνησίλαον εἶποντο βασιλεά.

Οὔπω δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγνησίλαο, θύγατος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι

1 ὡς MSS.: καὶ Kel.
2 ἔξ ὃν γὰρ τοῦ ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων Hartman: ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ τοῦ ἐφυγεν καὶ ἐφάνῃ ἐν τῇ θαλάμῳ MSS., which Kel. follows, changing τοῦ to τοῦ.
3 χωλεύσαι MSS.: Kel. inserts after it τὴν βασιλείαν.

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tended for the kingship. And Leotychides said: "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king." "It is I, then, who should be king." "How so, when I am alive?" "Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son." "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am." "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber." Such were the words which passed between these two. But Diopeithes, a man very well versed in oracles, said in support of Leotychides that there was also an oracle of Apollo which bade the Lacedaemonians beware of the lame kingship. Lysander, however, made reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that he did not suppose the god was bidding them beware lest a king of theirs should get a sprain and become lame, but rather lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king. For the kingship would be lame in very truth when it was not the descendants of Heracles who were at the head of the state. After hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus king.

When Agesilaus had been not yet a year in the kingly office, once while he was offering one of the appointed sacrifices in behalf of the state, the seer

1 Leotychides was reputed to be the son of Alcibiades. For the incident here mentioned cp. Plut. Alc. 23.
2 Agesilaus was lame.
ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν δεινοτάτων φαινοιεν οἱ θεοὶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐθνεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἐφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἰπεν· Ὡ̣ Ἀγγείλας, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτηρίως καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο. Ἀγγούσῃς δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθος ἁμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸν ἄρχηγόν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὕτος δ’ ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχήν εὐρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρωμένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσσεθαι, εἰπεν οἱ εἰσαγγείλας ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἄγαγών αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐσχατὸν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύοι ὁπόσοι εἰεν Σπαρτιάται ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγὼ, ἐφη, ἀριθμῆσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέρωντας καὶ ἀλλοὺς ὡς τετταράκοντα, ἡρόμην· Τί δὴ με τούτους, ὁ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; οὐ δὲ εἴπε· Τούτους, ἐφη, νόμιζε σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἀλλοὺς πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. ἐπειδεικτούναί δ’ αὐτὸν ἐφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἑνθα μὲν ἐνα, ἑνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς δ’ ἀλλοὺς ἀπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἕνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ’ ἐν ἑκάστῳ πολλοὺς.

1 i.e. those who enjoyed full rights of citizenship, the “Spartiatae.”

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said that the gods revealed a conspiracy of the most terrible sort. And when he sacrificed again, the seer said that the signs appeared still more terrible. And upon his sacrificing for the third time, he said: "Age-silaus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." There-upon they made offerings to the gods who avert evil and to those who grant safety, and having with difficulty obtained favourable omens, ceased sacrificing. And within five days after the sacrifice was ended a man reported to the ephors a conspiracy, and Cinadon as the head of the affair. This Cinadon was a young man, sturdy of body and stout of heart, but not one of the peers. And when the ephors asked how he had said that the plan would be carried out, the informer replied that Cinadon had taken him to the edge of the market-place and directed him to count how many Spartiatae there were in the market-place. "And I," he said, "after counting king and ephors and senators and about forty others, asked 'Why, Cinadon, did you bid me count these men?' And he replied: 'Believe,' said he, 'that these men are your enemies, and that all the others who are in the market-place, more than four thousand in number, are your allies.'" In the streets also, the informer said, Cinadon pointed out as enemies here one and there two who met them, and all the rest as allies; and of all who chanced to be on the country estates belonging to Spartiatae, while there would be one whom he would point out as an enemy, namely the master, yet there would be many on each

2 The Spartiatae, always few in number in comparison with the other elements of the Laconian population (see below), were now becoming steadily fewer by reason of constant wars and the demoralising influence of wealth and luxury.
6 ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς
συνειδότας τὴν πράξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ
tοῦτον ἔφη αὐτὸν ὡς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστα-
tεύονσιν ὦ πάνυ πολλοὶ, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνει-
dεῖεν αὐτοὶ μέντοι πάσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ
εἴλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομέοσι καὶ
τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος
γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύ-
pτειν τὸ μή ὁμοὶ ἤδεως ἀν καὶ ὁμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.
7 πάλιν ὅν ἐρωτώντων· Ὀπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν
λήψεσθαι; τὸν δὲ εἶπεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δήπολα
συντεταγμένοι ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ ὄπλα κεκτήμεθα, τὸ
δὲ ὠάλφα, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδείξαι
αὐτῶν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ἔφη,
pολλοὺς δὲ ὅβελισκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ
ἀξίνας, πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη
ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὄπλα πάντ’ εἴη ὅποιος ἀνθρώποι
καὶ γῆ καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ ὄργανα ὄπλα
ἐχειν ἀρκοῦντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἁπλοὺς.
pάλιν αὐ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα
πράττεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπεδήμειν οἱ παρηγγελ-
mένου εἴη.
8 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἔσκεμμένα τε
λέγειν ἡγησαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ
οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέ-
ξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος
ἀλλοθὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς
Ἀύλωνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι

1 After this word Kel. assumes a lacuna.
2 αὐτὸι ὄπλα Sauppe: αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν γε ὄπλα MSS.: αὐτοὶ ἐφ’ ὄσον γε δὲι ὄπλα Kel.
estate named as allies. When the ephors asked how many Cinadon said there really were who were in the secret of this affair, the informer replied that he said in regard to this point that those who were in the secret with himself and the other leaders were by no means many, though trustworthy; the leaders, however, put it this way, that it was they who knew the secret of all the others—Helots, freedmen, lesser Spartiatae, and Perioeci; for whenever among these classes any mention was made of Spartiatae, no one was able to conceal the fact that he would be glad to eat them raw. When the ephors asked again: "And where did they say they would get weapons?" the informer replied that Cinadon said: "Of course those of us who are in the army have weapons of our own, and as for the masses"—he led him, he said, to the iron market, and showed him great quantities of knives, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and sickles. And he said, the informer continued, that all those tools with which men work the land and timber and stone were likewise weapons, and that most of the other industries also had in their implements adequate weapons, especially against unarmed men. When he was asked again at what time this thing was to be done, he said that orders had been given him to stay in the city.

Upon hearing these statements the ephors came to the conclusion that he was describing a well-considered plan, and were greatly alarmed; and without even convening the Little Assembly,¹ as it was called, but merely gathering about them—one ephor here and another there—some of the senators, they decided to send Cinadon to Aulon along with others of the

¹ The reference is uncertain.
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΩΝ

ἡκεῖν ἄγοντα τῶν Αύλωντῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγα-
γείν δὲ ἐκέλευσον καὶ τὴν γυναίκα, ἣ καλλίστῃ
μὲν αὐτῶθι ἑλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ ἔδοκεν
τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβύ-
τέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλη
ἡ δὲ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαύτα. καὶ τότε
δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην ἐκεῖνῳ ἐν ἡ γεγραμμένοι
ήσαν ὡς ἐδεί συλληφθῆναι. ἔρισεν δὲ τίνας
ἀγοι μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων Ἰθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν
πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἰππαρχητῶν κέλευε σοι συμπέμ-
ψαι δὲ καὶ ἐπίτα οὖν τῶν τύχων παρόντες. ἐμε-
μελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἰππαρχήτης εἰδειᾷ οὐδὲ
δέοι πέμπτως, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖν ὅτι Κινά-
δωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ
Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψω σοι τρεῖς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ
πεξοῦς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὡς
ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ’ ἑνα ἐκεῖνον ἐπεμποῦν.

ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανοι αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ
πράγμα οὐκ ἦδεσαν ὅποσον τὸ μέγεθος εἶν, καὶ
ἀκούσας πρῶτον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος ὁτινὶς
εἶν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι αὐτοὺς
ὅτι μεμήνυται, ἵνα μὴ ἄποδρῶσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ
ὁ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ
συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτὸν γράψαντες ἀποπέμ-
πειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δὲ έσχον
οἱ ἐφόροι πρὸς τὸ πράγμα, ὡστε καὶ μόραν
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younger men, and to order him to bring back with him certain of the Aulonians and Helots whose names were written in the official dispatch. And they ordered him to bring also the woman who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Aulon and was thought to be corrupting the Lacedaemonians who came there, older and younger alike. Now Cinadon had performed other services of a like sort for the ephors in the past; so this time they gave him the dispatch in which were written the names of those who were to be arrested. And when he asked which of the young men he should take with him, they said: "Go and bid the eldest of the commanders of the guard to send with you six or seven of those who may chance to be at hand." In fact they had taken care that the commander should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should know that it was Cinadon whom they were to arrest. The ephors said this thing besides to Cinadon, that they would send three wagons, so that they would not have to bring back the prisoners on foot—trying to conceal, as far as they could, the fact that they were sending after one man—himself. The reason they did not plan to arrest him in the city was that they did not know how great was the extent of the plot, and they wished to hear from Cinadon who his accomplices were before these should learn that they had been informed against, in order to prevent their escaping. Accordingly, those who made the arrest were to detain Cinadon, and after learning from him the names of his confederates, to write them down and send them back as quickly as possible to the ephors. And so seriously did the ephors regard the matter that they
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

11 ἵππεων ἔσεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἁυλώνος. ἔπει δὴ ἐιλημμένου τοῦ ἄνδρος ἦκεν ἰππεύς φέρων τὰ ὀνόματα ὅν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρήμα τόν τε μάντιν Τισαμενῦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο, καὶ ὁμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἐλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἠροῦτο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὦ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Μηδενὸς ἦττων εἶναι ἐν Δακεδαίμονι. ἐκ τοῦτον μέντοι ἦδη δεδεμένος καὶ τῷ χείρε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ οὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγηγον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

IV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ δὴ μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τρέχει τρείρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐτι κατασκευαζομένας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις ως βασιλέως καὶ Τισαφέρους τὸν στόλον τούτον παρασκευαζόμενοι ὑπὸδει καὶ ἀνεπτερωμένοι δὲ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρή ποιεῖν, Δύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιεστῆσθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ως ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστήναι, ἄν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα.
even sent a regiment of cavalry to support the men who had set out for Aulon. When the man had been seized and a horseman had returned with the names of those whom Cinadon had listed, the ephors immediately proceeded to arrest the seer Tisamenus and the most influential of the others. And when Cinadon was brought back and questioned, and confessed everything and told the names of his confederates, they asked him finally what in the world was his object in undertaking this thing. He replied: "I wished to be inferior to no one in Lacedaemon." Thereupon he was straightway bound fast, neck and arms, in a collar, and under scourge and goad was dragged about through the city, he and those with him. And so they met their punishment.

IV. After this a Syracusan named Herodas, being in Phoenicia with a certain shipowner, and seeing Phoenician war-ships—some of them sailing in from other places, others lying there fully manned, and yet others still making ready for sea—and hearing, besides, that there were to be three hundred of them, embarked on the first boat that sailed to Greece and reported to the Lacedaemonians that the King and Tissaphernes were preparing this expedition; but whither it was bound he said he did not know. Now while the Lacedaemonians were in a state of great excitement, and were gathering together their allies and taking counsel as to what they should do, Lysander, thinking that the Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflecting that the land force which went up country with Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him
μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμώδων, εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὡσπερ τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθεῖσας ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυῖας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οὗ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρῆγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ’ Ἀγησιλάου.

3 ἔπαγγελθαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατεύαν, διδόσα τε ὅλην Δακεδαμῖνοι ὅσπερ ἦτος καὶ ἐξαμήνου σῖτον. ἔπει δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τάλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατηρία ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν διαπέμψας ἀνγέλους προείπεν ὅσοις τε δέοι ἐκαστάχθενεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρείναι, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἐνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ’ εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἑθύετο.

4 ὡς δ’ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοωταρχοὶ ὑμῖν, πέμψαντες ὅππεις τοῦ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔπαν μή θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνετυχὼν ἑροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρρησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ’ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ὁργιζόμενος, ἀναβάς εἶπ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἔπι Γεραστῶν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον εἴδυνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλείστον εἶς Ἐφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.

5 Ἐπεί δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισ-

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1 In the cities which fell under his control after the battle of Aegospotami Lysander had established oligarchical governments, the supreme power being lodged in a council of ten, corresponding to the "Thirty" at Athens.
thirty Spartiatese, two thousand emancipated Helots, and a contingent of six thousand of the allies, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government. When Agesilaus offered to undertake the campaign, the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he asked for and provisions for six months. And when he marched forth from the country after offering all the sacrifices which were required, including that at the frontier, he dispatched messengers to the various cities and announced how many men were to be sent from each city, and where they were to report; while as for himself, he desired to go and offer sacrifice at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon had sacrificed before he sailed to Troy. When he had reached Aulis, however, the Boeotarchs, on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered. Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. And when he arrived at Gerastus and had collected there as large a part of his army as he could, he directed his course to Ephesus.

When he reached Ephesus, Tissaphernes at once

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2 Spartan commanders always offered sacrifices to Zeus and Athena before crossing the Laconian frontier.
3 The presiding officials of the Boeotian League.
σαφέρνης πέμψας ἢρετο αὐτὸν τίνος Ἀσίας ἴκου. ὃς εἶπεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὡστερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἑμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης. Εἰ τοῖνυν θέλεις σπείρασθαι ἐως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οὕμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, ἐς βούλοιο. Ἀλλὰ βουλοῖμην ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἔξαπατάσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἄδολως σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἠμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἄδικησειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ῥηθεῖσα Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ἁμοσὲ τοῖς πεμβατείσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλωμ ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἄδολως τῆν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησίλαοι. Τισσαφέρνης ἡ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσει τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ἁμοσέν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἑχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ὁ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίτερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε σπονδαῖς.

7 Ὑς δὲ ἦσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχον ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διήτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἀτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὐτὲ δημοκρατίας ἤτι ὀψις, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων, οὐτὲ δεκαρχίας, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ Δυσανδροῦ, ὡτε γιγνόσκοντες πάντες τῶν Δυσανδροῦ, προσέκειστε αὐτῷ ἄξιοντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτοῖς παρ' Ἀγησίλαον ὃν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἂεὶ παμπληθῆς

1 ἄδολως: after this word Kel. and others insert the following: ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν. Καὶ σοὶ δὲ, ἔφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοὶ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἄδολως. 2 ἐπέμενε MSS.: ἔνεμεν Kel.
sent and asked him with what intent he had come. And he answered: "That the cities in Asia shall be independent, as are those in our part of Greece." In reply to this Tissaphernes said: "Then if you are willing to make a truce until I can send to the King, I think you could accomplish this object and, if you should so desire, sail back home." "Indeed I should so desire," said he, "if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you." "But," said he, "it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce." After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless continued to abide by the truce.

Meanwhile, during the time that Agesilaus was spending in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion—for it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander—and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions; and for this reason a very great crowd was continually
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οὖν ὑπεραπεύοντο δὲ μὲν ἡκολουθεὶ, ὡστε ὁ μὲν Ἄγνησίλαος ἰδιότης ἐφαινετο, ὁ δὲ Δύσανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου ὑπὸ ἱσίων, ἀλλὰ ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοῦτο Δύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὥς παράνομον διάγων. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ἢρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγνησίλαῷ ὁ Δύσανδρος, πάντας ὅσα γνωί αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα τι ἠττώμενος ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἢρξατο τὰ ἐναντία δὲ ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ, ἐγνω δὴ τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ οὕτε ἔπεσον ἐαυτῷ ἐτι εἴα ὁχλὸν τοῖς τε συμπράξει τις δεομένως σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐλαττῶν ἔξοιεν, εἰ αὐτῶς παρείη.

9 Βαρέως δὲ φέρον τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἴπετο: Ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος, μειώνει μὲν ἁρα σύγχ τοὺς φίλους ἤπιστοι. Ναὶ μὲν Δί', ἐφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοὶ μείζους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς δὲ γε αὐξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταϊμῆν ἀντιτιμῶν, ἀισχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Δύσανδρος εἴπερ. Ἀλλ' ἵσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὐ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγώ ἐπράττων. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ τ' αἰσχύνωμαι ἄδυνατων παρὰ σοι μὴ τ' ἐμποδοῦν σοι ὃ, ἀπότεμψων ποῖ με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὃ, πειράσομαι εὖ καρφο σοι εἴναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἐδόξει καὶ τῷ Ἀγνησίλαῳ οὕτω ποιοῦσα, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Δύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπἰθρίδα- την τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενον τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου,
courting and following him, so that Agesilaus appeared to be a man in private station and Lysander king. Now Agesilaus showed afterwards that he also was enraged by these things; but the thirty Spartiatae with him were so jealous that they could not keep silence, but said to Agesilaus that Lysander was doing an unlawful thing in conducting himself more pompously than royalty. When, however, Lysander now began to introduce people to Agesilaus, the king would in every case dismiss, without granting their petitions, those who were known by him to be supported in any way by Lysander. And when Lysander found that the outcome was invariably the opposite of what he desired, he realized how the matter stood; and he no longer allowed a crowd to follow him, while he plainly told those who wanted him to give them any help that they would fare worse if he supported them. But being distressed at his disgrace, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Agesilaus, it seems that you, at least, understand how to humiliate your friends." "Yes, by Zeus, I do," said he, "at any rate those who wish to appear greater than I; but as for those who exalt me, if I should prove not to know how to honour them in return, I should be ashamed." And Lysander said: "Well, perhaps it is indeed true that you are acting more properly than I acted. Therefore grant me this favour at least: in order that I may not be shamed by having no influence with you, and may not be in your way, send me off somewhere. For, wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to be useful to you." When he had thus spoken, Agesilaus also thought it best to follow this course, and he sent him to the Hellespont. There Lysander, upon learning that Spithridates the Persian had suffered a slight at the hands of Pharnabazus,
διαλέγεται αυτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστήναι ἔχοντα
tοὺς τε παιδὰς καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν χρήματα καὶ
ιππέας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέ-
λιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβι-
βασάμενος ἦκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνε-
pυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβαζίου χώρας τε καὶ
ἀρχῆς.

11 Ἔπει δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ
catatβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεἶπεν
Ἀγησίλαος πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας,
oi μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων oi
παρόντες μᾶλα ἄχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο,
nομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν
Ἀγησίλαῳ τῇ Βασιλείᾳ παρασκευής, Ἀγησί-
λαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγεῖλαι
Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν
χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν
πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοὺς δ’ Ἐλλησι
συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. Εἰκ δὲ τοῦτον εὐθὺς τοῖς
μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς
eis στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἅς ἀνάγκη ἦν
ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν
ἀγοράν παρασκευάζειν. ἔπεστελε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὶ
καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἐλλησποντίοις πέμπει πρὸς
ἐαυτὸν εἰς Ἐθέσου τοὺς συστρατευομένους. ὁ
dὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἰππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος, ἢ δὲ Καρία ἀφιππὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅτι
ηγεῖτο αὐτῶν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην,
tὸ ὅτι νομίζασι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτῶν οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν
αὐτῶν ὀρμήσεως, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἀπαν διεβίβασεν
ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ’ ἰππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον
περιήγη, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατήσαι τῇ
HELLENICA, III. iv. 10–12

had a conference with him and persuaded him to revolt, taking with him his children and the money he had at hand and about two hundred horsemen. And Lysander left everything else at Cyzicus, but put Spithridates himself and his son on board ship and brought them with him to Agesilaus. And when Agesilaus saw them, he was pleased with the exploit, and immediately inquired about the territory and government of Pharnabazus.

Now when Tissaphernes, growing confident because of the army which had come down from the King, declared war upon Agesilaus if he did not depart from Asia, the allies and the Lacedaemonians who were present showed that they were greatly disturbed, thinking that the force which Agesilaus had was inferior to the King’s array; but Agesilaus, his countenance radiant, ordered the ambassadors to carry back word to Tissaphernes that he felt very grateful to him because, by violating his oath, he had made the gods enemies of his side and allies of the Greeks. Then he straightway gave orders to the soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephesus troops which should take part in the campaign. Now Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no cavalry (and Caria was unsuited for cavalry), and because he believed that he was angry with him on account of his treachery, made up his mind that he was really going to march against his own residence in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across into that province, and as for his cavalry, he led it round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that

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"ίππῳ τούς Ἑλλήνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὦ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑπτά Καρίαν ἱέναι εὐθὺς τάναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντῶσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἤγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο, οὐ πόρρω δ' ὅντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἠλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προϊόντες τί τάμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δὲ τινὰ καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἵππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθύνην καὶ Βαγαίων τὸν νόθον ἄδελφον, ὅντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν ἄριθμον, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἠλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἄλληλους οὐδὲ τέταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐστησαν ἁμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ἱππεῖς ὁσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρῶτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὁμησάν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὁς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἠλθον, ὅσι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτρυψαν τὰ δόρατά, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἵππεας, δύο δ' ἱππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἵππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησίλαον σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεκώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ἀπαντῶσας ... τὰς: inserted by Valkenaer, whom Kel. follows, from Agea. i. 16.
HELENICA, III. iv. 12-14

he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under foot with his horsemen before they should reach the regions which were unfit for cavalry. Agesilaus, however, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned in the opposite direction and marched towards Phrygia, and he picked up and led along with him the contingents which met him on the march, subdued the cities, and, since he fell upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty. Most of the time he pursued his march through the country in safety; but when he was not far from Dascyleium, his horsemen, who were going on ahead of him, rode to the top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the command of Rhathines and Bagaeus, his bastard brother, just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode to the top of this same hill. And when the two squadrons saw one another, not so much as four plethra⁠¹ apart, at first both halted, the Greek horsemen being drawn up four deep like a phalanx,⁠² and the barbarians with a front of not more than twelve, but many men deep. Then, however, the barbarians charged. When they came to a hand-to-hand encounter, all of the Greeks who struck anyone broke their spears, while the barbarians, being armed with javelins of cornel-wood, speedily killed twelve men and two horses. Thereupon the Greeks were turned to flight. But when Agesilaus came to the rescue with the hoplites, the barbarians withdrew again and one

¹ The plethrum = c. 100 feet.
² The “phalanx” of this period was sometimes four, seldom more than eight, deep. The tendency of later tactics was to increase its depth greatly (cp. iv. ii. 18, vi. iv. 12), a tendency which culminated in the famous Macedonian phalanx.
15 ἀποθυήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, θυμένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἀλοβα γίγνεται τὰ Ιερά. τούτου μὲν τοιούτου φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γιγνώσκω δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππικων ἰκανῶν κτήσαιτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τούτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προειπὼν δὲ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἱππόν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταύτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι ὡσπερ ἀν τις τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ἥττοιν.

16 Ἕκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον· ἀσκήσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἂθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπολήπτικαις τάξεωι, ἣτις ἀριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἵππικαις, ἣτις κράτιστα ἰππεύοι· καὶ πελταστάδις δὲ καὶ τοξώταις ἂθλα προύθηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὅρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἄνδρων τῶν γυμναζόμενων, τὸν δὲ ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαξομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντίστας καὶ τοὺς τοξώτας μελετῶντας. ἄξιάν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἢ ἦν θέασ ἐποίησεν· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ ὅπλων ἄνιον, οἱ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ
of them was killed. After this cavalry battle had taken place and Agesilaus on the next day was offering sacrifices with a view to an advance, the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. This sign having presented itself, he turned and marched to the sea. And perceiving that, unless he obtained an adequate cavalry force, he would not be able to campaign in the plains, he resolved that this must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. Accordingly he assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; and by proclaiming that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, he caused these arrangements to be carried out with all the expedition that was to be expected when men were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead.

After this, when spring was just coming on, he gathered his whole army at Ephesus; and desiring to train the army, he offered prizes both to the heavy-armed divisions, for the division which should be in the best physical condition, and to the cavalry divisions, for the one which should show the best horsemanship; and he also offered prizes to peltasts and bowmen, for all who should prove themselves best in their respective duties. Thereupon one might have seen all the gymnasia full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of riders, and the javelin-men and bowmen practising. In fact, he made the entire city, where he was staying, a sight worth seeing; for the market was full of all sorts of horses and weapons, offered for sale, and the copper-workers, carpenters, smiths, leather-cutters, and painters were
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ξωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὁπλα κατεσκεύαξον, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὅντως οἰεσθαί πολέμου ἐργα-
στήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώςθη δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκείνο
ἑδόν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειτὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν
γυμνασίων ἀπίόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στε-
φάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς
μὲν σέβοιτο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοίεν, πειθαρχεῖν
dὲ μελετῆεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἑνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ
ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι; ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ κατα-
φρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ρώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν
πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προείπε τοῖς κήρυξε τοὺς ὑπὸ
tῶν λῃστῶν ἀλυσκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς
πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν
dιὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ
ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἂεὶ ἐπ’ ὁχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμι-
san οὐδὲν διοίσεων τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι
μάχεσθαι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἔνιαυτὸς ἤδη
ἀφ’ οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε
οἱ μὲν περὶ Δύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἰκάδε ἀπέ-
pλεον, διάδοχοι δ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἡρππίδαν
παρῆσαν. τούτων Ἐνυκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον
ἐτάξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
νεοδαμώδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἡρππίδαν δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς
Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων
στρατιώτας, καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγή-
σοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς
χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν
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all engaged in making martial weapons, so that one might have thought that the city was really a workshop of war. And one would have been encouraged at another sight also—Agesilaus in the van, and after him the rest of the soldiers, returning garlanded from the gymasia and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in deeds of war, and practise obedience to authority, may we not reasonably suppose that such a place abounds in high hopes? And again, believing that to feel contempt for one's enemies infuses a certain courage for the fight, Agesilaus gave orders to his heralds that the barbarians who were captured by the Greek raiding parties should be exposed for sale naked. Thus the soldiers, seeing that these men were white-skinned because they never were without their clothing, and soft and unused to toil because they always rode in carriages, came to the conclusion that the war would be in no way different from having to fight with women.

Meanwhile the year had now ended since the time when Agesilaus had set sail from Greece, so that Lysander and the thirty Spartiatae sailed back home, and Herippidas with his thirty came as their successors. Of these, Agesilaus assigned Xenocles and one other to the command of the cavalry, Scythes to the command of the Helot hoplites, Herippidas to the Cyreans,\(^1\) and Mygdon to the troops from the allied cities, and he announced to them that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the best parts of the country, his object being to have them begin at once to prepare their bodies

\(^1\) i.e. the Greek troops which had served under Cyrus, and now made part of Agesilaus' army. *op. iii*. i. 6, ii. 7.
21 γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ὃς ἄγωνοϋμενοι. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἔξαπατήσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸ τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρῳ πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐφεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὠσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδίαν τὸπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δὲ ἐρημίας πολεμῶν πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἰππεῖς. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμών 1 διαβάντα τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπε- δεύσατο, αὐτῷ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἑσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρταγηνὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἰππεῖς. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὡς εἰδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντι- παρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἰππέων τάξειςν.  

22 ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γνωρίσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίως οὔπω παρείπ τὸ πεζὸν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείρ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καίρων ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψας, εἰ δύνατο. σφαγοσάμενος σὺν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρα- τεταγμένους ἰππείς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἤβης θεῶν ὁμός αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πετασταῖς εἶπε δρόμω ύψηγείσαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσαι ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ  

24 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν ἦν ἰππείς ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμα πάντα  

1 ὁ ἡγεμών: inserted by most editors from Ages. i. 36. Kel. follows the MSS.
and spirits for the fray. Tissaphernes, however, thought that he was saying this from a desire to deceive him again, and that this time he would really invade Caria, and accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria, just as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus, however, did not belie his words, but, even as he had announced, marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis. For three days he proceeded through a country bare of enemies, and had provisions for the army in abundance, but on the fourth day the cavalry of the enemy came up. And their commander told the leader of the baggage-train to cross the Pactolus river and encamp, while the horsemen themselves, getting sight of the camp-followers on the side of the Greeks, scattered for plunder, killed a large number of them. On perceiving this Agesilaus ordered his horsemen to go to their aid. And the Persians, in their turn, when they saw this movement, gathered together and formed an opposing line, with very many companies of their horsemen. Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordering the first ten year-classes of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and bidding the peltasts lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them. Now the Persians met the attack of the cavalry; but when the whole formidable

1 cp. ii. iv. 32 and the note thereon.
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tὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὑρὶς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ’ Ἔλληνες ἔπακολουθοῦντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταῖ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἔτραποντο. ὁ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἀ ἡ πλέον ἡ ἔθνοι εἱπακολούθουντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ὡς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀπῆγαγεν.

25 "Ὅτε δ’ αὐτὴ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὁν. ὅπερ ἦττῳ οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασίλευς Τισσαφέρνην αἰτιον εἶναι του κακῶς φέρεσαι τὰ ἕαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας. "Ὤ Ἀγησίλαε, ὡς αἰτιός τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἵμιν καὶ ἦμιν ἔχει τὴν δίκην βασίλευς δὲ άξιοι σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ὑμᾶς, τὰς δ’ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτούμοις υἱόσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρεων. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποιήσεις ταῦτα ἀνευ τῶν οἰκῶν τελῶν, Σὺ δ’ ἄλλα, ἔως ἂν πῦθη τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπείδη καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ σῶν ἔχθρον τετιμώρημαι. Ἐως ἂν τοίον, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκείς πορεύωμαι, δίδομι δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκεῖνο μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης
array together was upon them, they gave way, and some of them were struck down at once in crossing the river, while the rest fled on. And the Greeks, pursuing them, captured their camp as well. Then the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus enclosed all alike, friends\(^1\) as well as foes, within the circle of his camp. And not only was much other property captured, which fetched more than seventy talents, but it was at this time that the camels also were captured which Agesilaus brought back with him to Greece.

When this battle took place Tissaphernes chanced to be at Sardis, so that the Persians charged him with having betrayed them. Furthermore, the Persian King himself concluded that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn his affairs were taking, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and cut off his head. After he had done this, Tithraustes sent ambassadors to Agesilaus with this message: "Agesilaus, the man who was responsible for the trouble in your eyes and ours has received his punishment; and the King deems it fitting that you should sail back home, and that the cities in Asia, retaining their independence, should render him the ancient tribute." When Agesilaus replied that he could not do this without the sanction of the authorities at home, Tithraustes said, "But at least, until you receive word from the city, go over into the territory of Pharnabazus, since it is I who have taken vengeance upon your enemy." "Then, until I go there," said Agesilaus, "give me provisions for the army." Tithraustes accordingly gave him thirty talents; and

\(^1\) So that the peltasts might not appropriate to themselves booty which belonged to all in common.
δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὦ δὲ λαβὼν ἤει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὄντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οίκοι τελῶν ἀρχεῖν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκει καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντων αὐτὸς βοῶ· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιθάδε λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τὸ τε πεζὸν πολὺ ἄν ἱσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ’ ἐν σύσει τῆς ἱσχύος ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐπιφαινο-μένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγασίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίους τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὃπόσας ἐκάστη βοῦλοιτο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καίναι, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἑπηγεϊλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιώται ἐποιοῦντο χαρί-ξεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν. Πεί-σανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλότιμομ μὲν καὶ ἔρρωμένῳ τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεί. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθῶν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἐπραττεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίλαος, ὡσπερ ὄρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορευότα.  

V. Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τῶν Ἀγασίλαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὕδαμῇ διανοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγά-λας αἰρήσεις βασιλεία, ἀπορῶν τῷ χρόνῳ τοῖς πράγμασι πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἐλλάδα, δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἄργυρίον, καὶ κελεύει πειράσθαι πιστά τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν.
HELENICA, III. iv. 26–v. 1

he took it and set out for Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia. And when he was in the plain which is above Cyme, orders came to him from the authorities at home to exercise command as he thought best over the fleet also, and to appoint as admiral whomsoever he wished. Now the Lacedaemonians did this because they reasoned that if the same man were in command of both army and fleet, the army would be much stronger because the strength of both would be united, and the fleet likewise because the army would appear wherever it was needed. But when Agesilaus heard this, in the first place he sent orders to the cities in the islands and on the coast to build triremes in such numbers as the several cities desired. And the result was new triremes to the number of one hundred and twenty, consisting of those which the cities offered and those which private individuals built out of desire to please Agesilaus. Then he appointed as admiral Peisander, his wife's brother, a man who was ambitious and of a stout spirit, but rather inexperienced in making such provisions as were needful. So Peisander departed and busied himself with naval matters; and Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out.

V. But now Tithraustes, who thought he had found out that Agesilaus despised the power of the King and did not in the least intend to depart from Asia, but rather had great hopes that he would overcome the King, being perplexed to know how to deal with the situation, sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece, giving him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver, and bade him undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the
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ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ’ ὅτε πόλεμον ἦξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἔκεινος δ’ ἔλθων δίδωσιν ἐν Ὀθῆβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξίδωρο, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάω τε καὶ Πολυάνθει, ἐν Ἀργείδε ἔλεγον τε καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὤμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μίσος αὐτῶν προῆγαγον, συνιστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγάλας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Ὀθῆβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ μή τις ἄρχει πολέμου, οὐκ ἔθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Δοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπούντιους ἐκ τῆς ἄμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεύσι τε καὶ ἐαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζουσι τούς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσθησαν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκέες ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα

4 ἐλάβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἐπείσαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοήθειν τοὺς Δοκροῖς, ώς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ὀμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Δοκρίδα ἐμβεβηληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαίοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδῆσαν τὴν χώραν, εὐθύς οἱ Φωκέες πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαιμονία καὶ ἥξιον βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ώς οὐκ ἦρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ’ ἀμνο-
leaders in the various states on condition that they should make war upon the Lacedaemonians. So Timocrates went and gave his money, at Thebes to Androcleidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth to Timolaus and Polyanthes; and at Argos to Cylon and his followers. And the Athenians, even though they did not receive a share of this gold, were nevertheless eager for the war, thinking that theirs was the right to rule. Then those who had taken the money set to work in their own states to defame the Lacedaemonians; and when they had brought their people to a feeling of hatred toward them, they undertook, further, to unite the largest states with one another.

But the leading men in Thebes, being aware that unless someone began war the Lacedaemonians would not break the peace with their allies, persuaded the Opuntian Locrians to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and themselves, for they thought that if this was done the Phocians would invade Locris. And they were not disappointed, for the Phocians did at once invade Locris and seize property many times as valuable. Then Androcleidas and his followers speedily persuaded the Thebans to aid the Locrians, on the ground that the Phocians had invaded, not the disputed territory, but Locris, which was admitted to be a friendly and allied country. And when the Thebans made a counter-invasion into Phocis and laid waste the land, the Phocians straightway sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and asked the Lacedaemonians to aid them, setting forth that they had not begun war, but had gone against the Locrians.
5 μενοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Δοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀσμενοὶ ἔλαβον πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὄργιζόμενοι αὐτῶς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελήσαι ἀκολουθήσαι. ἤτωντο δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὁς θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἰὼν καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάος συνεστράτευον. ἔλογιζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καίρον ἐνια τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ αὐτῶς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτῶς ύβρεως· τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσσει ἐχεῖν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάος, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδίζει σφίσσειν εἰναι. οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων φημαν μὲν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐφαινοῦν, Δύσανδρον δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἁγοῦτα παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταῖος καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ Αἰνιάνας εἰς Ἀλλαρτον. ἔκεισε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας, ὡσπερ ἐμελλεῖν ἤγείσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσθειαι εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἐχαν Δακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοπονησίους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Δύσανδρος τὰ τ' ἐκ τὰ κελεύμενα ἔπραττε καὶ 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίοις. οὐ δὲ Παυσανίας, ἐπεῖ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεξόμενος ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς τ' ἕνανοις διέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν στρατιώτας περεύμενεν. ἐπεί ὡς μὴν δῆλον τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν
in self-defence. Now the Lacedaemonians were glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign against the Thebans, for they had long been angry with them both on account of their claiming Apollo’s tenth \(^1\) at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus.\(^2\) Furthermore, they charged them with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join in that campaign. Again, they recalled that they had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis and had cast from the altar the victims already offered, and that they also would not join Agesilaus for the campaign in Asia. They also reasoned that it was a favourable time to lead forth an army against the Thebans and put a stop to their insolent behaviour toward them; for matters in Asia were in an excellent condition for them, Agesilaus being victorious, and in Greece there was no other war to hinder them. The city of the Lacedaemonians being thus minded, the ephors called out the ban and sent Lysander to Phocis with orders to report at Haliartus, bringing with him the Phocians themselves and also the Oetaeans, Heracleots, Malians, and Aenianians. And Pausanias also, who was to have chief command, agreed to appear at Haliartus on an appointed day, with the troops of the Lacedaemonians and the other Peloponnesians. Now Lysander carried out all his orders and, besides, caused the Orchomenians to revolt from the Thebans. And Pausanias, when his sacrifice at the frontier proved favourable, sent out his officers to muster the allies, and waited for the troops from the outlying towns of Laconia, he meanwhile resting at Tegea. But when it became clear to the Thebans that the Lacedaemonians were going to invade their

\(^1\) *i.e.* of the spoils of the Peloponnesian War.

\(^2\) *cp.* ii. iv. 30.
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αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖες λέγοντας
toιάδε.

8 Ἡ ἀνδρές Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἤμῖν ὡς
ψηφισαμένων χαλέπα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει
tοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὅρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις
ἐκεῖνα ἐγφύσατο, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνήρ εἶπεν, δὴ ἔτυχε
tότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὃτε δὲ παρε-
κάλουν ἦμᾶς οἱ Δακεδαίμονι οἱ τοῦ Πειραιῶν,
tότε ἀπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψήφυσατο μὴ συστρα-
teύειν αὐτοῖς. δὲ ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἡκίστα ὁργυζο-
μένων ἦμῖν τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι

9 νομίζομεν βοθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. πολὺ δὲ
ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἁξιοῦμεν, ὡς τῶν ἐν ἀστεὶ ἐγένεσθε,
προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους ἔναι. ἐκεῖνοι
 γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλυγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς
ἐχθραν τῷ δήμῳ ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς
ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει. ὃστε
tὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοι εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὅ δὲ δῆμος

10 οὐτοσὶ ὑμᾶς ἐσώσε. καὶ μὴν ὃτι μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρές
Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἤν πρότερον
ἐκέκτησεν ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τούτῳ
dὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ'
ἐκεῖνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖε· ὃτι δὲ πολλῶν
ἀρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ
tότῳ θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμοῦμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε

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1 cp. II. ii. 19. 2 cp. II. iv. 30.

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land, they sent ambassadors to Athens with the following message:

"Men of Athens, as regards your complaints against us for having voted for harsh measures toward you at the conclusion of the war, your complaints are not justified; for it was not the state which voted for those measures, but only the one individual who proposed them, a man who chanced at that time to have a seat in the assembly of the allies. But when the Lacedaemonians summoned us to the attack upon Piraeus, then the whole state voted not to join them in the campaign. Therefore, since it is chiefly on your account that the Lacedaemonians are angry with us, we think it is fair that you should aid our state. And we consider it in a far greater degree incumbent upon all those among you who belonged to the city party that you should zealously take the field against the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, after establishing you as an oligarchy and making you objects of hatred to the commons, came with a great force, ostensibly as your allies, and delivered you over to the democrats. Consequently, in so far as it depended upon them, you would certainly have perished, but the commons here saved you. Furthermore, men of Athens, although we all understand that you would like to recover the dominion which you formerly possessed, we ask in what way this is more likely to come to pass than by your aiding those who are wronged by the Lacedaemonians? And do not be afraid because they rule over many, but much rather be of good courage on that account, keeping in mind your own case, that when the sub-

\[\text{cp. ii. iv. 11, 24, etc.}\]
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πλείστων ἦρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκείκτησθε. ἀλλ’ ἦσσ μὲν οὐκ ἔχουν ὅποι αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς, ἐκρυπτὸν τὴν πρὸς ύμᾶς ἐχθραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γε Λακεδαίμωνοι προεστήσαν, τότε ἔφημαν οἶα περὶ ύμῶν ἐγίγνωσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἄν φανερὸν γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ύμεῖς συνασπισθοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἑστε, ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς.

Ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἔδω ἀναλογίσθησθε, αὐτικὰ γνώσεσθε. τὰς γὰρ ἡτὶ καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενῆς; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἀεὶ ποτὲ δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἡλεῖοι γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεως ἐχθροί αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οὐ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ύμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαρόμενοι ὑπ’ ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετείχον, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔπραξαν ἡ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποῖας ἡ ἄρχης ἡ τιμῆς ἡ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδοκισάν ἀυτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἰλοτας ἀρμοστὰς ἄξιούσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὑπόν, ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν, δεσπόται αὐτοῖς ἀναπεφύσατο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὓς ύμῶν ἀπεστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες. ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν. ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὗς Δύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει. ο γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς καὶ τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ύμων κρα-

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jects over whom you ruled were the most numerous, then you had the most enemies. To be sure they concealed their enmity to you so long as they had no one to whom to revolt, but as soon as the Lacedaemonians offered themselves as leaders, then they showed what their feelings were toward you. Even so now, if we and you are found in arms together against the Lacedaemonians, be well assured that those who hate them will appear in full numbers.

"That we speak truth you will see at once if you consider the matter. For who is now left that is friendly to them? Have not the Argives been hostile to them from all time? And now the Eleans, whom they have robbed of much territory and many cities, have been added to the number of their enemies. As for the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achaeans, what shall we say of them, who in the war against you, at the earnest entreaty of the Lacedaemonians, bore a share of all hardships and perils and expenses; but when the Lacedaemonians had accomplished what they desired, what dominion or honour or what captured treasure did they ever share with them? Nay, it is their Helots whom they deem it proper to appoint as governors, while toward their allies, who are free men, they have behaved themselves like masters since they have achieved success. Furthermore, it is plain that they have deceived in like manner the peoples whom they won away from you; for instead of freedom they have given them a double servitude—they are under the tyrant rule both of the governors and of the decarchies which Lysander established in each city. Take the King of Asia also—although his contributions helped them most to win the victory over you, what better treatment
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tήσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ύμῶν
14 κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν
ὕμεις αὐτοὶ προστήτη τῶν οὕτω φανερῶς ἀδικου-
μένων, νῦν ύμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πώποτε
γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἠρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατ-
tαν μόνον δῆποι ἡγεῖσθε: νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ύμῶν
καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅν πρόσθεν ἠρχετε καὶ
αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος
ἡγεμόνες ἀν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἤμεν πολλοὶ ἄξιοι
καὶ ἐκεῖνοι σύμμαχοι, ὡς ύμεῖς ἐπίστασθε: νῦν
δὲ γε εἰκὸς τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως ύμῶν συμ-
μαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἡ τότε Δακεδαιμονίωι: οὔδὲ γὰρ
ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἡ Συρακοσίων οὗδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλο-
τρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ύμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδι-
κουμένων βοηθήσομεν. καὶ τούτο μέντοι χρή εὖ
εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Δακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ
eὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ύμετέρας γενομένης ἁρ-
χῆς. ύμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικῶν οὐκ ἔχοντων
ἡρχετε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι οὗτε πολλαπλασίων
ὑπατών καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὁπλισμένου πλεον-
eκτούσι. ταύτ' οὖν λέγομεν ύμεῖς: εὖ γε μέντοι
ἐπιστάσθε, ὃ ἀνδρές Ἀθηναίοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν
ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ύμᾶς τῇ ύμε-
tέρᾳ πόλει ἡ τῇ ύμετέρᾳ.
15 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθη-
ναίων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ
ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τούτο ἐνεδείκνυτο,
ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὃμως παρα-

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is he now receiving than if he had joined with you and subdued them? How, then, can it be doubtful that if you in your turn offer yourselves as leaders of those who are so manifestly wronged, you will now become by far the greatest of all the states that have ever been? For at the time when you held dominion you were the leaders, you recall, of those only who dwelt on the sea; but now you would become the leaders of all alike—of ourselves, of the Peloponnesians, of those whom you formerly ruled, and of the King himself with his vast power. And we certainly were valuable allies to the Lacedaemonians, as you so well know; but now we can be expected to support you altogether more stoutly than we supported the Lacedaemonians then; for it is by no means on behalf of islanders or Syracusans, or in fact of any alien people, that we shall be lending our aid as we were then, but on behalf of our own injured selves. And this also is to be well understood, that the selfishly acquired dominion of the Lacedaemonians is far easier to destroy than the empire which was once yours. For you had a navy and ruled over men who had none, while they, being few, arrogate to themselves dominion over men who are many times their number and are fully as well armed. This, then, is our proposal; but be well assured, men of Athens, that we believe we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for our own."

With these words he ceased speaking. But as for the Athenians, very many spoke in support of him and they voted unanimously to aid the Thebans. And Thrasybulus, after giving the ambassadors the decree for an answer, pointed out also that, although Piraeus was without walls, they would nevertheless brave the
κινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοὺς ἀποδούναι μείζονα ἢ ἐλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, ἡμέις δὲ γε μεθ’ ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα ἐκεῖνοι, ἄν ἤσωσιν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ὁθβαίοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι, οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Δακεδαίμονι οὐκέτι ἐμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τὸ τε οὐκοθεν ἤχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἀγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενοι. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ὑσυχίαν ἤχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ συν οἷς εἰχεν ἤι πρὸς τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπείθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφιστασθαι καὶ αὐτοῦμος γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ὁθβαίων τινές ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκόλυνον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τείχος. ἀκούσατε δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ὁθβαίοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἱ τε ὄπλιται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὐν, εἴτε λαβόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἀδηλοῦν τοῦτο δ’ οὐν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαίον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἔπει δὲ ἀποδανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἐφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἔδιωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Ὁθβαίοι. ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἡδὴ ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία ὑπε-
danger of repaying to the Thebans a greater favour than they had received. "For whereas you," he said, "did not join in the campaign against us, we are going to fight along with you against them, in case they march upon you." So the Thebans went away and made preparations for defending themselves, and the Athenians for aiding them. And in fact the Lacedaemonians did not longer delay, but Pausanias the king marched into Boeotia with the troops from home and those from Peloponnesus except the Corinthians, who refused to accompany them. And Lysander, at the head of the army from Phocis, Orchomenus, and the places in that region, arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. Having arrived, he did not keep quiet and wait for the army from Lacedaemon, but went up to the wall of the Haliartians with the troops which he had. And at first he tried to persuade them to revolt from the Thebans and become independent; but when some of the Thebans, who were within the wall, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the wall. And on hearing of this the Thebans came on the run to the rescue, both hoplites and cavalry. Whether it was that they fell upon Lysander unawares, or that he saw them coming and nevertheless stood his ground in the belief that he would be victorious, is uncertain; but this at any rate is clear, that the battle took place beside the wall; and a trophy stands at the gates of the Haliartians. Now when Lysander had been killed and his troops were fleeing to the mountain, the Thebans pursued stoutly. But when they had reached the heights in their pursuit and came upon rough country and narrow ways, the hoplites of the enemy
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λάμβανεν αὐτοὺς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὁπλῖται ἱκόντιξον τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἐπεσον αὐτῶν δύο ἡ τριέσι οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίσθουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία ἐνεκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντους καὶ ἀποθυσάκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.

21 Ταῦτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἔλαττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἡ πε- ποιηκέναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾷ, ἐπεὶ ἦθοντο ἀπε- λυνθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀπαντας οἰκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τοῦτον μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Δακεδαί- μονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἠγούντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλην ἐφασαν σωπῆν τε καὶ

22 ταπεινώτητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματί εἰναι αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ οἱ τε Ἀθηναίοι ἔλθοντες συμ- παρετάξαντο ὁ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσήγην οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τοῦτον τὸ μὲν Θηβαῖον πολὺ μείζον φρόνημα ἐγύγνετο. ὃ δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντάρας ἐβουλεύετο πό- τερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπουδον τὸν τε Δύσανδρον ἀναριότο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόν- τας. λοιξόμενοι δ' ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Δακεδαιμονίων ὡς Δύσανδρος τετελευτη- κὼς ἐἰ ἔντο καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύ-
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turned about and threw javelins and other missiles upon them. And when two or three of them who were in the van had been struck down, and the enemy began to roll stones down the hill upon the rest and to attack them with great spirit, the Thebans were driven in flight from the slope, and more than two hundred of them were killed.

On this day, therefore, the Thebans were despondent, thinking that they had suffered losses no less severe than those they had inflicted; on the following day, however, when they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes, then they began to be more elated over their exploit. But when, on the other hand, Pausanias appeared with the army from Lacedaemon, they again thought that they were in great danger, and, by all accounts, there was deep silence and despondency in their army. When, however, on the next day the Athenians arrived and formed in line of battle with them, while Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle, then the elation of the Thebans increased greatly; as for Pausanias, he called together the commanders of regiments and of fifties, and took counsel with them as to whether he should join battle or recover by means of a truce the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him. Accordingly Pausanias and the other Lacedaemonians who were in authority, considering that Lysander was dead and that the army under his command had been defeated and was gone, while the Corinthians had altogether refused to accompany them and those who had come\(^1\) were not serving with any spirit;

\(^1\) i.e. the other Peloponnesians (cp. § 17 above).
μως στρατεύοντο· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν ὥς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολύ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἰς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἐκείνου, ὡστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὐσί διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βάδιον εἰς ἄνελεσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἄναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἄποδοιεν1 τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ὅτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἁσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἧκουσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. τούτων δὲ πρακτέντων οἱ μὲν Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως ἅπησαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι μάλα ἱβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν χωρίων τοῦ ἐπιβαίνη, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ στρατιά τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. οἱ μέντοι Πανοσανίας ἐπεὶ ἄφικεν οἰκαδε, ἔκρυνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειν εἰς Ἀλίαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθήμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτήν ἠμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἄλλα οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιαῖ ἀνήκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτους οὖ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεί νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη.

1 ἄποδοιεν MSS. except B: ὑποδοιεν B, followed by Kel.
HELLENICA, III. v. 23-25

considering also the matter of horsemen, that the enemy's were numerous while their own were few, and, most important of all, that the bodies lay close up to the wall, so that even in case of victory it would not be easy to recover them on account of the men upon the towers—for all these reasons they decided that it was best to recover the bodies under a truce. The Thebans, however, said that they would not give up the dead except on condition that the Lacedaemonians should depart from their country. The Lacedaemonians welcomed these conditions, and were ready, after taking up their dead, to depart from Boeotia. When this had been done, the Lacedaemonians marched off despondently, while the Thebans behaved most insolently—in case a man trespassed never so little upon anyone's lands, chasing him back with blows into the roads. Thus it was that this campaign of the Lacedaemonians came to its end. But when Pausanias reached home he was brought to trial for his life. He was charged with having arrived at Haliartus later than Lysander, though he had agreed to reach there on the same day, with having recovered the bodies of the dead by a truce instead of trying to recover them by battle, and with having allowed the Athenian democrats to escape when he had got them in his power in Piraeus; and since, besides all this, he failed to appear at the trial, he was condemned to death. And he fled to Tegea, and there died a natural death. These, then, were the events which took place in Greece.

1 cp. ii. iv. 29-39.
BOOK IV
Δ

I. Ὅ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεί ἀφίκετο ἀμα μετό-
πόρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν
χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ,
2 τὰς δὲ ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ
Σπιθριδάτου ὃς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν
σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τὸν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς
λόγους ἄξοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως
ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι
ti ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν
'Οτος καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλοῦ-
μενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος
dὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
'Οτος χίλιοι μὲν ἵππεας, δισχίλιοι δὲ πελ-
4 ταστάς. χάριν δὲ τοῦτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ
Σπιθριδάτῃ. Εἰπὲ μοι, ἐφή, ὃ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ
ἂν δοῖς Ὁτιὶ τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολὺ γε, ἐφη,
μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκεῖνος ἃν λάβῃ φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασι-
λεῶν πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε
5 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἔρρηθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ
dὲ Ὁτος ἐμελλεῖν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησί-
λαον ἀσπασόμενος. ἥξιατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
παράντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν
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BOOK IV

I. Now when Agesilaus arrived, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender. And when Spithridates said that if he would come to Paphlagonia with him, he would bring the king of the Paphlagonians to a conference and make him an ally, Agesilaus eagerly undertook the journey, since this was a thing he had long desired—to win some nation away from the Persian King.

Upon his arriving in Paphlagonia, Otys came and concluded an alliance; for he had been summoned by the Persian King and had refused to go up to him. He also, by the persuasion of Spithridates, left behind for Agesilaus a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts. And Agesilaus, feeling grateful to Spithridates for these things, said to him: "Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?" "Far more willingly," said he, "than he would accept her, the daughter of an exile, while he is lord of a great land and power." So at that time nothing more was said about the marriage. But when Otys was about to depart, he came to Agesilaus to bid him farewell. Then Agesilaus began conversation with him in the presence of the thirty

\(^1\) cp. III. iv. 29.
6 Σπιθριδάτην. Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ 'Οτυ, ποίου τιμὸς γένους ἐστίν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὦτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ νῦν, ἔφη, ἐόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστι; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίων εἶναι.
7 Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὦ 'Οτυς, καλὴ γὰρ ἔστι. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύοιμ' ἂν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἁγεσθαί γυναῖκα, καλόστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὐ τί ἄνδρὶ ἕδιον; πατρὸς δ' εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, διὸ ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄδικηθείς οὗτῳ τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὥς ὅρας, πεποίηκεν. εὐ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦτι ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὐτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν ἂν δύνατο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων πραξάντων μὴ κείνου ἂν σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Δακεδαιμονίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγομένων τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ τῆν
8 ἅλλην Ἐλλάδα. καὶ μὴ μεγαλειστέρως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἂν ποτε γῇμεε; ποίαν γὰρ νῦμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἠπτείς καὶ πελτασταί καὶ ὁπλῖται προὔπεμψαν ὄσοι τὴν σὴν
9 γυναίκα εἰς τὸν σῶν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἂν; καὶ ὦ 'Οτυς ἐπήρετο. Δοκούντα δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτη λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη ὦ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔμε γε οὐκ ἐκέ-
Spartiatae, after asking Spithridates to withdraw. 895 B.C.
"Tell me," he said, "Otys, to what sort of a family does Spithridates belong?" Otys replied that he was inferior in rank to no one of all the Persians. "And have you noticed his son," said Agesilaus, "how handsome he is?" "To be sure I have; for I dined with him last evening." "They say his daughter is handsomer than the son." "Yes, by Zeus," said Otys, "she certainly is beautiful." "And I," said he, "since you have become a friend of ours, should like to advise you to take the girl as your wife, for she is very beautiful—and what is more pleasant to a husband than that?—and the daughter of a father very well born and possessed of so great power, a man who, when wronged by Pharnabazus, takes such vengeance upon him that he has, as you see, made him an exile from his whole country. Be well assured, moreover," he said, "that even as he is able to take vengeance upon Pharnabazus, an enemy, so he would also be able to benefit a friend. I ask you also to take into consideration that, if this plan should be carried out, it would not be he alone that would be a connexion of yours, but I too and the rest of the Lacedaemonians, and, since we are the leaders of Greece, the rest of Greece as well. And further, if you should do this, who could possibly have a more magnificent wedding than you? For what bride was ever escorted by so many horsemen and peltasts and hoplites as would escort your wife to your house?" And Otys asked, "But is this," said he, "which you are proposing, Agesilaus, pleasing to Spithridates also?" "By the gods," said Agesilaus, "it was not he that bade me say this;
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λευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καὶ περ ὑπερ-χαίρων, ὅταν ἔχθρον τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ ἰδεῖσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἁγάθον ἔξευρίσκω. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὗ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι βουλομένῳ ταῦτ’ ἔστί; καὶ ὁ Ἁγησίλαος· Ἰτ’, ἔφη, ἰμεῖς, ὁ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν ἔξευρίσκω. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ἰμεῖς, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι βουλομένῳ ταῦτ’ ἔστι; καὶ ὁ Ἁγησίλαος· Ἰτ’, ἔφη, ἰμεῖς, ὁ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες ἐδίδασκον. ἔπει δὲ διετριβοῦν· Βούλει, ἔφη, ὁ ὁτι, καὶ ἰμεῖς δεύορο καλέσσωμεν αὐτὸν; Πολὺ γ’ ἀν οίμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἁγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. προσιόντων δ’ εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὁ Ἁγησίλαος, τὰ ρήθην τι ἀν τις μακρο-λογοῖ ὁπεῖς δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἀν ἰδέως ὁ τι σοὶ δοκοῖ. Ἔμοι μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἁγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὁ Σπιθριδάτα, τὶς ἀγαθή διδόναι ὁ Οτι ἐκ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμ-βάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἦρος οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δι’, ἔφη ὁ ὁτις, κατὰ θάλατταν ἦδη ἂν πέμπωτο, εἰ σὺ βούλοισι. ἐκ τούτου δεξιάς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτως ἀπέπεμπον τὸν ὁτιν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἁγησίλαος, ἔπει ἐγὼ αὐτὸν σπεύδουσα, τριήρη πληρόως καὶ Καλλίαν Δακε-δαιμόνοι κελεύας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παίδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείον ἀπεπορεύετο, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ βασί-λεια ἢν Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κώμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἀφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 268
but I for my own part, even though I rejoice exceedingly when I punish an enemy, believe that I am far more pleased when I discover some good thing for my friends.” “Why, then,” said he, “do you not find out whether this is pleasing to him also?” And Agesilaus said: “Herippidas, do you men all go and persuade him to desire the same things that we do.” So they went and set about persuading him. And when they had spent some time away, Agesilaus said: “Do you wish, Otys, that we should call him in and talk with him ourselves?” “I do think that he would be far more likely to be persuaded by you than by all the rest put together.” Thereupon Agesilaus called in both Spithridates and the others. And as soon as they came in, Herippidas said: “Why, Agesilaus, need one make a long story about all that was said? The upshot of it is that Spithridates says he would be glad to do anything that you think best.” “Well, then,” said Agesilaus, “I think it best that you, Spithridates, should give your daughter to Otys—and may good fortune attend upon the deed—and that you, Otys, should accept her. But we could not fetch the girl by land before spring.” “But, by Zeus,” said Otys, “she could be sent by sea at once, if you so desired.” Thereupon they gave and received pledges to ratify this agreement, and so sent Otys on his way.

And Agesilaus, being now assured that Otys was eager, immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias the Lacedaemonian to fetch the girl, while he set off himself for Dascyleium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provi-
καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιεργμένοις παρα- 
δείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τῶποις, πάγ-
καλαι. παρέρρει ὁ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἵ
χθῶν πλήρης. ἤν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα 
τοὺς ὀρνιθεύσαι δυναμένους. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διε-
χείμαξε, καὶ αὐτὸθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ 
ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. καταφρονη-
tικῶς δὲ ποτὲ καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν 
πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατω-
τῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος 
κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἑσταρμένου, ἀρματα μὲν ἔχων 
dύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἵππεας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίων. 
οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς εἰδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα, 
συνεδραμον ὡς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλ-
λησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἀρματα, αὐτός δὲ 
σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῖσιν ὑποσθεὶς γενόμενος, ἐλαύνει 
εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἀρματα ἐμβα-
λόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἀθρόον, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖσ 
κατέβαλον ὡς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι 
κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε 
σὺν τοῖς ὀπλάταις ὧν. 
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα αἰ-
σθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης τῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν 
Καινή καμῇ μεγάλῃ στρατοπεδεύομενον, ἀπέ-
χοντα στάδια ὡς ἔξηκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ 
eὐθὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριπ-
pίδας ἑπιθυμῶν λαμπρὸν τι ἐργασάσθαι, αἰτεῖ 
tὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὀπλίτας τε εἰς δισχίλιους καὶ 
πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἱππέας τοὺς 
tῶν Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν 
Ελλήνων ὀπόσους πείσειεν. ἐπέτει δὲ ὑπέσχετο 

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sions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks, others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions. But on one occasion, while the soldiers were getting their provisions in disdainful and careless fashion, because they had not previously met with any mishap, Pharnabazus came upon them, scattered as they were over the plain, with two scythe-bearing chariots and about four hundred horsemen. Now when the Greeks saw him advancing upon them, they ran together to the number of about seven hundred; Pharnabazus, however, did not delay, but putting his chariots in front, and posting himself and the horsemen behind them, he gave orders to charge upon the Greeks. And when the chariots dashed into the close-gathered crowd and scattered it, the horsemen speedily struck down about a hundred men, while the rest fled for refuge to Agesilaus; for he chanced to be near at hand with the hoplites.

On the third or fourth day following this incident, Spithridates learned that Pharnabazus was encamped in a large village named Caue, about one hundred and sixty stadia away, and at once told Herippidas. And Herippidas, eager to achieve a brilliant exploit, asked from Agesilaus hoplites to the number of two thousand, as many peltasts, and for horsemen, those of Spithridates, the Paphlagonians, and as many of the Greeks as he could persuade to join him. When Agesilaus had promised him

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αὐτῷ, ἔθυετο· καὶ ἀμα δείλη καλλιεργησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένοι οὐδ’ οἱ ἡμίσεις 23 ἐκάστων ἔξηλθον. ὅπως δὲ μῆ, εἰ ἀποτρέποιτο, καταγελάθηκεν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀλλοι τριάκοντα, ἐπορεύετο σύν ἢ εἰχὲ δυνάμει. ἂμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν οὕτων πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλλισκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπόματα καὶ ἀλλὰ δὴ οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύης 25 πολλὰ καὶ ὑποξύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μῆ, εἰ που κατασταίη, κυκλῳθεὶς πολιορκοῦτο, ἀλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας ἔπηκε, ὡσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα ἀφανίζον τὰς στρατοπεδεύσεις.1 ἔπει δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα ἀπῆγαγον οἱ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης, ὑποστήσας Ἑρυπτίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο ἀπαντά τὸν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγων τὰ αἰχμαλωτοί τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι ταῦτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄδικηθέντες καὶ ἀτιμισθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι ὦχοντο ἀπαύγεις εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἀποστάς βασιλέως ἐπολέμη-

1 § 25 as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts it between §§ 17 and 18.

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these troops Herippidas proceeded to sacrifice; and towards evening he obtained favourable omens and terminated his sacrifice. Thereupon he gave orders to his men to get their dinner, and then report in front of the camp. But by the time darkness had come on, not so much as the half of the several detachments had come out. However, in order that the rest of the thirty Spartiatae might not laugh at him, as they would if he gave up his plan, he set out with the force that he had. And when at daybreak he fell upon the encampment of Pharnabazus, many of his outposts, who were Mysians, were slain, the troops themselves scattered in flight, and the camp was captured, and with it many drinking-cups and other articles such as a man like Pharnabazus would naturally have, and besides these things a great deal of baggage and many baggage animals. For through fear that, if he took up a fixed position anywhere, he would be surrounded and besieged, Pharnabazus kept going first to one and then to another part of the country, even as the nomads do, very carefully concealing his encampments. Now when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates had brought in the property they had captured, Herippidas posted commanders of divisions and companies to intercept them, and took everything away from both Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, merely in order that he might have a great quantity of booty to turn in to the officials who sold it. They, however, would not stand being so treated, but, feeling that they had been wronged and dishonoured, packed up and went off during the night to Ariæus at Sardis, putting their trust in Ariæus because he also had revolted from the
28 σεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν Παφλαγόνων οὐδέν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.

29 Ἡν δὲ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, θς καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένου ὃν καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ’ ἕκεινον τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὐτός οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς οὐκετὸ συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸ ἃν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας

30 Φαρνάβαζον. ὡς δὲ ἠκούσειν αὐτοῦ, σπουδᾶς λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἀγὼν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χώριον, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαῖ ἐν πόσ τινι κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενοι· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ἐξῶν στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄξιαν. ὑποτιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ρᾳπτά, ἐφ' ὅν καθίζουσιν οὶ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ἄσχυνθη ἐντρυφῆσαι, ὅρων τοῦ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν φαυλότητα· κατεκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσπερ ἐίχε χαμαῖ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσείπαν, ἐπειτα τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντο τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπροούτειν καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἦρξατο λόγον ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεβύτερος.

32 Ω Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔγῳ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἱσχυρὸν ἐποίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενον μεθ' ὕμων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδώκον τοὺς πολε-
HELLENICA, IV. i. 27–32

King and made war upon him. And nothing happened during the campaign which was more distressing to Agesilaus than the desertion of Spithridates, Megabates, and the Paphlagonians.

Now there was a certain Apollophonae of Cyzicus who chanced to be an old friend of Pharnabazus and at that time had become a friend of Agesilaus also. This man, accordingly, said to Agesilaus that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him in regard to establishing friendly relations. And when Agesilaus heard what he had to say, Apollophonae, after obtaining a truce and a pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the thirty Spartiates with him were lying on the ground in a grassy spot awaiting them; Pharnabazus, however, came in a dress which was worth much gold. But when his attendants were proceeding to spread rugs beneath him, upon which the Persians sit softly, he was ashamed to indulge in luxury, seeing as he did the simplicity of Agesilaus; so he too lay down on the ground without further ado. And first they gave each other greeting, then Pharnabazus held out his right hand and Agesilaus held out his to meet it. After this Pharnabazus began speaking,—for he was the elder:

"Agesilaus and all you Lacedaemonians who are present, I became your friend and ally at the time when you were at war with the Athenians, and not only did I make your fleet strong by providing money, but on the land I myself fought on horseback with you and drove your enemies into the sea."

1 As described in the *Anabasis*.  2 Son of Spithridates.  3 *cp. i. i. 6, 24, 25, etc.*
μίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὤσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πῶποτε μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐχούτ' ἀν κατηγορῆσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὐδὲ δείπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ χώρᾳ, εἰ μή τι ὁν ἄν ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὤσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἄ δὲ μοι ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατέλυπεν, ἐφ' ὁσι ηὐφραίνομην, ταῦτα πάντα ὀρῶ τὰ μὲν κατακεκομμένα τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γυγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὴ διδάξατέ με ὅπως ταύτ' ἐστίν ἄνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.

'Ο μὲν ταύτ' εἴπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐπηρχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἄγιοι λαὸς χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἴπεν· 'Αλλ' οἶμαι μὲν σε, ὁ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ξένοι ἄλληλους γίγνονται ἄνθρωποι. οὐτοὶ δὲ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιαι γένονται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καὶ, ἄν οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἄλληλους. καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅσιν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦν τε πάντα ἡναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἑκεῖνο πολέμια νομίζειν· σοὶ γε μέντοι φίλοι γενεόται περὶ παυτὸς ἄν ποιησαίμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄλλαξασθαί σε ἑδεῖ ἀντὶ δεσπότου βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότας, οὐκ ἄν ἐγγυή σοι συνεβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην ἐχοντα ξῆν καρποῦμενον τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἔλευθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μὲντοι τούτο σε κελευομεν, πένητα μὲν, ἔλευθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν

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And you cannot accuse me, as you accused Tissaphernes, of any double-dealing toward you at any time, either in deed or word. Such a friend I proved myself, and now I am brought to such a pass by you that I have not so much as a meal in my own land unless, like the beasts, I pick up a bit of what you may leave. And the beautiful dwellings and parks, full of trees and wild animals, which my father left me, in which I took delight,—all these parks I see cut down, all these dwellings burned to the ground. If it is I that do not understand either what is righteous or what is just, do you teach me how these are the deeds of men who know how to repay favours.”

Thus he spoke. And all the thirty Spartiates were filled with shame before him and fell silent; but Agesilaus at length said: “I think you know, Pharnabazus, that in the Greek states, also, men become guest-friends of one another. But these men, when their states come to war, fight with their fatherlands even against their former friends, and, if it so chance, sometimes even kill one another. And so we to-day, being at war with your king, are constrained to regard all that is his as hostile; as for yourself, however, we should prize it above everything to become friends of yours. And if it were an exchange that you had to make, from the King as master to us as masters, I for my part should not advise you to make the exchange; but in fact it is within your power by joining with us to live in the enjoyment of your possessions without doing homage to anyone or having any master. And being free is worth, in my opinion, as much as all manner of possessions. Yet it is not this that we urge upon you, to be free and poor,
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συμμάχοις χρώμενοι αὐξείν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἄμα ἐλεύθερος τῇ εἶθς καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνος ἀν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαιμόμον εἶναι;

37 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς ὡμῶν ἀποκρίνωμαι ἀπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. ἔγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, εἳν βασιλεύς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπτη, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπήκουν ἐκεῖνον τάττη, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· εἴδον μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάτη,—τοιούτων τι, ὃς ἔδεικε, φιλοστίμων ἑστίν—εὐχρή εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι ἀριστα. ἀκοῦσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐιθ', ὦ λῦστε σύ, τοιοῦτος ὁν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. εἶν δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἀπειμι ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, καὶ πόλεμος γ', ἔως ἀν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχομεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σοῦν ἀφεξόμεθα.

38 Τοιῶν δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀπῆκει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπτάς ὑῖος αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἦτο ὁν, ὑπολειφθεῖς καὶ προσδραμῶν. Ἐδείνου σε, ἔφη, ὥ Ἀγησίλαος, ποιούμαι. ἔγὼ δὲ γε δέχομαι. Μεμνημόνιν, ἔφη· καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτόν—εἰχέ δὲ καλὸν—ἐδόκει τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἔχομεν περὶ τῷ ἱππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τοτε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον μετέδωκε

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but rather by employing us as allies to increase, not
the King’s empire, but your own, subduing those who
are now your fellow-slaves so that they shall be your
subjects. And if, being free, you should at the same
time become rich, what would you lack of being alto-
gether happy?”

“Shall I, then,” said Pharnabazus, “tell you
frankly just what I shall do?” “It surely becomes
you to do so.” “Well, then,” said he, “if the
King sends another as general and makes me his
subordinate, I shall choose to be your friend and
ally; but if he assigns the command to me,—so
strong, it seems, is the power of ambition—you may
be well assured that I shall war upon you to the best
of my ability.” Upon hearing these words Agesilaus
grasped his hand and said: “O that you, noble sir,
a man of such a spirit, may come to be our friend.
But at least,” he said, “be assured of one thing, that
now I am going away from your land as speedily as
I can, and in the future, even if war continues, we
shall withhold our hands from you and yours so
long as we can turn our attack against another.”

With these words he broke up the meeting. And
Pharnabazus mounted his horse and rode away, but
his son by Parapita, who was still in the bloom of
youth, remaining behind, ran up to Agesilaus and
said to him: “Agesilaus, I make you my guest-
friend.” “And I accept your friendship.” “Re-
member, then,” he said. And immediately he gave
his javelin—it was a beautiful one—to Agesilaus.
And he, accepting it, took off and gave to the boy in
return a splendid trapping which Idaeus, his secre-
tary, had round his horse’s neck. Then the boy
leaped upon his horse and followed after his father.
40 τὸν πατέρα. ως δ' εν τῇ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀπο-
δημία ἀποστερῶν ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπήτας νιόν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ὁ
Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔρασθέντος
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκους νιέος Ἀθηναίον, πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἀν δι' ἐκείνων ἐγκριθῇ τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος δὲν τῶν παίδων.
41 Καὶ τότε δή, ὡσπερ εἰπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον,
εὐθὺς ἀπετορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας: σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ
ἔαρ ἦδη ὑπέφαινεν. ἄφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θήβης
πεδίον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυ-
ρηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεὶ πρὸς ὃ εἰχε
συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν παμπληθὲς στράτευμα.
παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευόμενος ὡς δύνατο
ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὅποσα ὅπισθεν ποιήσαιτο ἐδυν
πάντα ἀποστήσει βασιλέως.

II. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ἦσθοντο τὰ τε χρήματα
ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πό-
λεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς, ἐν
κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρατεύειν
2 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάντον εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα
παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυρίδαν. δ' ἐπεὶ ἄφικετο, τὰ τε
ἀλλα διηγεῖτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι
3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάξιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ
Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἦκουσε, χαλεπώς μὲν ἤνεγκεν,
ἐνθυμοῦμενος καὶ οἶων τιμῶν καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων

1 The stadium, or two hundred yards' dash, was a race for men and Eualces’ son was too young to be eligible, but his unusual height told in his favour. 2 cp. iii. v. 1.
And afterwards, when his brother had deprived the son of Parapita of his domain during the absence of Pharnabazus, and had made him an exile, Agesilaus not only cared for him in every way, but in particular, since he had become enamoured of the son of Eualces an Athenian, made every effort for his sake to have Eualces’ son, inasmuch as he was taller than any of the other boys, admitted to the stadium race at Olympia.¹

So at that time Agesilaus immediately marched off out of the territory of Pharnabazus, just as he had told him he would; besides, spring was now almost at hand. And upon arriving in the plain of Thebe he encamped near the shrine of Artemis of Astyra, and there gathered together from all quarters a very great army in addition to that which he had. For he was preparing to march as far as he could into the interior, thinking that he would detach from the King all the nations which he could put in his rear.

II. Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. But the Lacedaemonians at home, when they found out definitely that the money² had come to Greece, and that the largest states had united for war against them, believed that their state was in danger, and thought that it was necessary to undertake a campaign. And while themselves making preparations for this, they also immediately sent Epicyidas to fetch Agesilaus. And when Epicyidas arrived in Asia, he told Agesilaus the general condition of affairs, and that the state bade him come as speedily as possible to the aid of his fatherland. Now when Agesilaus heard this, although he was disturbed, considering what honours and what
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ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὁμώς δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὦτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι ἔκεινα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἐφη, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξειν ὃν Ἵμεῖς δεῖσθε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγγειλάον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς τάκει γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἤκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀγγειλάος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλυσεν Ἐξευνὸν ἁμοστὴν καὶ φρούρους παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔπαυν τετρακαιχιλῶν, ἵνα δύνατο διασώζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὦρῶν ὦτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐφ' Ἑλλήνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτιστός καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἢτις ἀριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὡς ἐνυπολότατον λόχου ἔχον συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰππάρχοις, ὡς ἐνυπποτάτην καὶ εὔπολοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικηθήριον δῶσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἐφ' ἐπιβαίνει, ἔπει δια-βαίνεισαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερ-ρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὑ ἐιδεῖσαν ὦτι τοὺς στρατευο-7 μένους δεῖ εἰκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἄθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὑπὸλα ἐκπεπονθημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὀπλιτικά καὶ ἐπιτικά· ἤσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι

1 ἀπεστερεῖτο BMDV: ἀποστερεῖτο F: ἀποστεροῖτο C, followed by Kel.

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hopes he was deprived of, nevertheless, calling together the allies, he made known to them what the state commanded, and said that it was necessary to go to the aid of the fatherland. "But if those matters turn out successfully, be well assured, my allies," he said, "that I shall not forget you, but shall return again to accomplish the things which you desire." Upon hearing this many burst into tears, but they all voted to go with Agesilaus to the aid of Lacedaemon, resolved, if matters should turn out successfully, to bring him back again with them to Asia. Accordingly they made preparations to follow with him. As for Agesilaus, he left behind him in Asia Euxenus as governor, and with him a garrison of not less than four thousand men, so that he could keep the cities safe; and seeing that most of his own soldiers were more desirous of remaining than of undertaking a campaign against Greeks, in the desire to lead with him the best men and as many as possible he offered prizes to the cities, for the one which should send the best force, and to the captains of the mercenaries, for the one who should join the expedition with the best equipped company of hoplites, of bowmen, and of peltasts. He likewise announced to the commanders of cavalry that he would also give a prize of victory to the one who should furnish the best mounted and best equipped battalion. And he said that he would make the decision in the Chersonese, when they had crossed from Asia to Europe, his purpose being to let them understand thoroughly that they must select their troops with care. As for the prizes, most of them were beautifully wrought arms, both for hoplites and for horsemen; there were also wreaths of gold, and the
ΧΡΥΣΟΙ: ΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΆΘΛΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ Η ΑΠΟ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΩΝ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΩΝ. ΤΟΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΑΝΑΛΩΘΕΝΤΩΝ, ΠΑΜΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΌΠΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗ. ΕΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΔΙΕΒΗ ΤΟΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΣΠΟΝΤΟΝ, ΚΡΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΜΕΝΑΣΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ 'ΗΡΩΣΠΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ 'ΟΡΣΙΠΠΟΣ, ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ. ΚΑΙ 'ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ ΜΕΝ, ΕΠΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΩΣΙΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ, ΕΧΩΝ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΕΠΟΡΕΥΕΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΗΝΠΕΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΤΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ 'ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΞΟΡΑΤΕΝΕΝ.

ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΟΡΟΙ ΦΡΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΦΗΝΑΝ Η ΔΕ ΠΟΛΙΣ, ΕΠΕΙ 'ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΕΤΙ ΗΝ, 'ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΘΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ, ΗΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΗ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΕΚΕΛΕΝΟΝ. ΕΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΞΗΣΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΙ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ, ΣΥΝΕΙΛΕΓΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΗ ΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΙ, ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΝΟΝΤΟ ΠΩΣ ΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΧΗΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΟΤΑΤΑ ΣΦΙΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΝΤΟ.

ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΣΕΝ 'ΑΛΛ' ΕΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ, ΕΦΗ, ΔΗ ΑΝΔΡΕΣ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΙ, ΔΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΡΆΓΜΑ ΟΙΝΠΕΡ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ, ΟΙ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΗΓΑΙΝΟΥΝ ΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΆΛΛ' ΕΥΔΙΑΒΑΤΟΙ, ΌΣΟΙ ΔΗ ΑΝ ΠΟΡΡΩΤΕΡΩ ΓΗΓΩΝΟΝΤΑΙ, ΕΠΕΜΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΡΕΙΜΑ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ ΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ, ΕΝΘΕΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΞΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ, ΑΥΤΟΙ ΜΟΝΟΙ ΕΙΣΙ, ΠΡΟΙΩΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΠΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΜΑΧΩΤΕΡΟΙ ΓΗΓΩΝΟΝΤΑΙ. ΌΡΩ ΔΗ ΕΞΩΓΕ, ΕΦΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΠΟΣΟΙ ΣΦΗΚΑΣ ΕΞΑΙΡΕΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ, ΕΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΚΘΕΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΦΗΚΑΣ ΠΕΙΡΩΝΤΑΙ ΘΗΡΑΝ, ΥΠΟ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΤΥΠΤΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ 'ΕΑΝ ΔΗ ΕΤΙ ΕΝΔΟΥ ΩΝΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΠΥΡ.
prizes all told cost not less than four talents. As a result, however, of the expending of this sum, arms worth a vast sum of money were provided for the army. And when he had crossed the Hellespont, Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus were appointed as judges from the side of the Lacedaemonians, and from that of the allies one from each city. Then Agesilaus, after he had made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route which the Persian king\(^1\) followed when he made his expedition against Greece.

Meanwhile the ephors called out the ban; and since Agesipolis\(^2\) was still a boy, the state commanded Aristodemus, who was of the royal family and the boy’s guardian, to lead the army. Now when the Lacedaemonians were marching forth and their enemies had gathered together, the latter met and took counsel as to how they might fight the battle with the greatest advantage to themselves. Then Timolaus of Corinth spoke as follows: “It seems to me,” he said, “fellow allies, that the case of the Lacedaemonians is much the same as that of rivers. For rivers at their sources are not large, but easy to cross, yet the farther on they go, other rivers empty into them and make their current stronger; and just so the Lacedaemonians, at the place whence they come forth, are alone by themselves, but as they go on and keep attaching the cities to them, they become more numerous and harder to fight against. Again, I see,” he said, “that all who wish to destroy wasps, in case they try to capture the wasps as they issue forth, are stung by many of them; but if they apply the fire while the wasps are still in their nests,

\(^1\) Xerxes.
\(^2\) Son of Pausanias; cp. iii. v. 25.
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προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας μὲν οὐδὲν, χειρομένους δὲ τοὺς σφήκας. ταῦτά οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἅγοοιμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὦτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. δόξαντος δὲ εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο ταῦτα. ἐν φὲ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάπτεσθαι πάν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαι βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιοῦμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχωμεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι καὶ ἡ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινεάς ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἁμφίαλον. καὶ πορεύομενοι, σχεδὸν τι ἄμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέα ἤσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυώνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Επιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἔποιον οἱ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταῦτα προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπείχον τῶν πολεμίων, κάκεινοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἦσυχαν εἰχον.

16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρων. συνελέγοντα γὰρ ὀπλίται Λακεδαίμονίων μὲν εἰς

1 Apparently the Argolic Gulf.
they suffer no harm and subdue the wasps. Considering these things, therefore, I believe it is best to fight the battle in Lacedaemon itself if possible, but if not, as near there as we can." Since it was thought that his advice was good, they voted for this course. But while they were negotiating about the leadership and trying to come to an agreement with one another as to the number of ranks in depth in which the whole army should be drawn up, in order to prevent the states from making their phalanxes too deep and thus giving the enemy a chance of surrounding them,—meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, having already picked up the Tegeans and Mantineans, were on their outward march, taking the road along the sea-shore.\(^1\) And as the two armies marched on, the Corinthians and their allies were in the district of Nemea, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies at Sicyon, at almost the same time. Now when the latter had made their entry into Corinthian territory by way of Epieiceia, at first the light troops of their adversaries did them a great deal of harm by throwing missiles and discharging arrows upon them from the heights upon their right. But when they had descended towards the sea,\(^2\) they marched on by this route through the plain, devastating and burning the land. The enemy also, however, retired and encamped, getting the river-bed\(^3\) in front of them; and when, as they advanced, the Lacedaemonians were distant not so much as ten stadia from the enemy, they also encamped where they were and remained quiet.

And now I will state the numbers on either side. As for hoplites, there had gathered together of the

\(^1\) The Corinthian Gulf. \(^2\) Of the Nemea.
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ἐξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωτείων καὶ Δασιωτίων ἐγγὺς τρισχιλίοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἑπι- δανών δὲ καὶ Τροιξηνίων καὶ Ἐρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλιῶν ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἦπεις μὲν Δακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἐξακόσιας, Κρήτης δὲ τοξότα ἠκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μην σφεντοῦται Μαργανέως καὶ Δετρίους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακόσιων. Φλειάσοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν ἐκεχερίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ ἡ μετὰ

17 Δακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἦ γε μὴν τῶν πολε- μίων ἡθορίοθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, Ἀργείων δὲ ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἐπτακισχι- λίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἦπει ὁ Ροχομένωι οὐ παρῆσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν εἰς Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικών μὲν δὴ τοσοῦ- των ἦπεις δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν, ἦπει ὁ Ροχομένωι οὐ παρῆσαν,1 εἰς ὁκτακόσιος, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἐξα- κόσιος, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν εἰς Εὐβοίας εἰς ἐκατόν, Δοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντή- κοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν2 καὶ γὰρ Δοκροί οἱ Ὁξόλαι καὶ Μηλεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς.

18 Αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἐώς μὲν τὸ εὑώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδὲν τι

1 ἦπει . . . παρῆσαν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 ἦν: Kel. assumes a lacuna after it.

1 i.e. on account of some religious festival.
Lacedaemonians about six thousand, of the Eleans, Triphylians, Acrorians, and Lasionians almost three thousand, and of the Sicyonians one thousand five hundred, while of the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, and Haliens there were not less than three thousand. Besides these there were horsemen of the Lacedaemonians to the number of about seven hundred, Cretan bowmen who accompanied the army, about three hundred, and, further, slingers of the Marganians, Leetrinians, and Amphidolians, not less than four hundred. The Phliasians, however, would not join them; for they said that they were keeping a holy truce. This, then, was the force on the side of the Lacedaemonians. But the force of the enemy which was gathered together included, of the Athenians about six thousand hoplites, of the Argives, according to all accounts, about seven thousand, of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) only about five thousand, of the Corinthians about three thousand, and, further, from the whole of Euboea not less than three thousand. This was the number of the hoplites; but as for horsemen, there were of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) about eight hundred, of the Athenians about six hundred, of the Chalcidians from Euboea about one hundred, and of the Opuntian Locrians about fifty. And of light troops also there was a greater number with the party of the Corinthians; for the Ozolian Locrians, Malians, and Acarnanians were with them.

This, then, was the force on either side. Now the Boeotians, so long as they occupied the left wing,²

² In this position they were opposite the Lacedaemonians, who always took the right wing.
κατάπευγον τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναιοὶ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιόν ἔσχον καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφασαν εἰναι καὶ παρῆγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἐκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποίησαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢν μὴ διασπάσθησαν, ἐπηκολουθοῦν, καὶ περ γυνώσκοντες ὅτι κάνειν τοῖς εἰς κυκλωθήναι.

19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπαινίσαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρῆγγειλαν ἀπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ως ἐκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ έταξαν, παρηγγύσαν μὲν ἀκολούθειν τῷ ἦγομένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὖν πολὺ ὑπερέχειν τὸ κέρας ὡστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἔξει φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέταρτες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχοὺντων, σφαιρασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὡσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἦγοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχου ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν.

1 Evidently agreed upon. cp. § 13.
2 Goddess of the chase.
were not in the least eager to join battle; but when the Athenians took position opposite the Lacedaemonians, and the Boeotians themselves got the right wing and were stationed opposite the Achaeans, they immediately said that the sacrifices were favourable and gave the order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle. And in the first place, disregarding the sixteen-rank formation, they made their phalanx exceedingly deep, and, besides, they also veered to the right in leading the advance, in order to outflank the enemy with their wing; and the Athenians, in order not to be detached from the rest of the line, followed them towards the right, although they knew that there was danger of their being surrounded. Now for a time the Lacedaemonians did not perceive that the enemy were advancing; for the place was thickly overgrown; but when the latter struck up the paean, then at length they knew, and immediately gave orders in their turn that all should make ready for battle. And when they had been drawn up together in the positions which the Lacedaemonian leaders of the allies assigned to the several divisions, they passed the word along to follow the van. Now the Lacedaemonians also veered to the right in leading the advance, and extended their wing so far beyond that of the enemy that only six tribes of the Athenians found themselves opposite the Lacedaemonians, the other four being opposite the Tegeans. And when the armies were now not so much as a stadium apart, the Lacedaemonians sacrificed the goat to Artemis Agrotera, as is their custom, and led the charge upon their adversaries, wheeling round their overlapping wing in order to surround them. When
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ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν άλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαίμονιοι ἐκρατήσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπίας γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ἐπιπτον ἐκατέρων.

21 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοῦς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἂτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἑπορεύοντο, καὶ τὰς μὲν τέταρτας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρήσαι παρῆλθον, ὡστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἰ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν τοῖς Ἁργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρῶτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοήσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρῶτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέονται δὴ παίνοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίου ἀναχωροῦντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἠπτόμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τείχη ἐπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἄρχαιον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαίον, καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

22 III. Ὁ δ' Ἀγασίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθειν οὕτω δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει

1 i.e. on the right side, the shield being carried on the left arm.
they had come to close encounter, all the allies of the Lacedaemonians were overcome by their adversaries except the men of Pellene, who, being pitted against the Thespians, fought and fell in their places,—as did also many of the other side. But the Lacedaemonians themselves overcame that part of the Athenians which they covered, and wheeling round with their overlapping wing killed many of them, and then, unscathed as they were, marched on with lines unbroken. They passed by the other four tribes of the Athenians before the latter had returned from the pursuit, so that none of these were killed except such as fell in the original encounter, at the hands of the Tegeans; but the Lacedaemonians did come upon the Argives as they were returning from the pursuit, and when the first polemarch was about to attack them in front, it is said that some one shouted out to let their front ranks pass by. When this had been done, they struck them on their unprotected sides as they ran past, and killed many of them. The Lacedaemonians also attacked the Corinthians as they were returning. And, furthermore, they likewise came upon some of the Thebans returning from the pursuit, and killed a large number of them. These things having taken place, the defeated troops at first fled to the walls of Corinth; but afterwards, since the Corinthians shut them out, they encamped again in their old camp. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, returning to the place where they first engaged the enemy, set up a trophy. Such, then, was the issue of this battle.

III. Meanwhile Agesilaus was hurrying from Asia to the rescue; and when he was at Amphipolis,
Δερκυλίδας ὑπὶ νικῶν τε αὐ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὅκτω, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμ- πληθεὶς: ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ 2 ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἰεν. ἔρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγη- σίλαος· 'Αρ' ἀν, οἱ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπονσαι πόλεις ἡμῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πῦθοντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας. Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σὺ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἀν ἄπαγγελαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ ἠλ πιλαπόδημος ἦν, ἐπεν· Ἐι σὺ τάτ- τοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύον ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὐ γένηται, πάλιν 3 παρεσόμεθα, ὅσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερ- κυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο.

Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Δαρισαίοι μὲν οὐν καὶ Κραννώνοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαίοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι δυντε Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θεττα- λοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τῶν ἔτοιχον, 4 ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαίσι τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἠμίσεις μὲν ἐμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἠμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρὰ ἐχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυν ηὗ τοῖς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐράν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικοῦ πλῆν τῶν περὶ 5 αὐτῶν· ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετ- ταλοί νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς
Dercylidas brought him word that this time the Lacedaemonians were victorious, and that only eight of them had been killed, but of the enemy a vast number; he made it known to him, however, that not a few of the allies of the Lacedaemonians had also fallen. And when Agesilaus asked: "Would it not be advantageous, Dercylidas, if the cities which are sending their troops with us should learn of the victory as speedily as possible?" Dercylidas replied: "It is certainly likely that they would be in better spirits if they heard of this." "Then are not you the man who could report it best, since you were present at the battle?" And Dercylidas, glad to hear this, for he was always fond of travel, replied: "If you should so order." "Well, I do," said Agesilaus, "and I bid you announce, further, that if the present undertaking also turns out well, we shall come back again, even as we said." Accordingly Dercylidas set out at once for the Hellespont.

And Agesilaus, passing through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly. Then the Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed after him and kept molesting him. And for a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the horsemen in front and the other half at the rear; but when the Thessalians, by charging upon those who were behind, kept interfering with his progress, he sent along to the rear the vanguard of horsemen also, except those about his own person. Now when the two forces had formed in line of battle against one another, the Thessalians, thinking that it was not expedient
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όπλίταις ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἄκατεροι ἡμάρτανοι, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ μάλα εὐρώστους ἵππεας, καὶ κελεύει τοὺς τε ἄλλους παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφῆς. οἱ δὲ Θεταλοὶ ὡς εἴδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφυγοῦν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέστρεφαν, οἱ δὲ πειρώμενοι τὸντο ποιεῖν, πλαγιοὺς ἔχοντες τοὺς ἰπποὺς ἠλύσκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἰππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψε τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀποθηρησκεί. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θεταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται· ὡστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθηρησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἠλύσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ’ οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὁρεί ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιν τ’ ἐστήσατο μεταξύ Πραυτὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἤδομεν τῷ ἔργῳ, ὃτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἰππικῇ ἐνευκήκηκε σὺν δ’ αὐτῶς συνέλεξεν ἰππικῷ. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὀρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια.

'Οντος δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἡλίος μνημειώδης ἔδωξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἡγεῖθη ὅτι ἠτπημένοι εἶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναυαρχὸς Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἔλεγετο δὲ καὶ φ’ τρόπῳ

1 cp. iii. iv. 29.

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to engage as cavalry in a battle with hoplites, turned round and slowly retired. And the Greeks very cautiously followed them. Agesilaus, however, perceiving the mistakes which each side was making, sent the very stalwart horsemen who were about his person and ordered them not only to give word to the others to pursue with all speed, but to do likewise themselves, and not to give the Thessalians a chance to face round again. And when the Thessalians saw them rushing upon them unexpectedly, some of them fled, others turned about, and others, in trying to do this, were captured while their horses were turned half round. But Polycharmus the Pharsalian, who was the commander of the cavalry, turned round and fell fighting, together with those about him. When this happened, there followed a headlong flight on the part of the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed and others were captured. At all events they did not stop until they had arrived at Mount Narthacium. On that day, accordingly, Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium and remained on the field of battle, greatly pleased with his exploit, in that he had been victorious, over the people who pride themselves particularly upon their horsemanship, with the cavalry that he had himself gathered together. And on the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, even to the boundaries of the Boeotians.

When he was at the entrance to Boeotia, the sun seemed to appear crescent-shaped, and word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander, had been killed. It was also stated in what
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11 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κυίδου τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλους, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὅντα σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.

12 ἀντιπαραταξάμενου δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμείξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολαὶ ἔχουσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆσαν ἀπολυπόντας τὰς ναυς σφέζεθαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο εἰς τὴν Κυίδου,

13 αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νη ἡ μαχόμενον ἀποβανείν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγγείλας πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεβυμηθῆ ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλείστον εἰς αὐτῷ ὅιον ἅγαθῶν μὲν γενομένων ἡδῶν μετέχειν, εἰ δὲ τὰ χαλεπὰν ὄρφεν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὅς ἄγγελλοιτο ὃ μὲν Πεισάνδρος τετελευτηκὼς, νυκῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

14 ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέτειμε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὥστε ἄκρο-βολισμὸν ὅντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔκρατησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγγείλαον τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικῶντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

15 Ἡσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγγείλαῳ Βωιτοῖ, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰγιάνες, Εὔβοιες, Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγγεῖλαῷ δὲ

1 cp. II. i. 29. Through the influence of Pharnabazus, Conon had been commissioned a Persian admiral. His fleet was “Greek” merely in the sense that it was manned by Greek mercenaries and volunteers.
way the battle had been fought. For it was near Cnidos that the fleets sailed against one another, and Pharnabazus, who was admiral, was with the Phoenician ships, while Conon with the Greek fleet was posted in front of him. And when Peisander, in spite of his ships being clearly fewer than the Greek ships under Conon, had formed his line of battle against them, his allies on the left wing immediately fled, and he himself, after coming to close encounter with the enemy, was driven ashore, his trireme damaged by the enemy's beaks; and all the others who were driven ashore abandoned their ships and made their escape as best they could to Cnidos, but he fell fighting on board his ship. Now Agesilaus, on learning these things, at first was overcome with sorrow; but when he had considered that the most of his troops were the sort of men to share gladly in good fortune if good fortune came, but that if they saw anything unpleasant, they were under no compulsion to share in it,—thereupon, changing the report, he said that word had come that Peisander was dead, but victorious in the naval battle. And at the moment of saying these things he offered sacrifice as if for good news, and sent around to many people portions of the victims which had been offered; so that when a skirmish with the enemy took place, the troops of Agesilaus won the day in consequence of the report that the Lacedaemonians were victorious in the naval battle.

Those who were now drawn up against Agesilaus were the Boeotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian peoples; while with Agesilaus was a regiment of Lacedae-

2 i.e. being practically volunteers (cp. ii. 4). 3 cp. ii. 17.
Δακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσα, ἤμισυ δὲ μόραι τῆς ἔξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἦτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος νεοδαμώδεις συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ Ἡριπτίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἄτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ ὅσας διωὸν παρέλαβεν αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὅπλαιται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἵππεῖς δ' ἄυ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἢ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὐτῇ ἀμφότερων διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἔγενετο οὐαὶ οὐκ ἄλλῃ τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἤμον. συνήσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφίσου, οἱ δὲ σὺν Ἐθβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικώνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξίῳ τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' ἀυ Θηβαῖοι αὐτῷ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.

Συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σηγὴ πολλῇ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἦνικα δ' ἀπείχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὥς δὲ τριῶν ἂτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξόδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος δὲν Ἡριπτίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰωνεῖς καὶ Ἀιολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὕτω τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρῳ ἀφικόμενοι.
monians which had crossed over from Corinth, half of the regiment from Orchomenus, furthermore the emancipated Helots from Lacedaemon who had made the expedition with him, besides these the foreign contingent which Herippidas commanded, and, furthermore, the troops from the Greek cities in Asia and from all those cities in Europe which he had brought over as he passed through them; and from the immediate neighbourhood there came to him hoplites of the Orchomenians and Phocians. As for peltasts, those with Agesilaus were far more numerous; on the other hand, the horsemen of either side were about equal in number. This, then, was the force on both sides; and I will also describe the battle, and how it proved to be like no other of the battles of our time. They met on the plain of Coronea, those with Agesilaus coming from the Cephisus, and those with the Thebans from Mount Helicon. And Agesilaus occupied the right wing of the army under his command, while the Orchomenians were at the extreme end of his left wing. On the other side, the Thebans themselves were on the right and the Argives occupied their left wing.

Now as the opposing armies were coming together, there was deep silence for a time in both lines; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-cry and rushed to close quarters on the run. When, however, the distance between the armies was still about three plethra, the troops whom Herippidas commanded, and with them the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines, ran forth in their turn from the phalanx of Agesilaus, and the whole mass joined in the charge and, when they came within spear thrust, put to flight
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18 ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦς. Ἄργειοι μὲντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα. κανταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Ὠθβαιοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶχαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς· οἱ δ' αὐ Οῆβαιοι ὃς εἴδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἐλικῶνα πεφευγότας, διαπεσεὶν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.

19 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μὲντοι εἴλετο γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα. ἔξον γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντυ τοὺς διαπίπτουσας ἀκολουθοῦντα χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὅπισθεν, οὐκ ἔποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέφραξε τοὺς Ὠθβαιοὺς· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκυμαὶ τοῦ, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθυμον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Ὠθβαιῶν οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ή μὲν νίκη Ἀγησίλαον ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένοις δ' αὐτὸς προσενήκετο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγοντιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὁγδοίκοντα σὺν ὑπὸ τῷ νεφεὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἥρωτον τῇ χρή ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ, καὶ περ πολλὰ τραύματα ἐχὼν, δομος οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τε ἀπίέναι ἥ βούλουντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἰα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἥδη

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the force in their front. As for the Argives, they did not await the attack of the forces of Agesilaus, but fled to Mount Helicon. Thereupon some of the mercenaries were already garlanding Agesilaus, when a man brought him word that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were in among the baggage train. And he immediately wheeled his phalanx and led the advance against them; but the Thebans on their side, when they saw that their allies had taken refuge at Mount Helicon, wishing to break through to join their own friends, massed themselves together and came on stoutly.

At this point one may unquestionably call Agesilaus courageous; at least he certainly did not choose the safest course. For while he might have let the men pass by who were trying to break through and then have followed them and overcome those in the rear, he did not do this, but crashed against the Thebans front to front; and setting shields against shields they shoved, fought, killed, and were killed. Finally, some of the Thebans broke through and reached Mount Helicon, but many were killed while making their way thither. Now when the victory had fallen to Agesilaus and he himself had been carried, wounded, to the phalanx, some of the horsemen rode up and told him that about eighty of the enemy, still armed, had taken shelter in the temple of Athena, and asked him what they should do. And he, although he had received many wounds, nevertheless did not forget the deity, but ordered them to allow these men to go away whithersoever they wished, and would permit them to commit no wrong. Then—it was already late—they took

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21 ὡσε, δεινοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. τρὶς δὲ Γύλιω τῶν πολέμαρχων παρατάξας τὸ ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητῶς πάντας ἀυλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεµψαν κήρυκας, ὑποστόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἴτουντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπουδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ Ἀγγείλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἔλαττω ἐκατόν ταλάντων. Γύλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχου τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Φω-κέας, ἐκείθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιωταὶ καὶ σκεύη ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σίτου ἧρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωροῦντων τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοὶς οἱ Δοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι ὑποστρέφοντες καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλλον τινας, ἐκ τούτου ὅπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερθέλων ἐβαλλον. 23 οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐπιτπον, οἱ δὲ καὶ 1 διὰ τὸ μὴ προσμᾶν τὰ 2 ἐμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθυμήσκοντι Γύλις τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς ὄκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν 1 καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets. 2 τὰ MSS.: Kel. brackets.
dinner and lay down to rest. And in the morning Agesilaus gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god,¹ and that all the flute-players should play. And they did these things. The Thebans, however, sent heralds asking to bury their dead under a truce. In this way, accordingly, the truce was made, and Agesilaus went to Delphi and offered to the god a tithe of the amount derived from his booty, an offering of not less than one hundred talents; but Gylis, the polemarch, withdrew with the army to Phocis and from there made an invasion of Locris. And for most of the day the soldiers busied themselves in carrying off portable property and provisions from the villages; but when it was towards evening and they were withdrawing, the Lacedaemonians being in the rear, the Locrians followed after them throwing stones and javelins. And when the Lacedaemonians, turning about and setting out in pursuit, had struck down some of them, after that, although the Locrians no longer followed in their rear, they threw missiles upon them from the heights upon their right. Then the Lacedaemonians again undertook to pursue them, even up the slope; but since darkness was coming on and, as they were retiring from the pursuit, some of them fell on account of the roughness of the country, others because they could not see what was ahead of them, and still others from the missiles of the enemy, under these circumstances Gylis, the polemarch, and Pelles, one of his comrades, were slain, and in all about eighteen of the Spartiates,

¹ The Dorian Apollo.
καταλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔβοθήσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνούντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἅν ἀπαντήσαν ἀπολέσθαι.

IV. Μετὰ τούτο γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπὶ οἴκου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἔπολεμοι Ἀθηναίοι μὲν καὶ Βωστόλ καὶ Ἀργείοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁμομενοὶ, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυώνος. ὀρῶντες δὲ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δημομένην καὶ πολλοὺς ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὕτως, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνυστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον 2 ταῦτα ἄλληλοις. γυνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργείοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βωστόλ καὶ Κορίνθιοι οἱ τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγενημένοι ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδῶν ποιήσαντο τούς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσει πάλιν ή πόλις λακωνίσαι, οὕτω δὴ σφαγῆς ἑπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμῳ τῆς καταγγελίας τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐκείνοι δ’ Ἐὐκλείων τῇ τελευταίᾳ προείλοντο, ὅτι πλείον ἀν ὄφως λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὡστε ἀπο-κτήσετε κτεῖναι. ὡς δ’ ἐσημάνθη οἷς ἐπήρητο οἷς ἔδει ἀπο-

1 πολλοὺς inserted by Kel., following Breitenbach.
some by being stoned to death, some by javelin wounds. And if some of those who were in the camp at dinner had not come to their aid, all of them would have been in danger of perishing.

IV. After this the various contingents of the army were dismissed to their several cities and Agesilaus also sailed back home. And from that time on the Athenians, Boeotians, Argives, and their allies continued the war, making Corinth their base, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies from Sicyon. As the Corinthians, however, saw that their own land was being laid waste and that many of them were being killed because they were continually near the enemy, while the rest of the allies were living in peace themselves and their lands were under cultivation, the most and best of them came to desire peace, and uniting together urged this course upon one another. But the Argives, Athenians, Boeotians, and those among the Corinthians who had received a share of the money from the King, as well as those who had made themselves chiefly responsible for the war, realizing that if they did not put out of the way the people who had turned toward peace, the state would be in danger of going over to the Lacedaemonians again, undertook, under these circumstances, to bring about a general massacre. And in the first place, they devised the most sacrilegious of all schemes; for other people, even if a man is condemned by process of law, do not put him to death during a religious festival; but these men chose the last day of the Euclea, because they thought they would catch more people in the market-place, so as to kill them. Then again, when the signal was given

1 The festival of Artemis Euclea.
κτείναι, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μὲν τινα συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ' ὅν καὶ κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πράγμα, εὐθὺς ἐφευγον οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς· ἐνθα δὴ οἱ ἀνοσιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμμον φρονοῦντες, οἱ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἱεροῖς, ὡς ἐνίους καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἄδημον ἴσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἱδοντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἀποθνῄσκοναι δ' οὔτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοὶ: μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύσαντος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἰσυχίαν ἐσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὡς δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἤσθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντες τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκροκορίνθων, προσβάλοντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπεκρύσαντο· Βουλευομένων δὲ τὰ χρή ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ κίοκρανον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἄνεμου γενομένου. καὶ θυμόμενοι δὲ τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὡστε οἱ μάντεις ἐφάσαν ἀμένοι εἴναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς φευξόμενοι ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἐπειθοῦν καὶ μητέρες

1 τὸν δὲ καθήμενον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
to those who had been told whom they were to kill, they drew their swords and struck men down,—one while standing in a social group, another while sitting in his seat, still another in the theatre, and another even while he was sitting as judge in a dramatic contest. Now when the situation became known, the better classes immediately fled, in part to the statues of the gods in the market-place, in part to the altars; then the conspirators, utterly sacrilegious and without so much as a single thought for civilized usage, both those who gave the orders and those who obeyed, kept up the slaughter even at the holy places, so that some even among those who were not victims of the attack, being right-minded men, were dismayed in their hearts at beholding such impiety. In this way many of the older men were killed; for it was they especially who chanced to be in the market-place; while the younger men, since Pasimelus suspected what was going to happen, had remained quietly in the gymnasium of Craneium. But when they heard the outcry and some had come to them in flight from the massacre, thereupon, rushing up on the slopes of Acrocorinthus,\(^1\) they beat off an attack which the Argives and the rest made upon them; while they were deliberating, however, as to what they should do, the capital fell from a column, although there had been neither earthquake nor wind. Likewise, when they sacrificed, the omens from the victims were such that the seers said it was better to descend from the place. And at first they retired beyond the territory of Corinth with the intention of going into exile; but when their friends and mothers and sisters kept

\(^1\) The citadel of Corinth.
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ιούσαι καὶ ἀδελφαὶ, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὅντων ἦσαν οἱ ὁμούντες ὑποσχυόντο μηδὲν χαλεπῶν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθὼν 6 τινες οἰκάδε αὐτῶν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὅντας 1 τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζο-
μένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅροις ἀνεσπάσθαι καὶ Ἀργὸς ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὑσυμάξεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζομένου τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ μετέχειν, ὡς οὔδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντο τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἄβιωτον εἶναι πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἁρχῆς, Κόρινθου ποιήσαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀπο-
δείξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαφώνων καθαράν, εὐνομία δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύνατο κατα-
πράξαι ταῦτα, σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύνατο, τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὀρεγομένους ἀξιοπαινοῦτάς τελευτής 7 τυχεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτο ἄνδρε δύο, Πασι-
μηλός τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτα τῷ Λακεδαίμονίῳ πολε-
μάρχῳ, δὲ ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἕαυτος μόρας φρονῶν ἐν Σικυώνι, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι δύνατον ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἰσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα ἐπὶ Δέλχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γυνώσκων τῷ ἄνδρε ἀξιοπίστῳ ὄντε, ἐπίστευε, καὶ διαπραξά-
μενος ὡς τε καὶ τὴν ἀπείναυ μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυῶ-
νος μόραν καταμείναι, ἐπραττε τὴν εἰσοδον.

1 ἐν δυνάμει ὅντας inserted by Kel., following Campe.

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coming to them and trying to dissuade them, and, further, some of the very men who were in power promised under oath that they should suffer no harm, under these circumstances some of them returned home. They saw, however, that those who were in power were ruling like tyrants, and perceived that their state was being put out of existence, inasmuch as boundary stones had been removed and their fatherland was called Argos instead of Corinth; and, while they were compelled to share in the rights of citizenship at Argos, for which they had no desire, they had less influence in their state than aliens. Some of them, accordingly, came to the belief that life under such conditions was not endurable; but if they endeavoured to make their fatherland Corinth again, even as it had been from the beginning, and to make it free, and not only pure of the stain of the murderers, but blest with an orderly government, they thought it a worthy deed, if they could accomplish these things, to become saviours of their fatherland, but if they could not do so, to meet a most praiseworthy death in striving after the fairest and greatest blessings. Accordingly two men, Pasimelus and Alcimenes, undertook by wading through a torrent to effect a meeting with Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch, who chanced to be on garrison duty with his regiment at Sicyon, and told him that they could give him entrance to the walls which reached down to Lechaeum.¹ And Praxitas, since even before this he had known the two men to be trustworthy, trusted them, and after arranging that the regiment which was about to depart from Sicyon should also remain, made plans

¹ The port of Corinth.
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8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε καὶ κατὰ τίχην καὶ κατ’ ἐπι-
μέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταῦτας
ἐνθαπερ τὸ τροπαῖον ἔστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων ὁ
Πραξίτας ἔρχεται τὴν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυωνίους
καὶ Κορινθίων ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον.
ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν
εἴσοδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν ἄνδρα εἰσπέμψαι
σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τὸ δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην καὶ
οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὡστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἐξήγ-
γειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οἱ ἄπερ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ
9 τοῦτον δ’ εἰσέρχεται. ὡς δὲ πολὺ διεχόμενον
τῶν τειχῶν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων παραταττόμενοι ὅλῳ
ἔαυτοις ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμα τ’ ἐποιήσαντο
καὶ τάφρον οἶναν ἔδυναν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἔως δὴ
οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ
ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακῆ.

Ṭὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἦ εἰσῆλθον ἠμέραν
ἀμαχοὶ δύναγον· τῇ δ’ ὑστεραία ἦκον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
πασσυδίᾳ βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὐρόντες τεταγμένους
Ἀκεδαμιούνους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυ-
ωνίους δὲ ἐχομένους, Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας
ὡς πενθήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν πρὸς τῷ ἔφω τεῖχει,
ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι τοῦ ἔφου τεῖχος οἱ περὶ
Ἰφικράτη μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι Ἀργεῖοι·
εὐώνυμον δ’ ἔχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς
10 πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλῆθει εὕθως
ἐχώρουν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ
diaσπάσαντες τὸ σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ θάλατ-
for his entrance. And when the two men, partly by accident and partly by contrivance, had been made sentinels at the very gate where the trophy stands, then Praxitas came with his regiment, the Sicyonians, and all the Corinthians who chanced to be exiles. But when he was at the gate, being afraid to make the entry, he wished to send in one of his trusted men to examine the situation inside. Then the two Corinthians led him in and showed him everything in so straightforward a manner that the man who went in reported that all was truly just as they said. Thereupon Praxitas entered. The walls, however, are a long distance from each other; his troops, in consequence, when they formed in line for battle, thought themselves to be few in number, and therefore made a stockade and as good a trench as they could in front of them, to protect them until their allies should come to their aid. Besides, there was a garrison of Thebans in their rear, at the port.

Now the day after the night on which they entered they passed without a battle; but on the following day came the Argives, hurrying with all speed to the rescue; and finding the Lacedaemonians stationed on the right of their own line, the Sicyonians next to them, and the Corinthian exiles, about one hundred and fifty in number, by the eastern wall, the enemy formed in line against them with the mercenaries under Iphicrates close to the eastern wall, and next to them the Argives; while the Corinthians from the city occupied their left wing. Then the Argives, filled with overweening confidence on account of their numbers, advanced at once; and they defeated the Sicyonians, and breaking through the stockade pursued them to the sea and there
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tan, kal ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Πασί-
μαχος δὲ ὁ ἱππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππεάς οὐ πολ-
λοὺς, ὡς εῶρα τοὺς Σικυώνιους πιεσμένους,
καταδήσας ἀπὸ δεύδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελό-
μενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἑθελόντων
حكيم ἔναντίον τοὺς Ἀργείους. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὄρωντες
tὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς Σικυώνιος
οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασί-
μαχος. Ναὶ τῷ σιώ, ὁ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεὶ ώμε τὰ
σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε, καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος
μετ᾽ ὀλύγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθυμήσει καὶ ἄλλοι
τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. οἱ μέντοι φυγᾶδε τῶν Κορυν-
θίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν ἀνω, καὶ
ἐγένοτο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἀστυ κύκλου. οἱ δὲ
ἀυ Δακεδαίμονιοι ὡς ἢσθοντο κρατοῦντα τὰ κατὰ
τοὺς Σικυώνιους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀρι-
στερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα. 1 οἱ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι
ἐπεὶ ἠκουσαν ὅπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Δακεδαίμονιος,
στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος
ἔξεπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξίᾳ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν
παῖομενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων
ἀπέθηκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀδρόοι σὺν
πολλῷ ὀχλῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὡς δὲ
ἐνέτυχον τοὺς φυγᾶδι τῶν Κορυνθίων, καὶ ἔγνωσαν
πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταύθα
μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαῖνοντες
ἡλιοτο κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ
dὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὠθούμενοι καὶ παῖομενοι

1 ἐξελθόντες... σταύρωμα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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killed many of them. But Pasimachus, the Lacedaemonian commander of horse, at the head of a few horsemen, when he saw the Sicyonians hard pressed, tied his horses to trees, took from the Sicyonians their shields, and advanced with a volunteer force against the Argives. The Argives, however, seeing the Sigmas upon the shields, did not fear these opponents at all, thinking that they were Sicyonians. Then, as the story goes, Pasimachus said: "By the twin gods, Argives, these Sigmas will deceive you," and came to close quarters with them; and fighting thus with a few against many he was slain, and likewise others of his party. Meanwhile the Corinthian exiles, being victorious over the troops opposed to them, pushed their way through in the inland direction and got near the wall which surrounded the city. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they perceived that the forces opposed to the Sicyonians were victorious, they issued forth from the stockade and went to the rescue, keeping the stockade on their left. But when the Argives heard that the Lacedaemonians were in their rear, they turned around and burst out of the stockade again on the run. And those upon their extreme right were struck on their unprotected sides by the Lacedaemonians and killed, but those who were near the wall, crowded together in a disorderly mass, continued their retreat towards the city. When, however, they came upon the Corinthian exiles and discovered that they were enemies, they turned back again. Thereupon some of them, climbing up by the steps to the top of the wall, jumped down on the other side and were killed, others perished around the steps, being

1 Castor and Pollux.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνίγοντο. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαμόνοι οὐκ ἦπορον τίνα ἀποκτείνοιεν· ἐδώκε θὰρ τὸτε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἶον οὐδ’ ἦξαντό ποτ’ ἂν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένου, ἐκπεπληγμένου, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντας πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις θείον ἡγήσατο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πολλοῖ ἐπεσον ὡστε εἰδισμένοι ορᾶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι σωροὺς σὐτὸν, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἑθεάσαντο σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες. μετὰ μὲν τοῖνυν τούτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργείοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠθροίσθησαν, ἐγὼ Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὡστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἰκανὴν εἶναι, ἑπείτα δ’ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἧγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἱρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδοῦντα, ἑπείτα δὲ Κρομμυών. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τοῦμπαλὶ ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τείχισας ’Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον εἰς πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Δακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.

1 i.e. the walls which connected Corinth with Lechaeum. cp. § 7.

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shoved and struck by the enemy, and still others were trodden under foot by one another and suffocated. And the Lacedaemonians were in no uncertainty about whom they should kill; for then at least heaven granted them an achievement such as they could never even have prayed for. For to have a crowd of enemies delivered into their hands, frightened, panic-stricken, presenting their unprotected sides, no one rallying to his own defence, but all rendering all possible assistance toward their own destruction,—how could one help regarding this as a gift from heaven? On that day, at all events, so many fell within a short time that men accustomed to see heaps of corn, wood, or stones, beheld then heaps of dead bodies. Furthermore, the Boeotians of the garrison in the port were also killed, some upon the walls, and others after they had climbed up on the roofs of the ship-houses. After this the Corinthians and Argives carried off their dead under a truce, and the allies of the Lacedaemonians came to their aid. And when they were gathered together, in the first place Praxitas decided to tear down a portion of the walls so as to make a passage through wide enough for an army, and secondly, putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced by the road to Megara and captured by storm, first Sidus and then Crommyon. And after stationing garrisons in these strongholds he marched back again; then he fortified Epiciceia, in order that it might serve as an outpost to protect the territory of his allies, and then disbanded his army and himself withdrew by the road to Lacedaemon.

² i.e. the Sicyonians.
'Εκ δὲ τούτου στρατιάλ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαυτο, φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυώνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη. μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἐκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.

'Ενθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειώντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἑνεδρευσάμενος, ὅλγοις δὲ λεγεντῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσούτους ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τείχος οἱ Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγειν κατάγοιν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου ὡστε μετεπέμψαντο τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἀκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίοι, καίπερ ευνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον χρόνον ἐλθον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρήσαι ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οἴαντερ καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὐ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεημότους τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τείχη. ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅπληται παντάπασιν ὡς ἀντεξῆσαι ὡστε τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβησαν. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὐ τοὺς πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίεσαν ὡς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσήσαν.
HELLENICA, IV. iv. 14–16

From this time on large armies of citizens were no longer employed on either side, for the states merely sent out garrisons, the one party to Corinth, the other to Sicyon, and guarded the walls of these cities. Each side, however, had mercenaries, and with these prosecuted the war vigorously.

It was at this time also that Iphicrates invaded the territory of Phlius, set an ambush, meanwhile plundering with a few followers, and when the men from the city came out against him in an unguarded way, killed so many of them that the Phliasians, although before this they had refused to receive the Lacedaemonians within their wall, from fear that the latter would bring back to the city the people who said that they were in exile on account of their Lacedaemonian sympathies, were then seized with such panic fear of the men from Corinth that they sent for the Lacedaemonians and put the city and the citadel in their hands to guard. And the Lacedaemonians, although they were well minded toward the exiles, during all the time that they held their city made not so much as the least mention of a restoration of exiles, but when the city seemed to have recovered its courage, they departed, after giving over to the Phliasians both their city and their laws unchanged, precisely as they were when they took the city in charge. Again, Iphicrates and his troops invaded many districts of Arcadia also, where they plundered and made attacks upon the walled towns; for the hoplites of the Arcadians did not come out from their walls at all to meet them; such fear they had conceived of the peltasts. But the peltasts in their turn were so afraid of the Lacedaemonians that they did not approach within a javelin's cast of the
τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἦδη γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἐλόντες
17 ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἐτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἐαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε ἐπ’ ἐκδραμόντας πελταστὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Δέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινας αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ ἐπισκόπτεις ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῦντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὡσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δέχαιον ὄρμωμεν οὐν μόρα καὶ τοῖς Κορυνθίων φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν
18 Κορυνθίων ἔστρατεύοντο· οἱ δ’ αὐ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ρώμην τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχῃ τῶν Κορυνθίων διήρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἤγισαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατείχίσαι τὰ διηρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἔλθοντες πανδημεῖ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτώνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυώνοις καὶ πρὸς ἔσπερας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνω καλὸν ἐξετείχίσαν, τὸ δὲ ἐφον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἔτειχίζον.
19 Οἱ δ’ αὐ Λακεδαίμονιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τούς Ἀργείους τὰ μὲν οὗ καρπουμένους, ἱδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύοντοι ἐπ’ αὐτούς. Ἀγνίσίασ δ’ ἤγειτο, καὶ δημόσιας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὔθυς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρυνθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν
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HELLENICA, IV. iv. 16–19

hoplites; for it had once happened that the younger men among the Lacedaemonians, pursuing even from so great a distance as that, overtook and killed some of them. But while the Lacedaemonians felt contempt for the peltasts, they felt even greater contempt for their own allies; for once, when the Mantineans went out against peltasts who had sallied forth from the wall that extends to Lechaenum, they had given way under the javelins of the peltasts and some of them had been killed as they fled; so that the Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make game of their allies, saying that they feared the peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins. As for themselves, setting out from Lechaenum as a base with one regiment and the Corinthian exiles, they made expeditions all round about the city of the Corinthians; but the Athenians, on the other hand, fearing the power of the Lacedaemonians and thinking that they might come against them, now that the long walls of the Corinthians had been destroyed, decided that it was best to rebuild the walls destroyed by Praxitas. So they came with their full force, accompanied by masons and carpenters, and completed within a few days the wall toward Sicyon and the west, making a very excellent wall of it, and then went on to build the eastern wall in more leisurely fashion.

The Lacedaemonians on their side, considering that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their lands at home and taking pleasure in the war, made an expedition against them. Agesilaus was in command, and after laying waste all their territory he proceeded straight from there across the mountains by way of Tenea to Corinth and captured the walls
'Αθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελ-
φὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχουν τριήρεις
περὶ δώδεκα: ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μη-
tέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δὲν ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ
γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν
τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἤρρηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν
ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ τε τῶν συμμάχων
στράτευμα δίηκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἰκαδε ἀπη-
γαγεν.

V. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν
φευγόντων ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ
βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σφόξοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ,
pολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύοντο πάλιν
eἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησίλαοι καὶ τότε ἤγουμένου.
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐ
μὴν ἐν ὧν Ἰσθμὼν γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ
ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιούντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσει-
dῶν, ὡς Ἀργοὺς Κόρινθον ὄντος. ὡς δὲ ἦσθοντο
προσφέραντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλυόντες καὶ τὰ
tεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν
πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν
2 ἐπὶ Κεγχρείας ὅδὸν: ὁ μὲντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκεῖ-
νοὺς μὲν καὶ περ ὅρῶν οὖν ἐδίωκε, κατασκη-
νῆσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτὸς τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθεν καὶ

1 A mountainous peninsula of considerable extent on the
north-western side of the isthmus of Corinth (see note 2,
below). At its western extremity was the Heraeum, or
temple of Hera (see § 5, below), near which was a small lake
that had been rebuilt by the Athenians. And his brother Teleutias also came to his support by sea, with about twelve triremes; so that their mother was deemed happy in that on the same day one of the sons whom she bore captured by land the walls of the enemy and the other by sea his ships and dock-yards. And at that time, after accomplishing these things, Agesilaus disbanded the army of the allies and led his citizen force back home.

V. After this the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing from the Corinthian exiles that the people in the city had all their cattle in Piraueum and there kept them safe, and that many were being maintained from this supply, made another expedition to the territory of Corinth, Agesilaus being in command this time also. And first he came to the Isthmus; for it was the month during which the Isthmian games are celebrated, and the Argives chanced at the time to be offering the sacrifice there to Poseidon, as though Argos were Corinth. But when they learned that Agesilaus was approaching, they left behind both the victims that had been offered and the breakfast that was being made ready and retired to the city in very great fear, along the road leading to Cenchreae. Agesilaus, however, did not pursue them, even though he saw them, but encamping in the sacred precinct offered sacrifice himself to the god and (§ 6). In the north-eastern part of the peninsula was the fortress of Oenoe (§ 5).

2 The term was used by the Greeks, not (as in the preceding note) of the entire neck of land connecting Peloponnesus with northern Greece, but only of its narrowest part, some three or four miles north-east of the city of Corinth. Toward the eastern side of this Isthmus proper was the famous sanctuary of Poseidon where, every two years, the Isthmian games were celebrated.
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περιέμενεν, ἦσσον οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδώνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησίλαος ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἰσθμία. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἄ τῶν ἄθλων διὰ ἐκαστὸς ἐνικήθη, ἔστι δὲ ἄ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.

3. Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στρατεύμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἀστικό, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως: ὡστε οἱ Κορινθίοι δεῖσαντες μὴ προδιδοῦσιν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἡ πόλεις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτοὺς, ὕποστρέψας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ προῆκε, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῆν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτε-ρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῷ, καρύῳ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ἡυδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδὲνος πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὁντος διὰ τὸ πᾶν ἐφ' ὕψηλῃ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὧδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐστέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ ἐχοντες σια δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ρυγούντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμος πρὸς τὸ δείπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπτε οἱ Ἀγησίλαιοι οὐκ ἔλαμπον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύταις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλη, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ

1 Situated near the shore on the road leading from the Isthmus to Piraeum.
waited until the Corinthian exiles had conducted the sacrifice and the games in honour of Poseidon. But when Agesilaus had left the Isthmus, the Argives celebrated the Isthmian games all over again. In that year, accordingly, in some of the contests individual competitors were beaten twice, while in others the same competitors were twice proclaimed victors.

On the fourth day Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum. But seeing that it was guarded by many, he withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, as though the city were going to be betrayed to him; so that the Corinthians, in fear that the city was to be betrayed by some one, summoned Iphicrates with the greater part of his peltasts. Agesilaus, however, upon perceiving that they had passed by during the night, turned about, and at daybreak proceeded to lead his army to Piraeum. And he himself advanced by way of the hot springs, but he sent one regiment up the heights to proceed along the topmost ridge. On that night, accordingly, he was in camp at the hot springs, while the regiment bivouacked, holding possession of the heights. It was then that Agesilaus won credit by a trifling but timely expedient. For since no one among those who carried provisions for the regiment had brought fire, and it was cold, not only because they were at a high altitude, but also because there had been rain and hail towards evening—and besides, they had gone up in light clothing suitable to the summer season—and they were shivering and, in the darkness, had no heart for their dinner, Agesilaus sent up not less than ten men carrying fire in earthen pots. And when these men had climbed up by one
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μεγάλα πυρά ἐγένετο, ἀτε πολλής ἕλης παρουσίας, πάντες μὲν ἥλειφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὕψ ὅτου δ’ ὁ ἐνεπρήσθη σύν οὐδεὶς οἴδεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶ τὰ ἀκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἑτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἡραίον κατέβησαν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικεῖς καὶ δούλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλείστα. καὶ Ἠγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο. ἢ δὲ μόρα ἀμα καταβάσαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Οἰνών τὸ ἔντετευχημένον τείχος αἱρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐνοῦντα ἐλαβεῖ, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτίθεντο ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἑλάμβανον. οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταπέφυγότες ἐξῆλθαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες Ἠγησίλαῷ γνώναι ὅ τι βούλοντο περὶ σφῶν. οἱ δ’ ἐγὼ, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγῶν ἦσαν, παραδόναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυγάζῃ, τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ πάντα πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῆλθε μὲν εκ τοῦ Ἡραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· προσβείεται δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαι παρῆσαν, καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἦκον ἔρησόμενοι τὶ ἀν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. οὗ δὲ Ἠγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὖν ὅραν ἐδόκει, καὶ περὶ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγόνως καθήμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην

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1 See note 2, p. 323. 2 See note 1, p. 323. 3 cp. iv. 2. 4 The reference is uncertain.
way and another and many large fires had been made, since there was a great deal of fuel at hand, all the soldiers anointed themselves and many of them only then began their dinner. It was on this night also that the temple of Poseidon was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire. Now when the people in Piraeum perceived that the heights were occupied, they gave no further thought to defending themselves, but fled for refuge to the Heraeum, men and women, slaves and freemen, and the greater part of the cattle. And Agesilaus with the army proceeded along the sea shore; while the regiment, descending at the same time from the heights, captured Oenoe, the stronghold which had been fortified in Piraeum, and took possession of all that was within it, and in fact all the soldiers on that day possessed themselves of provisions in abundance from the farms. Meanwhile those who had taken refuge in the Heraeum came out, with the purpose of leaving it to Agesilaus to decide as he chose in regard to them. He decided to deliver over to the exiles all those who had had a part in the massacre and that all else should be sold. Thereupon the prisoners came forth from the Heraeum, a very great number of them, together with their property; and many embassies from various states presented themselves, while from the Boeotians in particular ambassadors had come to ask what they should do in order to obtain peace. Agesilaus, however, in a very lofty way affected not even to see these ambassadors, although Pharax, diplomatic agent for the Thebans at Lacedaemon, was standing beside them for the purpose of presenting them to him; but sitting in the circular structure near the lake, he
κυκλοτερούσ οἰκοδομήματος ἑθεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι, οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἂεὶ πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἑοικῶτος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις προσήλαυνε καὶ μάλα ἵσχυρῶς ἱδρῶντι τῷ ἱππῷ. ὑπὸ πόλλων δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὁ τι ἄγγελλος, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλὰ ἐπείδη ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὁ λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Δεκαϊῷ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν, εὐθὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρῳ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντήκοντάς καὶ ξεναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὃς δὲ συνέδραμον οὕτω, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἰπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἡριστοποίητο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὁ τι δύναντο ἢκει τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῆς, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγούμενον, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἦδη δὲ ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Δεκαίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρμένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τούτῳ ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ

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1 Described in §§11-17, below.
2 The tent companions of a Spartan king were the six
occupied himself in watching the great quantity of prisoners and property that was being brought out. And some Lacedaemonians from the camp followed with their spears to guard the prisoners, and were much regarded by the bystanders; for somehow men who are fortunate and victorious seem ever to be a noteworthy spectacle. But while Agesilaus was still sitting there in the attitude of a man who exulted in what had been accomplished, a horseman rode up, his horse sweating profusely. And being asked by many people what news he brought, he made no reply to anyone, but when he was near Agesilaus, he leaped down from his horse, ran up to him, and with a very gloomy face told him of the disaster to the regiment stationed in Lechaenum. When Agesilaus heard this, he immediately leaped up from his seat, seized his spear, and ordered the herald to summon the commanders of regiments and of fifties and the leaders of the allies. When they came running together, he told the rest of them to follow along as quickly as possible after swallowing what they could—for they had not yet breakfasted—while he himself with his tent companions went on ahead breakfastless. And the spearmen of his body-guard, fully armed, accompanied him with all speed, he leading the way and his tent companions following after him. But when he had already passed the hot springs and come to the plain of Lechaenum, three horsemen rode up and reported that the bodies of the dead had been recovered. When he heard this, he gave the order to ground arms, and after resting the army for a short time, led it back again to the Heraeum; and polemarchs, or commanders of regiments, and three other Spartiatae. Xen. de Rep. Lac. xiii. 1.
στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραίον τῆς ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτήμενοι ὃ τι ἦκονεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνητο, εἰπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι καλύοι βουλοιντο εἰς ἀστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιῶτας παρελθεῖν. ὡς ἐπιγελάσας· Ἄλλῳ οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες γνώσεσθε ποιὸν τι τὸ γεγενηµένον ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ υστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἤγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δὲ τὶ ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυν ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτεξῆι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Δέκαιον καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀστυ οὐκ ἀνήκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεύσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἄτε δὲ ἄρθους τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις γεγενηµένης τῆς τοιαύτης συµφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Δακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὄσων ἑτέθησαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ νύοι ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἁδελφοὶ· οὗτοι δὲ ὡσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλο-μενοὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιήγαν.

10 Ἡγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρᾳ πάθος τοιδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμικλαίοι οἱ ποιείται ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Τακίν-θια ἐπὶ τὸν παιάνα, ἐὰν τε στρατοπεδεύομενοι.
on the following day he exposed the prisoners and captured property for sale.

The ambassadors of the Boeotians were now summoned and asked for what purpose they had come. They made no further mention of peace, but said that if there were nothing to hinder, they desired to pass into the city to join their own soldiers. And Agesilaus said with a laugh, "On the contrary, I know that you are not desirous of seeing your soldiers, but of beholding the good fortune of your friends, that you may see how great it has been. Wait, therefore," he said, "for I will conduct you myself, and by being with me you will find out better what manner of thing it is that has happened." And he did not belie his words, but on the next day, after offering sacrifice, he led his army to the city. He did not throw down the trophy, but by cutting down and burning any fruit-tree that was still left, he showed that no one wanted to come out against him. When he had done this, he encamped near Lechaeum; as for the ambassadors of the Thebans, although he did not let them go into the city, yet he sent them home by sea to Creusis.¹ Now inasmuch as such a calamity had been unusual with the Lacedaemonians, there was great mourning throughout the Laconian army, except among those whose sons, fathers, or brothers had fallen where they stood; they, however, went about like victors, with shining countenances and full of exultation in their own misfortune.

Now it was in the following way that the disaster to the regiment happened. The Amyclaean invariably go back home to the festival of the Hyacinthia for the paean to Apollo, whether they chance to be on

¹ A Boeotian port on the Corinthian Gulf.
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tυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πᾶσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλυμε μὲν Ἀγνῆλαος ἐν Λεχαίῳ. ὦ δὲ ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς ἔταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ παρὰ τῇ πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίες παρῆγεν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπείχον ὅσον εἰκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυώνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὅπως ἐξακοσίοις ἀπῆκε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ’ Ἰππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ, ἔπει προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίες μέχρι ὁπόσον αὐτοὶ καθεύδοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ δὲι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὐδὲν ἡγνόουν· κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἄν ἐπιχειρήσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἰππονίκου, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὅπως καὶ ἑρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππέων, ἐνόμιζαν ἀσφαλείς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἀν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσαν· εἰ δ’ ἐπιχειροῦν διόκειν, ῥαδίως ἄν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὀπλίτας. γυνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελ
a campaign or away from home for any other reason. 390 B.C. Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left behind at Lechaenum all the Amyclaeans in the army. Now the polemarch in command of the garrison there detailed the garrison troops of the allies to guard the wall, and himself with the regiment of hoplites and the regiment of horsemen conducted the Amyclaeans along past the city of the Corinthians. And when they were distant from Sicyon about twenty or thirty stadia, the polemarch with the hoplites, who were about six hundred in number, set out to return to Lechaenum, and ordered the commander of horse to follow after him with the regiment of horsemen after they had escorted the Amyclaeans as far as they themselves directed. Now they were by no means unaware that there were many peltasts and many hoplites in Corinth; but on account of their previous successes they contemptuously thought that no one would attack them. But those in the city of the Corinthians, both Callias, the son of Hipponicus, commander of the Athenian hoplites, and Iphicrates, leader of the peltasts, when they descried the Lacedaemonians and saw that they were not only few in number, but also unaccompanied by either peltasts or cavalry, thought that it was safe to attack them with their force of peltasts. For if they should proceed along the road, they could be attacked with javelins on their unprotected side and destroyed; and if they should undertake to pursue, they with their peltasts, the nimblest of all troops, could easily escape the hoplites. Having come to this conclusion, they led forth their troops. And Callias formed his hoplites in line of battle not far from the city, while Iphicrates with his peltasts attacked the Lacedae-
ταστᾶς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἥκοντίζοντο καὶ ο μὲν τις ἐτέτρωτο, ο δὲ καὶ ἑπεπτώκει, τούτοις μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῇ μόρᾳ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ο δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἀπο-διώξει τοὺς προσκειμένους.\(^1\) ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἤρουν τε οὐδένα ἔξ ἁκούτιον βολῆς ὀπλῆται δυντες πελταστὰς καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὅμοι γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἀτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἐκαστος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτη, οὗ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίον πάλιν ἥκοντίζουν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραθέουντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά· καὶ εὔθυς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόρτιζον ἐννέα ἡ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς παρα-γίγνονται καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὐθίς διώξιν ἐποιή-σαντο. ὡς δὲ ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις

\(^1\) προσκειμένους Dobrée: προσειρμένουs Kel. with MSS.

1 Slaves who carried the shields of the hoplites.
monian regiment. Now when the Lacedaemonians were being attacked with javelins, and several men had been wounded and several others slain, they directed the shield-bearers to take up these wounded men and carry them back to Lechaeum; and these were the only men in the regiment who were really saved. Then the polemarch ordered the first ten year-classes to drive off their assailants. But when they pursued, they caught no one, since they were hoplites pursuing peltasts at the distance of a javelin's cast; for Iphicrates had given orders to the peltasts to retire before the hoplites got near them; and further, when the Lacedaemonians were retiring from the pursuit, being scattered because each man had pursued as swiftly as he could, the troops of Iphicrates turned about, and not only did those in front again hurl javelins upon the Lacedaemonians, but also others on the flank, running along to reach their unprotected side. Indeed, at the very first pursuit the peltasts shot down nine or ten of them. And as soon as this happened, they began to press the attack much more boldly. Then, as the Lacedaemonians continued to suffer losses, the polemarch again ordered the first fifteen year-classes to pursue. But when these fell back, even more of them were shot down than at the first retirement. And now that the best men had already been killed, the horsemen joined them, and with the horsemen they again undertook a pursuit. But when the peltasts turned to flight, at that moment the horsemen managed their attack badly; for they did not chase the enemy until they had killed some of them, but both in

\[2 \text{ i.e. saved both in life and in honour.}\]

\[3 \text{ See note on II. iv. 32.}\]
ισομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πᾶσχοντες τὰ ὁμοία τούτοις καὶ αὐθεντεύοντας, τὸν μὲν ἀεὶ ἑλάττους τοὺς καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμων θρασύτεροί τε καὶ ἄεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνή-στανται ἐπὶ βραχὺν τινα γῆλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Δεκαίου ὡς ἐξ ἡ ἐπτακαιδεκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δεκαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλευον, ἔως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γῆλοφον. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντες ἦδη, ὅτι ἐπασχοῦν μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτοσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὅλγοι δὲ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Δέκαίου ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπεθάνουν περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

’Εκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπήει, ἀλλήν δὲ κατέληπεν ἐν τῷ Δεκαίῳ. διόμεν δὲ ἐπὶ οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὁψιάτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς δὲ ἐδύνατο προφαίτατα ἐξωρμᾶτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν ἔξι ορχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταίος παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἄν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχὸμετε χείσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τάλλα ἑπτάνυχαν Ἑφίκρατης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σειδοντὶ μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶν ὑπὸ Πρα-
HELLENICA, IV. v. 16-19

the pursuit and in the turning backward kept an even front with the hoplites. And what with striving and suffering in this way again and again, the Lacedaemonians themselves kept continually becoming fewer and fainter of heart, while their enemies were becoming bolder, and those who attacked them continually more numerous. Therefore in desperation they gathered together on a small hill, distant from the sea about two stadia, and from Lechaeum about sixteen or seventeen stadia. And the men in Lechaeum, upon perceiving them, embarked in small boats and coasted along until they came opposite the hill. Then the troops, being now desperate, because they were suffering and being slain, while unable to inflict any harm themselves, and, besides this, seeing the Athenian hoplites also coming against them, took to flight. And some of them plunged into the sea, and some few made their escape with the horsemen to Lechaeum. But in all the battles and in the flight about two hundred and fifty of them were killed. Thus it was that these events took place.

After this Agesilaus departed with the defeated regiment, and left another behind him in Lechaeum. And as he passed along homeward, he led his troops into the cities as late in the day as he could and set out again in the morning as early as he could. When he approached Mantinea, by leaving Orchomenus before dawn he passed by that city while it was still dark: so hard, he thought, would the soldiers find it to see the Mantineans rejoicing at their misfortune. After this, Iphicrates was very successful in his other undertakings also. For although garrisons had been stationed in Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas

\[1 \text{cp. iv. 17.}\]
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είτου, ὅτε ἐκείνος εἶλε ταύτα τὰ τεῖχη, ἐν Οἰνόη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἔαλω, πάνθ᾽ εἶλε ταύτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Δέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορωθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριάντες ἐκ Σικυώνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παραπλεόντες εἰς Δέχαιον 1 καὶ ἐντεύθεν ὀρμώμενοι, πράγματα εἰχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

VI. Ἔτη δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχουσες Καλυδώνα, ᾧ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολύτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδώνιους, φρουρεῖν ἡμαγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνάνες ἐπεστράτευοι, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν συμπαρῆσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων. 2 Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφασαν, ὡμίν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἄν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευνόμεθα καὶ ἐπόμεθα ὃποι ἂν ἡγησθεῖ. ὑμεῖς δὲ πολυσκυλοῦν ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γεγονόμενων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἐκσάντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολέμοςαμε Ἀκαρνάσι τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἢ εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα ὅποιαν ἄν τινα δυνάμεθα. 3 ταύτα δὲ ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ

1 eis Δέχαιον inserted by Kel., following van Herwerden.
when he captured these strongholds, and in Oenoe by Agesilaus at the time when Piraeum was taken, Iphicrates captured all these places. In Lechaem, however, the Lacedaemonians and their allies maintained their garrison. And the Corinthian exiles, no longer proceeding by land from Sicyon past Corinth, on account of the disaster to the regiment, but sailing along the coast to Lechaem and sallying forth from there, caused annoyance to the people in the city even as they suffered annoyance themselves.

VI. After this the Achaeans, who were in possession of Calydon—in ancient times an Aetolian town—and had made the people of Calydon Achaean citizens, were compelled to keep a garrison there. For the Acarnanians made an expedition against the city, and some of the Athenians and Boeotians joined with them, because the Acarnanians were their allies. Therefore, being hard pressed by them, the Achaeans sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon. And upon reaching there the ambassadors said that they were not receiving fair treatment from the Lacedaemonians. "For, gentlemen," they said, "we serve with you howsoever you direct and follow whithersoever you lead; but now that we are besieged by the Acarnanians and their allies, the Athenians and Boeotians, you take no thought for us. Now we cannot hold out if these things go on in this way, but either we shall abandon the war in Peloponnesus and all of us cross over and make war against the Acarnanians and their allies, or else we shall make peace on whatever terms we can." Now they said this by way of covertly threatening to withdraw from their alliance with the Lacedaemonians
XENOPHON

άυτοίς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. ¹ τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἐδοξε τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας. καὶ ἐκτέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ ⁴ μέντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημείς συνεστρατεύοντο. ἔπει δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνάνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἀστή, πάντα δὲ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἀλάσκηται ὑπὸ τῶν στρατεύματος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς πολέμιας, πέμψας εἰς Ἐστάτων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ἔσπευν ὡς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς Βοωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἔαυτοι καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ² συμμάχους αἰρήσονται, Ἰγωσεὶ πᾶπαι τῇ γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παρα—

5 λέψει οὐδὲν. ἔπει δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθοῦτο, οὕτως ἔποιει, καὶ κόστων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προῆι πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα στάδιων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνάνες, ἡγησάμενοι ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὰ τέ βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὄρων καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ πλείστα εἰργάζοντο. ἔπει δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ πάνυ ἡδὴ θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἡ ἐκτῇ καὶ δεκάτη ἄφ' ὅς εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος πρὸ διεπορεύθη πρὸς δέλης ἐξίκουντα καὶ ἐκατόν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἧν τὰ βοσκήματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδόν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπληθὴ καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ἰπποφόρβια καὶ

¹ ταῦτα . . . ἀντεπικουρήσουσι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
² Ἀχαιοὺς inserted by Kel., following Simon.
HELLENICA, IV. vi. 3–6

unless the latter should help them in return. In view of this statement, it seemed to the ephors and the assembly that it was necessary to undertake a campaign with the Achaeans against the Acarnanians. And they sent out Agesilaus, with two Lacedaemonian regiments and the corresponding contingent of the allies. The Achaeans, however, joined in the campaign with their entire force. Now when Agesilaus crossed over, all the Acarnanians of the country districts fled to the walled towns, and all their cattle were driven off to remote parts to prevent their being captured by the army. But when Agesilaus arrived at the borders of the enemy's country, he sent to the general assembly of the Acarnanians at Stratus and said that unless they discontinued their alliance with the Boeotians and Athenians and chose his people and the Achaeans as allies, he would lay waste their whole territory, one portion after another, and would not spare any portion of it. Then, upon their refusing to obey him, he proceeded to do so, continually devastating the land as he went and hence advancing not more than ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, therefore, deeming it safe on account of the slow progress of the army, brought down their cattle from the mountains and continued to till the greater part of their land. But when it seemed to Agesilaus that they were now very bold, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day from the time when he entered the country, he offered sacrifice in the morning and accomplished before evening a march of one hundred and sixty stadia to the lake on whose banks were almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians, and he captured herds of cattle and droves of horses in large numbers besides

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άλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβών δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
7 οὐσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ
πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησίλαος βάλ-
loutes καὶ σφενδοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας
tοῦ ὄρους ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδὲν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ
eis τὸ ὦμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἦδη περὶ
δεῖπνον παρασκευάζομενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα
οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνάνες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
φυλακᾶς καταστημάτων ἐκάθευδον.

8 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στρά-
tευμα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην
λειμώνος τε καὶ πεδίου στενή διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιε-
χοντα ὄρη καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες ἐκ τῶν
ὑπερδεξίων ἐβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκούσουν, καὶ ὑπο-
catabaínontes eis tà kraspèda tôn ὄρων προσέ-
keinìo kai prágmatà papeihòn, óste oukèti èdú-

9 νατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ
ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς
tōus èpitišeménovs oudein èblaptoù. tachì γὰρ
ῆσαν, ὧποτε ἀποχωροῖεν, πρὸς τοὺς ἱσχυροῖς οἱ
Ἀκαρνάνες. χαλετοῦ δὴ ἡγησάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
dià τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταύτα πάσχοντας,
égno diókein toûs èk tōn eûnýmōn proskêimé-
nous, màlā pòllous óntas èuvbátôteron γὰρ ἦν
toûto tò ὄρος kai ὀπλίταις kai ἱπποῖς. kai èn
ϕι μὲν ἔσφαγμαζετο, màlā kateîchon bálloûntes

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all sorts of other stock and great numbers of slaves. 389 B.C. And after effecting this capture and remaining there through the ensuing day, he made public sale of the booty. Now, however, many peltasts of the Acarnanians came up, and, inasmuch as Agesilaus was encamped on the mountain-side, by throwing stones and discharging their slings from the ridge of the mountain they succeeded, without suffering any harm themselves, in forcing the army to descend to the plain, even though the men were already making preparations for dinner. But at night the Acarnanians departed, and the troops posted sentinels and lay down to rest.

On the next day Agesilaus undertook to lead his army away. Now the road which led out from the meadow and plain surrounding the lake was narrow on account of the mountains which encircled it round; and the Acarnanians, taking possession of these mountains, threw stones and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians from the heights upon their right, and descending gradually to the spurs of the mountains pressed the attack and caused trouble to such an extent that the army was no longer able to proceed. And when the hoplites and the horsemen left the phalanx and pursued their assailants, they could never do them any harm; for when the Acarnanians fell back, they were speedily in safe places. Then Agesilaus, thinking it a difficult matter for his troops to go out through the narrow pass under these attacks, decided to pursue the men who were attacking them on the left, very many in number; for the mountain on this side was more accessible both for hoplites and horses. Now while he was sacrificing, the Acarnanians pressed them
καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἄκαρνάνες, καὶ ἔγγυς προσώπων πολλοὺς ἐπίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ’ ἡβης, ἡλαυνον δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἠκολούθει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες τῶν Ἄκαρναν καὶ ἀκροβολίζομενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀπέθυμηκον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἀναντε. ἐπὶ μὲντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὀπλίται ἦσαν τῶν Ἄκαρναν παρατεταγμένου καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔπεμενον, καὶ τὰ τέ ἀλλα βέλη ἠφίεσαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες ἱππεάς τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἱπποὺς τωσὶ ἀπεκτειναν. ἐπεὶ μὲντοι μικροῖ ἔδεουν ἡδή ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τρισκόσιον. τοῦτω δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγασίλαος τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτον περιμόν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἑνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεως καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἴλε γε συμέμας. ἤνικα δὲ ἡδὴ ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῆει ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

13 Οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε ὄνεδεν ἐνόμιζον αὐτῶν, ὅτι πόλιν συμέμαν προσεἰλήφει οὕτε ἐκούσαν οὕτε ἂκουσαν, ἐδέοντο τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἄλλα τοσοῦτον γε χρόνου καταμεῖναν αὐτῶν, ἔως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς Ἄκαρνασι. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἑναντία λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος. Ἔγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ἐφὶ, στρατεύσομαι πάλιν δεύρο εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν θέρος· οὔτοι δὲ δοξοὶ ἀν πλεῖω στείρωσι, τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιδειμήσουσι. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπόν 344
very hard with throwing stones and javelins, and coming close up to them wounded many. But when he gave the word, the first fifteen year-classes of the hoplites ran forth, the horsemen charged, and he himself with the other troops followed. Then those among the Acarnanians who had come down the mountains and were throwing missiles quickly gave way and, as they tried to escape uphill, were killed one after another; on the summit, however, were the hoplites of the Acarnanians, drawn up in line of battle, and the greater part of the peltasts, and there they stood firm, and not only discharged their other missiles, but by hurling their spears struck down horsemen and killed some horses. But when they were now almost at close quarters with the Lacedaemonian hoplites, they gave way, and there fell on that day about three hundred of them. When these things had taken place, Agesilaus set up a trophy. And afterwards, going about through the country, he laid it waste with axe and fire; he also made assaults upon some of the cities, being compelled by the Achaeans to do so, but did not capture any one of them. And when at length autumn was coming on, he set about departing from the country.

The Achaeans, however, thought that he had accomplished nothing because he had gained possession of no city, with or without its consent, and they begged him, even if he did nothing else, at least to stay long enough to prevent the Acarnanians from sowing their seed. He replied that what they were proposing was the opposite of the advantageous course. "For," he said, "I shall again lead an expedition hither next summer; and the more these people sow, the more they will desire peace."
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ἀπηνει πεζῇ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοιαύτας ὅδους ὅστε πολλοὶ ὁμοι ἄνωντ' ἀν ἄκοντον Ἁιτωλῶν
πορεύεσθαι ἑκεῖνον μέντοι ἔλαβον διελθέων ἥλπιζον γὰρ Ναυπακτοῦ ἄντων συμπράξειν ὅστ' ἄπολαβεῖν.
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταῦτα διαβᾶσοι οὐκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ
Καλυδῶνος ἐκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἐκὼλου ὑπῆρεσιν ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Ὀινιαδῶν.

VII. Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμώνος, ὥσπερ
ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαϊοῖς εὐθὺς ἀρχομένον τοῦ ἦν
πάλιν φρουρῶν ἐφαίνει οὖ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας. οἱ
δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίζοντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ
σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἀν χωρὶς ἐστὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ σιτοῦ φθειρότοιν ὥσπερ εἰ περιε-
στρατοπεδεύμενοι χωρὶς ἐστὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονία, καὶ εἰρήνη μὲν πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀχαιότις, συμμαχήσαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκαρνα-
ναύους ἐποίησαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνάνας
οὕτω διερᾶτερκοτ.

2 'Εκ δὲ τοῦτοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθη-
ναίοις ὡ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν ὅπως ἔδοκεν
ἀσφαλές εἶναι ὁπισθεν καταλπώντας ὅμορον τῇ
Λακεδαιμονίᾳ πολεμάν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν
Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἀργος φρουρὰν φαί-
νοικεν. ὡ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἔτει ἐγνω ὅτι εἰ ἄντο
ἀγγέλω ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυμομένον
ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζό-

1 Hence, instead of crossing directly from Calydon, the
army was compelled to proceed a long distance to the east.
HELLENICA, IV. vi. 14–vii. 2

Having said this, he departed overland through Aetolia by such roads as neither many nor few could traverse against the will of the Aetolians; they allowed him, however, to pass through; for they hoped that he would aid them to recover Naupactus. And when he reached the point opposite Rhium, he crossed over at that point and returned home; for the Athenians barred the passage from Calydon to Peloponnesus with their triremes, using Oeniadae as a base.

VII. When the winter had passed, at the very beginning of spring Agesilaus again called out the ban against the Acarnanians, in accordance with his promise to the Achaeans. But the Acarnanians, learning of this and thinking that inasmuch as their cities were in the interior they would be just as truly besieged by the people who destroyed their corn as if they were besieged by an army encamped around them, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and concluded peace with the Achaeans and an alliance with the Lacedaemonians. Thus ended the affair of the Acarnanians.

After this it seemed to the Lacedaemonians that it was not safe for them to undertake a campaign against the Athenians or against the Boeotians while leaving in their rear a hostile state bordering upon Lacedaemon and one so large as that of the Argives; they accordingly called out the ban against Argos. Now when Agesipolis learned that he was to lead the ban, and when the sacrifices which he offered at the frontier proved favourable, he went to Olympia ward, through difficult country (see above), to reach the Strait of Rhium.
μενος ἐπηρώτα τοῦ θεοῦ εἰ ὤσις ἂν ἔχωι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπουδὰς τῶν Ἄργειων, ὅτι οὐχ ὅποτε καθήκοι οἱ χρόνοις, ἀλλ' ὅποτε ἐμβάλλεις μέλλονεν Δακεδαμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆ-νας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαινεν αὐτῷ δόγιαν εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπουδὰς ἄδικως ὑποφερομένας. ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὐ τοῖς Ἀπόλλων εἰ κάκεινοι δοκοὶ περὶ τῶν σπουδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα 3 κατὰ ταύτα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκείσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἐως πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμηει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἄργειοι ἐπεὶ ἐγώοσαν οὐ δυνησομενοι κωλύειν, ἐπεμψαν, ὡσπερ εἰωθε- σαν, ἑστεφανυμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπουδᾶς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖ ς τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδε- χετο τὰς σπουδὰς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐκπληξὶν κατὰ τε τοὺς ἄγρους καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε.

4 Δειπνουποιούμενου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἄργειᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐσπέρᾳ, καὶ σπουδῶν τῶν μετὰ δείπνου τῇ γενομένῳ, ἐσπειρών ὁ θεὸς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακεδαμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὑμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶν παῖδανοι. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατίωται φοντὸ ἀπιέοντας ὁτι

1 The calendars of different Greek states varied so much that sharp practice of the sort here alleged, i.e. shifting the times of religious festivals to meet an emergency, was not difficult or unusual. cp. ii. 16 and Thuc. v. 54.

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and consulted the oracle of the god, asking whether it would be consistent with piety if he did not acknowledge the holy truce claimed by the Argives; for, he urged, it was not when the appointed time came, but when the Lacedaemonians were about to invade their territory, that they pleaded the sacred months.\(^1\) And the god signified to him that it was consistent with piety for him not to acknowledge a holy truce which was pleaded unjustly. Then Agesipolis proceeded straight from there to Delphi and asked Apollo in his turn whether he also held the same opinion as his father Zeus in regard to the truce. And Apollo answered that he did hold quite the same opinion. Under these circumstances Agesipolis led forth his army from Phlius—for it had been assembling for him there while he was away visiting the holy places—and entered the territory of Argos by way of Nemea. And when the Argives realized that they would not be able to hinder the invasion, they sent, as they were wont to do, two heralds, garlanded, pleading a holy truce. But Agesipolis in reply said that the gods did not think they were making this plea justly, and so he refused to acknowledge the truce, but advanced into their territory and caused great distress and terror both in the country and in the city.

Now while he was at dinner in the land of the Argives, on the first evening of his stay there, and when the after-dinner libations had just been made, the god sent an earthquake; and all the Lacedaemonians, those in the royal tent taking the lead, struck up the paean to Poseidon\(^2\); and the rest of the soldiers expected to retire from the country,

\(^2\) To whom earthquakes were ascribed by the Greeks.
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καὶ Ἄγις σεισμοῦ ποτὲ γενομένου ἀπῆγαγεν ἥξ Ἡλίδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειν, κωλύειν ἄν αὐτόν ἥγειτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν 5 νομίζει καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶν ἥγειτο αὐ πόρρω εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἀτε δὲ νεώστι τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ Ἀργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποὺ πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἤγαγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποὺ τὴν χώραν ἐδήσσε, ὡσπερ πένταθλος πάντη ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλ-6 λειν ἐπείρατο. καὶ ἦδη μὲν ποτε βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τείχος τάφρους πάλιν διέβη. ἦν δὲ ταῖς οἰχωμένων τῶν πλείστων Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν προσήλθεν ὡστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἰππέας εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δεῖσαντες μὴ συνεισ-πέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Δακωνικοί ὡστ’ ἰγνακάσθησαν οἱ ἰππεῖς ὡσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεις προσαραφέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ Κρήτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ δὲν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπ-7 πο τοι κατετοξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἰρκ-τὰς στρατοπεδευμένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες πληγέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τείχισαι φρούριον τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ 350
because Agis likewise, on an occasion when an earthquake took place, had withdrawn his army from Elis.\(^1\) But Agesipolis said that if the god had sent an earthquake when he was about to invade, he should have thought that he was forbidding the invasion; but since he sent it after he had invaded, he believed that he was urging him on; accordingly, on the next day, after offering sacrifices to Poseidon, he again led on his forces, advancing far into the country. And inasmuch as Agesilaus had lately made an expedition into Argos, Agesipolis, finding out from the soldiers how far Agesilaus had led his army in the direction of the wall, and how far he had laid waste the land, endeavoured, like an athlete in the pentathlum, to go beyond him at every point. On one occasion it was only when he was being pelted with missiles from the towers that he recrossed the trenches around the city wall; and once, when most of the Argives were away in Laconia, he approached so near the gates that the Argives who were at the gates shut out the horsemen of the Boeotians who wanted to enter, through fear that the Lacedaemonians would rush in at the gates along with them; so that the horsemen were compelled to cling, like bats, tight to the walls beneath the battlements. And if it had not chanced that the Cretans were off on a plundering expedition to Nauplia at that time, many men and horses would have been shot down by their arrows. After this, while Agesipolis was encamping near the enclosed space,\(^2\) a thunderbolt fell into his camp; and some men were killed by being struck, others by the shock. After this, desiring to fortify a garrison post at the entrance to

\(^1\) *cp. III. ii. 24.*  \(^2\) The reference is unknown.
Κηλούσαν ἐμβολαίς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά ἀλοβα. ὡς δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο, ἀπῆγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάφας τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἀτε ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμ-βαλών.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὐτὶ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττη κόλπους γενόμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιωματικαύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρῆσο. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νῆσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλατίδιας πόλεις τοὺς τε Δακωνικοῦς ἀρμοστὰς ἐξῆλανυν καὶ παρεμπυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς οὕτε ἀκροτόλεις ἐντεχίζοισιν ἐάσοιέν τε 2 αὐτούμοις. οἱ δὲ ἀκοῦοντες ταῦτα ἤδοντό τε καὶ ἐπήγαγον καὶ ξένα προθύμωσι ἐπεμπῶν τῷ Φαρνα-βάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τῶν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδιδασκὼν ὡς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλαι ἔσοιντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλϊ-μενος φανερῶς ἔσοιντο, ἐλεγεν ὡς μὴ ἐκάστῃ πολλὰ πράγματα ἢμαν εἰς παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἰη μὴ καὶ οἱ "Ελληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθοῦντο, 3 συσταῖεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείδεθε ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς δὲ εἰς "Εφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετ-ταράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν ἔσεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῆ παρήει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ἄσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμως ἦν
the Argive country which leads past Mount Celusa, he offered sacrifice; and the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. When this happened, he led his army away and disbanded it, having inflicted very great harm upon the Argives because he had invaded their land unexpectedly.

VIII. As for the war by land, it was being waged in the manner described. I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on; and will describe such of the events as are worthy of record, while those which do not deserve mention I will pass over. In the first place, then, Pharnabazus and Conon, after defeating the Lacedaemonians in the naval battle, made a tour of the islands and the cities on the sea coast, drove out the Laconian governors, and encouraged the cities by saying that they would not establish fortified citadels within their walls and would leave them independent. And the people of the cities received this announcement with joy and approval, and enthusiastically sent gifts of friendship to Pharnabazus. Conon, it seems, was advising Pharnabazus that if he acted in this way, all the cities would be friendly to him, but if it should be evident that he wanted to enslave them, he said that each single city was capable of making a great deal of trouble and that there was danger that the people of Greece also, if they learned of this, would become united. Pharnabazus was accordingly accepting this counsel. Then, disembarking at Ephesus, he gave Conon forty triremes and told him to meet him at Sestus, while he himself proceeded by land along the coast to his own province. For Dercylidas, who had long been

1 *cp.* iii. 10 f.
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αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁν, ὡς τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὄσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβύδου καὶ δίεσφξε φίλην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

4 Ὡ άνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὖσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανήναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν· ὅταν δὲ τινὲς ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανώσι, τούτ’ εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον μημονεύεται. ἐστὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον ὡς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἁρὰ ἐτὶ ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δὴπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἰκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὐ φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσοι δὲ μᾶλλον αἰ ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτῳ οὕτως ἡ ἡμετέρα πιστότης μεῖζων φανείη ἂν. εἰ δὲ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτο ὅτι Ἑλληνικῶν μὲν οὐπω ναυτικῶν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἦνεξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὡσθ’ ἐαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται.

5 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱοντας ἀρμοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμ-

1 cp. iii. i. 9. 2 i.e. in flight from their several towns.
an enemy of his,\(^1\) chanced to be in Abydus at the time when the naval battle took place, and he did not, like the other Lacedaemonian governors, quit the city, but took possession of Abydus and was keeping it friendly to the Lacedaemonians. For he called together the people of the town and spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen, at this moment it is possible for you, who even in former days have been friends of our state, to show yourselves benefactors of the Lacedaemonians. For showing loyalty in the midst of prosperity calls for no particular admiration, but always, if men show themselves steadfast when friends have fallen upon misfortunes, this is remembered for all time. Do not suppose that just because we have been defeated in the naval battle, we are therefore ever afterward to be counted for naught. Nay, even in former times, you recall, when the Athenians were rulers of the sea, our state was able both to confer benefit upon friends and to inflict harm upon enemies. And the greater the extent to which the other cities have, along with fortune, turned away from us, by so much the greater in reality would your fidelity be made manifest. But if anyone is afraid that we may be besieged here both by land and by sea, let him reflect that there is not yet a Greek fleet on the sea, and if the barbarians shall undertake to rule the sea, Greece will not tolerate this; so that in helping herself she will also become your ally."

Upon hearing these words, the Abydenes yielded compliance, not unwillingly, but with enthusiasm, and they received kindly the Lacedaemonian governors who came to Abydus\(^2\) and sent for those who were
ΠΟΝΤΟ. Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΡΚΟΛΙΔΑΣ, ΩΣ ΣΥΝΕΛΕΥΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΙ ΆΝΔΡΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ, ΔΙΑΒΑΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΣΗΣΤΟΝ, ΚΑΤΑΝΤΙΚΡΥ ΌΝΤΑ ΑΒΥΔΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΠΛΕΟΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΣΤΑΔΙΩΝ, ΌΣΟΙ ΤΕ ΔΙΑ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ ΓΗΝ ΕΣΧΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΟ, ΉΘΡΟΙΖΕ, ΚΑΙ ΌΣΟΙ ΑΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΆΡΜΟΣΤΑΙ ΕΞΕΠΙΠΤΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΔΕΧΕΤΟ, ΛΕΓΩΝ ΌΤΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΑΘΥΜΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ, ΕΝΝΟΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΌΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΆΣΙΑ, Ή ΕΞ ΆΡΧΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΣΤΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΜΟΝΟΣ, ΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΑΙΓΑΙ ΕΙΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΆΛΛΑ ΓΕ ΧΩΡΙΑ ΔΥΝΑΝΤΑΙ ΟΙΚΕΙΝ ΟΥΧ ὑπήκοοι οντες βασιλεώς. ΚΑΙΤΟΙ, ΕΦΗ, ΠΟΙΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΆΝ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΣΗΣΤΟΥ ΛΆΒΟΙΤΕ ΧΩΡΙΟΝ, ΠΟΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΥΣΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΤΌΡΕΝΟΥ; Ό ΚΑΙ ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΖΩΝ ΔΕΙΤΑΙ, ΕΙ ΜΕΛΛΟΙ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΘΗΣΕΘΑΙ. ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΑΥ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΑ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΕΣΧΕ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΠΕΠΛΗΧΘΑΙ.

6 'Ο ΔΕ ΦΑΡΝΑΒΑΖΟΣ ΕΤΕΙ ΗΠΡΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΕ 'ΑΒΥΔΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΣΗΣΤΟΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ, ΠΡΟΘΡΟΡΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΩΣ ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΚΠΕΜΨΟΙΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ, ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΝ ΕΞΟΙΣΕΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ. ΕΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΕΙΘΟΝΤΟ, ΚΩΝΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΕΙ ΚΩΛΥΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ ΠΛΕΙΝ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΘΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΒΥΔΗΝΩΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ. ΕΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΠΕΡΑΙΝΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΕΦΕΣΘΑΙ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΠ' ΟΙΚΟΝ ΑΠΗΛΘΕ, ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΩΝΩΝΑ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΕΝΕΝ ΕΥΤΡΕΠΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΘ' ΕΛΛΗΣΠΟΝΤΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ, ΟΠΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΑΡ ΟΤΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΝ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΘΡΟΙΣΘΕΙ. ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΓΆΡ ΤΟΙΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ ΑΝΘΙΔΕΝ ΕΝΕΠΟΝΘΕΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ
elsewhere. Then, after many good men had been collected in the city, Dercylidas crossed over to Sestus, which is opposite Abydus and distant not more than eight stadia, gathered together all who had obtained land in the Chersonese through the Lacedaemonians, and received also all those governors who had been driven out in like fashion from the cities on the European side, saying to them that they ought not to be discouraged, either, when they reflected that even in Asia, which had belonged from all time to the King, there was Temnus—not a large city—and Aegae and other places in which people were able to dwell without being subject to the King. “In any event,” he said, “what stronger place could you find than Sestus, what place harder to capture by siege? For it is a place which requires both ships and troops if it is to be besieged.” By such words he kept these men also from being panic-stricken.

Now when Pharnabazus found both Abydus and Sestus in this condition, he made proclamation to their inhabitants that if they did not expel the Lacedaemonians he would make war upon them. And upon their refusing to obey, he directed Conon to prevent them from sailing the sea, while he himself proceeded to lay waste the territory of the Abydenes. But failing to make any progress toward subduing them, he himself went back home, ordering Conon to try to win over the cities along the Hellespont, to the end that as large a fleet as possible might be gathered together by the coming of the spring. For he was angry with the Lacedaemonians on account of what he had suffered at their hands, and therefore desired above all things to go

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1 * cp. iii. ii. 10.
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έλθείν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι

7 ὃ τι δύνατο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμώνα ἐν τοιούτοις

δύνεις διήγον· ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς

συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος

ἐπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐ-

τοῦ διὰ νῆσων εἰς Μήλον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι

eἰς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον

μὲν εἰς Φερᾶς ἐδήσωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἐπείτα

καὶ ἀλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκα-

καύργηε ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τὴν τε

ἀλμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοσθείας καὶ

tὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχὺ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀπο-

πλέων ὀρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.

8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων

φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοίπεν ἐξέλιπτον τὰ

τείχη, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑποστόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν

Δακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπισκευάζας τὸ τῶν Κυθη-

ρίων τείχος φρουρούς τε καὶ Νικόφημον 'Αθηναῖον

ἀρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταύτα δὲ

ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας κατα-

πλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις

προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνε-

σθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὡς

9 εἶχεν, φόρετο ἐπ' οίκου ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ

tοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐφῇ αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν,

θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νῆσων, καταπλεύσας δὲ εἰς

tὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη

tοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος,
HELLENICA, IV. viii. 6–9

to their country and take what vengeance upon them he could. In such occupations, accordingly, they passed the winter; but at the opening of spring, having fully manned a large number of ships and hired a force of mercenaries besides, Pharnabazus, and Conon with him, sailed through the islands to Melos, and making that their base, went on to Lacedaemon. And first Pharnabazus put in at Pherae and laid waste this region; then he made descents at one point and another of the coast and did whatever harm he could. But being fearful because the country was destitute of harbours, because the Lacedaemonians might send relief forces, and because provisions were scarce in the land, he quickly turned about, and sailing away, came to anchor at Phoenicus in the island of Cythera.

And when those who held possession of the city of the Cytherians abandoned their walls through fear of being captured by storm, he allowed them to depart to Laconia under a truce, and having repaired the wall of the Cytherians, left in Cythera a garrison of his own and Nicophemus, an Athenian, as governor. After doing these things and sailing to the Isthmus of Corinth and there exhorting the allies to carry on the war zealously and show themselves men faithful to the King, he left them all the money that he had and sailed off homeward. But when Conon said that if he would allow him to have the fleet, he would maintain it by contributions from the islands and would meanwhile put in at Athens and aid the Athenians in rebuilding their long walls and the wall around Piraeus,\(^1\) adding that

\(^1\) Destroyed at the close of the Peloponnesian War. \textit{cp.} ii. ii. 20–23.

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οὐ εἰδέναι ἕφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἀν ἑτερογένοι. Καὶ τοῦτο ὅν, ἕφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιους τετιμωρημένος: ἐφ’ ὃ γὰρ πλείστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελές αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. οὐ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἁθήνας, καὶ χρῆματα προσέβηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατείχησιν.

10 Ὅ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ἀφέσει, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθοῦ διδοῦσι, καὶ ἀλλο εἰ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἃ καὶ αὐτοί Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἀλλαὶ πόλεις εἶθελοῦσιν συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορινθιοὶ ἂν ὁν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγάθινου ναύαρχου ἐπιστήμαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ Δέκαμον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, δῶν Ποδάνεμος ἰχχεν. ἔπει δὲ οὕτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένῃ ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλος αὐτ ἐπιστολεύς ὃν τρωθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, Ἦριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόανοις μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς παρ’ Ἀγάθινου παραλαβὼν ναὺς ἔξελπε τὸ Ῥίον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἦριππίδου ναύς ἤλθε, καὶ οὕτος αὐτῷ τὸν κόλπον πάλιν ἐκράτει.

11 Ὅδ’ ἔκλεισαν. Ὅτι Κόων καὶ τὸ τείχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοῖ, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου 360
he knew nothing could be a heavier blow to the Lacedaemonians than this. "And by this act, therefore," he said, "you will have conferred a favour upon the Athenians and have taken vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians, inasmuch as you will undo for them the deed for whose accomplishment they underwent the most toil and trouble." Pharnabazus, upon hearing this, eagerly dispatched him to Athens and gave him additional money for the rebuilding of the walls.

Upon his arrival Conon erected a large part of the wall, giving his own crews for the work, paying the wages of carpenters and masons, and meeting whatever other expense was necessary. There were some parts of the wall, however, which the Athenians themselves, as well as volunteers from Boeotia and from other states, aided in building. The Corinthians, on the other hand, manned ships with the money which Pharnabazus left, appointed Agathinus as admiral, and established their mastery of the sea in the gulf around Achaea and Lechaemum. And the Lacedaemonians on their side manned ships, which Podanemus commanded. But when he was killed in an attack which took place, and Pollis in his turn, who was vice-admiral, was wounded and went home, Herippidas took command of these ships. Proaenus, the Corinthian, however, who had succeeded to the command of the ships of Agathinus, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedaemonians took it over. After this Teleutias came to assume charge of the ships of Herippidas, and he in his turn was now master of the gulf.

Now the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing that Conon was not only rebuilding their wall for the Athenians out of the King's money, but was also,
τρέφων τάς τε νήσους καὶ τᾶς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὁντα στρατηγόν, ἢ καὶ ἀποστῆσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἡ παύσαι γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γρόντες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειράσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρὸς Κόνωνος Ἐρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Κάλλισθην καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀργούς. ἔπει δ' ἔκει ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταῦτης οἵαστερ βασιλεῖς ἐπεθύμει.1 τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Δακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ ὀὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαί, τάς τε νῆσους ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι. Καίτοι, ἐφ', τοιοῦτα ἐθελοῦντω ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἐνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖς2 πολεμοῖη ἡ χρήματα δαπανῆ: καὶ γὰρ οὕτ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἠγομένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν αὐτονόμων οὖσῶν τῶν πόλεων.

1 ἐπεθύμει MSS. except B: πάλαι ἐπεθύμει Kel. with B, but doubtfully.
2 Before βασιλεῖς the MSS. have οὐ Ἑλλῆνες ἡ: Kel. brackets, following Morus.
while maintaining his fleet from the latter's funds, engaged in winning over the islands and the coast cities on the mainland to the Athenians, conceived the idea that if they informed Tiribazus, who was the King's general, of these things, they could either bring Tiribazus over entirely to their side or at least put an end to his maintaining Conon's fleet. Having come to this conclusion, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus with instructions to inform Tiribazus of these facts, and to endeavour to make peace between the state and the King. But when the Athenians learned of this, they likewise sent ambassadors,—Conon at their head, and Hermogenes, Dion, Callithenes, and Callimedeson. They also invited ambassadors from their allies to go with them; and ambassadors did come from the Boeotians, from Corinth, and from Argos. When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedaemonians, he said, urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent. "And yet," he said, "if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, we could not take the field against the King, either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent."

Now Tiribazus was mightily pleased at hearing the words of Antalcidas; but to the opponents of Antalcidas these proposals went no further than 363
χείριστης τούτων άνευ βασιλέως μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλές αὐτῷ ἡγεῖται εἶναι· λάθρα γε μέντοι ἐδωκε χρήματα 'Ανταλκίδα, ὅπως ἄν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ τε 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέωντο, καὶ τὸν Κόινωνα ὡς ἀδικοῦντα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλην λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαινε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ὅ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὅτι Κόινωνα συνειληφῶς εἶχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων. καὶ βασιλέως μὲν, ὡς Τιρίβαρὸς ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν, Στρούθαις καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μέντοι Στρούθαις ἵσχυρῶς τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τῆς γνώμης προσείχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἦ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάον.

1 λόγοι Stephanus: λόγοι MSS.: οὗ βουλομένως Kel.
2 ὡς 'Ἀργος Leunclavius: Kel. follows the majority of the MSS. in reading ὡστ' 'Ἀργος, but brackets the words.
words.\textsuperscript{1} For the Athenians were afraid to agree that the cities and the islands should be independent lest they should be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros;\textsuperscript{2} and the Thebans, lest they should be compelled to leave the Boeotian cities independent; while the Argives thought that they could not keep Corinth as Argos,\textsuperscript{3} a thing which they desired, if such an agreement and peace were concluded. So it was that this project of peace came to naught, and the ambassadors returned to their several homes.

As for Tiribazus, he thought that it was not safe for him to take the side of the Lacedaemonians without the King’s approval; in secret, however, he gave money to Antalcidas, to the end that a fleet might be manned by the Lacedaemonians and thus the Athenians and their allies be made more desirous of peace, and he also imprisoned Conon, on the ground that he was wronging the King and that the charges made by the Lacedaemonians were true. After doing these things he proceeded to go up to the King for the purpose of telling him not only the proposals of the Lacedaemonians, but also that he had arrested Conon as a wrong-doer, and likewise to ask the King what he should do about all these matters. Now the King, when Tiribazus had arrived at his capital in the interior, sent down Struthas to take charge of affairs on the coast. Struthas, however, devoted himself assiduously to the Athenians and their allies, remembering all the harm which the King’s country had suffered at the hands of Agesilaus.

\textsuperscript{1} Literally, “were words only”; i.e. were not treated as a reasonable basis for a peace.

\textsuperscript{2} These islands were among the earliest possessions of Athens. They were lost at the close of the Peloponnesian War, but had recently been recovered. \textsuperscript{3} cp. iv. 6.
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἐώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικὸς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικὸς, Θιβρῶνα πέμπτουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ Ἕφεσον τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυνος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἐφερε καὶ ἤγε τὴν βασιλέως.

18 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας διὰ τὴν Θιβρῶν βοήθοιν ἐκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἔπεμψεν ἰππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλόμενος ἐλαύνειν ὅ τι δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ Θιβρῶν ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου δισκεύων μετὰ Θέρσανδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἢν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁλκῆς, ἀτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρῶτους, ἐπιφαινεῖται πολλοῖς τε ἐχθροῖς καὶ συντεταγμένοις ἰππέας. καὶ Θιβρῶνα μὲν καὶ Θέρσανδρου πρῶτους ἀπέκτειναι ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτων ἐπεσον, ἑτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπληθείς κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους διὰ τὸ ὑψεὶς αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας ἀπελεύσοντο.¹ πολλάκις γὰρ, ὡς καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας τὴν βοηθείαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγένητο.

¹ Inserted by Kel.
The Lacedaemonians accordingly, when they saw that Struthas was hostile to them and friendly to the Athenians, sent Thibron to make war upon him. And Thibron, crossing over to Asia and employing as a base of operations not only Ephesus, but also the cities in the plain of the Maeander—Priene, Leucophrys, and Achilleum,—proceeded to plunder the territory of the King.

As time went on, however, Struthas, who had observed that the raiding expeditions of Thibron were in every case carried out in a disorderly and disdainful fashion, sent horsemen to the plain and ordered them to rush upon the enemy and surround and carry off whatever they could. Now it chanced that Thibron, having finished breakfast, was engaged in throwing the discus with Thersander, the flute-player. For Thersander was not only a good flute-player, but he also laid claim to physical strength, inasmuch as he was an imitator of things Lacedaemonian. Then Struthas, upon seeing that the enemy were making their raid in disorder, and that the foremost of them were few in number, appeared upon the scene with a large force of horsemen, drawn up in good order. And the first whom they killed were Thibron and Thersander; and when these men fell they put to flight the rest of the army also, and in the pursuit struck down a very great many. Some of Thibron’s men, however, made their escape to the friendly cities and a larger number had been left in camp because they had learned of the expedition too late. For frequently, as in this case also, Thibron undertook his expeditions without even sending out orders.

Thus ended these events.

1 A heavy circular flat stone. The object was to see who could make the longest throw.
'Εσεὶ δ’ ἦλθον εἰς Δακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκάτες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἰς περιδείν᾽ Ἀθηναίουσ Ῥόδου καταστρεψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθημένους.

γνότες οὖν οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ δήμος κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἀπάσα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώτεροι, ἐαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναύς ὁκτὼ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἑκδικοῦ ἐπέστησαν. συνεξεπεμψαν δ’ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν. ἐκέλευσαν δ’ αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰς τε Θιβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασώξειν, καὶ στράτευμα τὸ περισσωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἰ ποθεὶν δύνατο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Διφρίδας ταύτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ τ’ ἀλλα ἐπέτυγχαν καὶ Τυγράνη τὸν τὴν Στρούθα ἐχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν. ὅστ’ εὐθὺς ἐνετείθεν εἰχε μεσθοδοτεῖν. ἦν δ’ αὐτὸς ἄνηρ εὐχαρίς τε οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ Θιβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἕγχερτητωτέρος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἰ τοῦ σώματος ἥδοναί, ἀλλ’ ἂεὶ πρὸς φιλεῖ ἔργῳ, τούτῳ ἐπραττεν.

‘Ο δ’ Ἑκδικοῦ ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κυίδον ἐπλευσε καὶ ἐπιθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ δήμον πάντα κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἡ αὐτὸς εἰχεν, ἡπιχίαν ἤγεν ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ. οἱ δ’ αὐ Δακε-
HELENICA, IV. viii. 20–23

Now when those of the Rhodians who had been banished by the democratic faction came to Lacedaemon, they set forth that it was not expedient for the Lacedaemonians to allow the Athenians to subdue Rhodes and thus gain for themselves so great a power. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, realizing that if the commons should prevail, all Rhodes would belong to the Athenians, while if the wealthier classes should prevail, it would be their own possession, manned for them eight ships and appointed Ecdicus as admiral to command them. They sent out Diphridas also on board these ships, and ordered him to cross over into Asia and to keep safe the cities which had received Thibron, and then, after assuming command of that part of Thibron’s army which was left alive, and after gathering another army from wherever he could, to make war upon Struthas. Diphridas accordingly set about these things, and he was successful not only in his other undertakings, but particularly in capturing Tigranes, the husband of Struthas’ daughter, and his wife also, as they were journeying to Sardis, and in obtaining a large ransom for their release, so that he was at once able to hire mercenaries with the money thus obtained. This Diphridas was as a man no less attractive than Thibron, and as a general he was more self-controlled and enterprising. For the pleasures of the body did not hold the mastery over him, but in whatever task he was engaged, he always gave himself wholly to it.

As for Ecdicus, after sailing to Cnidos and learning that the commons in Rhodes were in possession of everything, and were masters both by land and by sea, having twice as many triremes as he had himself, he remained quiet in Cnidos. The Lacedaemonians,
XENOPHON

δαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἣ ἀστεὶ τοὺς φίλους ὦφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν ἀιὸς εἴχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαι καὶ Δέκαιον κόλπῳ περιπλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἐκδικοὺν, κάκεινον μὲν ἀποτέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅ τι δύνατον κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπεδῇ ἄφικετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκείθεν ναῦς ἐπτὰ ἐπελευσεν εἰς Κυίδων, ὁ δὲ Ἐκδικοὺς οὐκαδε. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπλεῖ εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἦδη ἔχων ναῦς ἐπτὰ καὶ εἶκος πλέων δὲ περιτυχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτων πλέοντες μετὰ δέκα τρίηρων Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχία τῇ Εὐαγόρῳ, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι ἐαντοῖς πράττοντες· οὐ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλων χρόμενοι βασιλεῖς συμμαχίαν ἐπεμποὺν Εὐαγόρα τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλεῖα, ὁ τε Τελευτίας Δακιδαμοῦν χωρίοιν πολεμοῦντων βασιλεῖς τοὺς πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δὲ εἰς Κυίδων καὶ διαθέμενος δὲ ἔλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἄφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

25 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Δακιδαμοῦν αὐτῶν δύναμιν κατασκευάζοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀντεκέμποιν Ὀρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρέα σὺν τετταράκοιτα ναυσίν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθεῖς ἐπέστρεψα, νομίζοντο δὲν αὖ αὐτὸς

1 Inserted by Kel., following Hartman.

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on the other hand, when they found that he had too small a force to be of service to their friends, ordered Teleutias, with the twelve ships which he had under his command in the gulf round Achaea and Lechaean,¹ to sail around to Ecdacus, send him back home, and himself look after the interests of those who wished to be their friends, and do whatever harm he could to their enemies. And when Teleutias arrived at Samos he obtained from there seven more ships and sailed on to Cnidos, while Ecdacus returned home. Then Teleutias continued his voyage to Rhodes, having now twenty-seven ships; and while sailing thither he fell in with Philocrates, the son of Ephialtes, sailing with ten triremes from Athens to Cyprus for the purpose of aiding Euagoras, and captured all ten. Both parties were acting in this affair in a manner absolutely opposed to their own interests; for the Athenians, although they had the King for a friend, were sending aid to Euagoras who was making war upon the King, and Teleutias, although the Lacedaemonians were at war with the King, was destroying people who were sailing to make war upon him. Then Teleutias, after sailing back to Cnidos and selling there the booty which he had captured, arrived at Rhodes on his second voyage and proceeded to aid those who held to the side of the Lacedaemonians.

Meanwhile the Athenians, coming to the belief that the Lacedaemonians were again acquiring power on the sea, sent out against them Thrasybulus, of the deme Steiria, with forty ships. When he had sailed out, he gave up his plan of an expedition to Rhodes, thinking on the one hand that he could

¹ cp. § 11.
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ραδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων τείχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὔτε ἀν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμίους γενέσθαι, τάς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ γε κεκρατηκότας: εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντοῦν πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε καταπράξαι ἀν τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμερδοκόν τε τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ Σεῦθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἀρχοντα ἄλληλοι μὲν διήλλαξεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θράκη ὀικούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων τοῖτων μᾶλλον προσ-έχειν ἀν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸν νοῦν. ἐχοντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλεά φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδωτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεύσιν. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὡστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων δήμος Ἀθηναίους ὃτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει.

28 Ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδόνιοι φίλους προσποιησάμενος ἀπεπλεί ἐξῳ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεις πάσαις πλήρων Μυτιληναίων λακωνικούσαις, ἐπὶ οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἤγει, πρὸν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίων ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὃσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνην

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not easily punish the friends of the Lacedaemonians, since they held a fortress and Teleutias was there with a fleet to support them, and, on the other hand, that the friends of his own state would not fall under the power of the enemy, since they held the cities, were far more numerous, and had been victorious in battle. Accordingly he sailed to the Hellespont, and, since there was no adversary there, thought that he could accomplish some useful service for his state. In the first place, therefore, learning that Amedocus, the king of the Odrysians, and Seuthes, the ruler of the coast region, were at variance, he reconciled them to one another and made them friends and allies of the Athenians, thinking that if they were friendly, the Greek cities situated on the Thracian coast would also show a greater inclination towards the Athenians. Then, with this matter successfully arranged, and the cities in Asia in a favourable attitude on account of the King's being a friend of the Athenians, he sailed to Byzantium and farmed out the tithe-duty on vessels sailing out of the Pontus.¹ He also changed the government of the Byzantines from an oligarchy to a democracy, so that the commons of Byzantium were not sorry to see the greatest possible number of Athenians present in their city.

Now after he had accomplished these things and had won over the Calchedonians also as friends, he sailed back out of the Hellespont. And finding that all the cities in Lesbos except Mytilene were on the side of the Lacedaemonians, he went against none of them until he had marshalled in Mytilene the four hundred hoplites from his own ships and all the exiles from the Lesbian cities who

¹ cp. i. i. 22 and note.
κατεπεφεύγεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους προσλαβῶν, καὶ ἐπίδιας ύποθείς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις ὡς ἐδώ λάβη τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πᾶσις Δέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσων ὡς ἐδώ ὀμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἵσσιν, ἴκανοι ἔσονται ἀπαντεῖν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθῆναι, τοῖς δ’ αὐ ἐπιβάταις ὡς φίλην Δέσβου προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἤγεν 29 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μηθυμναίου. Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὁς ἀρμοστὴς ἐτύγχανεν ἃν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἤκουσε τὸν Ὀρασύβουλον προσιέναι, τοὺς τ’ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ νεῶν λαβῶν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτῶι, ἀπήτων ἐπὶ τὰ ὁρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει, 30 τῶν δ’ ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ό προσχαρουσῶν λεγατῶν χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως δ’ ἄν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐρρωμενέστατον τὸ στρατευμα ποιήσατο, εἶ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἤγινορλόγει καὶ εἰς Ἀσπενδόν ἀφικόμενος ὁρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμὸν. ἥδη δ’ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὁργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπενδίοι τῇς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτῶν.
had fled for refuge to Mytilene, and had also added to this force the stoutest of the Mytilenaeans themselves; nor, furthermore, until he had suggested hopes, firstly to the Mytilenaeans, that if he captured the cities they would be the leaders of all Lesbos, secondly to the exiles, that if they proceeded all together against each single one of the cities, they would be able, acting in unison, to accomplish their restoration to their native states, and again to his marines, that by making Lesbos likewise friendly to their state they would at once obtain a great abundance of money. Then, after giving them this encouragement and marshalling them in line of battle, he led them against Methymna. Therimachus, however, who chanced to be the Lace-daemonian governor, on hearing that Thrasybulus was coming against him, took the marines from his own ships, the Methymnaeans themselves, and all the Mytilenaean exiles who chanced to be there, and went to meet the enemy at the borders. A battle was fought in which Therimachus was killed on the spot and many of the others were killed as they fled. After this Thrasybulus brought over some of the cities, and was busy collecting money for his soldiers by plundering from those which refused to come over; meanwhile he was eager to arrive at Rhodes. But to the end that there also he might make his army as strong as possible, he collected money from various cities, and came to Aspendus in particular and anchored in the Eurymedon river. And after he had already received money from the Aspendians, his soldiers wrongfully did some plundering from their lands; the Aspendians therefore in anger fell upon him during the night and cut him down in his tent.
Καὶ Ὑθαυμοῦντος μὲν δὴ μᾶλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μὲν τοί 'Αθηναῖοι ἐλόμενοι ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναίς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη εἶχῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ η ἀλλαὶ Ἔλλησπόντιαι πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῦς Φαρναβάζου εὐθείαν, ἐγνωσαν ἐπιμελητέους τέον εἶναι. τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδα οὐδὲν ἐμέμφουτο. Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὡστε αὐτῶς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἀρμοστὴς εἰς Ἀβυδον. εἶ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμήν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ πολεμήσεις ὑπισχεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνους καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἔλλησπόντῳ.

οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήμεροι καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικῶν τῶν τ’ Αἰολίδων πόλεως παρεστάτο τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόμενος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβυδον ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπιπερευέτο καὶ ἐδόχον τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς ἔχει συμπληρώσας εξ Ἀβυδον τρεῖς ἀλλὰς κατῆγεν, εἰ τί ποιον λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίοι πλοῖον ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρεῖ σφίσιν ἀ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἔλλησπόντῳ Ὡθαυμοῦντος,
This, then, was the end of Thrasybulus, who was esteemed a most excellent man. And the Athenians chose Agyrrhius in his place, and sent him out to take command of the ships. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, learning that the tithe-duty on the vessels sailing out of the Pontus had been sold at Byzantium by the Athenians, that they were in possession of Calchedon, and that the other Hellespontine cities were in a favourable attitude toward them because Pharnabazus was their friend, concluded that they must attend to this situation. They did not, indeed, find any fault with Dercylidas; but Anaxibius, inasmuch as the ephors had become friends of his, succeeded in having himself sent out to Abydus as governor. And he promised that if he received money and ships, he would also make war upon the Athenians, so that matters might not stand so well with them in the Hellespont. Accordingly the ephors gave Anaxibius three triremes and money enough for a thousand mercenaries, and sent him out. When he had reached Abydus, his operations by land were as follows: after collecting a mercenary force, he proceeded to detach some of the Aeolian cities from Pharnabazus, take the field in retaliatory expeditions against the cities which had made expeditions against Abydus, march upon them, and lay waste their territory. On the naval side, in addition to the ships which he had he fully manned three others from Abydus, and brought into port whatever merchant vessel he found anywhere belonging to the Athenians or their allies. The Athenians, however, learning of these things, and fearing that the results of all Thrasybulus' work in the Hellespont might be ruined for them, sent out against
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ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἰφικράτην ναῦς ὅκτῳ ἔχοντα καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὅν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν. ἔπει γὰρ οἱ Ἀργείοι τὴν Κόρενθον Ἀργὸς ἐπεποίησαν, οὐδὲν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήνας οἴκοι ἔτυχεν ὅν. ἔπει δὲ ἀφικετο εἰς Χερρῶνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμπουσαν ἐπολέμον ἀλλήλως προίόντως δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης αἰσθόμενος Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἀντανδρον σὺν τῇ τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἀντανδρον φιλίαν προσειλήφως εἶθ, ὑπονοῶν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐτῇ τὴν ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύσωθεν πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξῃ τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἴκαδε, διαβάς τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ ἔρημώτατον ἣν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὀργ. ἐνέδραν ἐποιήσατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αἱ διήγαγον αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρῶνησον τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη, ὀσπερ εἰόθει, ἐπ' ἀργυρολυγάν ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύθη, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγετο, οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γεγενημένων αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἦκουε τῶν ἀπαντῶν—

1 After aἰσθόμενος the MSS. have καὶ: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.
Anaxibius Iphicrates, with eight ships and about one thousand two hundred peltasts. The greater part of these were the men whom he had commanded at Corinth. For when the Argives had incorporated Corinth in Argos, they said that they had no need of them; for Iphicrates had put to death some of the partisans of Argos; accordingly he had returned to Athens and chanced to be at home at this time. Now when he reached the Chersonese, at first Anaxibius and he made war upon one another by sending out raiding parties; but as time went on Iphicrates found out that Anaxibius had gone to Antandrus with his mercenaries, the Lacedaemonians who were with him, and two hundred hoplites from Abydus, and heard that he had brought Antandrus into relations of friendship with him. Whereupon, suspecting that after he had also established his garrison there he would return again and bring the Abydenes back home, Iphicrates crossed over by night to the most deserted portion of the territory of Abydus, and going up into the mountains, set an ambush. Furthermore, he ordered the triremes which had brought him across the strait to sail at daybreak along the coast of the Chersonese, up the strait, in order that it might seem that he had sailed up the Hellespont to collect money, as he was wont to do. Having done all these things he was not disappointed, for Anaxibius did come marching back, even though—at least, as the story ran—his sacrifices on that day had not proved favourable; but despite that fact, filled with disdainful confidence because he was proceeding through a friendly country and to a friendly city, and because he heard from those who

1 See chaps. iv. and v.
των τῶν Ἰφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῇς ἐπὶ
37 Προκοννησοῦ, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύετο. ὅμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, ἔοις μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξιβίου ἦν, οὐκ ἔξανίστατο· ἔπειδή δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἦδη ἐν τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστῆν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἐνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεια αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξιβίος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἔξανιστησε τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτὸν.
38 καὶ ὁ Ἀναξιβίος γνοὺς μὴ ἐκεῖνα ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, ὅρων ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ ἐαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἀναντες οὐκ ἄν δυνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἐαυτῷ τοὺς προεληθότας, ὅρων δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἀπαντας, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· Ἀνδρεῖς, ἔμοι μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡμένως δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθνῄσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικά μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπειτον. οἱ δ’ ἐδίωκαν μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεώς. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς διακόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Χερρούνησον.

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met him that Iphicrates had sailed up in the direction of Proconnesus, he was making his march in a rather careless fashion. Nevertheless, Iphicrates did not rise from ambush so long as the army of Anaxibius was on the level ground; but when the Abydenes, who were in the van, were now in the plain of Cremaste, where their gold mines are, and the rest of the army as it followed along was on the downward slope, and Anaxibius with his Lacedaemonians was just beginning the descent, at this moment Iphicrates started his men up from their ambush and rushed upon him on the run. Then Anaxibius, judging that there was no hope of safety, inasmuch as he saw that his army extended over a long and narrow way, and thought that those who had gone on ahead would clearly be unable to come to his assistance up the hill, and since he also perceived that all were in a state of terror when they saw the ambush, said to those who were with him: "Gentlemen, it is honourable for me to die here, but do you hurry to safety before coming to close engagement with the enemy." Thus he spoke, and taking his shield from his shield-bearer, fell fighting on that spot. His favourite youth, however, remained by his side, and likewise from among the Lacedaemonians about twelve of the governors, who had come from their cities and joined him, fought and fell with him. But the rest of the Lacedaemonians fled and fell one after another, the enemy pursuing as far as the city. Furthermore, about two hundred of the other troops of Anaxibius were killed, and about fifty of the Abydene hoplites. And after accomplishing these things Iphicrates went back again to the Chersonese.
BOOK V
Ε

I. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Δακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ὁ 'Ετεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμεθύζοντας χρωμένων τῶν πρόσθεν χρόνων τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἑπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἑφόροις ἐφίσαι λήξεσθαι τῶν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἰγιναν καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινηταῖς καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. οἱ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχῶν ἔπει τῶν νῆσων ποι ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἄκουσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμον, ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινηταῖς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπῆλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν οὐ Πάμφιλος.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται. κάκεινος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἶκαδε. ἦνικα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἕπτ' οἰκον ὁρμόμενος, ούδεις ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔδεξιόσοτο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὠστερήσαντες

1 περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
BOOK V

I. Such, then, were the doings of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians in the region of the Hellespont. Meanwhile Eteonicus was again in Aegina, and although previously the Aeginetans had been maintaining commercial intercourse with the Athenians, still, now that the war was being carried on by sea openly, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on everybody who so wished, to plunder Attica. Thereupon the Athenians, being cut off from supplies by the plunderers, sent to Aegina a force of hoplites and Pamphilus as their general, built a fortress as a base of attack upon the Aeginetans, and besieged them both by land and by sea with ten triremes. Teleutias, however, who chanced to have arrived on one of the islands in quest of a grant of money, upon hearing of this (that is, in regard to the building of the fortress) came to the aid of the Aeginetans; and he drove off the Athenian fleet, but Pamphilus succeeded in holding the fortress.

After this Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral. And he took over the fleet, while Teleutias, under the very happiest circumstances, set sail for home. For when he was going down to the sea as he set out for home, there was no one among the soldiers who did not grasp his hand, and one decked him with a garland, another with a fillet, and others

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ὁμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἐρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
στεφάνους καὶ ηὔχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.

4 γυνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὦτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα
οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχάνημα ἁξιόλογον οὔδὲν
διηγοῦμαι· ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἁξίων μοι δοκεῖ
εἶναι ἄνδρι ἐννοεῖν, τὶ ποτὲ ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας
οὔτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τούτῳ γὰρ ἦδη
πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἁξιολογώ-
tερον ἄνδρος ἔρχον ἐστίν.

5 ὁ δὲ Ἰέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν
πάλιν ἐπλευ εἰς Ὀρδον, ἐν Ἀιγίνη δὲ τριήρεις
δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν ἀυτοῦ ἐπι-
στολέα ἀρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο
μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἑπταείσοματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ
ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅστε ἀπὸ ψηφίσματο Ἀθηναίου
πληρώσαντε ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ
Ἀιγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου.
τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πάλιν αὐ
πράγματα εἴχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τοῦ
Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκάίδεκα,
καὶ αἱροῦνται Εὐνομοῦ ναῦαρχον ἐπὶ αὐτὰς.

6 ὅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ὀρδοφ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι
Ἀνταλκίαν ναῦαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζουσι καὶ
Τιριβάξφ τούτο ποιοῦντε μάλιστ' ἂν χαρί-
ζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς
Ἀγίναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς
ἐπλεύσεις εἰς Ἑφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν
πάλιν ἀποσέμπει εἰς Ἀγίναν ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα
ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε

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who came too late, nevertheless, even though he was now under way, threw garlands into the sea and prayed for many blessings upon him. Now I am aware that I am not describing in these incidents any enterprise involving money expended or danger incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man's while to consider what sort of conduct it was that enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more noteworthy than the expenditure of much money and the encountering of many dangers.

As for Hierax, on the other hand, he sailed back to Rhodes with the bulk of the ships, but left behind him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, his vice-admiral, as governor. And after this it was the Athenians in the fortress who were besieged rather than the Aeginetans in the city; insomuch that the Athenians, by a formal decree, manned a large number of ships and brought back from Aegina in the fifth month the troops in the fortress. But when this had been done, the Athenians were again molested by the bands of raiders and by Gorgopas, and they manned against these enemies thirteen ships and chose Eunomus as admiral to command them. Now while Hierax was at Rhodes the Lacedaemonians sent out Antalcidas as admiral, thinking that by doing this they would most please Tiribazus also. And when Antalcidas arrived at Aegina, he took with him the ships of Gorgopas and sailed to Ephesus, then sent Gorgopas back again to Aegina with his twelve ships, and put Nicolochus, his

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τὸν ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος Βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνῶς ἐπλεὶ ἐκείσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδήν τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν ἄπεπλευσέν εἰς Ἀβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὡς δ’ ἦσθοντο εἰς Ἀβυδον καταπεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρονήσου ἐπολύρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, ναῦδ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν. οἱ μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφεσοῦ περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἰγίγναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν. ἐκβιβάζασα

8 δ’ εὐθὺς ἐδείπνυζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. οὗ δ’ Εὐνόμος ὁλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἄπεπλει. νυκτὸς δ’ ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὀσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφηγεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἐπόμεναι. οὗ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάζασα εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς εἶναι μῆν αἰσθήσιον παρέχοι, λόθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῆς τῶν κωπῶν. ἔπει δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστῆρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἑνίων μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι ὁμίζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλευον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, τέταρτας τριήρεις λαμβάνει

9 καὶ ἔτι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon 388 B.C. Nicolochus, seeking to aid the people of Abydus, proceeded to sail thither; he turned aside, however, to Tenedos and laid waste its territory, and having obtained money there, sailed on to Abydus. Then the generals of the Athenians gathered together from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that region, and set out to aid the people of Tenedos. But upon learning that Nicolochus had put in at Abydus they then, setting out from the Chersonese as a base, blockaded him and his twenty-five ships with the thirty-two ships under their command. As for Gorgopas, on his voyage back from Ephesus he fell in with Eunomus, and for the moment took refuge in Aegina, reaching there a little before sunset. Then he at once disembarked his men and gave them dinner. Meanwhile Eunomus, after waiting a short time, sailed off. And when night came on he led the way, carrying a light, as the custom is, so that the ships which were following him might not go astray. Then Gorgopas immediately embarked his men and followed on in the direction of the light, keeping behind the enemy so that he should not be visible or give them a chance to notice him; while his boatswains gave the time by clicking stones together instead of with their voices, and made the men employ a sliding motion of the oars. But when the ships of Eunomus were close to the shore near Cape Zoster in Attica, Gorgopas gave the order by the trumpet to sail against them. And as for Eunomus, the men on some of his ships were just disembarking, others were still occupied in coming to anchor, and others were even yet on their way toward the shore. Then, a battle being fought by moonlight, Gorgopas
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ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος φύχετο ἄγων εἰς Ἀιγίναν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλα υἱὲς αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

10 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἔξεπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοσθῶν Ἑυαγόρα, πελταστάς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίων καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνηθευ ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλίτας· αὐτός δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβάς εἰς τὴν Ἀιγίναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἦμερᾳ, ὠσπερ ξυνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίται, Δημαινετού αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ως ἐκκαϊδεκα σταδίους, ἐνθα ἡ Τριπτυργία καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετά τε τῶν Ἀιγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχον αὐτῶν παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοσθῶν ὅσοι ἔλευθεροι εἶναι ὡς ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, οἱ τι

12 ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὄπλον ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἔξανται οἱ περὶ τῶν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἦκοντικον καὶ ἐβάλλων. ἐπήσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκόστε ὀπλίται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδὲν ἄθροον ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ἢν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω έπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Ἀιγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκάτον, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάτ·
captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, 388 B.C. carried them off to Aegina; but the other ships of the Athenians made their escape to Piraeus.

After this Chabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night he himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Heracleium. Then at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demaenetus, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Heracleium, where the so-called Tripyrgia¹ is. On hearing of this Gorgopas sallied forth to the rescue with the Aeginetans, the marines from his ships, and eight Spartiatae who chanced to be there. He also made proclamation that all freemen among the crews of the ships should come with him, so that many of these also joined the relief force, each man with whatever weapon he could get. Now when those in the van had passed by the ambush, Chabrias and his followers rose up and immediately threw javelins and stones upon the enemy. And the hoplites who had disembarked from the ships also advanced upon them. Then those in the van, inasmuch as they were not a compact mass, were quickly killed, among whom were Gorgopas and the Lacedaemonians; and when these had fallen the rest also were put to flight. And there fell about one hundred and fifty Aeginetans and not less than two hundred foreigners, aliens resident in Aegina, and sailors who

¹ The reference is uncertain.
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13 τους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐπλευν τὴν θάλατταν. οὐδὲ γάρ τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἔδιδον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων οἱ Δακεδαίμονι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἥκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήςθησαν. ὦ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιάδε:

14 Ὡ ἀνδρεὶς στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἥκων· εὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυμήσητε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλείστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἰστε, ἐγὼ δέ τιναν ὑμῶν ἄρχον, εὐχομαι τε οὔδεν ἥττον ξῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τὰ τ᾽ ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσασθαι μὲν ἄν ἰσως, εἰ φαίην βουλεύειν ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἡ ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νη τοὺς θεοὺς δεξαίμην ἄν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἡ ὑμᾶς μέα γενέσθαι· ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνέφηκτο μὲν δήποτε καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσίναι τῷ δεσμένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνέφεξετι δὲ καὶ νῦν.

15 ὡστε δέ τιναν ὑμεῖς πλήρῃ ἔχετε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὑψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαντώμενον· ἄν δὲ ἀνεχόμενον με ὄρατε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταύτα πάντα καρπητεῖν. οὔδεν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω υἱὸς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνάσθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἁγαθόν τι

16 λαμβάνῃ. καὶ ἡ πόλις δὲ τοι, ἐφη, ὃς ἀνδρεὶς στρατιῶται, ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἡ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἰστε ὅτι τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτίσατο οὐ

1 After aδ the MSS. read ἐπὶ ταύτη: Kel. brackets.
had hurriedly rushed ashore. After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors refused to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, because he did not give them pay.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral. And when the sailors saw that he had come, they were delighted beyond measure. And he called them together and spoke as follows: “Fellow soldiers, I have come without money; yet if God be willing and you perform your part zealously, I shall endeavour to supply you with provisions in the greatest abundance. And be well assured that, whenever I am in command of you, I pray just as earnestly for your lives as for my own. As to provisions, you would be surprised, perhaps, if I should say that I am more desirous of your being supplied than of being supplied myself; indeed, by the gods, I should prefer to go without food myself for two days than to have you go without for one. And just as my door was open in days past, as you know, for him to enter who had any request to make of me, so likewise it shall be open now. Therefore, when you have provisions in abundance, then you will see me also living bounteously; but if you see me submitting to cold and heat and night-watching, expect to endure all these things yourselves. For I do not bid you do any of these things that you may suffer discomfort, but that from them you may gain something good. And Sparta too,” he added, “that Sparta of ours, fellow soldiers, which is accounted so prosperous—she, be well assured, won her prosperity and her
ρηθυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὡστε δὲοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἄγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι χρή ἔτι ἀμείνους γύγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἦδεως μὲν ξυμπονώμεν, ἦδεως δὲ ξυνευδαιμονώμεν. τί γὰρ ήδιον ἡ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ὁ Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἕαυτοῖς ἰκανοῖς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταύτα θευτερ κάλλιστον; ἢ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εἶν ιστε ὅτι ἁμα τροφῆν τε καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.

18 Ο μὲν ταύτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβυ fileprivate παραγγέλλειν ὃ τι ἄν δέη, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐνγχανεν· εἴπε δὲ· Ὅγιες, ὃς ἅνδρες, δειπνήσασε μὲν ἀπερ καὶ ὅς ἐμέλλησε· προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι 1 μᾶς ἁμέρας σιτον. ἐπειτα δὲ ἤκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς αὐτίκα μᾶλα, ὅτι πλεύσωμεν ἐνθα θεὸς ἐθελει, ἐν καιρῷ ἄφεξόμενοι.

19 ἐπείδι δὲ ἤλθον, ἐμβεβασάμενοι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναύς ἐπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἄποκομισταί, τοτὲ δὲ κώπαις προπολομίσεμον. εἰ δὲ τις υπολαμβάνει ὃς ἀφρόνως ἐπλεί, δώδεκα τρίηρες ἔχουν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναύς κεκτημένους, ἐν

20 νοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. ἔκεινος γὰρ ἐνομίσεις ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περι τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἄπολωλοτος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰν τριήρεις ὀρμοῦσαι, ἄσφαλε·

1 Kel., following Hartman, regards the text of the preceding line (ἀπερ...μοι) as corrupt.

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glory, not by careless idling, but by being willing to undergo both toils and dangers whenever there was need. Now you in like manner were in former days, as I know, good men; but now you must strive to prove yourselves even better men, in order that, just as we gladly undergo toils together, so we may gladly enjoy good fortune together. For what greater gladness can there be than to have to flatter no one in the world, Greek or barbarian, for the sake of pay, but to be able to provide supplies for oneself, and what is more, from the most honourable source? For be well assured that abundance gained in war from the enemy yields not merely sustenance, but at the same time fair fame among all men.”

Thus he spoke, and they all set up a shout, bidding him give whatever order was needful, in the assurance that they would obey. Now he chanced to have finished sacrificing, and he said: “Come, my men, get dinner, just as you were intending to do anyway; and provide yourselves, I beg you, with food for one day. Then come to the ships right speedily, that we may sail to the place where God wills that we go, and may arrive in good time.” And when they had come he embarked them upon the ships and sailed during the night to the harbour of the Athenians, now letting the men rest and bidding them get a little sleep, and now setting them at the oars. But if anyone supposes that it was madness for him to sail with twelve triremes against men who possessed many ships, let such a one consider Teleutias’ calculations. He conceived that the Athenians were more careless about their fleet in the harbour now that Gorgopas was dead; and even if there were triremes at anchor there,
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στερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ’ εἰκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήναις οὖσας πλεύσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἤδει ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἐμμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήναις ἐγύγωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήμαρχοι οἰκοι καθευδήσειν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλη σκη-νήσοιεν. ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεῖς ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπείχε πέντε ἡ ἦδε στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἕσυχαν εἰχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, ἕγειτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύει μὲν οὐδὲν εἰα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δὲ πον τρίηρη ἱδοιεν ὀρ-μούσαν, ταύτην πειράσθαι ἄπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτηγικὰ πλοία καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδομένους ἀγείν ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὀπον δύ- ναιντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες ὦι καὶ ἐκπεθήχαντες εἰς τὸ Δεύγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήνεγκαν. ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεπούηκε. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἐνδόθεν ἔθεον ἔξω, σκευόμενοι τῖς η κραυγη, οἱ δὲ ἔζωθεν οἰκαδε ἐπὶ τά ὀπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὅπληται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὃς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. ο δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἁγίναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων τρεῖς ἡ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἄτε ἕκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλευτικὰ ἔλαβε

1 A quay where merchants displayed (cp. δείκνυμι) their wares.

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he believed that it was safer to sail against twenty ships which were at Athens than against ten elsewhere. For in the case of ships that were abroad he knew that the sailors would be quartered on board their several ships, while with ships at Athens he was aware that the captains would be sleeping at home and the sailors quartered here and there. These, then, were the considerations which he had weighed before he sailed; and when he was distant from the harbour five or six stadia, he remained quiet and let his men rest. Then, as day was dawning, he led on and they followed. Now he forbade them to sink or harm any merchant vessel with their own ships; but if they saw a trireme at anchor anywhere, he ordered them to try to make her unseaworthy, and furthermore, to bring out in tow the merchant ships which were loaded, and to board the larger ones wherever they could and take off their people. Indeed, there were some of his men who even leaped ashore on to the Deigma,¹ seized merchants and owners of trading vessels, and carried them aboard the ships. He, then, succeeded in accomplishing these things. But as for the Athenians, some of them, upon hearing the uproar, ran from their houses into the streets to see what the shouting meant, others ran from the streets to their homes to get their weapons, and still others to the city to carry the news. Then all the Athenians, hoplites and horsemen, rushed to the rescue, thinking that Piraeus had been captured. But Teleutias sent off the captured merchant vessels to Aegina and gave orders that three or four of the triremes should convoy them thither, while with the rest of the triremes he coasted along the shore of Attica and, inasmuch as he was sailing out of the harbour, captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-

³ Sept. 388 B.C.
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καὶ πορθμεία ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἔλθων καὶ ὅλκάδας γεμοῦσας τὰς μὲν τινὰς σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταύτα δὲ ποίησας ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἰγίναν. καὶ ἀποδόμευσος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων ἔλαμβανεν ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταύτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἐτρέφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.

25 Ὅ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάξου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἥθελος Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἢ αὐτῶς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ φιχτο εἰς Ἀβυδόν. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγων ὡς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων ὁρμησάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίᾳ εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἔδωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἔπλοι Προκομνήσου· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἔκεινοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἀβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἦκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύζενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἰκοσίν ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ὁρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Ἐράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμ-
boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands. And on coming to Sunium he captured trading vessels also, some of them full of corn, others of merchandise. Having done all these things he sailed back to Aegina, and when he had sold his booty he gave the soldiers a month’s pay in advance. He likewise from that time forth cruised round and captured whatever he could. And by doing these things he maintained his ships with full complements of sailors, and kept his soldiers in a state of glad and prompt obedience.

And now Antalcidas returned with Tiribazus from the Persian capital, having effected an agreement that the King should be an ally of the Lacedaemonians if the Athenians and their allies refused to accept the peace which he himself directed them to accept. But when Antalcidas heard that Nicolochus with his ships was being blockaded at Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went overland to Abydus. And from there he set out during the night with the fleet, after spreading a report that the Calchedonians were sending for him; then he came to anchor at Percote and remained quiet there. Now the Athenian forces under Damaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phalias, upon learning of his departure, followed after him in the direction of Proconnesus; and when they had sailed past him, Antalcidas turned about and came back to Abydus, for he had heard that Polyxenus was approaching with the ships from Syracuse and Italy, twenty in number, and he wished to join these also to his command. But soon after this Thrasybulus, of the deme Colytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian
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27 μείξαι. ο δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιειν τριήμεροι ὁκτώ, ἐμβαγάζας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἀρίστας πλεοῦσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐτῶς ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευς ὡς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεων, ἐδίωκεν οἱ δὲ ἱδόντες ἐφευγον, τὰς μὲν ὦν βραδύτατα πλεοῦσας ταῖς ἀρίστας πλεοῦσας ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοισ τῶν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ύστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἱδόντες οἱ ύστεροι ἀλισκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς πρόπλοις ὕπ᾽ αὐθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων ἠλίσκοντο· ὡςθ᾽ ἠλώσαν ἀπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἴ τε ἐκ Συρακοσῶν νῆσες εἰκοσιὼν, ἠλώσαν δὲ καὶ αἴ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὡςς ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοχάλκος, καὶ γὰρ ἤν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριστοχάλκει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἢ ἁνακεκλημένος ἢχετο ἀνῶ, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγήμε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλεούσιν ἡ ὀγδοίκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης. ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθηναῖε μὲν ἐκώλυνε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατήγεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίες ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον καταπολεμηθεῖσαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίως βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς

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ships. And Antalcidas, when his scouts signalled to him that eight triremes were approaching, embarked the sailors on twelve of his fastest ships, gave orders that if anyone was lacking men, he should fill up his crew from the ships left behind, and lay in wait with the utmost possible concealment. Then, as the enemy were sailing past him, he pursued; and they, upon seeing him, fled. Now he speedily succeeded in overhauling the slowest of the enemy's ships with his fastest; but giving orders to the leaders of his own fleet not to attack the hindmost ships, he continued the pursuit of those which were ahead. And when he had captured them, those who were behind, upon seeing that the leaders of their fleet were being taken, out of discouragement were themselves taken even by the slower ships of Antalcidas; and the result was that all the ships were captured. And after the twenty ships from Syracuse had come and joined Antalcidas, and the ships from all that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master had also come, and more still had been manned from the territory of Ariobarzanes—for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus had at this time gone up to the capital in response to a summons, this being the occasion when he married the King's daughter—then Antalcidas, the whole number of his ships amounting to more than eighty, was master of the sea, so that he also prevented the ships from the Pontus from sailing to Athens, and compelled them to sail to the ports of his people's allies. The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's ships were many, fearing that they might be completely subdued, as they had been before, now that the King had become an ally of the Lacedaemonians, and
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Αἰγινης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δὲ αὐ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρᾳ μὲν ἐν Δεχαίῳ, μόρᾳ δὲ ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἰς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλοιπον, αἰς δὲ ἡπιστοῦν, μὴ ἀποσταίειν, πράγματα δὲ ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἱ γε μὴ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἐαυτοὺς καὶ γεγυώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὁφελήσει, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστε ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρείναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακούσαι ἡ βασίλεις εἰρήνην καταπέμπτω, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλεῖα σημεία ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἰ χε δὲ ὧδε.

31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασίλεις νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἐαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαξομενᾶς καὶ Κύπρου, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτοῦ ἔμενοι ἐπὶ πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου ταῦτας δὲ ὀσπέρ τὸ ἄρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων ὀπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτως ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταύτας ἑβουλομένων καὶ πεζῆ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρημασίν.

32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις, ἀπῆγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοῖς

1 ταῦτα MSS.: ταῦτα Kel.
being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for these reasons were exceedingly desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaemum and another at Orchomenus, keeping watch upon their allied states—those which they trusted, to prevent their being destroyed, and those which they distrusted, to prevent their revolting—and suffering and causing trouble around Corinth, were out of patience with the war. As for the Argives, knowing that the Lacedaemonian ban had been called out against them, and being aware that their plea of the sacred months\(^1\) would no longer be of any help to them, they also were eager for peace. So that when Tiribazus ordered those to be present who desired to give ear to the peace which the King had sent down, all speedily presented themselves. And when they had come together, Tiribazus showed them the King’s seal and then read the writing. It ran as follows:

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.”

Upon hearing these words the ambassadors from the various states reported them to their own several

\(^{1}\) *cp. iv. vii. 2 f. and note.*
póleis. kai oi mén elloi ápantes ómwnsan em-
pedwónenv tauta, oì de Ὠθβαίοι ἥξιον ὑπὲρ πάν-
tow Bouwtów ómwnai. ó de Ἀγησίλαος ouk éph 
déxasa tois drkous, éan mì ómwnwshn, óster 
ta baxilwos grámmata éleven, autonómous einai 
cali mikràn kai megálh pólin. oì de twn Θη-
βαίων présebeis élegon óti ouk éphestalména 
sfísi taut' eüh. 'Ite wun, éph o Ἀγησίλαος, kai 
érwttate: apaggléllete ó' autoús kai tauta, óti eì 
mì poikísonv tauta, ékstvndou eisontai. oì mén 

33 òh fuchvto. ó ó' Ἀγησίλαος die thn prós Θη-
βαίουs éxhrevn ouk émelleven, allà peíasas tois 
ephórous eútheis édveto. épiedh de égyéneto ta die 
batíria, áfikómenos eis thn Tegéaia diéxempi tw 
mén íppéon káta tois perioíkous épístevnontas 
diéxempi de kai xeiagoue eis tás póleis. prwv de 
aútou órmthvni ek Tegéas, parhsvan oî Ὠθβαίοι 
légonves óti áfiaisi tás póleis autonómous. kai 
oútou Lakedaimónovoi mén oikade ápíloun, Ὠθβαίοι 
ó eis tás spoudás eisellthein ënagkásthsan, aut- 

34 tonómous áféntes tás Bouwtías póleis. oî ó' av 
Korínthioi ouk éxépempi twn thn twn 'Argieíwv frou-
rán. all' o Ἀγησίλαος kai tooítov prsteipe, 
tois mén, eì mì ekptémwróven tois 'Argieíous, tois 
de, eì mì ápíosev ek tis Korínthou, òti pólemon 
exiáse prós aútous. épeti de phosbhtévenon ámfio-
téroun éxhílon oî 'Argieíoi kai aútì ἑφ' éauthís ë

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1 Lacedaemonian officers who assembled and commanded the contingents of the allies.

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states. And all the others swore that they would steadfastly observe these provisions, but the Thebans claimed the right to take the oath in the name of all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to accept their oaths unless they swore, just as the King’s writing directed, that every city, whether small or great, should be independent. But the ambassadors of the Thebans said that these were not the instructions which had been given them. “Go then,” said Agesilaus, “and ask your people; and report to them this also, that if they do not so act, they will be shut out from the treaty.” The Theban ambassadors accordingly departed. Agesilaus, however, on account of his hatred for the Thebans, did not delay, but after winning over the ephors proceeded at once to perform his sacrifices. And when the offering at the frontier proved favourable, upon his arrival at Tegea he sent horsemen hither and thither among the Perioeci to hasten their coming, and likewise sent mustering officers\(^1\) to the various cities of the allies. But before he had set out from Tegea, the Thebans arrived with word that they would leave the cities independent. And so the Lacedaemonians returned home and the Thebans were forced to accede to the treaty, allowing the Boeotian cities to be independent. But the Corinthians, on the other hand, would not dismiss the garrison maintained in their city by the Argives. Agesilaus, however, made proclamation to these peoples also, saying to the Corinthians that if they did not dismiss the Argives, and to the Argives that if they did not depart from Corinth, he would make war upon them. And when, as a result of the fear which seized both peoples, the Argives departed

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tων Κορινθίων πόλεις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖσ καὶ
οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοῦ γυνότες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ
τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πολίται ἐκόντες¹ κατε-
δέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

35 'Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτ ἐπιράχθη καὶ ὠμομόκεσαν αἱ
πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ² εἰρήνῃ ἢν κατέσεμψε βασι-
λεὺς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη
δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονί-
οις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμά-
χοις οὐτω μετὰ τὸν ὑστερον πόλεμον τῆς
καθαίρεσεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων τειχῶν αὐτὴ πρώ-
36 τη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῶν πολέμων μᾶλλοι
ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς
ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλομένης. προστάται
γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης
εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεις πράττον-
tες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κορίνθου, αὐτο-
νόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιώτιδας
πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὕτε πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἐπαυ-
σαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους Κορίνθου σφετεριζομένους,
φρουρὰν φήματε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίσοιεν ἐκ
Κορίνθου.

II. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο,
ἐδοξέν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων
ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις εὑμενέστεροι ἦσαν
ἢ τῇ Λακεδαιμονί, τούτοις κολάσατο καὶ κατα-

¹ ἐκόντες MSS.: ἐκόντες Kel.
² τῇ MSS. except B: ἐν τῇ Kel. with B.

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and the state of the Corinthians regained its self-government, the authors of the massacre and those who shared the responsibility for the deed withdrew of their own accord from Corinth, while the rest of the citizens willingly received back the former exiles.

When these things had been accomplished and the states had sworn that they would abide by the treaty which the King had proposed, thereupon the armies were disbanded and the naval armaments were likewise disbanded. Thus it was that this peace was established between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies, the first since the outbreak of the war which followed the destruction of the walls of Athens. Now while in the war the Lacedaemonians were no more than holding their own with their antagonists, yet as a result of the so-called Peace of Antalcidas they gained a far more distinguished position. For by having become champions of the treaty proposed by the King and by establishing the independence of the cities they gained an additional ally in Corinth, made the Boeotian cities independent of the Thebans, a thing which they had long desired, and also put a stop to the doings of the Argives in appropriating Corinth as their own, by threatening to call out the ban against them if they did not depart from Corinth.

II. Since in all this matters had proceeded as they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they

1 cp. iv. iv. 2.
σκευάσαι ώς μη δύναιντο ἀπιστεῖν. πρώτων μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περιαρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι ὅποι ἃν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολέμιοις
2 γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὡς σὲτον ἐξέπεμπτον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντων, καὶ ὡς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειριάν προφασιζόμενοι, ὡς ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γεγνωσκεὶν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἰ τί σφῶν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἔλεγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξελήλυθεν τοῖς Μαντινεύσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχῃ τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι.
3 ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἤθελον καθαρεῖν τὰ τεῖχῃ, φρούραν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς.
 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἐαυτὸν ταὐτὸς τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι εν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμωις.
 Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξῆγαγε τὴν φρουραν καὶ μάλα Παυσανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας.
4 ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτων μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδήσαν ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὗτω καθήκουν τὰ τεῖχῃ, τάφρον ὀρυτεῖ κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἦμισσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένους σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῶν ταφρεύστων, τοῖς δ' ἦμισσειν 408
could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. For they said they had noted not only that the Mantineans had been sending corn to the Argives when they themselves were making war upon that people, but also that sometimes, on the pretext of a holy truce, they had not served in the Lacedaemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befell them. It was also common talk that the thirty years’ truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea, had expired this year, so far as the Mantineans were concerned. When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them.

Now Agesilaus requested the state to relieve him of the command of this expedition, saying that the city of the Mantineans had rendered his father many services in the wars against Messene; Agesipolis, therefore, led forth the ban, even though his father, Pausanias, was on exceedingly friendly terms with the leaders of the popular party in Mantinea. And when he had entered Mantinean territory, he first laid waste the land; but since even then they would not tear down the walls, he proceeded to dig a trench round about the city, with one half of the soldiers sitting under arms in front of the diggers to protect them, and the other half

1 *cp. iv. v. 18.*  
2 *In 418 B.C.*  
3 *Who was still living, though deposed and in exile. *cp. iii. v. 25.*
ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἦδη κύκλῳ τείχους περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕκοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρό- σθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἶ ἔδει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸνς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν θέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλ’ οὖντα εὑμεγέθη.

5 ἐμφραχθεῖσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροΐας ἤρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τοῖς ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὕπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδοσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγυγο τὸ τείχος, ἐπεὶτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ξύλα ἀντηρείδον καὶ ἐμηχα- νώντο ὡς μὴ πίπτοις ὁ πῦργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττώντο τοῦ ύδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πη τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιτο, ὡμολόγουν περι- αιρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπεί- σεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ διοικισῶντα κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ’ αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ

6 ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξετο ὁ πατήρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλεδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ ἄμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐχούσε τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὄμως ἀπει-
working. And after the trench had been completed, he then without risk built a wall round about the city. Learning, however, that the corn supply in the city was abundant, since there had been a good harvest the previous year, and thinking that it would be a grievous thing if it should prove necessary to burden both his state and its allies for a long period with campaigns, he dammed up the river which flowed through the city; and it was a very large one. Its outflow being thus checked, the water rose not only above the foundations of the houses but above those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks became soaked and failed to support those above them, the wall began first to crack and then to give way. And the Mantineans for a time tried to prop it up with timbers, and sought contrivances to prevent the tower from falling; but when they were no longer able to resist the water, being seized with the fear that if any portion of the encircling wall fell they would become prisoners of war, they offered to agree to tear down their walls. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not make peace with them except on condition that they should also dwell apart in villages. And they for their part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary, agreed that they would do this also. Now the partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular party expected that they would be put to death, but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the promise that safety should be granted them as they departed from the city, being sixty in number. So on both sides of the road, beginning at the city gates, stood the Lacedaemonians with their spears, watching those who were coming out. And
χοντο αὐτῶν ῥάον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινεών. καὶ τούτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.

7 'Εκ δὲ τούτου καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διερήσθη δὲ ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῆ, καθάπερ τὸ ἄρχαιον ἴκον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν ἴκον τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκρατία δὲ ἔχρωντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δὲ ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἦσαν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὗ καθ’ ἐν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην ἐκάστην ξεναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτη γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

8 Οἱ δὲ Ἐλευθέρων φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους ἑπισκοπούντας τῶν συμμάχων ὑποί τινες ἐκαστοὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένητο, καίριον ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς ἔως μὲν σφεῖς οἰκών ἤσαν, ἐδέχετο τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατευόντο ὅτι ἦγοιντο ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς ἐξέβαλεν, ὡς ἔπεσθαι μὲν ὑδαμοῦ ἔθελοις, μόνους δὲ πάντων

1 After σφᾶς the MSS. have αὕτω (or αὐτοῦς): Kel. brackets, following Bisschop.
although they hated them, nevertheless they kept their hands off them more easily than did the Mantineans belonging to the aristocratic party. Let this, then, stand recorded as a striking example of good discipline.

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least—not to let a river run through city walls.

And now the exiles from Phlius, as they observed that the Lacedaemonians were investigating to see what sort of friends their several allies had proved to be to them during the war, thinking that it was an opportune time, proceeded to Lacedaemon and set forth that so long as they were at home in Phlius, the city had received the Lacedaemonians within its walls, and its people had gone with them on their campaigns wherever they led the way; but that after the Phliasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to
ἀνθρώπων Δακεδαλούνες ού δέχοιτο εἰςω τῶν
9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσαςιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἔλεγον ώς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Δακεδαλούνες πόλει εἶεν, ἄδικοις δ’ ούδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἄξιοιν δ’ ἔφασαν μὴ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι κατελθεῖν αὐτοὺς. ἂ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειασίοι ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιτο ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, τῶν ἐνδοθεν παρείσασάν τινες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἤσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὔμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγήν. τοι-αὕτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχε-σθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἔκεινοι μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πρια-μένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν εἰ δὲ τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη διακριθήναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

10 Ὁ εἶ 'Ακάνθου δὲ καὶ 'Απολλωνίας, αἴτητε μέγισται τῶν περὶ Ὁλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Δακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ’ οἱ ἔφοροι δὲν ἐνεκα ἢκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὴ Κλει-γένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν. Ὁ ἄνδρες Δακεδαίμονι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ύμᾶς πράγμα

11

12 ἐνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν. Ὁ ἄνδρες Δακεδαίμονι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ύμᾶς πράγμα

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receive the Lacedaemonians—and them alone of all men—within their gates. When the ephors heard these things, they decided that the matter deserved attention. Accordingly they sent to the city of the Phliasians and said that the exiles were friends of the Lacedaemonian state and had been exiled for no wrong-doing. They said further that they deemed it proper to effect their return from banishment, not by compulsion, but by voluntary consent of the Phliasians. Upon hearing this the Phliasians conceived the fear that if the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against them, some of the people within the walls would let them into the city. For not only were there many kinsmen of the exiles in the city, and people who were friendly to them for other reasons, but also, as is indeed usual in most cities, some desired a change of government and therefore wanted to bring back the exiles. On account, then, of such fears, the Phliasians voted to take back the exiles and to restore to them their undisputed property, those who had purchased such property to recover the price of it from the public treasury; and if any dispute should arise in any case between these purchasers and the exiles, it was to be settled by legal process. Thus ended, in its turn, this incident of the Phliasian exiles at that time.

Then there came ambassadors to Lacedaemon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest of the cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. And when the ephors heard with what object they had come, they brought them before the Lacedaemonian assembly and the allies. Thereupon Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, we think you are unaware that
μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Ὁράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθὸς σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὕτωι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ὅτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρησθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβον τινάς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. ἔπει δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἔπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἐχοντας ἡδὴν ἀλλὰς τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἦπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντα τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἡδὴ ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίατας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἵοιεν.

14 Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὥς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, θυσίαμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρησθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι· εἰ μὲντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τοις νῦν γὰρ ἡ ἡμείς αὐτοῖς εἰσίν ὁπλῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττουσιν ὁκτακοσίων, 1 πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἡ τοσοῦτοι· ἵππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἔαν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν γενώμεθα, ἑσοῦσαν πλείους ἡ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἡδή αὐτοθι. ἥκουμεν δὲ ὅσι καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἰκα συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας

1 ὁκτακοσίων: Kel. marks this word as corrupt. The number seems far too small.

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a great danger is springing up in Greece. To be sure, almost all of you know that Olynthus is the largest of the cities on the coast of Thrace. These Olynhians, in the first place, attached to themselves some of the cities with the provision that all should live under the same laws and be fellow-citizens, and then they took over some of the larger cities also. After this they undertook, further, to free the cities of Macedonia from Amyntas, king of the Macedonians. And when the nearest of them gave their allegiance, they speedily proceeded against those which were farther away and larger; and we left them already in possession of a great number of Macedonian cities, including especially Pella, which is the largest of the cities in Macedonia. We also had information that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities and had already been all but driven out of all Macedonia. The Olynhians, furthermore, sent to us and to the Apollonians and announced to us that if we did not present ourselves to join them in their campaigns, they would come against us.

"As for ourselves, however, men of Lacedaemon, we desire to live under the laws of our fathers and to be citizens of our own city; but unless some one shall come to our aid, it will be necessary for us also to be united with them. And yet at this moment they already have not less than eight hundred hoplites and far more than that number of peltasts; while as for horsemen, if we also become united with them, they will have more than one thousand. Again, we left ambassadors both of the Athenians and of the Boeotians already there. And we heard reports that the Olynhians on their side had voted to send ambassadors with them to these states in regard to

883 B.C.
τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καὶ τοίοι εἰ τοσαύτη
dύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τῇ Ἄθηναῖων καὶ
Θηβαίων ἵσχύ, ὅρατε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκεῖτι
eὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ
Ποτείδαιων ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης
όυσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπη-
kόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν
καὶ τούτῳ ὅτι ἵσχυρὸς αὐτάι αἱ πόλεις πεφόβη-
tαν· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὃμοιοι
οὐκ ἔτολμησαν μεθ' ἦμῶν προσβείας πέμπειν
16 διδαξοῦσας ταύτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς
eἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως
μὴ καθ' ἐν εἰη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονοι ἀθροιζομένης
dυνάμεως ἀμελήσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μό-
νοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἵσχυρὰς γεγο-
μένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδών, ὅποι ξύλα μὲν
ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἑστι, χρημάτων
dὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν
d' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυ-
σιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γεῖτονές γ' εἰσίν
αὐτοῖς Ἐράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύοντοι
μὲν καὶ νῦν ἢδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκεί-
νους¹ ἔσονται, πολλῇ καὶ αὐτῇ δύναμις προσγένοντ'
ἀν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολοθοῦντων καὶ τὰ
ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἄν αὐτοῖς ἢδη
ὁρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἥμεῖς οὐδέν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὖ
καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ὃμοιο μυριόλεκτον ἑστι.
18 τὸ γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ

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1 ἐκείνους MSS.: ἐκεῖνοις Kel.
the matter of an alliance. Now if so great a power is to be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care,” he said, “lest you find that situation no longer easy to handle. Furthermore, since the Olynthians are in possession of Pota-daea, which is on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the cities included within Pallene will also be subject to them. And let this fact also be a further evidence to you that these cities have come to fear the Olynthians mightily—that although they feel the utmost hatred toward the Olynthians, nevertheless they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to set forth these things. You should consider this question also, how you can consistently, after having taken care in the case of Boeotia to prevent its being united, nevertheless disregard the gathering of a much greater power, and what is more, a power which is becoming strong not by land only, but also by sea. For what indeed is there to hinder such expansion, seeing that the country itself possesses ship-timber and has revenues from many ports and many trading-places, and likewise an abundant population on account of the abundance of food? And further, mark you, they have for neighbours those Thracians who are under no king. They even now are paying court to the Olynthians; and if they should come under their sway, this also would be a great power added to the Olynthians. Then, if the Thracians were their followers, straightway the gold mines of Mount Pangaeum also would beckon to them. And there is not one of these things which we say which is not also said thousands of times among the people of Olynthus. As for their pride, how could one describe it? For the
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γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἵσως ἐποίησεν ἀμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὁ ἄνδρες Δακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἔχαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὔτω τάκει ἔχει ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλεύσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελεῖας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὡς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὔτω δυσπάλαιστός ἔστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀκουσαί τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὕται, ἂν τι ἱδώσωι ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ ἀποστήσονται: εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθῆσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσει παρ’ ἄλληλους, ἃς ἐγινθησίμενοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γνῶσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων ἐπέσθαν κερδαλέων ἐστιν ὀς πέρ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ’ ὑμῶν ἤσῃ, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σφέζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν, ἵσως οὐκέθα ὁμαίως εὐλυτα ἔσται.

20 Δεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευσαν συμβουλεῦσιν ὃ τι γινώσκει τις ἀριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοίς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευσαν στρατιάν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Δακεδαιμόνιοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους 

21 σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριον τε ἀντ’ ἄνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῷ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναίον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἵππας τε εἰ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων
deity, perhaps, has so ordered it that men’s pride should increase with their power.

“We, then, men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, report that such are the conditions there; it is for you to deliberate as to whether they seem to deserve attention. But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror—even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others—then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up.”

When these things had been said, the Lacedaemonians gave their allies permission to speak and bade them advise whatever course anyone of them deemed best both for Peloponnesus and for the allies. Thereupon many, especially those who desired to gratify the Lacedaemonians, advocated raising an army, and it was decided that each state should send its proportionate contingent for an army of ten thousand. Proposals were also made that any state which so desired should be allowed to give money instead of men, three Aeginetan obols per day for each man, while if any state normally furnished horsemen, pay equal to that of four hoplites should be given for

1 The Aeginetan obol was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic; cp. i. v. 5.
22 ὁπλιτῶν τὸν μοσθὸν τῷ ἵππει δίδοσθαι· εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Δακε-
δαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιῶν στατήρι κατὰ τὸν ἀνδρα 
23 τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα ἐδοξεῖν, ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἄκανθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταύτα καλὰ μὲν εἶ
tὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχῦ περαν-
θήναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, εὖ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἡ 
παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζωτο, ὥς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἑξελ-
θεΐν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος τε, 
ὅση ἄν ταχῦ ἑξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων 
τούτων γὰρ γενομένου τάς τε σύνω προσκεχωρη-
κυίας πόλεις στίναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας 
24 ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, 
ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ 
σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ 
τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. οἱ μέν 
Εὐδαμίδας ἔξιοι Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἄδελφον ἐδείη 
τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ 
προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ 
ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἔπι Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν 
δεσμέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροῦς ἔπεμψε. Ποτεῖ-
δαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἢ ἡ 
ἐκείνων οὕσαν, καὶ ἐντεύθεν ὀρμῶμεν ἐπολέμη 
ὡσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττων ἔχοντα δύναμιν.
25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ύπο-
λειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπο-

1 στρατιάν MSS.: στρατελαν Kel.

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each horseman; and if any one of the states should fail to send its contingent to the army, the Lacedaemonians were to be permitted to fine such state a stater\(^1\) per day for each man. When these things had been decided upon, the Acanthians rose again and declared that while these measures were excellent, it nevertheless was not possible for them to be speedily carried out. They said it was better, therefore, that while this expedition was gathering, a commander should set out with all possible speed with a force from Lacedaemon, of such size as could take the field quickly, and likewise from the other states; for if this were done, the cities which had not yet gone over to the Olynthians would take no step in that direction, and those which had been coerced would be less likely to continue in alliance with them. This plan also was adopted, and the Lacedaemonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him emancipated Helots and men of the Perioeci and the Sciritans\(^2\) to the total number of about two thousand. Now Eudamidas on setting out requested the ephors to allow Phoebidas, his brother, to gather together all the troops assigned to him which were left behind and to follow after him; as for himself, when he reached the region of the Thracian coast, he sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, gained possession of Potidaea, which came over voluntarily, although it was already an ally of the Olynthians, and making that city his base of operations, carried on war in the way one naturally would who had an inferior force.

Then Phoebidas, after he had gathered together the remaining portion of Eudamidas’ troops, took

\(^1\) i.e. two drachmas.

\(^2\) A people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia.
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ρεύετο. ὃς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θῆβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἐξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θῆβαιών, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Δεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος τῶν ἑταίρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μίσος τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων οὔδε ἐπιθυσάζε τῷ Φοιβίδα. ὁ μὲντοι Δεοντιάδης ἀλλὰς τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἔπει εἰσφακείωθη ἔλεγε τάδε: Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὁ Φοιβίδα, τὴδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι ὑπορρηθήσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃς ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τοῦτο δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θῆβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν, ὡς ὅρφς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρατεύειν Θῆβαιών ἐπ' ὸλυνθίους· ἐὰν δὲ γε σὺ ταύτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξῃς, εὐθὺς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἰππεὰς συμπέμφομεν· ὡστε πολλῆ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἄδελφῳ, καὶ ἐν ὦ μέλλει ἕκεινος ὸλυνθίῳ καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἐσεὶ Θῆβας, πολὺ μείζω πόλιν Ὀλυνθίου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ξῆν ἑραστῆς, οὐ μέντοι λογιστικὸς γε οὐδὲ πάνω φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἔπει δὲ ὁμολόγησε ταύτα, προορμήσας μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέ-
them under his command and began his march. And when they arrived in the district of Thebes, they encamped outside the city, near the gymnasion. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs,\(^1\) were at variance with one another, and both of them leaders of their respective political clubs. Hence Ismenias, on account of his hatred for the Lacedaemonians, did not even go near Phoebidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with him, spoke to him as follows: "Phoebidas, it is within your power this day to render the greatest service to your fatherland; for if you will follow me with your hoplites, I will lead you into the Acropolis. And this once accomplished, be sure that Thebes will be completely under the control of the Lacedaemonians and of us who are your friends; whereas now, as you see, proclamation has been made forbidding any Theban from serving with you against the Olynthians. But if you join with us and accomplish this deed, we will at once send with you many hoplites and many horsemen; so that you will go to the aid of your brother with a large force, and while he is getting ready to subdue Olynthus, you will already have subdued Thebes, a far greater state than Olynthus." When Phoebidas heard this, he was filled with buoyant hopes; for he was a man with a far greater passion for performing some brilliant achievement than for life itself, although, on the other hand, he was not regarded as one who weighed his acts or had much practical wisdom. And when he had agreed to the plan, Leontiades directed him to set out on

\(^1\) The polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes.
λευσεν, ὡσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιέ
ναι. Ἡνίκα δ’ ἄν ἥ καιρός, πρὸς σὲ ἥξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ
29 Δεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ὃ δὲ ἡ
μὲν βουλή ἐκάθετο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοά ὑπὸ τὸ
tὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καλμέλα ἀθημοφορίᾳ, ἔθερον δὲ ὅντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρη
μία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοίς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐπὶ ἔποιο
ὁ Δεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ
ἀγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστῆσας δ’
ἐκεῖ τῶν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρα
δόυς τὴν βαλανάγραυν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὸν
μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὑπό τίνα μὴ
αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.

30 ἔλθων δὲ εἶπε τάδε: "Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακε
δαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἄθυ
μείτε. οὐδὲν γὰρ φασι πολέμου ἤκειν, ὅστις μὴ
πολέμιον ἔρα: ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμον κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι
πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτον
ποιεῖν, Λαμβάνω τούτου Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμο
ποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοεχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ
tοῦτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες
31 ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἐνθα εἰρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες
τὸ πράγμα παρῆσαν τε καὶ ἑπείδθοντο καὶ συνε
λάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὑπ
των τοῖς περὶ Δεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἐφεύγου εὐθὺς
ἐξω τῆς πόλεως, δείπναντες μὴ ἀποθάνοντες. οἱ δὲ
καὶ οἴκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργήμενον

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1 The Theban Acropolis, which was the usual meeting-place of the senate.
his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebes. 383 B.C.

"And when the proper time arrives," said Leontiades,
"I will return to you and act as your guide myself." Accordingly, while the senate was in session in the portico in the market-place, for the reason that the women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria in the Cadmea,¹ and while, inasmuch as it was summer and midday, the streets were entirely deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horseback to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing Phoebidas there with the troops under his command, giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to let no one into the Acropolis unless he himself so ordered, he proceeded at once to the meeting of the senate. And when he had arrived there, he spoke as follows: "Be not at all despondent, gentlemen, because the Lacedaemonians are in possession of the Acropolis; for they say that they have not come as enemies to anyone who is not eager for war; as for me, since the law directs that a polemarch shall have power to arrest any man who seems to be doing deeds which deserve death, I arrest Ismenias here, as an instigator of war. Therefore do you captains, and you who have been detailed with them, arise, seize this man, and lead him away to the place where you have been directed to take him." Now those who knew of the plan were of course present, obeyed the order, and seized Ismenias; but of those who did not know about it and were opponents of Leontiades and his party, some fled at once out of the city, fearing that they would be put to death; others withdrew at first to their homes; when they learned, however, that Ismenias

¹ Thesmophoria was a festival celebrated by women in ancient Greece to honor the goddess of agriculture, Demeter, and her daughter Persephone.
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tὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ἦσθοντο ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τᾶς Ἀθῆνας οἱ ταύτα γυνώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἴσμηνία μᾶλιστα τρικόσιοι.

32 Ὡς δὲ ταύτ’ ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἀλλον εἰλοντο, ὁ δὲ Δεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ηὗρε δ’ ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλέπως ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδα, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτα ἐπεπράχει· οἱ μὲν θωρ. Ἀγασίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Δακεδαίμονι πεπραγός εἰς, δίκαιος εἰς ἰσμιούσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθά, ἀρχαίοι εἰναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδίαξειν. Ἀυτὸ οὖν τοῦτ’ ἐφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἑστὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα.

33 Ἐπειτα μὲντοί ὁ Δεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγεν τοιάδε· Ἀνδρέας Δακεδαϊμόνιοι, ὥς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον υμῖν οἱ Θηβαίοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ υμεῖς ἔλεγετε ἐωρᾶτε γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτοι τοῖς μὲν ύμετέροις δυσμενεῖσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ’ ύμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὑντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραίει δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὑντα υμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν; Γροκεύσι δὲ, ὅτι υμᾶς εὐμενεῖς ὑντας ἐώρων, ἐπεστράτευον; ἄλλα μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες υμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφεροῦτας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ υμεῖς γε τότε μὲν ἀεὶ προσέχετε τὸν νῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτούς τὴν Βοιωτίαν υφ’ αὐτοῖς

1 υμᾶς MSS.: υμῖν Kel.
was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who held the same views as Androcleidas and Ismenias retired to Athens, to the number of about three hundred.

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. "It is precisely this point, therefore," he said, "which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state."

Then Leontiades came before the assembly and spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that the Thebans were hostile to you before what has now been done came to pass, you were wont to say yourselves; for you saw that they were always friendly to your enemies, and enemies to your friends. Did they not refuse to join you in the campaign against the Athenian commons in Piraeus, who were bitter enemies of yours, and did they not, on the other hand, march against the Phocians because they saw that you were well disposed towards them? Again, knowing that you were making war upon the Olyntians, they undertook to conclude an alliance with them, and you in those past days were always uneasily watching for the time when you should hear that they were forcing Boeotia to be under their
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ἐίναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεί τάδε πεπρακται, οὐδὲν ύμᾶς δεῖ Ὑθβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὡμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὡστ' ἐκείθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὀσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὐτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθην. ἀκούονσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακε-

dαιμονίοις ἐδοξεῖ τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὀσπερ κατε-ηληπτο διφλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνία κρίσιν ποιήσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἐνα ἀφ' ἐκά-

στης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τὸτε δὴ κατηγο-

ρεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς ἤ

ξένοις τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῇ Ἑλλάδος γεγενημένοις εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρη-

μάτων μετειλήφως εἴη καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας

αἰτιώτατοι εἴεν. δ' ἄπελογείτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἐπειθὲ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπρά-

γμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθυήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Δεο-

υτίάδην εἴχον τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐτί πλεῖστο ὑπηρέτουν ἡ προσετάττετο αὐτῶις.

37 Τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυνθὸν στρα-

τιάν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν μὲν ἀρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοὶ τε ἀπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέσπερον, κελεύ-

οντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτία κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν

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HELENICA, V. ii. 34–37

sway; but now that this stroke has been accomplished, there is no need of your fearing the Thebans; on the contrary, a brief message from you will suffice to secure from that quarter all the support that you may desire, provided only you show as much concern for us as we have shown for you." Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and to bring Ismenias to trial. Accordingly they sent out as judges three Lacedaemonians and one from each of the allied states, whether small or great. And it was not until the court held its sitting that charges were brought against Ismenias,—that he was a supporter of the barbarians, that he had become a guest-friend of the Persian satrap to the hurt of Greece, that he had received a share of the money which came from the King, and that he and Androcles were chiefly responsible for all the trouble and disorder in Greece. To all these charges he did indeed make a defence, but he failed to persuade the court that he was not a man of great and evil undertakings. So he was pronounced guilty and put to death; as for Leontiades and his party, they held possession of Thebes and gave the Lacedaemonians their support in even more than was demanded of them.

After these things had been accomplished, the Lacedaemonians with much more spirit set about dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him their own full contingent of the total ten thousand men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias
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συμμάχων. καὶ οὐ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τελευτάᾳ ὑπηρέτουν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει 
εἶναι τοῖς ὑπονοοῦσι τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ 
pόλεις, ἀτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάον ὤντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφόν, 
προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὅπλας καὶ ἐπτέας. ὁ 
dὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μᾶλλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος 
dὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ 
tοῦ ὡς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε 
dὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἥξιον αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους 
μισθούσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεύσι χρήματα 
dιδόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἰπέρ βούλοιτο τὴν 
ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἐπέμπε τὸ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν 
tὸν Ἐλιμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὄλυνθοι 
cατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας 
eίσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις 
αὐτοῖς παύσει τῆς ὑβρέως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, 
mᾶλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιάν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν 
ἐαυτῶν συμμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτεῖ 
dαιαν, ἐκείθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν 
pολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸν οὔτ' ἔκαεν 
οὔτ' ἐκκοπτε, νομίζον, εἰ τι ποιήσει τούτων, ἐμ 
ποδῶν ἄν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι 
cαὶ ἀπίόντι· ὅποτε δὲ ἀναχωροῖ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, 
tὸτε ὅρθως ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδὸν 
cαταβάλλειν, εἰ τις ὁπισθεὶ ἐπίοι.
in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias,—for he was regarded as a man not ungrateful to those who performed any service,—while the Theban state in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and horsemen. Now he prosecuted his march with no great speed, his concern being rather to make the journey without doing any harm to the friends of his state and to collect as large a force as possible. He also sent word on ahead to Amyntas and asked him not only to hire mercenaries, but likewise to give money to the kings in his neighbourhood, that they might become allies, if he really wanted to recover his dominions. Furthermore, he sent to Derdas, the ruler of Elimia, pointing out to him that the Olynthians had already subdued the greater power, Macedonia, and would not let the lesser escape unless someone put a stop to their presumption. As a result of his doing these things he had a very large army when he arrived in the territory of his state’s allies. And when he had come to Potidaea, he proceeded from there with his army in order of battle into the enemy’s country. Now on his way toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor cut down, believing that anything of this sort he should do would prove so many obstacles in his way both as he approached and as he withdrew; but he believed that when he should retire from the city it would be right to cut down the trees and put them in the way of anyone who might come against him from behind.

And when he was distant from the city not so much as ten stadia, he halted the army, himself
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έχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἵνα ἔξηγον οἱ πολέμοι, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξίον. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Δάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσιοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνους ἱππεάς ὡς εἰς τετρακοσίους διὰ τὸ ἀγαθαι κοίτασι τὸ ἵππικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὡς ἴδομενος παρείη. ἔπει δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειράθεντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς Δάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτοὺς. καὶ Πολύχαρμον τε τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ κείμενου πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ ἅλλοις ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἑπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἵππικον. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δὲ ἄν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἠτηθήναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὁλυμπιῶν ἠλάσεν. ἔπηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς 42 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τάξει. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤσθοντο οἱ Ὁλυμπιῶν ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελάύνωντας παμπόλλους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὁλυμπιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἀτε ἐγγὺς 43 τοῦ τείχους οὕτως. ἔπει δὲ τροπαῖον τε ἐστάθη

1 After παμπόλλους the MSS. have ἱππεάς: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

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occupying the left wing,—for in this way it fell to him to advance in the direction of the gate where the enemy issued forth,—while the rest of the phalanx, made up of the allies, stretched away to the right. As for the horsemen, he likewise posted upon the right wing the Laconians, the Thebans, and all the Macedonians who were present, while he kept by his own side Derdas and his horsemen, numbering about four hundred, not only because he admired this troop, but also to do honour to Derdas, so that he should be glad he had joined the expedition. But when the enemy came and formed in opposing line beneath the city wall, their horsemen, massing themselves together, charged upon the Laconians and Boeotians. And they not only struck down from his horse Polycharmus, the Lacedaemonian commander of cavalry, and inflicted very many wounds upon him as he lay, but they also killed others, and finally put to flight the cavalry upon the right wing. Now as the cavalry fled, the infantry next them also gave way, and the whole army, indeed, would have been in danger of being defeated had not Derdas with his troop dashed straight for the gates of the Olynthians. And Teleutias also advanced to the attack with his troops in battle order. When the Olymthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste. Then Derdas killed very many of them as they rode past him. And the foot-soldiers of the Olynthians also retired into the city; but not many of them were killed, because the wall was near. And when a trophy had been set up and

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καὶ ἡ νίκη αὐτῆς τῷ Τελευτίῳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπών δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δέντρα. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στρατεύμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μὲντοι καὶ οἱ Ὄλυνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίνυνον.

Π. Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἄρι υποφαινομένῳ όι μὲν Ὄλυνθιοι ἵππεῖς οὕτως ἐξεκόσιοι κατεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεστραμένους ἐλεημότουν· δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄφυγεν τῶν ἵππεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δὲ εἴδε τὴν καταδρομὴν, ἠσιθεὶς εἴχε, τοὺς θὰ ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβατᾶς ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὄλυνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἠλοιπον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων 2 ἔξελαυνε. οἱ δὲ όσοι εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν. ὁ δὲ όσος ἀπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἄνηκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια δύοκων καὶ ἀποκτίνυν, ἐως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδράξει τῶν Ὅλυνθίων τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὁγδοηκοντα ἵππεας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τεχνῆρες τὲ μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην 3 παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὅλυνθίων πόλιν, ὡς εἰ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἶχε ή τι εἰργασμένον τοὺς πολεμίους, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὅλυνθιοι ἤπεις ἤσυχοι πορευόμενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἱέοντα 436.
this victory had fallen to Teleutias, then as he withdrew he proceeded to cut down the trees. Now after continuing the campaign through this summer he dismissed both the Macedonian army and the horsemen of Derdas; the Olynthians, however, on their side made frequent raids into the territory of the cities allied with the Lacedaemonians, and carried off booty and killed men.

III. At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian horsemen, about six hundred in number, had made a raid into the district of Apollonia at midday and were scattered about pillaging; and it chanced that on that day Derdas had arrived with his horsemen and was breakfasting at Apollonia. When he saw the raid, he kept quiet, keeping his horses saddled and bridled and their riders fully armed. But when the Olynthians came riding disdainfully not only into the suburbs, but to the very gates of the city, then he dashed forth with his men in good order. And upon seeing him the enemy took to flight. But he, when once he had turned them to flight, did not stop pursuing and killing for ninety stadia, until he had chased them to the very wall of the Olynthians. It was said, indeed, that Derdas killed in this action about eighty horsemen. And from this day forth the enemy stayed more closely within their wall and cultivated only an exceedingly small portion of their land. As time went on, however, and Teleutias had led his army up to the city of the Olynthians in order to destroy whatever tree was left or whatever field had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian horsemen issued forth and, proceeding quietly, crossed the river which flows
ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἵππος τὸ ἐναυτίου στρατευμα. ὡς δ’ εἶδο τὸ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέ-4 λευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὄλυνθιοι ὡς εἶδον προδέοντας τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἦσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δ’ ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασεῶς καὶ ὡς φεύγουσι διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὄλυνθιοι ἰππεῖς, ἡνίκα ἐτὶ εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοὶ ἔδοκον εἶναι οἱ διαβεβήκοτες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτοῦν τε ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδαν
5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἐκατόν. ὃ δὲ Τελευτίας ὡς εἶδε τὸ γυνόμενον, ὁρμισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὀπλα ἠγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ μὴ ἀνίεναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καίρου ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἡναγκάζοντο ἀνθρωπημένως
6 καὶ προφυλάσσεσαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὄλυνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἰππέας, ἔβοηθον δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταῖ τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. τούτῳ δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἱστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτόλου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖ-

1 After ἐπορεύοντο the MSS. have ἦσυχοι: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

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by the city and held on their way towards the opposing army. And when Teleutias saw them, being irritated at their audacity, he immediately ordered Tlemonidas, the leader of the peltasts, to charge against them on the run. Now when the Olynthians saw the peltasts sallying forth, they turned about, retired quietly, and crossed the river again. The peltasts, on the other hand, followed very rashly and, with the thought that the enemy were in flight, pushed into the river after them to pursue them. Thereupon the Olynthian horsemen, at the moment when they thought that those who had crossed the river were still easy to handle, turned about and dashed upon them, and they not only killed Tlemonidas himself, but more than one hundred of the others. But Teleutias, filled with anger when he saw what was going on, snatched up his arms and led the hoplites swiftly forward, while he ordered the peltasts and the horsemen to pursue and not stop pursuing. Now in many other instances those who have pressed a pursuit too close to a city's wall have come off badly in their retreat, and in this case also, when the men were showered with missiles from the towers, they were forced to retire in disorder and to guard themselves against the missiles. At this moment the Olynthians sent out their horsemen to the attack, and the peltasts also came to their support; finally, their hoplites likewise rushed out, and fell upon the Lacedaemonian phalanx when it was already in confusion. There Teleutias fell fighting. And when this happened, the troops about him at once gave way, and in fact no one stood his ground any longer, but all fled, some for Spartolus, others for Acanthus, others to Apollonia, and the
στοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ώς δ' ἄλλος ἄλλη ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλος διώκοντες παμπληθεῖσι ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ δ' τιπερ ὀφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγώ φημὶ ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐδ' οἰκέταις χρὴ ὡργῇ κολάξειν πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται ὡργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν ἀτάρ αὐτοπάλοις τὸ μετ' ὡργῆς ἄλλα μὴ γνώμη προσφέρεσθαι ὅλων ἀμάρτημα. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὡργὴ ἀπρονότου, ἢ δὲ γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἢττον μὴ τι πάθη ἢ ὅπως βλάψῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.

8 Τοῖς δ' οὖν Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν τὸ πράγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τὸ τε φρόνημα τῶν νεικηκτῶν κατασβεσθείη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεπονημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γρόντες ἤγερον μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμποντο, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπερ Ἀγησιλάον εἰς τὴν Ἡσίαν τριά-

9 κοντὰ Σπαρτιάτῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἔθελονταί καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἤκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μᾶλα εὔειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἀπειροί. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἔθελονταί, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἦτι προ-

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HELENICA, V. iii. 6–9

majority to Potidaea. As they fled in all directions, so likewise the enemy pursued in all directions, and killed a vast number of men, including the most serviceable part of the army.

From such disasters, however, I hold that men are taught the lesson, chiefly, indeed, that they ought not to chastise anyone, even slaves, in anger—for masters in anger have often suffered greater harm than they have inflicted; but especially that, in dealing with enemies, to attack under the influence of anger and not with judgment is an absolute mistake. For anger is a thing which does not look ahead, while judgment aims no less to escape harm than to inflict it upon the enemy.

When the Lacedaemonians heard of this affair, it seemed to them as they deliberated that they must send out no small force, in order that the pride of the victors might be quenched and that the efforts already made might not go for nothing. Having come to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king, as commander, and with him, as they had sent with Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiates. There followed with him also many of the Perioeci as volunteers, men of the better class, and aliens who belonged to the so-called foster-children of Sparta, and sons of the Spartiates by Helot women, exceedingly fine-looking men, not without experience of the good gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to Agesipolis, while Amyntas and Derdas took part

1 i.e. were brought up at Sparta and went through the usual course of Spartan discipline. Xenophon’s own sons belonged to this class.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

θυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἄγνησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυμποῦν.

10 Ὅ τὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθείσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄγνησίπολιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ἔδωσαν, νομίζουσα δ' ἢξω ὅτους Ἄγνησίπολιδος οὐκ ἂν ἔξελθεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Ἄγνησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὅστε ἀμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἢξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἤξιον τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἂσω δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἤνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδίκαζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων, καὶ τὰς αὐτὴ δίκη εἰς ὅ που αὐτῷ οἱ ἄδικοίντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν εἰςήκουν. ἐκ τούτου μὲντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Δακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἅλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῦν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτῆσαν δὲ τούτοις τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἢξιον πάντας ὅσιο μὴ πεμποῦση τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Δακεδαίμονα.

12 οἱ δὲ ἡμιωθέντες οἰκαζέται μὲν ὁκίνουν ἀπιέναι, μένοντες δ' ἐδίδασκον ὅς οὐτοὶ μὲν εἰςεῖμαι, οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οὔπερ σφᾶς τε ἢξεβαλον καὶ Δακεδαίμουν ἀπέκλεισαν, οὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ πρίαμενοι τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰς ξημωθῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἔλθοντας,

1 ερ. ii. 10.
HELLENICA, V. III. 9–12

with even greater eagerness than before. Under 381 B.C.
these circumstances it was that Agesipolis marched
against Olynthus.

Meanwhile the people of Phlius, partly because
they had been commended by Agesipolis for giving
him a large sum of money for his campaign and giv-
ing it speedily, partly because they thought that
with Agesipolis abroad Agesilaus would not take the
field against them, and that it never would happen
that both the kings would be outside of Sparta at
the same time, boldly refused to grant any of their
rights to the restored exiles.¹ For while the exiles
demanded that the questions in dispute should be
brought to trial before an impartial court, their policy
was to compel them to plead their cases in the city
itself. And when the exiles asked what manner of
trial that was, where the wrong-doers were themselves
the judges, they refused to listen to them at all. Con-
sequently these restored exiles came to Lacedaemon
to present their charge against the state, and other
people from home came with them, saying that many
even among the citizens thought that the exiles
were not receiving just treatment. But the state
of Phlius, angered at this, fined all who had gone
to Lacedaemon without being sent by the state.
And those who were thus fined were afraid to re-
turn home, but remained and protested to the Lacedaemonians, saying: "These men, who are engaged
in these high-handed proceedings, are the men who
have banished us and have also excluded you from
their city, these are the men who are buying our
property and resorting to high-handed measures so
as not to give it back, and now these same men
have contrived to have a fine inflicted upon us for
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όπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμᾶθαι ἱέναι δηλώσων
13 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γυγνόμενα. τῷ δ’ ὁντι ύβρίζειν
dοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρᾶν φαίνουσιν ἐπ’
αὐτούς οἱ ἐφοροί. ἦν δὲ οὗ τῷ Ἀγνησιλάφ ἀχθο-
μένῳ ταύτα: καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἄρχι-
dάμῳ ξένου ήσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμου, καὶ τότε τῶν
κατεληλυθότων ήσαν’ αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα
tὸν Ἰππονίκου. ὡς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομέ-
νων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπορεύετο, πολλὰς πρε-
σβείαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὡστε μὴ
ἔμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἴνα ἀδικοὶ
στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικομένοις βοηθή-
σειει. οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἑφασκὸν ποιήσειν,
ἐδέστο τε μὴ ἔμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς
οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον
ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν
ἐφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτ’ ἄν εἰ; πάλιν
ἀπεκρίνατο: "Οσπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἑφη, ποιῆσαστε
οὐδὲν ύφ’ ἡμῶν ἡδικήθητε. τούτο δὲ ἤν τὴν
15 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἠθελῶντων δὲ αὐτῶν
tούτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλε τε εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ
περιτείχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλὰς δὲ λε-
γόντων Δακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὅλιγον ἐνεκέν ἀνθρώ-
pων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιτο πλέον πεντακισχίλιων
ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ’ ἐνδηλοῦ εἰ, οἱ
Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἐξω ἐκκλησιάζον·

1 cp. iv. iv. 15.

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coming here, so that in the future no one shall dare to come for the purpose of revealing what is going on in the state.” And since it seemed that the Phliasians were really acting insolently, the ephors called out the ban against them. Now this was not displeasing to Agesilaus; for the followers of Podanemus had been friends of his father Archidamus and were at this time among the restored exiles; while the partisans of Procles, the son of Hipponicus, were friends of his own. And when, after the sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, he made no delay but proceeded on the march, many embassies met him and offered him money not to invade the country of Phlius. He replied, however, that he was not taking the field to do wrong, but to aid those who were suffering wrong. Finally they said that they would do anything whatsoever, and begged him not to invade. He answered again that he could not trust to words, for they had proved false to their word in the previous case, but he said there was need of some deed that one could trust. And when he was asked what manner of deed this would be, he replied again: “The same thing,” said he, “that you did before, and in doing which you suffered no wrong whatever at our hands.” By this he meant giving over their Acropolis. As they refused to do this, he invaded their land and quickly built a wall of circumvallation around the city and besieged them. And when many Lacedaemonians said that merely for the sake of a few individuals they were making themselves hated by a state of more than five thousand men—for the Phliasians held their assemblies in plain sight of the people outside the city just for the purpose of making the fact of their numbers

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ό μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσατο. 17 ὁπότε γὰρ ἔξοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ξυσσίτια τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἵκανον διδόναι, ὁπόσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἀπασὶ τούτοις διεκδελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὅκνεῖν εἰς τάντα χρήματα δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὔτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὐπλοτάτους· ὅστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλευθύν οὐ τοιούτων δέσιντο συστρατιωτῶν.

18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσηλυκότος ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθῶν τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήθη αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἰ τῷ ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἔδησαν καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰῶν αὐτῶν ἐφθείρε τὸν σιτόν. Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβάλων εἴλε κατὰ κράτος. ὡς δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἄκμην καὶ μα περιφέρεγες λαμβάνει αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν έφορκότα τὸ ἐν 'Αφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρως αὐτῶν τότ' ἔσχε τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὕδατον. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκείσε ἥτις ἥδην, ὅμως μέντοι ἐβδομαίοις ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτε τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς οὐκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.

19 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἦ τις ἄν ὕπτε ἐφησθή ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε 446
evident—Agesilaus devised a scheme to meet this situation. Whenever any Phliasians came out of the city either from friendship or kinship with the exiles, he instructed the latter to form common messes of their own with such of the new-comers as were ready to undertake the army training, and to supply money enough for provisions; he also urged them to provide arms for all these people and not to hesitate to borrow money for this purpose. The exiles accordingly carried out his injunctions, and showed as a result more than a thousand men in splendid condition of body, well disciplined, and extremely well armed; so that the Lacedaemonians finally said that they had need of such fellow-soldiers.

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. As for Agesipolis, he advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olyanthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olyanthian country was left unravaged, and proceeding into the territory of their allied cities, destroyed the corn; but Torone he attacked and captured by storm. While he was engaged in these operations, at mid-summer a burning fever seized him. And since he had previously seen the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clear, cool waters. He was therefore carried thither, still living, but, nevertheless, on the seventh day from the time when he fell sick, he came to his end outside the sanctuary. And he was placed in honey and carried home, and received the royal burial.

When Agesilaus heard of this, he did not, as one might have expected, rejoice over it, as over the
καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν· συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ
δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἰκοὶ ὠσιν. ὁ δὲ
Ἀγησίπολος τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ
ηβητικῶς καὶ θηρευτικῶς καὶ ἰππικῶς καὶ παιδι-
κῶν λόγων μετέχειν πρὸς δὲ τοῦτος καὶ ὑπηδεῖτο
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον.
καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην
ἀρμοστὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄλυμπον ἐκπέμπουσιν.
21 ὦ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν
χρόνον, ὡσεὶ ἐλέγετο ἐν Φλειώντι σίτος εἶναι
τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς ἀκρατείας 1
diaφέρει ὧστε οἶ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἡμῶν ψηφισά-
μενοι σίτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιούντες τοῦτο
τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι
dιήρκεσαν. καὶ τὸλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἐσθ ὅτε τοσοῦ-
τον διαφέρει ὧστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν
εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας
Φλειάσιων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλο-
μένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἶς ἡπίστει
εἰρέξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἰς τὸ σας φυλακὰς
ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἱέναι καὶ τούτους ἐφοδεύων
πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὃν εἴχε
περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκθέσων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἀλλοτ'
22 ἀλλὰ τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὐτοί πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ
ηύρισκον σίτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τοῦτος δὴ πέμ-
ψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέστο σπείσα-

1 Inserted by Kel., following Nauck.
death of an adversary, but he wept, and mourned the loss of his companionship; for the kings of course lodge together when they are at home. And Agesipolis was a man well fitted to converse with Agesilaus about youthful days, hunting exploits, horses, and love affairs; besides this he also treated Agesilaus with deference in their association together in their common quarters, as one would naturally treat an elder. In the place, then, of Agesipolis the Lacedaemonians sent out Polybiades to Olynthus as governor.

Now Agesilaus had already gone beyond the time for which the food-supply in Phlius was said to suffice; for self-restraint in appetite differs so much from unrestrained indulgence that the Phliasians, by voting to consume half as much food as before and carrying out this decision, held out under siege for twice as long a time as was to have been expected. Furthermore, courage sometimes differs so much from cowardice that a certain Delphion, who was regarded as a brilliant man, taking to himself three hundred of the Phliasians, was able to hold in check those who desired to make peace, was able to shut up and keep under guard those whom he distrusted, and had the power to compel the masses of the people to go to their posts and by putting sentinels over them to keep these people faithful. Frequently also he would sally forth with the three hundred picked men and beat off the troops on guard at one point and another of the wall of circumvallation. When, however, these picked men with searching in every way could not find food in the city, thereupon they sent to Agesilaus and asked him to give them safe conduct for going on an embassy to
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σθαί πρεσβείαν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἴονυς. δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσσων ἑφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὁ τι βού-

λιοντό. ὁ δὲ ὀργίσθεις ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτῶν ἐποίουσιν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οίκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἐαυτὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπεῖ-

σατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρᾳ ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εξίοι. ὅμως μέντοι ὁ γε Δελφίων καὶ στυγματίς τις μετ’ αὐτοῦ, δὲ πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκόυντων, ἀπέδρασαν νῦκτωρ.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι 'Αγησιλάῳ διαγωνών τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοῖ, 'Αγησίλαος δὴ ὁ πότως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατε-

ληθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἄνακρίναι ὑντινά τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὑντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἰς ἔπειτα δὲ νόμων θεῖαι, καθ’ ὀδὸς πολιτεύσωντο. ἔως δὲ ἀν ταῦτα διαπράξωσανται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρου-

ροῖς δὲ μηνὸν κατέληπτε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσασα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἰκαδέ ἀπῆγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὅκτῳ μης καὶ ἔνιαυτῷ.

Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μῆτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγοντί σίτον αὐτοῖς, ἤνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Δακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης: ὁ δὲ ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτ.
HELLENICA, V. III. 23–26

Lacedaemon; for they said that they had resolved to leave it to the authorities of the Lacedaemonians to do whatever they would with the city. Agesilaus, however, angered because they treated him as one without authority, sent to his friends at home and arranged that the decision about Phlius should be left to him, but nevertheless he gave safe conduct to the embassy. Then he kept guard with a force even stronger than before, in order that no one of the people in the city might escape. In spite of this, however, Delphion, and with him a branded desperado who had many times stolen away weapons from the besiegers, escaped by night. But when messengers arrived from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way—that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. After doing all this he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months.

At this time also Polybiades compelled the Olynthians, who were in an exceedingly wretched state from famine, inasmuch as they got no food from their own land and none was brought in to them by sea, to send to Lacedaemon to treat for peace; and those who went thither, being ambassadors with full
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tores ςυνθήκας ἐποίησαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Ἀκεδαίμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἤγινται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὀμόσαντες ταύτας ἐμμενεῖν οὔτως ἀπῆλθον οίκαδε.

27 Προσεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Ἀκεδαίμονίοις ὅστε Θῆβαίους μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ’ ἐκείνους εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενηθαί, Ἀργείους δὲ τεταπεινώσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὤφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν. 1 'Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡρημώσθαι, τῶν δὲ αὖ συμμάχων κεκόλασμένων οἱ δυσμενῶς εἰχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἁσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

IV. Πολλὰ μὲν ὁν ἂν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἅλλα λέγει καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ μαραθικὰ, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἄσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιοῦντων ἀμελοῦσιν νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Δακεδαίμονι φέροι διὰ τις ὑμᾶς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θῆβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μόνω τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον 2 οὐδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν πῶπτος ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τούς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Δακεδαίμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε αὐτὸι τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπτὰ

1 διὰ . . . ὑποφοράν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 πρότερον Wolf: πρῶτον Kel. with MSS.

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powers, concluded a compact to count the same people enemies and friends as the Lacedaemonians did, to follow wherever they led the way, and to be their allies. Then after taking an oath that they would abide by this compact, they went back home.

And now that success had to such an extent attended the efforts of the Lacedaemonians that the Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians were completely in their power, the Corinthians had become absolutely faithful, the Argives had been humbled for the reason that their plea of the sacred months was no longer of any help to them, and the Athenians were left destitute of allies, while on the other hand those among the allies of the Lacedaemonians who had been unfriendly to them had been chastised, it seemed that they had at length established their empire most excellently and securely.

IV. Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely, who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotsically themselves, just seven of the exiles were
μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἦρκεσαν καταλύσαν. ὡς δὲ τούτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

2 Ἡν τις Φιλλίδας, ὅς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἄρχιαν πολεμάρχους, καὶ τάλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀριστα. τούτῳ δὲ ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πραξίν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὁ Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγότων Θῆβαις υπηργώντας, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμάρχοντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φιλιττούν τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦνται αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο.

3 ὡς δὲ ἔκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβών ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τούς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδιον ἐχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλου οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἐπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἤλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπίωντες, ἠκακαπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ὑψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνι τινί, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ ἠμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὡς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ ἔξοδῳ τῆς ἄρχης, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπεσχυούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάς καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θῆβαις, τότε ἐφη ἄξειν. οἱ δὲ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μᾶλα

1 See note on ii. 25. It seems likely that the polemarchs were three in number, although Archias and Philippus were in number, although Archias and Philippus.
enough to destroy the government of these men. How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate.

There was a certain Phillidas, who acted as secretary to Archias and his fellow polemarchs\(^1\) and in other ways served them, as it seemed, most excellently. Now this man went to Athens on a matter of business, and there met Melon, one of the Thebans in exile at Athens and a man who had been an acquaintance of his even before this time. Melon, after learning of the doings of the polemarch Archias and the tyrannous rule of Philippus, and finding out that Phillidas hated the conditions that existed at home even more than he himself did, exchanged pledges with him and came to an agreement as to how everything should be managed. After this Melon took with him six of the fittest men among the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, and in the first place proceeded by night into the territory of Thebes; then after spending the day in a deserted spot they came to the city gates, as if on their way back from the country, at just the time when the last returning labourers came in. When they had entered the city, they spent that night at the house of a certain Charon, and likewise spent the following day there. As for Phillidas, since the polemarchs always celebrate a festival of Aphrodite upon the expiration of their term of office, he was making all the arrangements for them, and in particular, having long ago promised to bring them women, and the most stately and beautiful women there were in Thebes, he said he would do so at that time. And they—for they were that sort of men—

(see below) are the only ones whom Xenophon mentions by name.
5 ἢδεως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-
πυησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμομένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ
ἐμεθύσησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἑτα-
ρας, ἐξελθὼν ἦγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν
στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θερα-
παίνας. κακείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προτα-
μείον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἰπὲ
τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχιάν ὅτι ἂν φασίν εἰσελθῆσαι αἵ
γυναῖκες, εἰ τις τῶν διακόνων ἐνδον ἔσοιτο. ἐνθὲν
οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευσαν πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλ-
λίδας δοὺς οἶνον εἰς ἐνός τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν
αὐτοὺς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἑταῖρας δὴ,
καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ’ ἐκάστῳ. ἣν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ
καθίζοντο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ
μὲν δὴ ὡς ὀυτῶν λέγοντας αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ
καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα
ἀποκτείναν τοὺς πολέμαρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλ-
λίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Δεον-
τιάδον ὁικίαν κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι
παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγείλαι τι βούλοιτο.
ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ
داءίπον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἑριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο.
ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστῶν νομίζων εἰςι-
έναι. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες,1
τὴν δὲ γυναίκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἔξ-
ιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλείσας· εἰ δὲ λή-
ψονται ἀνεφήμην, ἣπείλησαν ἀποκτείναν ἀπαν-
τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο,

1 ἀποκτείναντες MSS.: ἀπέκτειναν Kel.
expected to spend the night very pleasantly. Now when they had dined and with his zealous help had quickly become drunk, after they had long urged him to bring in their mistresses he went out and brought Melon and his followers, having dressed up three of them as matrons and the others as their attendants. He conducted them all to the anteroom adjoining the treasury of the polemarchs’ building, and then came in himself and told Archias and his colleagues that the women said they would not enter if any of the servants were in the room. At that the polemarchs speedily ordered them all to withdraw, while Phillidas gave them wine and sent them off to the house of one of their number. Then he led in the supposed courtesans and seated them one beside each man. And the agreement was, that when they were seated, they should unveil themselves and strike at once. It was in this way, then, as some tell the story, that the polemarchs were killed, while others say that Melon and his followers came in as though they were revellers and killed them. After this Phillidas took three of his men and proceeded to the house of Leontiades and knocking at the door he said that he wished to give him a message from the polemarchs. Now it chanced that Leontiades had dined by himself and was still reclining on his couch after dinner, while his wife sat beside him, working with wool. And believing Phillidas trustworthy he bade him come in. When the party had entered, they killed Leontiades and frightened his wife into silence. And as they went out, they ordered that the door should remain shut; and they threatened that if they found it open, they would kill all who were in the house. When these things had been
λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργαμοῦλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ὅν εἰρξαι δέοι· ὡς δὲ ἀνέφξη, τούτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἠλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοὰς ὁπλῶν καθελόντες ὠπλίσαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὀπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξεῖναι πάντας Ῥηβαίους, ἰππέας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεῶτων. οἱ δὲ πολίται, ἔως μὲν νυὲ ἢν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἰχόν· ἔπει δ' ἦμέρα τῇ ἡν καὶ φανερὸν ἢν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ δ' ἦν καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἤξεβοήθουσι. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἰππέας οἱ κατελημνηθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ὀρίους Ἀθηναίων δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πράγμα ἐφ' ὅ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουσιν.

Ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροτολεί ἀρμοστῆς ἐπεὶ ἦσθε τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταίας καὶ Θεσπιᾶς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταίας αἰσθόμενοι προσίνοντας οἱ τῶν Ῥηβαίων ἰππεῖς, ἀπεντάσσοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον ἡ εἰκοσιν. ἔπει δὲ εἰσήλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη παρῆσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὅς δὲ ἐγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροτολεί διόγοι δυντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσίτων ἀπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-

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1 Inserted by Kel., following Dindorf.
2 Inserted by Kel. The text of the last four lines of this section is probably corrupt.

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done, Phillidas took two of the men and went to the prison, and told the keeper of the prison that he was bringing a man from the polemarchs who was to be shut up. And as soon as the keeper opened the door, they immediately killed him and released the prisoners. Then they speedily armed these men with weapons which they took down from the portico, and, leading them to the Amphium,\(^1\) ordered them to stand under arms. After this they immediately made proclamation to all the Thebans, both horsemen and hoplites, to come forth from their houses, saying that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, however, so long as night lasted, remained quiet out of distrust; but when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then both the hoplites and the horsemen speedily rushed forth with their arms to lend aid. The returned exiles also sent horsemen to fetch the troops of the Athenians who were on the borders under two of the generals. And the latter, knowing the purpose for which they had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid.

Now when the Lacedaemonian governor in the Acropolis heard the proclamation of the night, he at once sent to Plataea and Thespiae for help. And the Theban horsemen, upon perceiving that the Plataeans were approaching, went out to meet them and killed more than twenty of them; then as soon as they had re-entered the city after this achievement, and the Athenians from the borders had arrived, they made an attack upon the Acropolis. Now when those in the Acropolis realized that they were few in number, and saw the spirit of all who were coming against

\(^1\) The shrine of the Theban hero Amphion.
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γμάτων μεγάλων γυνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβαίνων, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἀπιούσι δεδοΐεν. οἱ δὲ ἁσμενοὶ τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἦτον, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις

12 ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσοις ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνουσαν ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δὲ τινес ὦ καὶ ὑπὸ Ὄθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θῆβαιοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοι ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.

13 Ἡπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν ἀρμοστὴν τὸν ἑγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρούραν δὲ φαίνοντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Θῆβαιον. καὶ Ὄγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὃτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἦθης εἰς, καὶ ἅπασπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις ὁμώντες ἀνάγκη εἰς τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐξω στρατεύσωσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεύσι τὸν αὐτῶν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδέκινε. κάκεινος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύστω. οὗ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἐνεκεν κατέμεινεν, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοὶ, ἐξοίειν οἱ πολίται ὡς Ὅγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσει τοῖς τυράννους, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἰα οὐν αὐτοὺς βουλεύσεθαι ὁποῖον τι

14 βούλοιντο περὶ τούτων. οἳ δ' ἐφοροὶ διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θῆβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπέπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε

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them,—for there were also offers of large prizes to those who should first ascend the Acropolis—being frightened in consequence of these things, they said that they would withdraw if the Thebans would allow them to do so in safety, keeping their arms. And the Thebans gladly granted what they asked, and after making a truce and giving their oaths let them go forth on these terms. As they were on their way out, however, the citizens seized and killed all whom they recognized as belonging to the number of their political foes. There were some, indeed, who were spirited away and saved by the Athenians who had come from the borders with their supporting force. But the Thebans even seized the children of those who had been killed, whenever they had children, and slaughtered them.

When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they put to death the governor who had abandoned the Acropolis instead of waiting for the relief force, and called out the ban against the Thebans. Now Agesilaus said that it was more than forty years since he had come of military age, and pointed out that just as other men of his age were no longer bound to serve outside their own country, so the same law applied to kings also. He, then, on this plea would not undertake the campaign. It was not, however, for this reason that he stayed at home, but because he well knew that if he was in command the citizens would say that Agesilaus was making trouble for the state in order that he might give assistance to tyrants. Therefore he let them decide as they would about this matter. But the ephors, hearing the stories of those who had been banished after the slaughter in Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus,¹—this being the first time that

¹ Successor of Agesipolis.
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ήγούμενον, μάλα χειμώνος οὖντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δὴ Ἑλευθέρων ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχον Ἀθηναίων πελταστάς ἐφύλαττεν ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταίας φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λευκόμενοι, ὡς περὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταίας, ἄτι φιλίας οὕσας. ἔπει δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμηθει εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὕσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ ἐκεὶ περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς· κἀκεῖ μὲν ἄρμοστὴν κατέλυε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα δοσα ἐτύγχανεν οἰκοθεν ἔχον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθούσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἐστράτευε. οὗ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἄποροντας πότερα ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἡ εἰρήνη εἰς· ἔγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργῆσαι. ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἀνεμός αὐτῷ ἔξαισιος ἐπεγένετο, δι καὶ οἰωνίζοντο τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθῆκον 462
he had a command,—in the dead of winter. Now the road which leads through Eleutheræae was guarded by Chabrias with peltasts of the Athenians; but Cleombrotus climbed the mountain\(^1\) by the road leading to Plataea. And at the summit of the pass his peltasts, who were leading the advance, found the men who had been released from the prison, about one hundred and fifty in number, on guard. And the peltasts killed them all, except for one or another who may have escaped; whereupon Cleombrotus descended to Plataea, which was still friendly. Then after he had arrived at Thespiae, he went on from there to Cynoscephalæ, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped. But after remaining there about sixteen days he retired again to Thespiae. There he left Sphodrias as governor and a third part of each contingent of the allies; he also gave over to Sphodrias all the money which he chanced to have brought from home and directed him to hire a force of mercenaries besides. Sphodrias, then, set about doing this. Meanwhile Cleombrotus proceeded to conduct the soldiers under his command back homeward by the road which leads through Creusis, the troops being vastly puzzled to know whether there was really war between them and the Thebans, or peace; for he had led his army into the country of the Thebans and then departed after doing just as little damage as he could. While he was on the homeward way, however, an extraordinary wind beset him, which some indeed augured was a sign pre- shadowing what was going to happen.\(^2\) For it not only did many other violent things, but when he had left Creusis with his army and was crossing the

\(^1\) Mt. Cithæron. \(^2\) cp. vi. iv. 2–15.
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ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὅρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκέψει, πάμπολλα δὲ ὅπλα ἀφαρτασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς πορεύεσθαι, ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθέν τοῦ ἀκρού κατέλησσαν λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τὸτε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρίκης ἐν Αἰγοσθένους ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ύστεραία ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον οἶκαδε ἦδη ἔκαστο ἀπήσαν. ἀφήκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι ὀρῶντες τὴν τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ρώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἦδη παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι εἰς τὰς Θηβάς ἐνέβαλλον, οὐτοὺς ἐφοβοῦντο ὅστε καὶ τῷ δύο στρατηγῷ, οἷς συνηπιστάσθησαν τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ ἔστατος ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινον, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγόδεισαν.

20 Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβοῦμενοι, εἰ μηδὲνς ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, τοῖνικε εὐρίσκοντοι μηχάνημα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσποιαῖς ἀρμοστῆν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύοι, ἐμβαλαίν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐν ἐκπολεμώσει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους. κάκεινος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἦγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσποιῶν πρὸς δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων ἐκτὸς 464
mountain ridge which runs down to the sea, it hurled down the precipice great numbers of packasses, baggage and all, while very many shields were snatched away from the soldiers and fell into the sea. Finally many of the men, unable to proceed with all their arms, left their shields behind here and there on the summit of the ridge, putting them down on their backs and filling them with stones. On that day, then, they took dinner as best they could at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara; and on the following day they went back and recovered their shields. After this all returned at once to their several homes; for Cleombrotus dismissed them.

Now the Athenians, seeing the power of the Lacedaemonians and that the war was no longer in Corinthian territory, but that the Lacedaemonians were now going past Attica and invading the country of Thebes, were so fearful that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the uprising of Melon against Leontiades and his party, put one of them to death, and, since the other did not remain to stand trial, exiled him.

The Thebans, for their part, being also fearful in case no others except themselves should make war upon the Lacedaemonians, devised the following expedient. They persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at Thespiae,—by giving him money, it was suspected,—to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians. And he in obedience to their persuasions, professing that he would capture Piraeus, inasmuch as it still had no gates,\(^1\) led forth his troops from Thespiae after they had taken an early dinner, saying

\(^1\) cp. iv. viii. 9, 10.
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21 ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Ὁριαῖς δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐποίησεν ὡστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ᾽ ἐνυχών- των τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἀστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμ- πολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταχὺ ὁπλισάμενοι καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ ὀπλῖται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.

22 τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνας ὄντες παρὰ Καλλία τῷ προξέφω "Ευ- μοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὁκυλλός" οὐς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πράγμα ἡγέλθη, συλλα- βόντες ἐφύλλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύ- οντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογούντο ως οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ οὐτω μόροι ἦσαν ως εἰ ἦδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πει- ραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ ἄν υποχείριοι αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξέφω, οὐ τάχιστ' ἂν

23 ἡπρέθησαν. ἔτι δ᾽ ἐλεγον ως εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαι- μονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἐφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς πό- λεως. κακεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι

24 ἀφείθησαν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐφοροί ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὖχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὃμως δὲ καίπερ ὡχ 466
that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before daybreak. But he was still at Thria when daylight came upon him, and then he made no effort to escape observation, but on the contrary, when he had turned about, seized cattle and plundered houses. Meanwhile some of those who fell in with him during the night fled to the city and reported to the Athenians that a very large army was coming against them. So they speedily armed themselves, both horsemen and hoplites, and kept guard over the city. Now it chanced also that there were ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians in Athens at the house of Callias, their diplomatic agent,—Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocyllus; and when the matter of the invasion was reported, the Athenians seized these men and kept them under guard, in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot. But they were utterly dismayed over the affair and said in their defence that if they had known that an attempt was being made to seize Piraeus, they would never have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and, still less, at the house of their diplomatic agent, where they would most speedily be found. They said, further, that it would become clear to the Athenians also that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt, either. For as to Sphodrias, they said they well knew that they would hear that he had been put to death by the state. They accordingly were adjudged to be without any knowledge of the affair and were released. But the ephors recalled Sphodrias and brought capital charges against him. He, however, out of fear did not obey the summons; but nevertheless, although he did not obey and
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υπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἐδοξεῖν ἄντι δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἡ δίκη κριθήναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αὐτίον.

23 Ἡν νῦν τῷ Σφοδρίῳ Κλεώνυμος ἦλθείν τε ἔχον τὴν ἀρτί ἐκ παῖδων, καὶ ἀμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἠλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἔρων ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγγυιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἀτέ ἐταίροι ὤντες τῷ Σφοδρίῳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἰχον, τὸν δὲ γε Ἀγγυιλαυ καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δὲ δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιη-κέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἴπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον Ἐξεστι σοι, ὁ οὐ, σοῦσαί τὸν πατέρα, δειχέντει Ἀρχίδαμον εὐμενὴ Ἀγγυιλαυν ἐμιλεῖ τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ἐδὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἔλθειν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἔδειτο

26 σωτήρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἵδιῶν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκὼς ἀκούσας δὲ δειμένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· 'Ἀλλ', ὁ Κλεώνυμε, ἵσθι μὲν ὦτὶ ἔγω τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί οὐδ᾽ ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι· ὅμως δὲ ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσαν με προ-θυμίαιν ἔξειν ταύτα σοὶ πραξὴν. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φίλιτος εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνε-παύετο· τοῦ δ᾽ ὁρθοῦ ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἔξελθων. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ τὶς τῶν πολιτῶν

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present himself for the trial, he was acquitted. And it seemed to many that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon. The reason for it was as follows.

Sphodrias had a son Cleonymus, who was at the age just following boyhood and was, besides, the handsomest and most highly regarded of all the youths of his years. And Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, chanced to be extremely fond of him. Now the friends of Cleombrotus were political associates of Sphodrias, and were therefore inclined to acquit him, but they feared Agesilaus and his friends, and likewise those who stood between the two parties; for it seemed that he had done a dreadful deed. Therefore Sphodrias said to Cleonymus: “It is within your power, my son, to save your father by begging Archidamus to make Agesilaus favourable to me at my trial.” Upon hearing this Cleonymus gathered courage to go to Archidamus and begged him for his sake to become the saviour of his father. Now when Archidamus saw Cleonymus weeping, he wept with him as he stood by his side; and when he heard his request, he replied: “Cleonymus, be assured that I cannot even look my father in the face, but if I wish to accomplish some object in the state, I petition everyone else rather than my father; yet nevertheless, since you so bid me, believe that I will use every effort to accomplish this for you.” At that time, accordingly, he went from the public mess-room to his home and retired to rest; then he arose at dawn and kept watch, so that his father should not leave the house without his notice. But when he saw him going out, in the first place, if anyone among the citizens was present, he gave way to allow them to
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παρὴν, παρεὶ τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἰ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεσμένῳ παρεχώρει. τέλος δ', ἔπει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιῶν ὁ Ἁγησίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οἶκαδε, ἀπιῶν ὕχετο οὐδὲ προσελθὼν. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ ταύτα ταύτα ἑποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἁγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἢ ἐνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὔδεν μέντοι ἡρώτα, ἀλλ' εἰα αὐτών. ὁ δ' αὐ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μέν, ὃστερ εἰκός, ὅραν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὅπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτῶν μὴ διειληγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐδείησθ' οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφι τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὀρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἴόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζουντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λειοδορημένος ὑπὸ Ἁγησίλαον εἰη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησεν προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν. ὁ Ω πάτερ, Κλεώνυμος με κελεύει σοι δεηθήναι σώσαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταύτα σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοι μὲν ἐγώ θυγατερὶ σῦνομμωμένην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἀν συγγενώμην τύχοιμο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγιγνώσκων ἄδικειν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ὀρῶ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταύτα οὔδεν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἦττηθες τοῦ δικαίου ἀπήλθεν. ὑστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοῆσας ἢ διδαχθέεις ὑπὸ τοῦ εἴπεν ἔλθων· Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὃ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἡδίκει Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἀν αὐτῶν οἶδα· νῦν δὲ,

1 The general gathering place of the Spartans was on the banks of the Eurotas.

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converse with Agesilaus, and again, if it was a stranger, he did the same, and again he even made way for any one of his attendants who wished to address him. Finally, when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas and entered his house, Archidamus went away without even having approached him. On the next day also he acted in the very same way. And Agesilaus, while he suspected for what reason he kept going to and fro with him, nevertheless asked no question, but let him alone. But Archidamus, on the other hand, was eager, naturally enough, to see Cleonymus; still, he did not know how he could go to him without first having talked with his father about the request that Cleonymus had made. And the partisans of Sphodrias, since they did not see Archidamus coming to visit Cleonymus, whereas formerly he had come often, were in the utmost anxiety, fearing that he had been rebuked by Agesilaus. Finally, however, Archidamus gathered courage to approach Agesilaus and say: "Father, Cleonymus bids me request you to save his father; and I make the same request of you, if it is possible." And Agesilaus answered: "For yourself, I grant you pardon; but how I could obtain my own pardon from the state if I failed to pronounce guilty of wrong-doing a man who made traffic for himself to the hurt of the state, I do not see." Now at the time Archidamus said nothing in reply to these words, but yielding to the justice of them, went away. Afterwards, however, whether because he had conceived the idea himself or because it had been suggested to him by some one else, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Father, I know that if Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would have acquitted him; but as it is,
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eί ἡδίκηκέ τι, ἢμῶν ἔνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἀν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταύθ' ἢμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὥ μὲν δὴ ταύτ'.

32 ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ἦν ἀπῆει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἅτυμοκλῆς εἶπεν· Ὡμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγησιλάον φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἅτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταύτ', ἔφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, ἔπει ἐκεῖνος γε πρὸς πάντας ὁσοῖς διείλεκται ταύτα λέγει, μὴ ἅδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μὲντοι παις τε ὄν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἤβων πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέλεσε, χαλεπῶν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτεννύναι· τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιοῦτον δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.

33 ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὁ δὲ ἴσθεῖς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἅρχιδαμον εἶπεν· Ὅστι μὲν ἢμῶν ἐπιμελή ἡδῆ ἵσμεν· εὐ δὲ ἐπίστω, Ἅρχιδαμε, ὃτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῆς. καὶ οὐκ ἔψευσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξὼν ἀπαντ' ἔποιει ὁσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Δεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δείνων τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρὶς πεσὼν πρώτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοὺς πολεμίοις ἀπέδανε. καὶ ἦγιασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἅρχιδαμον, ὡς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυνεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκόσμησε. τοιοῦτω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε.
if he has done something wrong, let him for our sakes obtain pardon at your hands." And Agesilaus said: "Well, if this should be honourable for us, it shall be so." Upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency. Now one of the friends of Sphodrias in conversation with Etymocles, said to him: "I suppose," said he, "that you, the friends of Agesilaus, are all for putting Sphodrias to death." And Etymocles replied: "By Zeus, then we shall not be following the same course as Agesilaus, for he says to all with whom he has conversed the same thing,—that it is impossible that Sphodrias is not guilty of wrong-doing; but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers." The man, then, upon hearing this, reported it to Cleonymus. And he, filled with joy, went at once to Archidamus and said: "We know now that you have a care for us; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we in our turn shall strive to take care that you may never have cause to be ashamed on account of our friendship." And he did not prove false to his words, for not only did he act in all ways as it is deemed honourable for a citizen of Sparta to act while he lived, but at Leuctra,¹ fighting in defence of his king with Deinon the polemarch, he fell three times and was the first of the citizens to lose his life in the midst of the enemy. And while his death caused extreme grief to Archidamus, still, as he promised, he did not bring shame upon him, but rather honour. It was in this way, then, that Sphodrias was acquitted.

¹ Seven years later; cp. vi. iv. 14.
Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοωτιάξουντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δήμον ὡς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑπανέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραμᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναντηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάση προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὐ Δακεδαιμόνιοι φιουράν ἐφήναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡθβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἄν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἀγείν τὴν στρατιὰν. ὁ δὲ εἶπὼν ὦτι οὐδὲν ἄν ὁ τι τῇ πόλει δοκοὶ αὐτείπειν ¹ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. γιγνώσκων δ' ὦτι εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεωτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται εἰς τὰς Ἡθές ἐμβαλείν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὁρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικόν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο ² τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἰ τι δεηθεῖ. ἔπει δὲ τὰ διαβατηρία ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέᾳ αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίους ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοὺς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὁρχομενίοις εἶπεν, ἐὼς στρατεία εἰς, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δὲ τὶς πόλεις στρατιὰς οὔςς ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσωι, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐφὶ πρῶτον ἴηναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.

34 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἔλθὼν

¹ αὐτείπειν MSS.: Kel. prefixeis ἔχοι.
² γένοιτο MSS.: προσγένοιτα Kel.

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As for the Athenians, those among them who favoured the Boeotians pointed out to the people that the Lacedaemonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but even commended him, for plotting against Athens. Therefore the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates, set about building ships, and gave aid to the Boeotians with all zeal. The Lacedaemonians on their side called out the ban against the Thebans, and believing that Agesilaus would lead them with more judgment than Cleombrotus, requested him to act as commander of the army. And he, saying that he would offer no objection to whatever the state thought best, made his preparations for the campaign. Now he knew that unless one first gained possession of Mount Cithaeron, it would not be easy to effect an entrance into the country of Thebes; he therefore, upon learning that the Cletorians were at war with the Orchomenians and were maintaining a force of mercenaries, came to an agreement with them that their mercenary force should be turned over to him if he had any need of it. And when his sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, before he had himself reached Tegea he sent to the commander of the mercenaries at Cletor, gave them pay for a month, and ordered them to occupy Cithaeron in advance. Meanwhile he directed the Orchomenians to cease from war so long as his campaign lasted; indeed, if any state undertook an expedition against any other while his army was in the field, he said that his first act would be to go against that state, in accordance with the resolution of the allies.

After Agesilaus had crossed Cithaeron and had
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eis Ἡσπιάς ἔκειθεν ὀρμήθεις ἢε ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ὡθβαίων χώραν. εὐρῶν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταιρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδεωμένου ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἀριστούς ἐξάγων ἔδην τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμοι, ὅπου ἐπιφαινοῦτο ὁ Ἀγγείλαος, ἀντιπαρῆσαν αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακόματος ὣς ἄμυνοῦμενοι. καὶ ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατὸπεδοῦ, οἱ τῶν Ὡθβαίων ἰππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὦντες ἔξα πυγῆς διὰ τῶν ὄδωροι ῥέουμεν τού χαρακόματος ἐξόδων ἐξελάυνουσι, καὶ οίᾳ δὴ ἀπόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἰππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἰππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἑπικυνδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἑνα, Εὐδίκου, καὶ τῶν Ὡθβαίων τινῶς φυγάδας, οὕτω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τούς ἰπποὺς. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὄπλαίσις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγγείλαος, οἳ τε ἰππεῖς ἠλαυνοῦν ἐναρτίον τοῖς ἰππεύστι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἄβδομα ήθης ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν Ὡθβαίων ἰππεῖς ἐφύκεαν ὑποτετεκώσα τοῦ ἐν μεσημβρίας ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὅτε ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὐ. ἀναστρέφουτες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν 476
arrived at Thespiae, he made that his base of operations and proceeded against the country of the Thebans. When he found, however, that the plain and the most valuable portions of their territory had been surrounded by a protecting trench and stockade, he encamped now here and now there, and, leading forth his army after breakfast, laid waste those parts of the country which were on his side of the stockade and trench. For wherever Agesilaus appeared, the enemy moved along within the stockade and kept in his front, for the purpose of offering resistance. And once, when he was already withdrawing in the direction of his camp, the cavalry of the Thebans, up to that moment invisible, suddenly dashed out through the exits which had been made in the stockade, and inasmuch as the peltasts of Agesilaus were going away to dinner or were making their preparations for doing so, while the horsemen were some of them still dismounted and others in the act of mounting, the Thebans charged upon them; and they not only struck down a large number of the peltasts, but among the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas, who were Spartiatae, one of the Perioeci, Eudicus, and some Theban exiles, such as had not yet mounted their horses. But when Agesilaus turned about and came to the rescue with the hoplites, his horsemen charged against the enemy’s horsemen and the first ten year-classes of the hoplites ran along with them to the attack. The Theban horsemen, however, acted like men who had drunk a little at midday; for although they awaited the oncoming enemy in order to throw their spears, they threw before they were within range. Still, though they turned about at so great a distance, twelve of them were killed. But
41 δώδεκα. ὡς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγυσίλαος ὅτι ἂεὶ μετ’ ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἁμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγεν ὡς οὖν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρῆλθε δὲ ἐρημίας ἐσῳ τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτίθηκε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν ἀρμοστὴν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους διήκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.

42 ἢκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπτων μὲν ληστήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Ἐθβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργητο τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ’ αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύουσι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπει δ’ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖσι προσκείμενοι οὐδαμοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάζωσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὡστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι μᾶλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολῆς βάττων τὴν ἀποχωρήσῃ ἐποιούντο, καὶ οἱ ὅρκοκοί δὲ ἀπορριπτοῦντες δὲν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαυνον οίκας. οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τὸ στρατεύματι ἐνεπεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἑρασίως ἔπεκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐχὼν τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ’ ὅπλιτοι ἐν τάξει ἔπεσαν κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδα ἐγένετο τροπὴ τῶν ἄνδρων ποιήσασθαι αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἔρρωμεν ἡγείτο, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπεσθαί τῶν ἄνδρων παρεκελεύστη, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Ἐθβαίων ἰππεῖς ἐπὶ νάτῃ ἄδιαβάτῳ ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἡθροίσθησαν, ἐπειτα δὲ
when Agesilaus had noted that it was always after breakfast that the enemy also appeared, he offered sacrifice at daybreak, led his army forward as rapidly as possible, and passed within the stockade at an unguarded point. Then he devastated and burned the region within the enclosure up to the walls of the city. After doing this and withdrawing again to Thespiae, he fortified their city for the Thespian. There he left Phoebidas as governor, while he himself crossed the mountain again to Megara, disbanded the allies, and led his citizen troops back home.

After this Phoebidas plundered the Thebans by sending out bands of freebooters, while by making raids he devastated their land. The Thebans, on their side, desiring to avenge themselves, made an expedition with their entire force against the country of the Thespian. But when they were within the territory of Thespiae, Phoebidas pressed them close with his peltasts and did not allow them to stray at any point from their phalanx; so that the Thebans in great vexation proceeded to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced, and their mule-drivers also threw away the produce which they had seized and pushed for home; so dreadful a panic had fallen upon the army. Meanwhile Phoebidas pressed upon them boldly, having with him his peltasts and giving orders to the hoplites to follow in battle order. Indeed, he conceived the hope of putting the Thebans to rout; for while he himself was leading on stoutly, he was exhorting the others to attack the enemy and ordering the hoplites of the Thespian to follow. But when the horsemen of the Thebans as they retired came to an impassable ravine, they first gathered together and then turned to face him, not knowing
ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπη διαβαίνειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὅλιγοι οντες οἱ πρῶτοι φωβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἐφυγον. οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς αὐ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἡ τρεῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἐφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κακεῖνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Οὐβαίοις, ἐφυγον, οὐδὲν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἣδη ὅψε. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὐ τὰ τῶν Οὐβαίων ἀνεξωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιὰς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μὲντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Οὐβαίας ἀπεχώρησεν. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστείαι καθειστήκεσαν, ὀσπερ ἐν Οὐβαίαις ὡστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῦταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τῶν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς Θεσπιὰς ἐφύλαττον.

47 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐστὶ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἐφαινον φρουράν οἱ ἐφοροὶ εἰς τὰς Οὐβαίας, καὶ τοῦ Αγησιλάον, ἦπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἤγείσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ψαυτᾶ ἁγιώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιώις πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς
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where they could cross. Now the peltasts were few in number; the foremost of them were therefore seized with fear of the horsemen and took to flight; but when the horsemen, in their turn, saw this, they applied the lesson they had learned from the fugitives and attacked them. So then Phoebidas and two or three with him fell fighting, and when this happened the mercenaries all took to flight. And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of the Thespians, these also, though previously they had been quite proudly confident that they would not give way before the Thebans, took to flight without so much as being pursued at all. For by this time it was too late in the day for a pursuit. Now not many of the Thespians were killed, but nevertheless they did not stop until they got within their wall. As a result of this affair the spirits of the Thebans were kindled again, and they made expeditions to Thespiae and to the other cities round about them. The democratic factions, however, withdrew from these cities to Thebes. For in all of them oligarchical governments had been established, just as in Thebes; the result was that the friends of the Lacedaemonians in these cities were in need of aid. But after the death of Phoebidas the Lacedaemonians merely sent over by sea a polemarch and one regiment, and thus kept Thespiae garrisoned.

When the spring came, however, the ephors again called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before, requested Agesilaus to take command. Now since he held the same views as before about invading Boeotia, he sent to the polemarch at Thespiae before even offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him

1 i.e. formerly; cp. § 1. 2 See § 36 above.
κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα ὀδὸν ἀκρον καὶ φυλάττειν, ἐως ἄν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ. ἔπει δὲ τούτῳ ὑπερβαλῶν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιᾶς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποίησατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπίας πρῶτον ἵναι, καὶ πέμπων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς προσβείας ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὡστε οἱ Θηβαίοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν πρὸς Θεσπίων ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς. καὶ ὃς στρατεύματι δυνών ἡμέραιν ὄδων ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσασ, ἐφθασεν ὑπερβάς τὸ κατὰ Σκωλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν εἰσήλθεν. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἐως τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδήμου μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίως· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Τπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆλε ἐν ἀριστερὰ ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ Γραῦς στήθει, ὅπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι ἑνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ ἐπιείκῳς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκεῖνους μὲν ὅπως ἦγεν, ἐπισημώνας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἤπει. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαίοι δεῖλαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν, ἀπολιπόντες ἐνθά παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ 482
to occupy in advance the summit overlooking the road which leads over Cithaeron and to guard it until he himself arrived. And when he had passed this point and arrived at Plataea, he pretended that he was again going to Thespiae first, and sending thither he gave orders that a market should be made ready and that the embassies should await him there; so that the Thebans guarded strongly the pass leading from Thespiae into their country. But on the following day at daybreak, after offering sacrifices, Agesilaus proceeded by the road to Erythrae. And after accomplishing in one day a two days' march for an army, he passed the line of the stockade at Scolus before the Thebans returned from keeping guard at the place where he had entered on the previous occasion. Having done this, he laid waste the region to the east of the city of the Thebans, as far as the territory of the Tanagraeans; for at that time Hypatodorus and his followers, who were friends of the Lacedaemonians, still held possession of Tanagra. After this he proceeded to retire, keeping the wall of Tanagra on his left. Meanwhile the Thebans came up quietly and formed in line of battle against him on the hill called Old Woman's Breast, with the trench and the stockade in their rear, believing that this was a good place to risk a battle; for the ground at this point was a rather narrow strip and hard to traverse. When Agesilaus observed this, he did not lead his army against them, but turned aside and proceeded in the direction of the city. The Thebans, on the other hand, being seized with fear for their city, because it was empty of defenders, abandoned the place where they were drawn up and hurried toward the city on the run, by the road
ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνίας ὅδὸν. ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησίλαος, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν ὦμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Ὡθβαίων ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὡστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἰς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοινοθείς δόρατι ὦμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Ὡθβαίοι. ὡστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρῖται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἐπαίων τους τελευταίους τῶν Ὠθβαίων παρελαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὡς μέντοι ἐγνύοντο τοὺς τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφονσιν οἱ Ὡθβαίοι. οἱ δὲ Σκιρῖται ἱδόντες αὐτοὺς θάττων ἡ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανεν μὲν οὖν δὲ αὐτῶν ὦμως δὲ οἱ Ὡθβαίοι τροπαίων ἐστήσαντο, ὧτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. οἱ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὁρὰ ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐνθαπέρ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ’ ὕστερα ἀπῆγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιᾶς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθοῦντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Ὡθβαίοις, καὶ τῶν Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλοῦντων, ὧτι οὐκ ἦκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἦδη γὰρ κατὰ τός ὄρκους συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξαν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀρθίων, καθάπερ ἥκολούθων, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μᾶλα πολλοὺς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἀναντές εὐηλατον ἀλίσκουται πεζοὶ ὑφ’ ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγένετο ὁ
HELLENICA, V. iv. 51–55

which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. 377 B.C. And it really seemed that Agesilaus’ expedient proved a clever one, for though he led his army directly away from the enemy, he caused the latter to retire on the run, and while the enemy ran past, some of his polemarchs with their regiments nevertheless succeeded in charging upon them. The Thebans, however, hurled their spears from the hill-tops, so that Alypetus, one of the polemarchs, was struck and killed; but in spite of that the Thebans were put to flight from this hill also. Consequently the Sciritans and some of the horsemen climbed the hill and showered blows upon the hindmost of the Thebans as they rushed past them toward the city. As soon as they got near the wall, however, the Thebans turned about; and the Sciritans, upon seeing them, fell back at a faster pace than a walk. Now not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because after climbing the hill the Sciritans had retired. As for Agesilaus, when it was time for him to do so, he withdrew and encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespiae. But since the peltasts who were mercenaries in the service of the Thebans clung boldly at his heels, and kept calling out to Chabrias because he was not doing the same, the horsemen of the Olynthians—for they were now serving with the Lacedaemonians in accordance with their sworn agreement—wheeled about and, once in pursuit of the peltasts, chased them on up a slope and killed very many of them; for when going up a hill where the riding is good foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen.
Αγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρὼν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἄποκτειναι τοὺς ἑναντίους, ὡν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὔκ ἔπετρεψε· διαλ-λάξας δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅρκους ὁμόσαι ἀλλήλους ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κίθαι-ρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οὐκαδείς ἀπήγαγε.

56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σῖτον διὰ τὸ δυνών ἑτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυνὼν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασᾶς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρείον, ἐν φι ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συμεωνοῦντο, ἐπιληφόσατο τριεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεῖς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγαγε σῖτον, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξωγρησεν οὔκ ἔλαττος δόντας ἡ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἰρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει, οὕτε αὐτὸς ἐσκήνων. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τῶν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἐφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε καγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγρυόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμαλώτων τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται: ὡστ' εὑπόρως ἢδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

57 Ἐποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἱρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπτῆς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγαγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις

1 Omitted in the MSS, except C: Kel. brackets.
Now when Agesilaus had arrived at Thespiae, finding that the citizens were involved in factional strife, and that those who said they were supporters of Lacedaemon wanted to put to death their opponents, of whom Menon was one, he did not allow this proceeding; but he reconciled them and compelled them to give oaths to one another, and then, this being accomplished, he came back again by way of Cithaeron, taking the road leading to Megara. From there he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home.

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want of corn, because they had got no crops from their land for two years; they therefore sent men and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving them ten talents. But while they were buying up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes, taking care that the fact should not be reported. And when the corn was on its way from Pagasae, Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three hundred in number. These men he then shut up in the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters. Now since, as the story ran, there was a boy of Oreus, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in attendance upon him, Alcetas went down from the Acropolis and occupied himself with this boy. Accordingly the prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that thereafter the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily.

As the spring came on again, Agesilaus was confined to his bed. For when he was leading his army back from Thebes, and, in Megara, was
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ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ὑγροῦται ὅποια ἤδη φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρητι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ύγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κυήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὁδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιος τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὥσ δὲ ἀπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρηκτα τε καὶ ἕμεραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἔδυναντο σχῆν τὸ ἰεῦμα πρὶν ἐμποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομμεθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἤρρῳστει τὸ τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Ὅι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνωι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλέομμβροτον ἤγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρώνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὡς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀδοῦ. Ὑηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν ἐκὼν αὐτοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτῳ δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλέομμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίζει τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὑηβαίων, ἀπήγε τε καὶ διήκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαιμονα, λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τοῖς μαλακίαις καταπριβήσοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξείναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν

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1 ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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ascending from the Aphrodisium to the government building, some vein or other was ruptured, and the blood from his body poured into his sound leg. Then as the lower part of his leg became immensely swollen and the pain unendurable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at his ankle. But when once the blood had begun to flow, it ran night and day, and with all they could do they were unable to check the flow until he lost consciousness; then, however, it stopped. So it came about that after being carried back to Lacedaemon he was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter.

The Lacedaemonians, however, when spring was just beginning, again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command. Now when he arrived at Cithaeron with the army, his peltasts went on ahead for the purpose of occupying in advance the heights above the road. But some of the Thebans and Athenians who were already in possession of the summit allowed the peltasts to pursue their ascent for a time, but when they were close upon them, rose from their concealment, pursued them, and killed about forty. After this had happened, Cleombrotus, in the belief that it was impossible to cross over the mountain into the country of the Thebans, led back and disbanded his army.

When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that, through slackness in prosecuting the war, they were going to be worn out by it. For they said it was within their power to man far more ships than the Athenians had and to capture their city by starvation;

1 See iii. iii. 3 and note.
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αὐτῶν ἐξεῖναι δ’ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναοῖς καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ Κρεύσιος. ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἔξηκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπιλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ’ αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐφεύσθησαν οἱ ταύτα γυνότες, ἀλλ’ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπολειορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῖς ναυτικοῖς ἄντος τοῦ Δακεδαίμονος περὶ τὸν Αἰγιναν καὶ Κέων καὶ Ἀνδρον. γυνότες δ’ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναύς καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγομένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος

toίς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Δακεδαίμονῶν στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βουωτούς, ἐδείθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίζοντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἐσεῖθαι τοῖς Δακεδαίμονοις ἀμα μὲν τὴν ἐαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἃμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἃμα δὲ στράτευµα

diaβιβάζειν ἵκανον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι μέντοι ὅργιζομενοι τοῖς Δακεδαίμονοις διὸ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔρχον, προθύμως ἔξεπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξῆκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἐλόμενοι. ἀτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὐτ’ ἐν ὧς Κλεόμβροτος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐτεθεὶ οὐτ’ ἐν ὧς Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασεῖς δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιοικίδας.
and it was also within their power to transport an army across to Thebes in these same ships, steering for Phocis if they chose, or, if they chose, for Creusis. Influenced by these considerations they manned sixty triremes, and Pollis was made admiral of them. And those who had conceived these views were not disappointed, for the Athenians were in fact as good as besieged; for while their corn ships got as far as Gerastus, they would not now venture to sail along the coast from that point, since the Lacedaemonian fleet was in the neighbourhood of Aegina, Ceos, and Andros. Then the Athenians, realizing the necessity that was upon them, went on board their ships themselves, joined battle with Pollis under the leadership of Chabrias, and were victorious in the battle. Thus the corn was brought in for the Athenians. Again, while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to transport an army across the gulf to proceed against the Boeotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to send an expedition around Peloponnesus, believing that if this were done it would not be possible for the Lacedaemonians at one and the same time to guard their own country and likewise the allied cities in their neighbourhood, and also to send across an army large enough to oppose themselves, the Thebans. And the Athenians, angry as they were with the Lacedaemonians on account of Sphodrias’ act, did eagerly dispatch the expedition around Peloponnesus, manning sixty ships and choosing Timotheus as their commander. Now since the enemy had not invaded the territory of Thebes in the year when Cleombrotus was in command of the army and did not do so in the year when Timotheus made his voyage, the Thebans boldly undertook expeditions against the
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64 πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. ὃ μέντοι
Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι ἕμπραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. ξέ
δὲν τὰς περὶ ἑκείνα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας
65 ἔσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Δακεδαϊμόνιοι ναῦτικοί, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασύν ἄνδρα, ἔσπεμψαν· ὅς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμο-
θέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καὶ περὶ ἐξ ἑων αὐτῶ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιώτιδων, ἄλλα πέντε καὶ
πεντήκοντα ἑων ναῦς ἥχηκοντα σύστας ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναμάχησε. καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἡττήθη, καὶ
τροπαίων ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ.
66 ὁ δὲ ἀνελκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου ναῶν καὶ
ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παραγένοντο αὐτῷ ἀι
Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἔς τριήρεις ἔπι τὴν Ἀλύζειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἐνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἄν-
ανήγα, τροπαίων αὐτὸ κάκεινος ἔστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγκυτάτω νῆσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἐς τε ἔχου
ἐπεσκέύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώ-
σατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομή-
κοντα, πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῆ χρήματα μέν-
tοι μετεπέμπτε τῷ Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδείστο, ἀτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἑων.
neighbouring cities of Boeotia and recovered them a second time. As for Timotheus, after he had sailed round Peloponnesus he brought Corcyra at once under his control; he did not, however, enslave the inhabitants or banish individuals or change the government. As a result of this he made all the states in that region more favourably inclined to him. The Lacedaemonians, however, manned a fleet to oppose him, and sent out Nicolochus, a very daring man, as admiral; and as soon as he sighted the ships under Timotheus, he did not delay, even though six of his ships, those from Ambracia, were not with him, but with fifty-five ships he joined battle with those under Timotheus, which numbered sixty. And at that time he was defeated, and Timotheus set up a trophy at Alyzeia. But when the ships of Timotheus had been hauled up and were being refitted, and meanwhile the six Ambraciot triremes had joined Nicolochus, he sailed to Alyzeia, where Timotheus was. And since the latter did not put out against him, he in his turn set up a trophy on the nearest islands. When, however, Timotheus finished refitting the ships which he had and had manned, besides, others from Corcyra, the whole number of his ships now amounting to more than seventy, he was far superior to the enemy in the size of his fleet. But he kept sending for money from Athens; for he needed a great deal, inasmuch as he had a great many ships.
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
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1889

William Heinemann.
New York 3 - G. P. Putnam’s Sons.
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