XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

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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...
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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 MSS., B, and in preserving correct spellings where the MSS. are in error. It includes portions of the first book, and is designated II.

2.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

(a) Complete Works of Xenophon.

ALDUS : Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
STEPHANUS, II. : Geneva, 1561, 2 vols
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

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


(b) Separate Editions of the Hellenica.

Grosser, R.: Gotha (Perthes), 1885-93, 3 vols.
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.
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Α

1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἥμεραις ὑστεροῦν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ταύς ὁλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐθές Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἤγουμένου 'Αγγανδρίδου.

2. Μετ' ὁλίγου δὲ τούτων Δωριέως ὁ Διαγόρος ἐκ 'Ρόδου εἰς Ἐλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἄρχομένου κειμόνοις τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσίν ἄμα ἥμερα. κατιδὼν δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠμεροσκόποις ἐσήμην τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπὶ αὐτού εἰκοσι ναυσίν, ὡς ὁ Δωριέως φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαξε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς ἦνοιχε, περὶ τὸ

3. 'Ροίτειον, ἑγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδουν πρὸς τὸ ἅλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.

4. Μῦδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύου τῇ Ἀδηνῆ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς εαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὡς οἷς 5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι

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

BOOK I

I. After this,¹ not many days later, Thymochares 411 B.C. 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 Diagoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher described 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 Rhoeteum. 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 hurrying 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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

άνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περί Ἀβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἧνα μέχρι δείλης εξ ἐωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισ.
6 πλεῖ δυνῶν δεούσας εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ φυγῇ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδον καὶ ὁ Φαριάβαζος παρεβοήθηκε, καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ὦπῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατῶν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ
7 ἵππευσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναυς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναύς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἂς αὐτοῖ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι,
8 εἰς Σηστοῦν. ἐντεύθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἀλλαὶ ἀλλη ψχοντο ἐπ’ ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὄν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπλευσε ταύτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.
9 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐλλη-
σπόντου ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἰρξέν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα
10 πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίων. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ύστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ὥπῳ εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρουσαν εἰς Κλαμομενάς.
11 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναίοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίν-
δαρον πλείων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσίν ἐξή-

1 εξ ἐωθινοῦ MSS.: Kel. bracketa.
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 Mindarus was planning to sail against them with
κοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἤκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαξομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες εἰς Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἰνεὶ εἰς Κύκικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἠλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλείων ἐκέισε ἐκέ- λευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἦδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἔπεισπλεῖ Θηρα- μένης εἰκοσι ναυσίν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἰκοσι ἑτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφό- τεροι ἤργυρονοικότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἑξελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἑστὶν αὐτὸς ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον. ἔθροας δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἀπασαὶ ἐν Παρίῳ ἐς καὶ ὄργυ- κοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὄραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόπ- νησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶν καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν ὅν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἤμειναν, τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶν καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζο- μαχεῖν καὶ τείχομαχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἐφη, χρήματα ἢ μίν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμιοις ἄφθονα παρὰ 15 βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραιᾷ, ἐπειδὴ ὤρμϊσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξε τε, ὅσ ἂν ἀλι- σκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν 16 ξημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασά
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, 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."
μενος ώσ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαιν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον οὔτος πολλῷ. ἐπειδῆ δ’ ἐγγὺς τῆς Κύζικον ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορὰ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πάρρῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπευ-
λημένας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἔξηκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἱδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριή-
ρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἡ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τὸ λιμένι, ἐφηγοῦν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνορ-
mίσαντες τὰς ναūς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέοντι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν 
περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἤδων δὲ ὁ Μίν-
dαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάσεν ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος 
ἀπέθανεν. οἱ δὲ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφηγοῦν. τὰς 
δὲ ναὺς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι χόντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς 
Προκόπησον πλῆν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκεῖνας δὲ 
αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.

Εκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑπεραία ἐπλευν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι 
ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κύζικην τῶν Πελοπο-
nήσιων καὶ Φαρισάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέ-
χοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μεῖνας 
αὐτοῦ εἴκοσις ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν 
παρὰ τῶν Κυζίκην σύνδέων ἀλλοι κακὸν ἐργασά-
μενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπετελευσεν εἰς Προκόπησον. 
ἐκεῖθεν δ’ ἐπελευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν.

καὶ Περίνθου μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἀστυ τὸ 
στρατόπεδον. Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, 
χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐνεπείδθεν δ’ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς 
Καλαχοῦνας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτῇν, 
καὶ δεκαετήριον κατέσκεψαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ 
τῇν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοῖων

8
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 στρατηγὸν δύο, Ὀηραμένην καὶ Ἐὔμαχον, τοὺς τε χορίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεοντῶν πλοίων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο δύναντο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τῶν Ἐλλήσποντον ὕχοντο.

23 Παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα περιθέντα ἐώλωσαν εἰς 'Αθήνας λέγοντα τάδε: 'Ἐρρεῖ τὰ κάλα. Μινδαρος ἀπεσσάα. πεινώντι τόνδρες.

24 ἀπορίας τί χρὴ δράν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελεύσαμεν μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἕνεκα εὐλογιῶν, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἐὼς ἀν τὰ σώματα σῶλα ἦ, ἰμάτιον ἕδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυνὸν μηνοῖς, καὶ ὅπλίσας τοὺς ναῦτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριπλάρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήμερας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσα ἐκαστοὶ ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματα τε διδοὺς καὶ ὅλην εἰ τῆς Ἰνδής

25 κομίζεσθαι φράξων. ναυπηγομένων δὲ οἱ Συρακοσίοι ἁμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἦρεσαν πάντων μᾶλλον. διὰ ταύτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολίτεια Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντανδρῷ ἑστὶ. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταύτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

26 'Εν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγκατάλειπεν τοὺς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοὺς οἰκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρα-
as a garrison thirty ships and two of the generals, 410 B.C. 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 Antandrians 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

1 The generals being of the oligarchical party in Syracuse.
τιωτας ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύσοντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορᾶν, ὡς ἄδικως φεύγοιεν ἀπαντεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον παρήγεσάν τε προθυμοῦσι εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ὡσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἀρχοντας, μέχρι ἀν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἱημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἀρχεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνηταί. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν εἰ δὲ τις ἐπικαλοῖται τι αὐτοῖς, λόγων ἔφασαν χρήναι διδόναι, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νεικίκητε καὶ ναις εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπτητοὺς γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γην καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσαν. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὔδεν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἐμείναν, ἔως ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοὶ, Δήμαρχος τ' Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριήμαρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς, ἔπαν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκοιται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἤβούλουσαν πάντας ἐπαλινοῦντες ἤδη δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἐρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπούθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὃν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστά-

1 §§ 27, 28 as the MSS.: Kel. inserts μεμνημένους...ὑπάρχουσαι after παραγγελλόμενα.

12
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 Menocrates, 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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tous καὶ τριημαρχῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπι-
βατῶν, ἐκάστης ἠμέρας πρὶν καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν
συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκήνην τὴν ἕαυτοῦ ἀνε-
κοινοῦτο ὃ τι ἦπειλλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν,
κακείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ
tοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τού-
tων Ἐρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
ηὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλευεῖν τὰ
κράτιστα. κατηγορήσασ᾽ δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν
Λακεδαίμοις Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντο καὶ
Ἀστυνόλου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικό-
μενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζου, πρὶν αἰτήσαι χρήματα
λαβῶν, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας
κάθοδον ἕξουσι τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
ἡκον οἱ διώδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον
καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

31 Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καρδὸν τοῦτον στάσεως
γενομένης ἐκπίπτοσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λά-
κων ἀρμοστὴς Ἑπεόνικος. καταιτιβεῖς δὲ ταῦτα
πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων
ἐφυγεν ἐκ Ἐπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος
ἡδροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἑξεπέμφθη Κρατη-
σιπίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χώ.

32 Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν
'Αθηναίων ὄντως Ἀγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομήν
ποιούμενοι πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἠλθε τῶν 'Αθη-
ναίων. 2 Θρασύλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ
τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντας
παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Ἀύκειον, ὃς μαχούμενος, ἄν

1 κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 τῶν 'Αθηναίων MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 After Ἀύκειον the MSS. have γυμνάσιον: Kel. brackets.
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 Astyochoos 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 Crate-sippidas 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 Thrasyllyus was in Athens, Agis made a raid from Decelea up to the very walls of the city; and Thrasyllyus led forth the Athenians and all others who were in the city and marshalled them beside the Lyceum,\(^1\) with the intention of engaging the enemy if they approached.

\(^1\) A gymnasion outside the walls.
προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἀγις ἀπήγαγε ταχεώς, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὁλίγοι τῶν ἔπὶ πᾶσιν ύπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναίοι τῷ Ἐρασύλλω διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ᾽ ἣ καὶ ἐγνήσιαν ὑπολίτας τε αὐτῶν καταλέξασθαι χυλίσως, ἑπεάς δὲ ἐκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.

Ἄγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας 1 ἰδὼν πλοία πολλὰ σῖτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέουσα, οὐδὲν ὀφελος ἐφ᾽ ἐναι τούς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἰργεῖν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσασι καὶ οθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοετάν κράτιστον τε εἰναι καὶ 2 Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον οἴντα Βυζάντιον πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδώνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.

δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθείσων νεών ἐκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχείων φυσεο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεών τρεῖς ἀπολλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ύπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν εἰνεά νεών, αἱ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοία διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ᾽ ἄλλαι ἐφυγόν εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.

Καὶ ὁ ἑμιαντός ἐληγεν, ἐν δὲ Καρχηδόνων Ἁρ- νίβα ἑγουμένων στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυρίας στρατιῶν αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.3

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 Thrasyllus 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 in to 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.
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II. Τὸ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, ὥς ἦν ἾΟλυμπιάς τρίτῃ καὶ ἐνευκοστῇ, ἔτι προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς ἐνίκα Ἔναγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Ἐυβότας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρον μὲν ὁντὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ Ἐυάρχητον, ἀρχοντὸς δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναίαις Εὐκτήμονος, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἔτειχισαν, Ὄρασυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακίσχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἁμα καὶ πελτασταὶς χρησόμενος ἐξέπλευσεν ἄρχομένου

2 τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμου. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείναις τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήν καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μελήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεύσι διεσπαρμένους ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλούς

3 ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἐκ Μελήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἐλαβοὺ ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τροπαίου ἐστησαν. τῇ δὲ ύστεραία ἐπέλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεύθεν παρασκευάσαμεν ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφώνα. Κολοφώνοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιουσίας νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυκίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σιτοῦ, καὶ κόμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρῦματα ἔλαβον καὶ

4 τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἄλλην λείαι πολλῆς. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὡν, ἐπεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἴδιας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐπείρων

5 χ. ἄ... Εὐκτήμονος 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.
II. In the next year—in which was celebrated 409 B.C. the ninety-third Olympiad, when the newly added two-horse race was won by Euagoras of Elis and the stadium 1 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 ἐνα μὲν ξανθὸν ἐλθειν, ἐπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Ὀράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλαττα τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππεὰς ἀπεστείλε παραγ ἐλλων πάσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον1 βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Ὀράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη ἥμερα μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολήν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησὸν ἀποβίβασας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεὰς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα τῆς πόλεως. ἀμα τῇ ἥμερᾳ προσήγε δύο στρατόπεδα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν Ἐφέσοιο οἱ τε σύμμαχοι, οὐς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἰκοσισενων καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων πέντε, αἰ ἐτυχον τὸτε παραγεόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαν μετὰ Ἑυκλέους τε τοῦ Ἡππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιαι δύο.2 οὕτωι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησῷ ἐβοήθησαν τοὺς δὲ τρεφάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτέιναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ωσεὶ ἐκατον καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτραύπτοντο. ἐφύγον δὲ κακεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ ἀντώλοντο αὐτῶν ως τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσοι τροπαίον ἐνταῖθα ἐστησαν καὶ ἑτέρον πρὸς τὸν Κορησῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Σελινούσιοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀρίστεια ἐδοσαν καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ἰδία πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ

1 eis Ἐφεσον MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 Σελινούσιαι δύο Kel. regards as corrupt.
came to the rescue. After this Thrasyllus 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, Thrasyllus 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 Eucles, the son of Hippon, and Heracleides, 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
Δει. Σελινούσιοι δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλέλει, καὶ πολιτείαιν ἔδοσαν.

11 Οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κακεὶ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.

12 ὀρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεούσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰς ἄναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ’ ἄλλας κατε.

13 δίωξαν εἰς Ἐφέσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Ῥώσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναίον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἄνεψιν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπλευσέν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπασά ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον.

14 Καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήει, ἐν ὦ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργάμενοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς οὔχ οὖντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ’ εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πάν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Ῥωσύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἤκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἀπαντεῖ Λάμψακον τειχίζουσι. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδον. Φαρνάβαζος δ’ ἐβοήθησεν ἐποίες πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ
Selinus had been destroyed,¹ they gave the rights of Ephesian citizenship as well.

As for the Athenians, after obtaining a truce and so 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 Thrasyllus 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 Thrasyllus; 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.
ηττηθεὶς ἐφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχου
tοὺς τε ἐπτέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλατῶν εἶκοσι καὶ ἔκα-
tῶν, ὃν ἦρχε Μέναιδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο.

17 έκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνεβήσαν οἱ στρατιώται
αὐτὸι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥσπαξῶτο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύ-
λου. ἐξήλθον δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ
χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασι-
λέως χώραν.

18 Τῶ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς
tὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστώτας ἐκ
Μαλέας ὑποσπόντους ἀφῆκαν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν
αὐτῶν καίρων καὶ ἐν Ἱρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχυίᾳ
Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων
πρὸς Ὀιτιαίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὡστε
αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ οὗτον πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ
Λακεδαιμόνος ἄρμοστῃ Δαβότη.

19 Καὶ ὁ ἐναντός ἐλημενος οὗτος, ἐν δ' καὶ Μῆδοι
ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες
πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῶ.¹

Π. Τοῦ δ' ἐπίωντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νέως
τῆς 'Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστήρος ἐμπεσόντος.
ἔπει δ' οἱ χειμῶν ἐλημεν, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφο-
ρεύοντος, ἀρχοῦτος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἐαρὸς ἁρχο-
μένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἶκοσίν ἔτοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρελη-
λυθῶντων,² οἱ 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον
παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα
καὶ Βυζάντιον ὄρμησαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο
πρὸς Καλχηδώνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας

¹ This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit.
note on i. 37.
² τοῦ ... ἐμπεσόντος and Παντακλέους ... παρεληλυθῶν
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 Coryphasium, allowing them to evacuate Coryphasium 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 Antigones 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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1 Coryphasium, or Pylos, had been in the hands of the Athenians since 425 B.C. It was garrisoned largely by Messenians and Helots.
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aiσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἀπασάν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Ὁρᾶκας ἀστυγέτονας

3 ὁντας. Ἄλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἶ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἐφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἄλκιβιάδης δ᾽ ἔπει ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένοις, ἀπετείχει τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τὸ στρατόπεδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατ-

tαν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἴον τῇ ἴν ξυλίνω

5 τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Δακεδαι-μόνιος ἀρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντι-

παρετάξαντο αὐτῷ. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβούθει στρατιά τε καὶ

6 ἱπποὺς πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὁρᾶ-

συλλος ἐμάχοντο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνων πολύν, μέχρι Ἄλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφυγον εἰς

7 τὴν πόλιν. άμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνά-

μένος συμμεῖξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμά-

των ἐγγύς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὐ ἴν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

8 ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὃχετο εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρώνησον χρήματα πρά-

ξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς

26
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. 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 Heraclceum 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.
Φαρνάβαζος υπέρ Καλχηδόνος είκοσι τάλαντα
dούναι 'Αθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ώς βασιλέα
9 πρέσβεις 'Αθηναίων ἀναγαγείν, καὶ ὥρκους ἔδοσαν
καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον ὑποτελεῖν τὸν
φόρον Καλχηδόνιοις 'Αθηναίοις ὁσοπερ εἰσέθεσαν
καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, 'Αθηναί-
ους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδόνιοις, ἔως ἃν οἱ παρὰ
10 βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἐλθοσίν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
tοὺς ὥρκους οὐκ ἔτυγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Ση-
lυμβρίαν ἥν ἐκείνην δ' ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον
ῆκεν, ἔχων Χερσονησίτας τε πανδημεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ
Θράκης στρατιῶτας καὶ ἑπτάεσ τείχους τρια-
kοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἅξιόν δεῖν κάκεινον
ομινύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι
ἐκ τοῦ Βυζάντιου ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη
12 ὀμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεινος αὐτῷ ὀμεῖται. μετὰ
ταῦτα ὀμοσέν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἱς Φαρνά-
βαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτη καὶ 'Αριάτει, ὁ δ' ἐν
Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτόλεμῳ
καὶ Διοτίμῳ τῶν τε κοινῶν ὥρκον καὶ ἰδία ἀλλή-
13 λως πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ὁμοῦν
εὐθὺς ἀπῆκε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευ-
μένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύξικον.
ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ 'Αθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλο-
kύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν
dὲ τούτοις 'Αργείοι 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, Philocydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus, and with them two Argives, Cleostatus and Pyrrlochus; ambassadors of the Lacedae-
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Πασιππίδας καὶ άτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ 'Ερμοκράτης, ἦδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακούσῶν, καὶ ο ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.

14 Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζαντίουν ἐπολιορκοῦν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἀκροβολίσμους καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἢν Κλέαρχος Δακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν αὐτῶ τῶν περιοίκων τινές καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχοι αὐτῶν Ἁλεξός Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχοι Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ός οὔδεν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἵσχυν, ἐπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδούναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ο ἀρμοστῆς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἄν τούτῳ ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἀπαντὰ ός ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἁλεξόω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μυσθὸν τε τῶν στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναύς συλλέξων, αἰ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἁλεξόποντῳ ἄλλαί 1 καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ύπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ 2 καὶ ἃς Ἀγισανδρίδας εἰχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὁν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαν ναυτηγηθείσαν, ἀθρόι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσα ὑποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.

18 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων, 3 Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Δυκούργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος,

1 ἄλλαί: Kel. inserts ἄλλη after it.
2 καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts after ὅπως.
3 Βυζαντίων: Kel. here inserts πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράποντον ἦσαν δε οἴδει.
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, Anaxicerates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. This
19 ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὑστερον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
diὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν εἰπὼν, ὅτι οὐ προ-
do悪い τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παῦδας ὅρων καὶ
gυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους. Ὁμόνιος ὃν καὶ
οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σίτου Κλέ-
αρχον τὸις Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταισι διδόναί
diὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολέμους ἐφ' εἰσέσθαι, ὅπερ
ἀργυρίῳ ἕνεκα οὔδὲ ἐβεί τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους·
20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες
tὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐρᾶκιον καλοῦμενον εἰσῆ-
γαγον τὸ στρατευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ
"Ελίξος καὶ οὗ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τοῦτων εἰδότες
ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἁγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
πάντῃ οἱ πολέμοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι
21 ποιήσαιες, παρέδοσαν σφὰς αὐτούς. καὶ οὕτωι
μὲν ἀπεπεμφθησαν εἰς Ἄθηνας, καὶ οὗ Κοιρατάδας
ev tῇ ὁχλῷ ἀποβαίνοντων ἐν Πειραιαῖ ἐλαθεν
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 ἔαρος πορευομένους αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα
ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ἐν τῷ Μεστοῖς καὶ οἱ
22 ἀλλοὶ ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων
πάντων ὧν ἐδέοντο πεπραγμένας ἐειν παρὰ βασι-
3 λέος, καὶ Κύρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

1 The MSS. add ὄνομα here: Kel. brackets.
2 ἄγγελοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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 Piræus, 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, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἑφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἐξουσαν, ἐν ἣ ἐνῆι καὶ τάδε: Καταπέμπτω Κῦρον

4 κάρανοι τῶν εἰς Καστωλῶν ἄθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἐστὶ κύριον. ταῦτ’ οὐν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα1 παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβηγμαί,

5 εἰ δὲ μη, οὐκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρνάβαζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μη οὐκαδὲ πω ἀποτείχθαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθη-

6 ναίοις μη εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατείχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτε μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτε δὲ οὐκαδὲ

7 ἀποτείχθαι, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν-

8 Αὐτοῦ τρεῖς ἴσσαι, ἐδείχθη τοῦ Κῦρου ἀφεῖναι αὐ-

9 τοὺς, φάσκων ὁμομοιόναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θύλαται, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀρισ-

10 βαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἑκέλευον· ό δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8 Ἀλκβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιω-

9 τῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἰκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὕθυς ἐπὶ Σάμου·

10 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἰκοσιν ἐπλευσε τῆς

11 Καρίας ἐς τῶν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ

12 συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἥκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον.

9 Ὀρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσίν ἐπὶ Ὀρά-

13 κῆς όχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὰ τέ ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς

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1 μὲν μάλιστα MSS.: μάλιστα μὲν Kel.
Lacedaemonians in the war. This Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea\(^1\) 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

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1 *i.e.* the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as contrasted with the interior of the Persian Empire.
Λακεδαιμονίων μεθεσθηκότα κατεστρέφατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὕπο τε τῶν πολεμοῦ καὶ
στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Ὑράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς κατέπλευσεν πρὶν δὲ ἥκειν
αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι στρατηγοὺς ἐἱλόντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Ὑράσυβουλον ἀπόντα,
Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης
d' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν
eἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν ἐϊκόσι, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ
Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν τῶν τριήρων, ὥς ἐπυν-
θάνετο Λακεδαιμονίως αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν
tριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἰκίκης κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ
πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἔπει δ' ἐώρα ἐαυτῷ εὔνοιν
οὐσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἤρημόνους καὶ ἰδία
μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν
eἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα τῇ Πλυστήρια ἤγεν ἡ πόλις,
tοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὶ τίνες
οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτηδείου εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ
πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὔδεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
οὐδενὸς σπουδαίον ἔργου τολμήσαι ἄν ἄφασθαι.
Καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὦ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
καὶ ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἡθροίσθη πρὸς τᾶς
μαῖς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἱδεῖν βουλόμενοι τῶν
Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες ἕνʼ οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἶν
τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπι-
βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττὸν ἐκείνου δυνα-
μένων μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ

1 In the MSS. λέγοντες is followed by ὅτι, and μόνος
(below) by ἀπελογήθη ὡς : Kel. brackets.
revolted to the Lacedaemonians, and especially Thasos, which was in a bad state on account of wars and revolutions and famine. Thrasyllus 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 (κλύνεων).
αὐτῶν ἰδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου αἷε τὸ κοινὸν αὔξουντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
tῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ. ἔθελον τοῖς ἐκάστην ἕμεραν ἰός ἰδε
ηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβάλλομενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ
dοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτῶν
15 ἑστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν φίλῳ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμη-
χανίας δουλεύων ἡμαθίᾳ μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς, κινδυνεύων αἰεὶ παρ’ ἐκάστην ἑμεραν
ἵπολέσθαι. τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ
συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν ὅρῶν ἐξαμαρτά-
νουσαν, οὐκ ἔχειν ὁπως ὑφελοὶ φυγῇ ἀπεργά-
μενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἰωνιπερ αὐτὸς ὅντων
εἶναι καὶνῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστά-
σεως· ὑπάρχει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν
te ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ
ἐλαττούσθαι, τοῖς δ’ αὐτῶ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις
δοκεῖν εἶναι οἴοιστερον 1 πρότερον, ὑπερτερον δὲ δυνα-
σθείσων ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ
μόνον λειψθέντας δὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπάσθαι ὑπὸ
tῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἑτέροις βελτίστως οὐκ ἔχουν
χρῆσθαι.
17 Οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν
μόνος αὐτῶς εἰη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὅντων τῇ πόλει
γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι 2 ἡγεμῶν καταστήναι.
18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθείς ἀπ-
ἐβαίνε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβοῦμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς·
1 τοιούτοις ... οἴοιστερ Μοῦνι: τοιούτοις ... οἴοιστερ MSS.:
tοιούτοις ... οἴοιστερ περιστέρειν μὲν Κελ.
2 κινδυνεύσαι Blaica: κινδυνεύσαι Κελ.: κινδυνεύσαι MSS.
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

19 ἐπαναστᾶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἔσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείσχαν. κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, ἕαυτοῦ δὲ ἄνεψιν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἶκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβάς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἰ τις ἀπτοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἠσβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὔδενος ἀντεπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἁν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρήθεις ἀπάντων ἤγεμόνων αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἷος τε ἄν σώσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον1 μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἁγόντων διὰ τῶν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἕξαγαγὼν τὸν στρατιώτας ἀπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χίλιους, ἰππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον, ναῦς δὲ ἕκατον. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρον ἀφεστηκίαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδος συνεπέμφθησαν ἠρμήμονι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοὶ.

21 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στρατεύμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας 2 εἰς Γαύριον ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐπέριψαν καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οὐ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαίον τε ἐστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας

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 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.
ήμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κύκείθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

V. Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαϊμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων Κρατησισπίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληθηκήνεις Δύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκείθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἐπλευσεν, ἐκείθεν δ` εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμεινε ναῦς ἑχὼν ἐβδομήχοντα μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἔπει δ` ἤκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτόν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Δακεδαϊμονος
2 πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τίσσαφερνος ἑλεγον ἢ πεποιηκὼς εἰ, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτον πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
3 γενέσθαι. Κύρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἡφι ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀλλ` ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν ἑχὼν δὲ ἤκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια: εὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλύτι, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρῆσθαι ἡφι, ὁ δ` πατὴρ αὐτὸ ἐδώκεν: εὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψεις ἐφ` οὐ
4 ἐκάθητο, οὕτα ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν. οἱ δ` ταῦτ` ἐπῆμον καὶ ἐκέλευσον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες δτι, ἂν οὕτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύται ἦπολείφουσι τὰς ναύς, καὶ μεῖν χρήματα ἀνα-
5 λώσει. ὁ δ` καλῶς μὲν ἡφὶ αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν δ` εἶναι παρ` ὃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δ` καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἑχούσας, τρίακοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστῃ νητ` 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.
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\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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\(^3\) 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.
6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οδε Λύσανδρος τότε μεν ἐσιώ-πησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἔπει αὐτῷ προπιὼν ὁ Κύρος ἤρετο τί ἄν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἴ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὄβολον προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἢν ὁ μισθὸς, πρότερον δὲ τριῶβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προσφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προεδώκεν, ὡστε τὸ στράτευμα πολύ προθυμότερον εἶναι.

8 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούστε ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύρον πρέσβεις διὰ τις σαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ σοὶ προσεδέχετο, δεσμένους τις σαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδον, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἐλλήνων μηδὲ οὔτες ἵσχυροι ὄσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες.

10 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἔπει αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέκτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὕσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἥσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτῶς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Ὑφράσυβουλον ἔξω Ἐλλησπόντου ἢκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσιν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῦν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς.

12 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ υἱῇ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νατίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἐσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτῶς τὰς πρόφρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλευ. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄλιγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτῶν, ἔπει δὲ οἱ
each ship, whatever number of ships the Lacedaemonians might wish to maintain. Lysander accordingly 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 himself 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 command 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 op. Thuc. 8. 46.
² On this incident see Plutarch, Alc. 35.
Λθηναίοι τῷ Ἀνιώχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείστοι ναυσὶ, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλειε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἔκαστος ἦνοιξεν. 14 ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναι ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι ο一个职业 ἐφυγοὺς ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐξωγρηθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαίων στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφέσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἰ τις θούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὠλίγῳ υπότερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡτόνα. 15

16 Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἰκῷ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐπειδὴ ἡγγύλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἵομενοι δι' ἁμέλειαν ταῖς καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγῶν έϊλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρώνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ

1 δὴ: Kel. here assumes a lacuna.
2 ἦνοιξεν MSS.: ἦνισεν Kel. 3 Ἡτόνα MSS.: Τέων Kel.
4 Λέοντα MSS.: Λυσλαν Kel.
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, Aristoocrates, Archestratus, Protonachus, Thrasylus, and Aristogenes. So Alcibiades, who was in disfavour with the army as well, took a trireme and sailed away to his castle 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.
τῆς Ἀνδροῦ σὺν αἰς εἴχε ναυσίν εἴκοσιν ψηφισμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς. Σάμων ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρὸν ἔπεμψαν

19 Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὕτως περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήρων Θουρίαν ἐλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνύρασι καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθηναίοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωρίεα, ὅντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ’ ἔτει εἰς τὴν Σάμου ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἡ ἐκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνου τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλήξετο.

20 Καὶ δ’ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν τριήρει καὶ πεξίς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχη μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεύομεν δὲ ἐπτὰ μῖνας. ¹

21 Β. Τῷ δ’ ἔπιοντι ἔτει, ὡ ἦ τε σελήνῃ ἐξελιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶς ἐν Ἀθηναίς ἐνεπρήσθη. Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθημησίν, ὁ Λακεδαίι

¹ This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 37.
² Ἐ... Ἀθημησίων 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\(^1\) of Athena at Athens was burned, Pityas being now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens—

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\(^1\) On the Acropolis. On its identity see D'Ooge, *Acropolis of Athens*, Appendix III.
μόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἢδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσιν
2 ἐτῶν 1 ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. δὲ
de παρεδίδου ὁ Λυσάνδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ
Καλλικρατίδα ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τοῖς παραδιδοῖ
καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νεικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκελεύσεν
ἐξ' Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα,
οὐ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν 'Αθηναίων νῆσες, 2 ἐν Μιλήτῳ
παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὀμολογήσεως θαλαττο-
3 κρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένοι δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυ-
pραγμονεῖν ἂλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλι-
kρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ
προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ 'Ρόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν
ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ
πάσας ἁθροίσας, οὕσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν,
pαρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.
4 καταμαθῶν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων κατα-
στασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετοῦν-
tων, ἄλλα καὶ διαθροοῦντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὁτι
Δακεδαίμονι ρεγίστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ 3
dιαλλάττευν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀντ' ἐπι-
tηδεῖων 4 γνωμομένων καὶ ἀρτὶ ἐξυιέντων τὰ
ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὡς χρηστέον εὗ 5 γη-
γυμνοσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάτης πέμποντες καὶ
ἀγνώτα τοῖς ἐκεί, κινδυνεύοιεν τέ 6 τι παθεῖν
dιὰ τούτο· ἐκ τούτου δὲ 7 ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγ-

1 καὶ . . . ἐτῶν is probably an interpolation. See crit.
note on ii. 1.
2 οὖ . . . νῆσε MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 τῷ: Kel. inserts ἄει after it.
4 ἀντ' ἐπιτηδεῖων Jacobs: ἀνεπιτηθεῖων MSS., Kel.
5 εὗ Cobet: οὗ 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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* τε inserted by Laves: Kel. follows the MSS., but brackets ἀπελποὺς ... τούτο. Other editors emend in various ways.
* δὲ MSS.: δὴ Kel.
καλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παροίτας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

5 Ἡμοί μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ ἐνετεὶ Λύσανδρος ἐνετε ἄλλος τις ἑμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βουλεῖται εἶναι, οὐ κωλὺν τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐγὼ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεῖς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἃν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αὐτιάζεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὠσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῶν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἰκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστώτα ἐνθάδε.

6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεὶν ἢ τοῖς οἰκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ᾽ ἃ ἤκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κὺρον ἦτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἄχθεσθεις τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεῖς καὶ εἰπὼν ἄθλωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἔλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἀν σωθῆ οἰκάδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον.

7 κακεῖθεν πέμψας τρίηρες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν.

8 Ἡμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκῃ τοῖς οἴκοι ἀρ- χοὺσι πείθεσθαι ύμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προβυμο- τάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκούντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλείστα κακὰ ἢδη ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τεπε-
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, toadyling 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
XENOPHON

9 θέναι. δεὶ δ’ ύμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστά τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακε- 

10 δαίμονος ἦκοσιν, οὐδ’ ἐγὼ ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἄξον-
tas, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττά ὤντα οἴχεται. Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνους θύρας φοιτᾶν ὁὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πέισαι. ὑπισχυοῦμαι δ’ ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἁγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὧ ἐκεῖνα προσδεχόμεθα χάριν ἄξιαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν 1 τοῖς 

11 βαρβάροις ὁτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτ’ εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ 

13 μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες ἐσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελ-

14 λόμενοι ἑδία. λαβὼν δὲ ταύτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδια-


dάμενος ἐπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μῆθυμναν 

13 πολεμίων οὕσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μη-

14 θυμαίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ᾿ 2 ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἄθηναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἤχοντων ἀττι-

κιζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ 

κράτος. τὰ μὲν ὦν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν 

οἱ στρατιώται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνή-

θροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ 

κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς 

Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἐφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἀρχοντος οὐδένα 3

1 δεῖξωμεν MSS. except V: δείξωμεν V and Kel.
2 ἀλλ’ MSS.: ἀτ’ Kel.
3 οὐδένα MSS.: οὐδὲν ἃν Kel.

54
ills at their hands. And you should as leaders 406 B.C. 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
'Ελλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δύνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθήναι. τῇ δ' υστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἔλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δούλα πάντα ἀπέδωσε. Κόνων δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχώντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἁμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖσε φύγοι.2 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσίν εὖ πλεούσισι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρομάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀριστοὺς ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων3 καὶ Ἐρασίνης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διόκων ναυσίν ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεῖς, ἡμαγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναύς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεόν, τετταράκοντα οὖσας, ὑπὸ τῶ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματα τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν. 'Ο δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σῖτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν

1 εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δύνατον Dindorf: εἰς τὸ κείνου (or 'κείνου) δύνατον MSS. Kel. follows the MS. reading, but brackets the phrase.
2 ὅπως... φύγοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 Λέων MSS.: Kel. regards the reading as corrupt. See on v. 16.
he was commander no Greek should be enslaved if he could help it. Accordingly on the next day he let the Methymnaeans go free, but sold the members of the Athenian garrison 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, sailed 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 harbour 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.
ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἁριστὰ πλεούσας δύο ἑπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἁρίστους ἑρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλών. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνείχων, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἔπει σκότος εἰή, ἐξεβίβασεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σίτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἦδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἐνιοῦ ἄνεπαύνοτο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἦ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου ὄρμησεν, ἢ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δὲ ἐφορμοῦντων ὡς ἐκαστοι ἠνοιγον, τὰς τε ἁγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι, ἐβοήθουσιν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἁριστοποιοῦμένου εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδώκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἀμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδησάμενοι ἄπιθηγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἄνδρασιν. ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τῆν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνοι πολιορκούμενοι δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὄρμισατο εἰς τὸν εὐριστὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεῦσας αὐτῷ ἐξάφυνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δὲ ἐφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλή.

1 ἠνοιγον MSS.: ἠνυτον Kel.
2 ἐγειρόμενοι MSS.: ἐπειγόμενοι Kel.
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.
Οί δὲ Ἄθναιοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολυ-
ορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἢκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν
ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ
ὄντας ἄπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ
πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα
ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰππεῶν
πολλοί. μετὰ ταύτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κα-
κεῖθεν Σαμίας ναύς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἦθροισαν δὲ καὶ
ἀλλὰς πλείους τῇ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες ἄπαντας,
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω ὠύσαι.
ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἡ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἐκατὸν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικράτιδας ἄκοινων τὴν βοή-
θειαν ἦδη ἐν Σάμῳ ὠδαν, αὐτοὺς μὲν κατέληπτε
πεντήκοντα ναὺς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ὑπεόνικον, ταῖς
dὲ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν ἀναχθεῖσ' ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο
τῆς Δέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέα ἄκρα.¹ τῇ δ' αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἄθναιοι δειπνοποιοῦμενοι
ἐν ταῖς Ἀργυνοῦσαις. αὐταὶ δ' εἰσίν² αὐτίον τῆς
Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ
τινῶν αὐτῷ ἔξαγγελάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἄθναιοι εἶν,
ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπίνασι προσ-
πέσου· ὑδρὸς δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ
dιεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἀμα
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπλείε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργυνοῦσας.
Οἱ δ' Ἄθναιοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ

¹ The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης: Kel. brackets.
² The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Δέσβου 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

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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.
ευωνύμω, παρατεταγμένοι δὲ. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἤχων ὤγείτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διο-
μέδωντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδωντα οἱ Ἐμβοι δέκα ναυσίν ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρα-
tήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἐμβοις ὄνοματι Ἰππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλαι ἴσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιόν κέρας 
Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτῶν Ὀρασύλλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέ-
tακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Δυσίας, ἵχων τὰς ἴσας ναύς, Ὀρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὖτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μηδὲ διέκπλουν διδοῖν χείρων γὰρ ἐπλευν. αἱ δὲ τῶν Δακέδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἴσαι ἀπασάν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλείν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιόν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας. 
32 'Ἐρμών δὲ Μεγαρέως ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδα κυβερ-
νῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἰ ἴση καλῶς ἔχων ἄπο-
πλεύσαν· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ 
πλεύσαν ἴσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Ἰ 
Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται1 αὐτοῦ ἄπο-
θανόντος, φεύγει δὲ αἰοχρόν ἐφ' εἰναι. 
33 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν,

1 οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται Blake: οὖ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκήται 
Kel.: οὐδὲν 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 taxiarchs,¹
also in single line; and behind these the three ships
of the nauarchs² 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 Proto-
machus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. The
ships were arranged in this way so as not to give the
enemy a chance of breaking through³ 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 circling³ 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 διέκπλωνς 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 περιπλωνς
the same object was accomplished by rowing
around the end of the enemy’s line.
πρώτον μὲν ἄθροι, ἐπείτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεῶς ἀποπεσῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἡφανίσθη Πρωτό-

μαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αυτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐνετέθεν φυγή τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ ¹ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν·

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέ-

πλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆσς πέντε καὶ ἐκκοίναυτοὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελο-

πονησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐνέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ

ἐξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Ὑπασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκνίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνθρώ-

πους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ᾽ Ἐπενίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμοῦσας. ταύτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἀνέμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκόλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος τροπαίων δὲ στησάντες αὐτοῦ ἡνίζοντο.

34 Τῷ δ᾽ Ἐπενίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξηγήσαν τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὦ δὲ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψαν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκ-

πλείν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὐθεὶς πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστε-

φανωμένους καὶ βοῶτας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νευίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

35 νῆσες ἀπολολασιν ἀπασάι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτοι ἐποίουσιν αὐτῶς δ᾽, ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνοι κατέπλεουν, ἔθυε

¹ πλείστων δὲ MSS.: πλείστων, 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 taxiarchs, 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,
τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τῶν στρατιώτας παρῆγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τὰ χρήματα 
σιωπῆ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοία ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον 
(ἢ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν 
ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγγειν εἰς τὴν 
Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρῆσασ. Κύων 
δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἶ τε πολέμου 
ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἀνεμὸς εὐδιάτερος ἦν, ἀπαν-
τήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ήδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν 
Ἀργυρουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑτεούκου. οἱ 
δὲ Ἀθηναίοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, 
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν 
διαπραξόμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

VII. Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς ἐπανεῖσαν πλὴν Κύωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ 
ἐἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν 
δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν 
καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν 
δὲ ἐξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέ-
δοντος καὶ Λυσίον καὶ Ἀριστοκράτοις καὶ Θρα-
σύλλοι καὶ Ἐρασίνῳ, Ἀρχέδημος ο τοῦ δήμου 
τῶτε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας 
ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασίνῳ ἐπιβολήν ἐπιβαλὼν 
κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἐλλησπόν-
του αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· κατη-
γόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ 
δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασίνῳ. μετὰ δὲ 
ταῦτα 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 Philocrates. 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, Thrasylus, and Erasinides,—Archedemus, who was at that time a leader of the popular party at Athens and had charge of the two-obol fund,¹ 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 τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμώνος. Τιμακράτος δὲ εἶπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρή δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθήναι, ἡ Βουλή ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ῥηρα-μενῆς μάλιστα, δικαίως εἶναι λόγον ύποσχεὶν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγοὺς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὖνεν ἄλλοι καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολῆν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον ἢν ἐπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν Βουλήν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὖνεν αἰτιώμενοι ἡ τῶν χειμώνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἐκαστὸς ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προτέθη σφίσει λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα δηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπει τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προσ-τάξανεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἄνδρῶς ἰκανοὺς καὶ ἐστρατηγικόσιν ἥδη, Ῥηραμένης καὶ Ῥασυβοῦλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις καὶ ἐπερ γε τινὰς δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως οὖνεν ἄλλοι ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἐφασαν, ψευσό-μεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμώνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρεῖχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολ-λοὺς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπειθοὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυάσθαι ἀνιστάμεθα: ἐδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν

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

1 A family festival, at which the members of each Athenian clan gathered together.
HELLENICA, I. vii. 7–10

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

3 A Board which had charge of condemned prisoners and of the execution of the death sentence.
XENOPHON

11 θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθήναι· ἐπιστέλ-λειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἕκα τον σωθῆ, ἀπαγ-γείλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἁνείλουσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους.

12 τὸν δὲ Καλλίζεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέαν Ἐυρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβοὰ δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐάσει τὸν δήμον πράττειν ὁ ἀν

13 βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψῆφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἦπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ἄφωσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὅχλος, καὶ ἡγαγκάσθησαν

14 ἀφιέναι τὰς κλῆσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινῶν οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τῶν νόμων, αὕτης Καλλίζεινος ἀναβὰς κατηγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἔβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ

15 φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὠμολό-γουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Ἔσοψίκουν ὦντος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἅλλ' ἦ κατὰ

16 νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Ἐυρυπτόλεμος ἐλέεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορῆσων, ὅ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαῖοι 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.
to the goddess.” ¹ 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 Euryptolemus, 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 Prytanes² refused to put the question to the vote in violation of the law, Callixeinus again mounted the platform³ 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,⁴ the son of Sophroniscus; and he said that in no case would he act except in accordance with the law. After this Euryptolemus 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

² i.e. the βῆμα.
³ On Socrates’ conduct at this time cp. Plato, Apol. 32 b and Xen. Mem. 1. i. 18.
καὶ ἑπιτιθείου καὶ Διομέδουτος φίλου, τὰ δ’ ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἢ μοι
17 δοκεί ἀριστα εἴναι ἀπάση τῇ πόλει. κατηγορώ
μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι μετέπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας
βουλομένους πέμπτειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ
ύμιν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Ἐρασιβοῦ-
λῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἕπτα τρίήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι
18 τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἰτα νῦν
τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδία ἄμαρτόν-
tων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ’
ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύσομενοι
19 κινδυνεύοσιν ἀπολέσθαι; οὐκ, ἃν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι
πείθησθε 1 τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν
μάλιστ’ ἀληθὴ πευκοεῖσθαι καὶ οὐ μετανοησάντες
ὑστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ
μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. συμβουλ-
λεύω δ’ υμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου
οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθήναι υμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἄδι-
kούντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἀν βούλησθε δίκη,
καὶ ἁμα πάντας καὶ καθ’ ἕνα ἐκαστον, εἰ μὴ
πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἢμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογησάσθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον
20 πιστεύοντες ἢ υμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἦστε δέ, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς
’ Ἀθηναίοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννονοῦ ψήφισμά
ἔστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, εἰ ὅτι τῶν τῶν
’ Ἀθηναίων δήμου ἀδική, δεδεμένον ἀποδικείν ἐν
τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικείν, ἀποθανεῖν

1 πείθησθε MSS.: πείθησθε 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 exceedinglly 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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

εἰς τὸ Βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθήναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον

21 εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ύμῶν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοι ἔστιν ἐκείνου περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἦ

22 τὴν ὁλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μῆ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύνοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐὰν τις ἡ τὴν πόλιν προδίδῃ ἦ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἄν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφήναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τοῦτων ὁποτέρω βούλεσθε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινεσθῶν οἱ ἀνδρεῖς κατὰ ἑνα ἐκαστὸν διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ὃ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐὰν τε ἀδίκειν δοκῶσιν εἀν τε μή, ἔτερον δὲ ἐν ὃ κατηγορήσαι, ἔτερον δὲ ἐν ὃ ἀπολογήσασθαι.1

24 Τοῦτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδίκοιντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δὲ ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὧν Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀπολούνται. ύμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐροκοῦντες κρίνετε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Δακεδαιμονίους τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νεικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τῶν νόμον.

1 ἐνδ... 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, 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.
XENOPHON

26 τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὖτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ύμεῖς διὰ ἄν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευ-θερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅσπερ Καλλίζεινος τὴν βου-λὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκείν μιᾷ ψήφῳ;

27 ἀλλ' ἵσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αὐτίον ὑντα ἀποκτεί-

ναίτε μεταμελήσαι δὲ ύστερον ἀναμισθῆτε ὡς ἀλγείνῳ καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἦδη ἐστὶ, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ' Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύσαι, εἶτα δ' Οἰνώνη προδίδοντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίους οὖσιν, ἐδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολο-γήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ τάλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προύθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ύμεῖς γε, ὡ 'Αθηναίοι, ἀλλ' ἕαυτῶν ὑντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὗς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάτ-

28 τουτες, ἀνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειράσθε.

'Επανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενήσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἄπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχιστὴν

1 ὑντας MSS.: ὑντες 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 Callixeineinus 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,¹ 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.
πλεῖν ἀπαντας. Ὁράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερ' ἄν ἐφι γενέσθαι, ἄν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναϊς ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκτω ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς: αὕτη ἀπασάι γίγνονται ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἐκάστην ναῖν τῶν ἀπολολωλιῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειψθέντων τριπάρχων ἦσαν καὶ Ὁρασύ-βουλος καὶ Ὑθραμένης, ὅς ἐν τῇ προτέρα ἐκ-κλησία κατηγόρεi τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἰκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἐπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ὑπε-χειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὶν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ὧ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλουτον κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπερ ἀμφότερων, ὅτι ο χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξιν ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οὐς εἰς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγών ἐπὶ καταδύσῃς νεὼς διασωθεῖς, ὃν κελεύσαντο τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως,
HELLENICA, I. vii. 29–32

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

5 παρεσκευάσαντο MSS. except F: παρεκελεύσαντο Kel. with F. 6 καὶ . . . ἀναρέσεως MSS.: Kel. brackets.
Τοιούτων οὐ πράξαντος τὰ προσταχθέντα.  
μὴ τοίνυν, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὁμοία ποιήσατε τοὺς ἦττημένους τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαῖων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγγόντες ἀντί τῆς ἀδυναμίας, οὐχ ἰκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμώνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα.  

Τάντα εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψῆφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας δίχα ἐκαστὸν ἢ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὥς μιᾶς ψήφω ἀπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτόλεμον ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὅκτω ὀντῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες εἰς καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οὔτινε τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς

1 ἃπερ ... προσταχθέντα condemned by Richter and others: retained by Kel. But τοῦς ... 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 A 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, ἐως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξεινον τούτων. προσβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὑστερον δὲ στάσεως τινος γενομένης, ἐν ἂν Kleofφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, ἀρνώνται κριθήναι Καλλίξεινὸς δὲ κατελθὼν ὡτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, 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).
I. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, ἔως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὦρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἄλληλοι καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἁρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα

2 ἄλληλοις μᾶθοιεν ὅπωσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἐτεονίκος, ἀπόρος μὲν εἰχε τι χρότῳ τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τὸ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἀν κρατήσωσι, τὸ τ᾽ αὐτὸ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας διαβολὴν σχοίνων καὶ οἱ

3 στρατιῶται δύσοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὅσιν ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἕντυχον τινὶ ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπίόντες ξυ

4 ἱατρεῖον, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν
I. The troops that were at Chios under Eteonicus 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.
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ο ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἴξε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτον πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ 5 ο ἀκούων δεδίως μὴ ὄφθειν ἑξών. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος συγκαλέσασθα τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι. οἱ δὲ εἰσήγησαν ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν προσιῶν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνε τε καὶ παρήμει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίου καὶ οἱ άλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἑνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπτεν εἰς Δακεδαῖμον πρέσβεις ταῦτα τὲ ἐροῦντας καὶ Δύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὗ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε 7 καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίω ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρον ταῦτα λέγοντες ἀγγελοῦ. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐδοξαν τὸν Δύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἀρακὸν οὗ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν Δύσανδρῳ, ἐτῶν ἦδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρελημθῶτων. 1

8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραίον, νιεῖς ὅτι τῆς Δαρείαν ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέσωσαν διὰ τῆς

1 ἔτων . . . παρελημθῶτων is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 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 χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἦ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἡ χείρις, ἐν ἡ τὴν χείρα
9 ἔχων οὐδὲν ἃν δύνατο ποιῆσαι. Ἡεραμένης μὲν ὦν
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν
ἐναι εἰ περιόγηται τὴν λίαν ὑβριν τοῦτον· ὃ δὲ
αὐτὸν μεταπέμπτεται ὡς ἄρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγ-
γέλους.1

10 ἂν ὁ ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύον-
τος, ἀρχοντὸς ὁ ἐν Ἁθήναις Ἀλεξίου,2 Δύσανδρος
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐπεόνικον
ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πώςας
συνήθροισεν, εἰ ποῦ τὶς ἦν, καὶ ταῦτας τῇ ἐπε-
σκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἁυτάνδρῳ ἑυαυτήγειτο.

11 ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ἦτει· ὃ δ' αὐτῷ
ἐπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλείως ἀνηλομένα εἰς,
καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἐκαστὸς τῶν

12 καὶ τὰ ταῦτα τριήρεις τρηπάρ-
χους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὄφειλόμενον
μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί πρὸς3 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ
Σάμῳ.

13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτων μετεπέμψατο Δύσανδρον,
ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤκειν ἄγγελον λέγων
ὅτι ἄρρωστῶν ἑκείνων καλοί, ὃν ἐν Ἐρμηνείᾳς

14 ἀφεστῶτας. ἦκοντα δὲ Δύσανδρον οὐκ εἰς ναυ-

μαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, εἰὼν μὴ πολλῷ πλείουσ

1 §§ 8 and 9 are probably interpolated. See crit. note on
2 ἐπὶ . . . Ἀλεξίου is probably an interpolation. See crit.
3 πρὸς MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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hands through the coré, an honour they show the King alone. (The coré 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,
ναύς ἔχη· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἐνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἦδοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἐδώκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὅσ᾽ ἐγένετο φίλις πρὸς τὸν Ἀπεκεκούσων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον· ἵδια, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

15 Λύσανδρος δ' ἔπει αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοῦσ· τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετα-πεμπτὸς ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῇς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχω ὅνομα Κεδρείας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ 2 κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ καὶ ἔξυπνοπώδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μεξο-βάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἶριδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁρμώ-μενοι τὴν βασιλείας κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἑπὶ τῆν Ἔχου καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλευον, καὶ παρεσκευά-ζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοῦς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχοντι προσεῖλοντο Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κη- φισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἶριδον παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπέλει πρὸς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἑπὶ τάς ἀφεστη-κυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγγειλον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθη- ναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐχου πελάγῳ η γὰρ Ἁσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δ' ἔξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλευεν εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον ὁδοίᾳ Ἀθηναίων καὶ

1 ὅσ MSS.: ἢς 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
о' Αβυδηνοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβάλοντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιώται οὕσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνου καὶ σιτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σῶματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ώρμίσαντο τῇ Χερ- 

rhoνήσου ἐν 'Ελαιοῦντι ναυσίν ὑγδοίκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταύθα δὴ ἀριστοποιούμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀνγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνῆ- 

χήσαν εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπιασισά- 

μενοί ἐπέλευσαν εἰς Λιγός ποταμοῦς ἄντιον τῆς 

Λαμψάκου· διεἰχε δὲ ὁ Ἐλλήσστοντος ταύτη στα- 

δίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταύθα δὴ ἐδειπνοῦσι- 

σύντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ, ἐπεὶ 

ὀρθάς ἦν, ἑσήμμενεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησα- 

μένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ώς 

εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παρα- 

βάλλων, προεἶπεν ὡς μηδείς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς 

tάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ 

ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῶν λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν 

μετώπῳ ώς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανή- 

γαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας όψὲ ἦν, ἀπέ- 

πλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Λιγός ποταμοῦς. Λύ- 

σανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν 

ἐπεσθαὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβώσι, 

κατιδόντας ὁ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶ 

ἐξαγγείλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν 

νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἤκουν. ταύτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας 

ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγγοντο. 3 Ἀλκι-

1 παρῆσαν MSS.: παρῆσαν Kel.
2 καὶ ... ἦν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
3 καὶ ... ἐπανήγγοντο MSS.: Kel. brackets.

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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.
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βιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τούς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὄρμουντας καὶ πρὸς οὕδεμα πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἐχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμήσαι εἰς Σηστοῦ παρῆνει πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν·

1 οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, όταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπίεναι αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν φρέτο.

26 Δύσανδρος δ’ ἐπεί ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεὶ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὶ πατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, τὰ τε συτία πόρρωθεν ὄνομάν τινι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Δυσανδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανήγειν, ἀποπλέουντας τούμπαλιν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἢ ἁραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ως ἐκέλευσε.

27 Δύσανδρος δ’ εὔθες ἐσώμην τὴν ταχύστην πλεῖον, συμπαρῆίς δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχουν. Κόνων δὲ ἱδὼν τὸν ἐπιπλοῦν, ἐσώμησεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροται, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἦ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἀλλαὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλῆρεις ἀνίχθησαν

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

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discern from his castle that the Athenians were 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
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άθροις καὶ η Ἐλλας πᾶσαι Ἀρσάνδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἀνδρὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγὸν εἰς τὰ τεῖχυδρια.

29 Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Ἀρμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτὸθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Ἀρσάνδρου νεῶν ἱστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὅκτω ναυσὶ ἀπέπλευσε παρ᾽ Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα ¹ τὰ γεγονότα. Ἀρσάνδρος δὲ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τάλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἦ δὲ ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἐπεμψε Θεόπορπον τοῦ Μιλῆσιον ληστὴν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὡς ἀφικόμενος τριταιος ἀπήγαγε. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἀρσάνδρος ἀθροίς τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐντάθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἂ τε ἦδη παρενεμομῆκεν καὶ ἂ ἐψηφισμένοι ἤσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ἱωρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὁτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δὲ ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ

¹ ἀπαγγέλλουσα BMD: ἀπαγγελοῦσα CFV, followed by Kel.
to sea in close order, and the Paralus \(^1\) 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.
καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁσὶν ἦσαν Ἀθηναίοι πλὴν Ἀδείμαντον, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἤτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινῶν προδοῦναι τὰς ναύς. Δύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὅσ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τι εἰς ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

Π. Ἐπει δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδη τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἐφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὦστερον δ᾽ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοι. Δύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰ τινὰ ποιν ἢδοι Ἀθηναίον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διὸς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέονσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλοθι δ᾽ οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσ ἀν πλείους συνλεγώσιν εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν, θάττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδειαν ἑσσαθαί. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενελασον ἀρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναύς ἐπεσκεύαξεν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλοιν ἀφικομένης ὕπεκτός ἐλέγετο η ὑσυμφορά, καὶ οἵμωγε ἐκ τῶν Πειραιῶν διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἀστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ἐτέρω παραγγέλλων ὡστ᾽ ἐκείνης

1 ὡς... κατεκρήμνισε MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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 ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐτί αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἰα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Δακεδαίμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαῖας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Λιγυνήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾷ ἐκκλησίαιν ἐποίησαν, εν ἦ ἐδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἕνος καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὕτω μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἔστησαν.

4 Δύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἐχοῦσα Ἐσονικον, δὴ τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Δακεδαίμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλᾶς ἀφειςτηκε 'Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων. οὕτω δὲ σφαγᾶς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. Δύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ὁτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσὶ. Δακεδαίμονιοι δ' ἔξησαν πανδημεί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Δακεδαίμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεί δ' ἀπαντεῖς ἡθροίσθησαν,

1 When Melos surrendered to the Athenians, in 416 B.C., the men who were taken were put to death and the women and children sold into slavery (Thuc. v. 116). The Aeginetans were expelled from their island in 431 B.C. Seven years later a large number of them were captured in their place of
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,\textsuperscript{1} colonists of the Lacedaemonians, after reducing them by siege, and upon the Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans and Aeginetans\textsuperscript{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.
ἀνελαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔστατοπέ- 
δευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ. Δύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικό-
μενος εἰς Αὐγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αὐγινήταις,
ὅσοις ἔδυνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὡς δ' 
αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς 
αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ δηώσας Σαλα-
μίνα ὀρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐγρε τοῦ εἰσ-
πλοῦ.

10 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ 
κατὰ θάλατταν ἦπόροιν τὸ χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεών 
οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον 
δὲ συνεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν εἰ μὴ 1 παθεῖν ἃ 
οὐ τιμωροῦμενεὶ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν 
ηδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὗτ' ἐπὶ μιὰ 
αἰτία ἐτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνους συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα 
τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, 
καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὔ 
thren λέγοντα περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παύτελώς 
ήδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελευστεὶ, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' 
Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Δακεδαίμονίοις 
ἐχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τος συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. δ' δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Δακε-
δαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵναν οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτὸς. 
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα. οἳ δ' 
ἐπεὶ ἤσαν ἐν Ἁρταίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Δακωνίκης 
καὶ ἐπὶ ὁμοῦ ὁ ἐφοροὶ αὐτῶν ἠ ἐλεγον, ὁντα 
οἰάτερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον

1 εἰ μὴ MSS.: Kel. brackets εἰ: τὸ μὴ Hertlein: μὴ οὐ 
Hartman.
2 Sellasia was in Laconia. Kel. accordingly brackets, after 
Cobet, πλησίον τῆς Δακωνίκης.
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,—
καὶ εἰ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν

βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία
ἐνέπεσε πάσιν· φοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεθαί,
καὶ ἔως ἃν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς
tῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τείχῶν τῆς
καθαρέσεως οὐδὲς ἐβούλετο συμβουλεύειν. Ἀρ-
χέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ Λακεδαίμονίοις 1
κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' ὦς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην
ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
tειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἐκατέρου
ἐγένετο δὲ ἴναι συμβουλεύειν.

16 Τοιοῦτων δὲ οὕτων Ἐθραμένης εἰπεν ἐν ἐκ-
κλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ
Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἢζει Μακεδαίμονίοις πότερον
ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέ-
χουσι περὶ τῶν τείχων ἡ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμ-
θεισι δὲ διετρίβε παρὰ Λυσανδρῷ τρεῖς μῆνας
καὶ πλείω, 2 ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμέλλον
διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενα τῶν σιτῶν ἥπαντα ὅ τι τις

λέγου ὁμολογήσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί,
ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος
tέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἰτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὄν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
ἄλλα τοὺς ἐφήρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἦρέθη πρεσβευ-

1 Λακεδαίμονίοις . . . προυκαλοῦντο MSS.: κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ'
oiς Λακεδαίμονίοι προυκαλοῦντο Kel.
2 πλείω MSS.: πλέον Kel.
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-
τῆς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτὸς
18 Δύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἑφόροις ἐπεμψε άγγελούντα
μετ’ ἄλλων Δακεδαίμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα
Ἀθηναίον ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίνατο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους
κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης
dὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἔπει δὴ ἦσαν ἐν
Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι ἔπει τίνι λόγῳ ἦκοιεν
εἰπόν ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα
οἱ ἑφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς. ἔπει δὴ ἦκον,
ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἢ ἀντέλεγον Κορινθίοι
καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
tῶν Ἐλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἄλλ’
ἐξαιρεῖν. Δακεδαίμονίοι δὲ ὦν ἐφασαν πόλιν
Ἐλληνίδα ἀνδραποδεῖν μέγα ἁγαθὸν εἰργασμένην
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κυνδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἐλλάδι,
ἀλλ’ ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ’ ὃ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη
καὶ τῶν Πειραιῶν καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν
dόδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας
tῶν αὐτῶν ἔχθρον καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Δακεδαίμονίοις
ἐπέσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
ὅποι ἂν ἤγονταί.
20
21 Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἔπει
ανέφερον ταῦτα εἰς τᾶς Ἀθήνας. εἰσióντας δ’
aὐτοὺς ὄχλοις περιεχέτο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ
ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὔ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ
22 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἄπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δὲ
1 ἐρωτώμενοι: Kel. assumes a lacuna before it.
Theramenes was chosen ambassador to Lacedaemon with full power, being at the head of an embassy of ten. Lysander meanwhile sent Aristoteles, 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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υστεραίᾳ ἀπηγγέλλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' ὦς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἐθραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρή. πείθεσθαί Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαρεῖν. ἀνειπώτερον δὲ τινῶν αὐτῶ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπανεσάντων, ἐδοξεί τε ἐκχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραία καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆκαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητριδῶν πολλῆς προθυμίας, νομίζουσιν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀρχεῖν τὴς ἐλευθερίας.

23 Καὶ οὗ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν δὲ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ο Ἔρμοκράτους Συρακοσίου ἔτυραν̣χε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἥττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἑλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιποῦντων τῶν Σικελιώτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

III. Τῶ δ' ἐπίστησάντες ἐτει, ὡς ἦν Ὀλυμπιᾶς̣ Στὰ στάδιαν ἦν ἠκούσα τὸ Θεσπαλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἰσαρχής ἴσπρήθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ ὁλιγαρχία ὡδε.

2 ἐδοξεί τῷ δημῷ τραίκοντα ἀνδρας ἔλεοσθαι, οὗ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγράφουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύοντο. καὶ ἱέθησαν οἶδε. Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μινησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Ἐθραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,

1 § 24 is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. i. 37.
2 ἦ... ἦδε is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on I. ii. 1.
3 τοὺς πατρίους MSS.: Kel. brackets.

II 2
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 described\(^1\)—it was voted by the people to choose thirty men to frame the ancient laws\(^2\) into a constitution under which to conduct the government. And the following men were chosen: Polychares, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hieron, Mnesilochus, 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.* Ἀθ. πολ. xxix. 17.
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Heíσων, Σοφοκλῆς, 'Ερατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Όνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχύνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, 'Ερασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, 'Αριστοτέλης, 'Ιππόμαχος, Μυσιθέη-

3 τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Δύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμων, Ἀγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τούτων τὸν καίρον περὶ ἡλίου ἐκλειψίν Δυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, Βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θεταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιομένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θεταλῶν, Δαρισάιοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πόλεις ἀπέκτεινεν.¹

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀρχηγοῦν Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὅλιγον δὲ καὶ Δεοντίνου Συρακοσίους συνοικούντες ἀπεστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονύσιου καὶ Συρακόσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱπτεῖς ὑπὸ Διονύσιου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.¹

6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμωι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Δυσανδροῦ πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλόμενων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὀμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἦδη ἐμμελλεν ὁ Δύσαν-

7 ὁτὼς ἔξηλθον. Δύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδόσει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνότα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἀρχοντας καταστήσας φρούρειν²

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 i. i. 37.

² φρούρειν MSS.: Kel brackets.
Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, 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 Larisaeans 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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ἀφικε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικῶν κατὰ πόλεις,
8 ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τά τοῖς αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλῆν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὕς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἴδια, καὶ ἄργυριον τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἀ περιεγένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὕς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἶ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.

9 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὅ εξάμηνος καὶ ὡκτώ καὶ ἕκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πόλεμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἐφοροὶ οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο, Λίνησίας πρώτος, ἐφ' οὗ ὦρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριάκοντατίδων σπουδών, μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἴδε: Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστράτιδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλής, Ζευξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλευστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Δέων, Χαιρίλας, Πτησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολαίδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Ἐνάρχιππος, Παντακλής, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἐνδίος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξεως τά εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν.2

10 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἠρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη: αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὠτε συγγράφησι νόμους, καθ' οὕστινας πολιτεύσοντο, τούτους μὲν ἑκεῖ ἐμελλόν συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύοι, βούλην δὲ καὶ

1 πλῆν δώδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 eis δ... κατέπλευσεν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on 1. 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, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chaerilas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, 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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tὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.

12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὐς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ
dημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς
calois κάγαθοις βαρεῖς οὔντας, συλλαμβάνοντες
ὕπήγον θανάτου· καὶ ἦ τε βουλή ἠδέως αὐτῶν
cατεψυχήσετο οἴ τε ἄλλοι ὅσιοι συνήδεσαν εαυτοῖς
μὴ ὄντες τοιούτοι οὐδὲν ἦχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρῴαντο
βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἀν ἐξείν αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει
χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν
πέμψαντες εἰς Δακεδαιμόνα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπείσαν Δύσαιδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι
συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἔως ὅτι τοὺς πονηροὺς ἑκατοντὸν
ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέ
ψειν δὲ αὐτοῖ ὕπισχυντο. ὃ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς
tε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἁρμοστὴν συνεπράξεν
αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν φρούραν ἐλαβ
βούν, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θερα-
τείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοὶ ἣ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ
φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβοῦ-
λοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ
ὀλίγον ἄξιοις, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὐς ἐνόμιζεν ἦκιστα μὲν
παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι
ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλουντας
λαμβάνειν.

13 14

15 16

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ ὃ Κριτίας τῷ Ἐθρα-
μένει ὁμογυνῶμοι τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶς
μὲν προπετῆς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἀτε
καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, τὸ Ἐθραμένης αὐτέ-
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 εἶκός εἰη θανατοῦν, εἰ τις ἐτεμάτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο. 'Επεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἐφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἄρεσκειν ἐνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπο-μεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ (ἐτί γὰρ οἰκεῖως ἔχρητο τῷ Ὀηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροῖ οἰς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιε-σθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν. Εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντα ἔσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἦττον τι οἶει ὦσπερ 1 τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἄρχης χρῆναι ἐπιμελεί-σθαι, εὐήθης εἰ. ἔπει δὲ ὑποθυσκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἤσαν συνιστάμενοι τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἐσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἰκα- νοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἐσοιτο τὴν ὀλυγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἢδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἤκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυκήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' ἀν Ὑηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοῦ ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν 2 βουλο-μένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, 3 ὦσπερ τῶν ἁριθμὸν τούτου ἔχοντα τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίος οὔτ' ἐντὸς

1 οἶει ὦσπερ MSS.: οἶει ἡ ὦσπερ Kel.
2 τὸ πρῶτον μὲν MSS.: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Kel.
3 τρισχιλίους MSS.: τρισχιλίους καταλέξαι Kel.
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 ποιηρούσι οίνον τε εἴη γενέσθαι: Ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὅρω ἐγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντίωτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἤττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.

20 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαχον, ἔπειτα κελέσαντες θέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα,1 ἐν ὃ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὀμογρώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀπλα πάντων πλήν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξον ἡδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἐνεκα ἀπεκτείνον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἐδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἐχοίει καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα δίδοναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀπο-

22 σημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευν δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βοῦλοιντο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἰων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνομεν; πῶς οὖ ταῦτα τῷ

23 παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδός νομίζουντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπι-

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1 θέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα Kan: ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα MSS., which Kel. retains, though doubtfully.
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 Lace-daemonian 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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βουλευόμουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδία πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διεβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τήν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τήν
24 βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἐλεξεν ὅδε.

'Ω ἀνδρεῖς βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ύμῶν νομίζει πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθυγήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται: πλείστοις δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστάσαι διά τε τὸ πολυανθρωπότατὸν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν
dήμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γρόντες μὲν τοῖς οἰόις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ύμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γρόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους τοῖς περισσώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δήμος οὐποτ' ἢν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἃν πιστοὶ διατελοίεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμη τῇ γε τὴν 25 πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ ἐὰν τις αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὡς ὦν δυνάμεθα ἐκποιῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἰ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτοῦ διδόναι.

26 Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανώμεθα Θηραμένην τοινύς οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἡμᾶς. 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, if
ταύτα ἀληθῆ, ἀν κατανοῆτε, εὑρίσκετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὔδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτού τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν
tοινύν εξ ἀρχῆς ταύτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμοις μὲν ἢν,
οὐ μέντοι ποιηρός γ' ἀν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο.

28 νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀρξας τῆς πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίων
πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου
catalύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ύμᾶς τοῖς
πρῶτοι υπαγομένοις εἰς ύμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι,
νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ύμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἔχθροι τῷ
dήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέ
skei, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ εὖ τῷ ἀσφαλεί καταστῇ,

29 ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὡστε οὖ
μόνον ὡς ἔχθρῳ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ώς
προδότη ύμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην.
καίτοι τοσοῦτοι μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου,
ὅσω χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ
φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτοι ὡς ἔχθιοι, ὥσω πολεμίοις μὲν
ἀνθρωποί καὶ σπεύδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστὸ γί
γνονται, ὅν ὧν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ
οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὕδεις οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε
τοῦ λοιποῦ.

30 "Ἰνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καὶνὰ ταύτα οὔτος ποιεῖ,
ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἔστιν, ἀναμνῆσο ύμᾶς τὰ
τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὔτος γὰρ εξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώ
μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγαμώνα,
προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-
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 Lacedaemonians; 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 ἐκείνωσ. ἔπει δ' ἢσθετο ἀντίπαλον τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὐ ἵγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπον καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσίν ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. τοῖς συνόντας, ἀν δὲ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὔθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐν νη διαπονείσθαι, ἔως ἂν εἰς οὐρὸν καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μῆ, πῶς ἂν ἀφικοιντό ποτε ἐνθὰ δει, εἰ ἐπειδὰν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντία πλέοιευ; καὶ εἰς μὲν δήπον πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτείων θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολον εἰναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ εξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δὲ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιώνων. οὕτως δὲ τοῖς ἐστίν ὃς καὶ ταχθεῖς ἀνελέοθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας. Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Δέσβων ναμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὄμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦς, ἢν αὐτὸς περισσωθεῖ. "Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰὲ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ

1 καὶ ... 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.
τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὃς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταύτῳ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἥμεις οὖν τούτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὃς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὃς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

34 ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐνυοῦσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπον δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Δακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἔκειν ἐπιχειρήσει εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείστοι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἄν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ἦμεις οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτον ἅλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὕτως σωθεῖσι μὲν πολλοὺς ἄν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσει τῶν ἐναυτία γυρνοσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐξω ὑποτέρων ἄν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35 'Ο μὲν ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο. Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν: 'Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, ὁ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐὰπε. φησί γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτείναν κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δῆπον κατ' ἐκεῖνων λόγου, ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Δέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χειμώνα οὐδὲ πλείν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναπρείσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δυνατὸν ἢν, ἐδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὖν τὸν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φασκοῦντες γὰρ οἶνον τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,

1 ἔκειν Dindorf: ἔκειν Kel. with MSS.
he shall not be able to do the same thing to us also? 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 αυτούς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέουντες ὅχοντο.  
36 οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενοικέαν· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θεταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαξε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὁπλίζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. δὲν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο.

Τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγώ τούτῳ, εἰ τις ὕμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βουλέται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὕμῖν ἵσχυρος ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτῶν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὡστὶς μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττον ἐστὶν οἴομαι ἃν ὕμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἀ νῦν πράττει ἐκαστὸς ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὕμᾶς τε καταστίνηι εἰς τὴν βουλευαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογομένους συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγγυνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὗτοι ἥρξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κάγαθος συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καγώ ἡρξάμεν τὰναντία τούτοις γιγνώσκειν. ᾧ δειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκουσας μὲν Δέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἄνδρος καὶ οὗτος καὶ δοκοῦν τὸ ίκανον εἶναι, ἄδικοις δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὁμοίοι τούτῳ φοβήσοντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίον τῆς τὴν πολιτεία ἔσοιντο· εὔγνωσκόν δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὗτῶν πῶς ποτὲ δημοτικῶν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὁμοίοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῶν γενήσοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφόντος ύπ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, δε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὐ πλεούσας παρεῖ-

1 παρανενοηκέαν Wolf: παρανενοηκέαν MSS.; παρανενοικέαν 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
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χετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει
γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντει-
πον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἐνα ἐκαστὸν λαβεῖν
ἔφασαν χρῆναι ἐνδηλον γὰρ ἢν ὅτι τούτων ἀπο-
λομένων καὶ οἱ μετοίκοι ἀπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ
πολιτεία ἔσοιντο. ἀντείπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ διπλα
τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι
ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὔδε γὰρ τοὺς Δακε-
δαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἑνεκα θουλομένους
περισσῶσαν ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγου γενόμενοι μηδὲν
δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὡφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ
τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λυπεῖν ὀλίγων ἑτὶ

χρόνον τῷ λεμψί πιέσαντας. οὔδε γε τὸ φρουροὺς
μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολι-
tῶν τοσοῦτοι προσλαμβάνειν, ἐως ῥαδίως ἐμέλ-
λομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν.
ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑῶρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ
τῇ δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους,
οὐκ αὖ ἔδοκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἀνυτὸν
οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὖτ
γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἵσχυρὸν ἐσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλῆθει
ἡγεμόνες ἰκανοὶ προσγενήσοιτο, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι
θουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιτο.

43 Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα
εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἡ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὖχ οἱ
ἐχθροῦς, ὁ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι,
οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτά-
σθαι, οὔτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἵσχυροις ποιοῦσιν,
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
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άλλα πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὶς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιούντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτοὺς δι’ αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὥδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Ὑθρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἂν οὗτοι πράττον-σιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἰμαί νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἦμῖν εἰχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἤγεισθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπίβαϊνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.

ἀ δ’ αὐ εἰπεν ως ἐγὼ εἰμι οἷος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπον ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ως οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πάση πολιτεία μᾶλλον ἂν ἡ δημοκρατία πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχεινοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῶν χῶματι ἐρύμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὁ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὡς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ’ αἰσθό-μενος ἐγὼ διεκόλυσα, τοῦτ’ ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν ψιλῶν;

Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορυνον με, ως ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὁ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὶ 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.
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χρής; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἔγω δ', ὃ

Κριτίᾳ, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἂεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἀν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δούλοι καὶ οἱ δὴ ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἀν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιες, καὶ τοῖς ἑ αὐ ἂεί ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οὐ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ’ ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ’ ἵππων καὶ μετ’ ἀσπίδων ὦφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἀριστον ἤγοιμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.

48 εἰ δ’ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὃ Κριτίᾳ, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τούς καλούς τὲ κάγαθος ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε: ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὀμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατῶτατα1 παθῶν ἀν δικαίως ἀποθυγήσειν.

49 Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δὴ λῃ ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβῆσα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψω τῇ βουλῇ διαγηρφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὖ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεξθεῖς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐνεχειρίδια ἐχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς

50 ἔσχατωτα BCFM: ἔσχατα 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,—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 railing in plain

1 i.e. could equip themselves at their own expense as horsemen or (μετ' ἀσπίδων) as hoplites.
2 Separating the Senate from the auditorium.
51 δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθῶν εἶπεν Ἡγώ, ὁ Βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργου εἶναι οὗν δεῖ, ὅσ ἀν ὅρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἔγω οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἳ διὸν ἑρέστηκότες οὐ φασίν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσο- μεν ἀνδρα τῶν φανερῶς τῇν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαίνο- μενον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμους τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὕτων μηδένα ἀποθυήσkeιν ἀνεν τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἔγω οὖν, ἐφη, Ὁηραμένην τουτον ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ κατα- λόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἀπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἐφη, ἥμεις θανατοῦμεν.

52 'Ακοῦσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν Ἡγώ δ', ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, ίκετεῦν τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ἐν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ νόμον οὕτων ἐγράψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὔδεν μοι ἂρκεσι ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλ' βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶν περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, θαυ- μάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὔδεν τὸ ἐμὸν ὀνόμα εὐεξαλει- πτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἑκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκέ- λευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ 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\(^1\) to seize Theramenes; and when

\(^1\) See on i. vii. 10.
XENOPHON

τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἤγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυ- τάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἐφη, Θηραμένη τουτοῦ κατα- κεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἐνδεκα¹ οὔ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε.

55 Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἰλκοῦ δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὁσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἑπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γυμνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἤσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὅρωσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυ- φάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνο- ούντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἁγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα ὅτα ἐπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ρήμα καὶ τοῦτῳ αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος οὐτὶ οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· 'Ἀν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἐφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθυμήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κόνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λευτόμενον ἐφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐ- τόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἁγιόδω, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἄξιο- λογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀγαστῶν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παγυμιῶδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

¹ οἱ ἐνδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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, 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.
IV. ᘋηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοὶς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προείπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰςέναι εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τους τούτων ἁγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἁγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θῆβας τῶν ὑποχωροῦντων.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ἐρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θη- βῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλῆν χωρίον κατα- λαμβάνει ἵσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐπιτεύσι καὶ μᾶλ' εὐθύμερας ὀύσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφί- κοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν 3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. ἄλημο- μένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκ- πολιορκήσειν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείως, ἐπιγύνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιων παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ υστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, μᾶλα συχνος τῶν σκευο- 4 φόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γιγνώ- σκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁγρῶν λεγατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἐσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Δακωνικοὺς πλήν ὄλιγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπέων δύο φυλάς. οὐτοὶ δὲ στρατοπεδευσά- 5 μενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἐρασύ- βουλος, ἦδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλήν περὶ
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
ἐπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς. θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὀπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἦσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγένετο, καὶ ἦδη ἀνύσταντο ὅποι ἐδείτο ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν, καὶ οἱ ἵπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτω ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὀπλα δρόμων προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεφάμενοι ἐδόξαζαν ἐξ ἐπτά στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἵππεων Νικόστρατον τε τῶν καλῶν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναίς. ἔπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ προταίον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὀπλα τε ὅσα ἐλαβον καὶ σκευὴ ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλής. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀστεωσ ἵππεως βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐτι εἴδον, προσμείναντες δὲ ἔως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.

8 Ἑκ δὲ τούτοις οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἔλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγῆν, εἰ δεήσειν· καὶ παραγγειλάντες τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἤλθον εἰς Ἔλευσίνα Κρητίδας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶναι καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοντο, ἐκέλευν ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον ἀεὶ

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
XENOPHON

dià tîs pûlîdos èpî tîn òlalattav èxîndai. èpî
dè tî aigialû toûs mèn òppéas ènbev kai ènbev
catésthezan, tîn ò' èxînta òei oi òtpêrêiâi sune-
dou. èpeî dè pàntes suneilhmmènoi òshav, ìvvî-
ma xoû tîn òpparxhov èkèleunon ìnagagònta para-
douvâi autouv toûs ènêkai. tî ò' ùsteraíia eis
tô 'Ôideîon parrêkalësan toûs èn tî katalògò
òplîtas kai toûs ìllous òppèas. ìnàstas dè
Kritiâs èlêxev 'Hmeis, èfhi, ò' ìndres, oudeîn
ìttoû ìmîn katâskenvàzome tîn politèiâi ò ìmîn
autois. deî ouî ìmîs, òstper kai tîmòi mevèxe te,
outo kai tîn kivdûwou metèchein. tîn ouî suneil-
hmmènov 'Eleusinènov kataqshfistèon èstîn, ìna
tautà ìmîn kai òarárite kai òfshîshthe. deîzas dè
ti xwriov, eis touto èkèleun fanevàv fèrevi tîn
psîfou. oî dè Łakównîkoî frouroi èn tî òmîsei
tôû 'Ôideîon èxòwpìsìsmènoi òshav. ìn dè taûta
àresta kai tîn politîwov oîs tô płeonekteïw mûnoî
emüleu.

'Ek dè toutouv labâv o Ôravûboulos toûs apò
Fûlîs perei xilîous òdêi suneileghmmènos, àphi-
kneîtau tîs nuktoûs eis tîn Peiraiâ. oî dè triá-
kouta èpeî ðshou tou taûta, êvthîs èbôiðhou sùn
toûs Łakównîkois kai sùn toûs òppêuçi kai toûs
òplîtas: èpeîta èçwrouv kata tîn eis tô
Peiraiâ àmàxitov anaférousan. oî dè apò Fû-
lîs èti mèn èpexeîrìsan ìmî ànîênaî autouîs, èpeî
dè mègasi o kûklos òwv pûlîs fûlakìs èdûkei dêî-
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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.
σοι ὁὕτω πολλοῖς οὕσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μονιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγοράν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνε- 
τάξαντο, ὡστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ φέρει πρός 
τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μονιχίας 'Αρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ 
Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἠλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντῆκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγ- 
12 μένοι ἐχώρον ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενε- 
πλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς 
δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' 
αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταῖ, ἐπὶ 
δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὕτω μέντοι συχνοὶ 
ἳσαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.

Ἐν φ' δὲ προσήχαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Ὀρασύβουλος 
τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας 
καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἀλλὰ ὀπλὰ ἐχὼν, κατὰ 
13 μέσον στὰς ἐλέξειν. 'Ανδρεῖς πολίται, τοὺς μὲν 
διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμηῆσαι ύμῶν βούλομαι ὦτι 
εἰς τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὖς 
ὑμεῖς ἥμεραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' 
ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἕσχατοι, οὕτως δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, 
οἳ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας 
καὶ οἰκίῶν ἐξήλαυνοι καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν 
ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο· ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παρα- 
γεγένηται ὦ οὕτωι μὲν οὕποτε φῶντο, ἥμεις δὲ 
14 ἀεὶ ἡχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὀπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι 
αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δει-
they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia. And the men from the city, when they came to the market-place of Hippodamus, 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.
προῶντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὦν ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὀνὸς ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειρῶν ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶ-μεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὐσὶ τροπαὶ

15 ἵστασθαι διδώσαι καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ὃ δὴντοι μὲν ὀυτὲ βάλλειν ὀυτὲ ἀκοντῖζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἴεναι δύναιντ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.

16 καὶ ὤφετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἂν ἡμεῖς, ὀσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτή-σεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδὸς, φυλαττό-μενοι δὲ δραπετεύσουσιν ἢ ὅπο τὰς ἀσπίσιν ὠστε ἐξέσται ὀσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπον ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.

17 ἀλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες, οὗτω χρῆ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἔκαστός τις ἐαυτῷ συνείσται τῆς νίκης αὐτοῦτος ὅν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδῶσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ παῖδας, ὅσι εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὃ μακάριοι δήτα, οὗ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσει τὴν πασῶν ἡδι-στὴν ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ μνημείον γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὗτῳ πλοῦσιος ὅν καλὸν τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν ὧν ἔγν ἡμὶ σὰν καίρος ἡ παιάνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἔνναλιον 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 overthrow 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.
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tότε πάντες ὀμοδυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὁν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἀνδρας.

18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡσυχιάν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρῆγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἡ πέσοι τις ἡ ἑρωθεία. Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἤγησόμεθα μὲν, ἡφη, ἡμεῖς, νῖκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἔμοι μέντοι θάνατος, ὡς γέ μοι ἐσκεί. καὶ οὐκ ἐγενόσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὠσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγορομενὸς ἐκπευδησας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποδηνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφίσου: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἐλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτώνας οὕδενος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὕποσπόδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσίοντες ἄλληλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωνος ὄν, κατασῳπησάμενος ἔλεεν· Ἀνδρεὶς πολίται, τί ήμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ήμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχίκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμιστῶν καὶ θυσίων καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστατισταὶ, 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. In this battle fell two of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus, one of the Ten who ruled in Piraeus, Charmides, the son of Glaucon, and about seventy of the others. And the victors took possession of their arms, but they did not strip off the tunic 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, 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

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 θάλαταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. πρὸς θεοὺς πατρῴων καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεσίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἅλληλοις, αἰδοῦμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἵ ἰδίων κερδέων ἐνεκα όλιγον δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτύνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησίν ἡ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολέμοιντες. ἔξον δ' ἡμῖν εἰς εἰρήνη πολιτεύεσθαι, οὐτοὶ τὸν πάντων αἰσχροῦ τε καὶ χαλεπῶτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἐχθριστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἅλληλοις παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μὲντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ψφ' ἡμῶν ἀποβανῶντων οὐ μόνον ἴμεῖς ἅλλα καὶ ἴμεῖς ἔστιν οὖς πολλὰ κατεδακτύσαμεν.

'Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακοῦειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἀστυν. τῇ δ' ύστεραία οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἐρημοὶ συνεκάθιστο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν δὲ τρισχίλιων ὅπου ἦκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἅλληλοις. ὀσοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποίηκεσάν τι βιαστέρων καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, εὐτύνως ἔλεγον ὅτι οὖ ἥρει καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὦσοὶ δὲ ἐπίστευοι μηδὲν ἦδικηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογῖζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὔδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσατο ἐκεῖνος.
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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

μὲν καταπαύσαι, ἀλλοὺς δὲ ἐξέσθαι. καὶ εἶλοντο δέκα, ἔνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24 Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον. οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένοι καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὡμείλῳ, τούς τε ἱπποὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δὴ ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδενον τὸ μὲν ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὀρθρὸν σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς, ἀεὶ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν τίνες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὡπλα ἔποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύνινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἔλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οὕτως συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἰείν, ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξήσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνίτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὦσεὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομᾶς δὲ ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκαθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὔδεὶς σὺν ὀπλαῖς ἔξη, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργον. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξιωνέων τισίν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν

1 i.e. in order to serve both as horsemen and as hoplites. See below and cp. note on iii. 48.
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 ἰσοτέλεις, stood upon an equal footing with Athenian citizens in respect to taxes.
Ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία πορευομένους· καὶ τούτους Ἀυσίμαχος ὅ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἵππεων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἵππεων ἐπὶ ἄγροι λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δὲι εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁστει, ὃς ἐπεί ἐγνώ ὅτι κατὰ τῶν ἐκ Δυκείου δρόμου μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ξεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἀγεῖν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἐκαστὸς βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἐκαστὸς τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα εἷς Ἐλευσίνων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ εἷς ἁστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντος, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμων, Λυσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἴον τε εἰή ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκηῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείσων, συνέπραξεν ἐκατὸν τε τὰ λανταντα αὐτοῖς δαυεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστὴν, Λίβων δὲ τῶν ὑδελφῶν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι.

29 καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσίναδε συνέλευσεν ὅπλατα πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι.
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
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αυτοὶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὡστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀστεί πάλιν αὐ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦντων Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς θθουη-
σας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἶ κατείργασμένος ταῦτα ἀμα
μὲν εὐδοκιμῆσοι, ἀμα δὲ ἱδίας ποιήσοντο τὰς
Ἀθηνᾶς, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρον τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρου-
ράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες
πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον
μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐροκεῖν ἀν στρατευόμενοι
ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους μιθὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας·
ἐπραττόν δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι εὐγνώσκουν Λακεδαιμο-
νίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν
οἰκεῖαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἔστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ
'Αλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν
ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις
τὸ εὐώνυμον.1 πέμπτων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας
πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ
ἐαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον
ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἰη ἐὑμενής
αὐτοῖς ὦν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς
πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβῶν τῶν μὲν
Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων
ιππέων τρεῖς φυλὰς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν
λιμένα, σκοπῶν τῇ ἐναποτειχιστότατος εἰη ὃ
Πειραιεὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεον

1 τὸ εὐώνυμον MSS.: Kel. inserts Ἐλευσῖν after it.
HELENICA, II. iv. 29–32

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

1 Apparently the inlet to the west of the main harbour of Piraeus,
τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχουν, ἄχθεσθείς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας ἐλὰν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἕβης συνέπεσθαν σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιῶι θέατρον.

33 ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἵ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶι. καὶ οἳ μὲν ψιλῶν εὐθὺς ἑκδραμόντες ἦκόντιζον, ἐβάλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων οἳ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἑπιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιέζομενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδας οἳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταύθα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θιβραχος, ἀμφότεροι πολεμάρχοι, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἳ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὅρων δὲ ταύτα οἳ Ἐφεσύβουλος καὶ οἳ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοηθοῦν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ ὁκτὼ. οὗ δὲ Παυσανίας μᾶλα πιεσθείς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέταρτα ἦ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρῆγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνιοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενοι παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἳ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἐπειτα δὲ οἳ μὲν ἐξεώ- σθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαίς πυλῶν, οἳ δὲ

1 ἄλλων MSS.: ἄλων 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 age¹ 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 Piræus. There, as it chanced, the whole body of the light troops and likewise the hoplites of the men in Piræus 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 Chaeron and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs,² 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.
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ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν.

35 Ὅ δὲ Παυσανίας τροπαίων στηράμενος ἀνέχωρησε· καὶ οὐδ’ ὃς ὄργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπτων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἶνα χρή λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπτειν πρὸς έαυτόν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρουσι. οί δ’ ἐπείθοντο. διϊστὴ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσίεναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίως φίλοι εἶναι. ἦδεως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἐφόρος ὄν συνήκοινεν ὡσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὕτος τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης οὔτε μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμονία προθύμως ἔπεμπτων τοὺς τ’ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπουδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀστεί ἰδιώτας,

36 Κηφισοφώντα τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω φίλους εἰς Λακεδαιμονία, ἔπεμπτων δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείος λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδίδοσι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἄρ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλουνται ἄξιον δ’ ἐφασάν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασίν εἰναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδίδοναι τὸν τε

37 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουσικίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάν-166
way; and about one hundred and fifty of them were 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 Piraeus 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 Piraeus, 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 Piraeus, 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 Piraeus, if they claimed to be friends of the Lacedaemonians, should in like manner surrender Piraeus and Munichia. When the ephors and the members
τον αυτὸν οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοί, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδραὶς εἰς τὰς 'Αθῆνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανία διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ᾽ ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης μὲν ἐχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπείναν δὲ ἑπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐκαστὸν πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδεκά καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶς ἄρξαντω δέκα. εἰ δὲ τινες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἐξ ἀστεών, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς 'Ελευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

39 Τούτων δὲ περαιθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διήκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, ἐκκλησίαι ἐποίησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ὁρασύβουλος ἐλέξειν Ἐμίν, ἔφη, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεῶς ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, μᾶλιστα δ᾽ ἀν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσασθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέων ἔστιν, ὡστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαίοτεροι ἔστε; ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δήμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ἄν ὅβεν πώποτε ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκησεν: ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιότεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἕνεκα κερδῶν πεποιηκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῶν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἀρά ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον, καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμην φαίητ᾽ ἃν προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὀπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόμεθν

1 ἐκκλησίαιν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, whom Kel. follows.
2 ἡδίκησεν MSS.: ἡδίκηκεν Kel.
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' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οὔγε ὡσπερ τοὺς δίκνοντας κύνας κλονῷ δήσαντες παραδηδόσιν, οὔτω κάκεινοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ δὲν ὁμωμόκατε παραβήναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους καλοῖς ἐπιδειξάτε, ὁτι καὶ εὐροκιν καὶ όσιοὶ ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὃτι οὐδεν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἄρχαιοις χρήσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

13 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἄρχας καταστησάμενοι ἐπολευτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἀλευσίν, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἐπεισαν συναλλαγήματι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὀρκους ἢ μὴ μὴ μυηκακισχεῖν, ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῖ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὀρκοῖς ἐμμένει ὁ δήμος.

1 περιελήλασθε Geist: περιελήλυθεν MSS.: περιείλησθε Kel.
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.
Γ

1. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κύρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἡξίου, οἷόσπερ αὐτὸς Δακεδαίμονίους ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτοις καὶ Δακεδαίμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐφοροὶ δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτῶν, Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ύπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἵ τι δέοιτο. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδείχθη ὁ Κύρος ἐπραξέν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Συνέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γὰρ ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ 2 βασιλέα. ὡς μὲν οὖν Κύρος στράτευμά τε συνε- λεξε καὶ τοῦτ ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἔγενετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοὶ ἄξιοι βασιλεῖς δόξας γεγενήσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὃν τε αὐτῶν

1 Artaxerxes.
2 At Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C.
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 Syennesis, 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,^ how the battle 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 Themistogenes^ 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

^ Unknown except for this reference. It would seem that Xenophon's own Anabasis was not published at the time when these words were written.
πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὄν· Κύρος, εὐθὺς ἡξίων τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐαυτῷ ὑπηκοόν εἶναι. αἳ δὲ ἀμα μὲν ἑλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἀμα δὲ φοβοῦμεν τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κύρον, ὅτ' ἦξῃ, ἀντ' ἔκεινον ἤρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτῶν, εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα δὲ ἐπεμπὼν πρέσβεις, καὶ ἡξίων, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος προστάται εἰσὶν, ἐπιμεληθήματι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἐλλήνων, ὅπως ἦ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῦτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑλεύθεροι εἶν. 4 οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτῶς Ὁίβρωνα ἀρμοστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεόδαμω-δῶν εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελαπονησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἦτίσατο δ' ὁ Ὁίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τριακοσίους ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἐπεμπών τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ 5 δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῦεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκομεν, συνήγαγε μὲν 1 στρα-τιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἐλληνίδων πόλεων: πᾶσα γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις εἴπειδυόντο ὁ τι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἂνηρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὅρων Ὁίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν 2 εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὡν, δύνατο ταύτῃ τὴν χώραν ἄδηστον 6 διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνεμείξαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἦδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις αὐτετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκούσαν προσέλαβε καὶ

1 μὲν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 ὅρων Ὁίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν 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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Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίσαρναν, ὡν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λακε-
δαιμονίου· ἐκεῖνο δ᾽ αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα δώρων ἐκ βασι-
λέως ἔδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρα-
teίας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ
Γογγύλως, ἀδελφοὶ οὗτος, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον
καὶ Παλαιάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρύνειον·
dῷρον δὲ καὶ αὐτὰί αἱ πόλεις ἦσαν παρὰ βασι-
λέως Γογγύλῳ, ὃτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας
7 ἐφυγεν. ἣν δὲ ἄς ἀσθενεῖς σύσας καὶ κατὰ
κράτος ὁ Θιβρων Ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισαν γε μὴν
τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἔπει οὐκ ἔπειθετο,
περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἔπει δὲ
ἀλλος οὐκ ἔδυνατο ἑλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος
ὑπόνομον ὕρμττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὄνωρ
αὐτῶν. ὦς δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις
ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὀρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους,
ποιησάμενοι αὐ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ
tῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτῃ μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ
Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ᾽
αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ὑπο-
λιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.
8 Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἦδη οὗτος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν
πορευομένου,1 Δερκυλίδας ἅρξιον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ

1 πορευομένου Dindorf: πορευομένου Kel. with MSS.

1 Xerxes, in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 101 ff.
surrender, and likewise Teuthrania and Halisarna, two cities which were under the rule of Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedaemonian; and this territory had been given to Demaratus by the Persian king\(^1\) 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\(^2\)), 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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\(^1\) Because Cyrus the Great settled there a number of captured Egyptians. *Cyrop.* vii. i. 45.
στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικὸς· καὶ ἐπεκαλέστο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὃ μὲν οὖν Θήβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθεῖς ἐφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοί ὡς ἐφείη ἀρπᾶξεν τῷ 9 στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεί παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνώσας ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρνη καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἡ ἅμα ἀμφότεροις πολεμεῖν. ἂν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρνα-βάζῳ ἀρμοστῆς γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεῖς ὑπὸ Φαρνα-βάζου, ἐστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὅ δοκεῖ κηλίς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀπαξίας γὰρ ζημίωμα ἔστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἤδιον ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὤν. καὶ εὕθυς μὲν τοσοῦτο διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θήβρωνος ὡστε παρ-ήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φίλιας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολίς αὐτῇ ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσα-τράπενε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἐως μὲν ἔξη, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεὺς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζόμενον τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλω δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἦ τοῦ Ζῆνιος γυνῆ, Δαρ-δανῖς καὶ αὐτῇ, ἀναζεῦσα 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.
παλλακίστων αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο.

11 ἔλθοῦσα δὲ εἰς λόγους εἶπεν Ἡμείς ἦδος καὶ τάλλα φίλοι ἦν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὡστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἑτίμασ. ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶν, τί σε δεὶ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δὲ τί σοι μὴ ἄρεσκω, ἐπὶ σοι δῆπον ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἄρχην. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρναβάζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναίκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τοὺς φόρους οὐδὲν ἤττον τάνδρος ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτους, ὅποτε ἀφικνύτο πρὸς Φαρναβάζον, ἀδεὶ ἦγε δώρα αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁποτέ ἐκεῖνος εἷς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα καὶ ἦδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτῶν, καὶ ἂς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἑπιθαλαττίδιας Λάρισας τε καὶ Ἀμαζίτον καὶ Κολονάς, ἰκικὸ ἡν Ἐλληνικὸ προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ’ ἀρμαμάξεις θεωμένη. ἂν δὲ ἐπαινέσεις, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως ἔδίδου, ὡστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξεινικὸν κατεσκευάσατο. συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὁποτέ εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἔμβαλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὡστε καὶ ἀντείμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρναβάζος.
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 Colonae—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,
καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν οτὲ παρεκάλει. ἥδη δ’ οὕσις αὐτῆς ἔτων πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνήρ αὐτῆς ὄν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινὸς ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἰή γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ’ ἰδιωτὴν εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μᾶλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὅσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσήκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευόντας καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὅσπερ ἄν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποτυγίζαγαν αὐτὴν ἱεγέται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτής, τὸ τε εἰδὸς ὅντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἔτοιν ὅντα ὡς ἐπτακαίδεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἐχυρᾶς πόλεις κατέσχεν, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἔδέχοντο αὐτῶν, ἄλλα Φαρμαβάζων ἐσόζον αὐτᾶς οἱ ἐνόντες φρούροι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρμαβάζῳ ἡξίον ἐχειν τὴν χώραν ὅσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτῷ, ἐστ’ ἄν αὐτῶς ἔλθων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἐφὶ ξῆν βουλεσθαὶ μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανία.

Ὀς δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καρὶ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Άμαζίτων καὶ Κολωνᾶς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἥξιον ἐλευθεροῦσα ταῦτακαὶ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίγνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν σὺν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιείς καὶ Κοκυλίται ἐπείθοντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἑλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἔπει ἡ Μανία ὑπέθανεν, οὐ πάντως κατέσχεν. 

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and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor.

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 Seepsis 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 Cocylium 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
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μάλα ἵσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξεις Ἀρμανίαξὶ τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι ἄν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὃ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἔπει δὲ θυωμένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ύστεραιᾷ πάλιν ἔθυετο. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτά ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡ μέχρι υπέρα- ῥων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυωμένος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Ἀρμανίαξον βοηθῆσαι ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. Ἀθη- νάδας δὲ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φλυαρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ’ ἰκα- νὸς εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμῶν σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειράτο τὴν κρήνην συγχωῦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτῶν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπῆλασαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἐρχο- νται ἐκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ὁ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοῖς, οὐκ ἄρεσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλοντο σὺν τοῖς Ἐλλησι- μᾶλλον ἦ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ διάλεγο- μένων αὐτῶν ταύτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὃσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὠσπερ ἐτυχε κεκαλλιερηκὼς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβῶν τὰ ὀπλα ἥγειτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας: οἱ δ’ ἀναπτέτα-

1 ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ MSS.: ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ Kel.

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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 ἦεὶ ἑπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν Γέργιδα.

20 Ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, οἰκιῶν ὁ ἱδὴ τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἐλθοὶ ἀν εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὀμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῶ ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἑνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων ὀπόσους τε καὶ ὑποίους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ συμμεῖξας τῷ Δερκυλίδα ἱρώτα ἐπὶ τίς ἀν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ’ ὅτε τοὺς πολίτας ἑλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔαν· καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦσε πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν. γνῶν δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἀν δύνατο κοσμεῖν μία τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰσαγεν αὐτὸν εἰσιεναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροτόλει τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξῆλθαν, παραδόεις δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι, ὥσπερ Ἔλληνας καὶ ἑλευθέρους χρῆ, οὕτω πολιτεῖν, ἐξελθὼν ἤγετο ἑπὶ τὴν Γέργιδα. συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶ καὶ τῶν Σκηψίων, τιμῶντες τε καὶ ἱδομένου τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· ὁ δὲ Μειδίας παραπόμενος αὐτῶ ἢξιον τὴν τῶν Γεργιθῶν πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ· καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοι. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦει πρὸς τὰς πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδία, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἱκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐιρήνικος 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.
Οι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα υψηλῶν ὄντων ὀρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον εἰ-πόντος δὲ τού Δερκυλίδου. Κέλευσον, ὁ Μειδία, ἀνοίξαι τὰς πύλες, ἵνα ἦγη μὲν σῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταύθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὥκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, φοβοῦ-μενος δὲ μὴ παραχρήμα συλληφθῆ, ἐκέλευσεν ἀνοίξαι. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὐτὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιῶτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὀπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθες τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνείπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὀπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας. Μει- 

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δία γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι. ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὃ τι ποιοῖς, εἶπεν Ἠγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἀπειμι, ἐφη, ξενία σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δὲ. Οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἐφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρῶν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ 

24 

σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σὲ. μὲνες ὑπὸ παρ' ἡμῖν 

ἐν ὃ δ' ἄν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζῃται, ἐγὼ καὶ 

σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ διασκεψὸμεθα 

καὶ ποιῆσομεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἠρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας. Εἰπὲ μοι, ὁ Μειδία, ὁ πατὴρ σε ἄρξοντα τοῦ ὄικου κατέ- 

25 

λίπε; Μάλιστα, ἐφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἤσαν; 

πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δ' 

αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηνίων εἶπον. Ψεῦδεται 

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σε οὖτος, ὁ Δερκυλίδα. 'Τμεῖς δὲ γ', ἐφη, 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."
μικρολογεῖσθε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρίδα, Ἐἵπτε μοι, ἑφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὕκοιν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἑφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἑφασαν. Ἡμέτερ' ἀν εἰη, ἑφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν' πολέμιος γὰρ ἦμιν Φαρναβάζου. ἀλλ' ἤγεισθω τις, ἑφη, ὅπως κεῖται τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου. ἤγομμένων δὲ τῶν ἅλλων ἐπὶ τῆς Μανίας οὐκησιν, ἦν παρειλήφει ο Μειδίας, ἠκολούθησε κάκεινος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσήλθεν, ἐκάλει ο Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβέιν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἶ τι κλέπτοντες ἀλώσοιντο τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγήσοιντο. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσμήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. ἐξιδὼν δὲ οὐς ἦρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς: Μισθὸς μὲν ἦμιν, ὁ ἀνδρει, εἰργασται τῇ στρατιὰ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁκτακισχίλιος ἀνδράσιν ἄν δὲ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γεγυνώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικότεροι ἔσονται. ἔρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου: Ἔμε δὲ ποῦ χρῆ οἰκεῖν, ὁ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο: Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, ὁ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ Σκῆψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδα οἰκία.

Π. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὅκτῳ ἡμέραις ἐνεά πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἃν μὴ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρῦς
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, scaled 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, Seepsis, 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-
εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ὠσπέρ Θῆβρων, µηδ’ αἱ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ ἵππῳ κακούρητη τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπτει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήμην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Λιολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῷ οἰκήσει Φρυγία, σπονδᾶς εἶλετο.

2 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἔλθων ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν Θρήκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πάντα τι ἀχθομένου πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίαν καὶ ἀφθονὰ ἔχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλευ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὁδρυσῶν ἐπιπείς τε ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὡς τριακόσιοι, οὕτως στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὡς εἰκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἔξησαν ἐπὶ λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδρὰ-3 ποδά τε καὶ χρήματα. ἦδῃ δ’ οὖν τοὺς μεστοὺς τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ’ ἔξησαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἐλληνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες παραπληθεῖσι πελτασταὶ καὶ ἐπιπεῖς ἃµ’ ἡµέρα προσπί-πτοισι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὥς διακόσιοι οὐσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐγγύς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον, οἱ δ’ ἥκοντιζον εἰς αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ’ ἔπει ἐτετρώσκοντο 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 Seuthes 1 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.
ἀπέθνησκον, ἐποίουν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργήμενοι ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ὡς ἀνδρομήκει οὕτι, διασπάσαντες τὸν ἀυτῶν ὁχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτοὺς. οἳ δὲ ἰ ἐκ θέοιει ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνθεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνθεὶ ἥκοντιζον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ ἐκδρομῇ κατέβαλλον τέλος δὲ ὄσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἅμφι τοὺς πεντεκάideκα εἰς τὸ Ἐλληνικόν, καὶ οὕτω, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ἠσθοντο τὸ πράγμα, ἐν¹ τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν.

5 ταχύ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Ὄρακῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον ὡστε οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ήύρον ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολὺν οἶνον ἐκπόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἐλλησι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἤγον καὶ ἔκασι τὴν Βιθυνίδα.

6 Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἰ ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων τελῶν Ὄρακος τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης. οὕτωι δ' ἰ ἢλθον ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδα ἐροῦντες μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν ἑπτὼν ἑνιαυτῶν καὶ ἰ

¹ Before ἐν the MSS. have ἀποχωρήσαντες. Kel. brackets.
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 Odryrians 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, Naubates, 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
επιστεύλαι δὲ σφίσων αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐφόρους συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶπεν ὡς ὁ ἦν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποίουν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἐπαινοῦν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου εἶπεν ὅτι ἄν μὲν ἁδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἀν δὲ δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινεύονται αὐτοὺς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεστηκὼς ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὥν ἄνδρες Λακεδαίμονιοι, ἤμεις μὲν ἔσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλοις μὲν νῦν, ἄλλοις δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δὲ, αὐτοὶ ἦδη ἰκανοὶ ἐστε γιγνώσκειν.

8 Συσκινούντων δὲ τῶν τε οἰκοθεν πρέσβεων καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀρακοῦν ὅτι καταλελύτουεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερσόνησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμοιον. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναντο τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἀγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ὑπακόων· εἰ δ' ἀποτελεομενεὶ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ σφίσων ἄν γὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἄγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ὀπόσοι βούλωντο Λακεδαίμονίων. ὡστε ἔφασαν οὐκ ἄν θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ πεμφθεὶ τις Λακεδαίμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὡς οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἦν ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἄλλον ἐπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἢδομενος δὲ τοιτ ἐμελλον

9 λεως· σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὡς οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἦν ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἢδομενος δὲ τοιτ ἐμελλον
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.
XENOPHON

ὅφεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς διαγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετέον οὐν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλιοτο σπουδᾶς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ή πόλεμον. ἔλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρνάβαζον καὶ τότε σπουδᾶς, οὐτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνα πόλεις留在 εἰνεἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Ἑύρωπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Ὁράκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον. ἤν καταμαθῶν πόλεις μὲν ἐνδεκα η δώδεκα ἔχουσαν, χώραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὕσαν, κεκακωμένην δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Ὁρακῶν, ἔπει μέτρον ἢρε τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἅλλα θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελὼν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἄθλα αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος δόσειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτειχίσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ως ἐκαστοὶ ἄξιοι εἰεν, ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τείχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἥρινον χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὴν δὲ κἀγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην, παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομᾶς παυτοδαποῖς κτίμεσι. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὸς ἔχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ήρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας χωρίον ἵσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀρμώμενος φέροντας καὶ ἀγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ

1 After πόλεις the MSS. have φιλίας. Kel. brackets.

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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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ζωντας ἀπὸ τοῦτον. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῶτος ἐνήν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπο-
λιόρκει καὶ ἐν ὅκτῳ μησὶ παραστησάμενος αὐ-
τοὺς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητῆν, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκ-
πλεω πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα εἶ ἀντὶ καταγωγῆ, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῦτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἐφεσοῦ, ἦ ἦπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὄδον.

12 Καὶ μέχρι τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφέρνης τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτη Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ Βάρβαροι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνοῦμεν πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἶ ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνη, εἶ βούλοιτο, ἀφείναι αὐτούμοις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ οὖν κακῶς πᾶσχοι Καρία, ἐνθαπέρ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὕτως ἄν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν. αὐτούμοις σφᾶς ἀφείναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐπεμψάν πρὸς Δερ-
kυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβάϊνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τῶν ναύαρ-
χοι σὺν ταῖς υπό ταράπαλεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ' ἐποίουν· ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἀφιγμένος, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο Τισσαφέρνης, ἀμα δὲ διαμαρτυροῦμεν ὅτι ἐτοι-
μος εὖ κοινῆ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας· ἀλλοι τε γὰρ ὑπεθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Λιολίδος χαλέπως ἐφερεν ἀπεστηρημένος. ὡδ' ἀκούων. Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν,
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,
ἐφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ
14 περὶ τούτων βουλευσόμεθα. ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖ ἦσαν,
ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἵκανᾶς φυλακὰς εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα
καταστήσαντας διαβάινειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.
ὡς δὲ ἥκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὃτι πάλιν πεπερα-
κότες εἰςὶ τῶν Μαίανδρον, εἰπὸν τῷ Φάρακι ὡς
ὁκνοίῃ μὴ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
ἐρήμην οὗσαν καταθέοντες φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν
χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτὸς. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὕτωι
οὔδεν τι συντεταγμένω τῷ στρατεύματι, ὡς προ-
εληυθότοι τῶν πολεμών εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν,
ἐξαίφνης ὀρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιτέρας σκοποῦς ἐπὶ
15 τῶν μνημάτων καὶ ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ
παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς μνημεία καὶ τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι
παρατεταγμένους ἢ αὐτοῖς ἢν ἢ ὁδὸς Κάρας τε
λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὦσον ἐτύγχανε
παρὰν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὦσον εἰχὲν
ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἵππικον μίλα πολυ, τὸ μὲν
Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρνα-
βάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐσωφύμῳ.
16 Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοὺς μὲν
tαξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάπτεσθαι
τὴν ταχύτητον εἰς ὁκτὼ, τοὺς δὲ πελαστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ
κράσπεδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰπ-
πέας, ὥσοις γε ἤ ταύτα ἐτύγχανεν ἐχὼν·
17 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθύετο. ὥσον μὲν δὴ ἢν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
στράτευμα, ἦσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς
μαχοῦμενον· ὥσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πριήνης τε καὶ
Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νῆσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πό-
λεων, οἱ μὲν τινὲς καταλιτόντες 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 Ionic 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
Τῷ Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ· οἷος δὲ καὶ ἐμενον, δῆλοι ἔσαν οὐ μενοῦντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγηγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν. οἷος μὲντοι Τισσαφέρνης τὸ τε Κύρειον στρατεύμα καταλογιζόμενος ὡς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας νομίζον ὁμοίως εἶναι τοὺς Ἐλληνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς λόγους βούλοιτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἰδῆ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἵππεων καὶ πεζῶν προήλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν· 'Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευασάμην μὲν ἐγώ μάχεσθαι, ὡς ὀράτε· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι ἐκεῖνοι βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μὲντοι ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον. δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ’ Ἐλληνικὸν εἰς Λεύκοφρον, ἐνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἱερὸν μᾶλα ἄγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἢ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἄνασος ποτίμου καὶ θρημοῦ ὤδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἤλθον, καὶ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἀν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαι το. οἱ μὲν δὲ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτοῦν μοὺς ἐφ᾽ ἒς Βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἐλληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι εἰ ἐξέλθω τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν στρατεύμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Δακεδαίμονικοί ἀρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἀλλήλοις σπούδασας ἐποιήσαντο, ἐὼς ἀπαγγέλθην τὰ λεχθέντα Δερκυλίδα μὲν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ Βασιλέα.
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.
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21 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἄσιᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα, Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις καὶ ὦτι ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὦτι δίκην φάσκοντες καταδεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυναν καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγώνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἄρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὦτε εἰσῆλθε Δίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἤμισυχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτῶν, ἀνδρα γέροντα, ἐξῆλασαν. τούτων δ' ὑστερον καὶ Ἄγιδος πεμφθέντος θύσαι τῷ Δίῳ κατὰ μαντεῖαν τινὰ ἐκώλυναν οἱ Ἡλείοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὥς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰθ' οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἐφ' Ἐλλήνων πολέμων ὡστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζόμενοι ἐδοξὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσατο αὐτοὺς. πέμψαντες οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἡλίῳ εἶπον ὦτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοῖ ἐναι ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδιας πόλεις αὐτοῦμοις. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων ὦτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα, ἐπιληφθάς γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν ἐφημνάν οἱ ἐφόροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἄγιος ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἡλείαν κατὰ

1 i.e. at the Olympic games. 2 A Lacedaemonian.
While these things were being done in Asia by 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; and this alone did not suffice them, but furthermore, after Lichas 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. And Agis, at the head of the army, made his entrance into the territory of Elis

\[ \text{\footnotesize 3 } \phi \rho \omicron \upsilon \omicron \rho \acute{a} \nu \phi \alpha \iota \nu \epsilon \omicron \nu \ \text{was a Lacedaemonian phrase covering both the declaration of war and the mobilization of the army.} \]
24 Δάρισον. ἅρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὅντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγύνεται. ὁ δ’ Ἀγίς θείων ἀγγείων καὶ ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφίκε τὸ στρατεύμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἡλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡσας ἦδεσαν δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοις οὕσας. περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐναυτῷ φαίνονσι πάλιν οἱ ἐφοροὶ φρουρᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλίων, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἀγίῳ πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀγίου δὲ Αὔλονος, εὐθὺς μὲν Δεπρεάται ὁ πολεμιστής τῶν Ἡλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ’ Ἐπιταλείς. διαβαινοντι δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν προσεχώρουν Δετρίνωι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς.

25 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὠλυμπίαν ἔβυε τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Ὠλυμπίῳ κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἅστυ ἐπορεύετο, κύπερτον καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ύπέρπολλα μὲν κτίμια, ύπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἥλισκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὡστε ἄκουοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολεοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκόντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετείχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὅσπερ ἐπίσιτισμὸς.

26 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. ἔπει δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προϊστία καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνείχιστος γὰρ ἦν εὔμοισαν αὐτὸν μη 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 Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Manganians 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 ἐλείν. δημομένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ
οὖσας τῆς στρατιάς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι
οἳ περὶ Ἑλείαν, τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρή-
σασθαί τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον, τὴν
πόλιν 1 δὲ αὐτῶν προσχωρήσαι τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες ἢς οἰκίας ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγὰς
ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ
ὅμοιον τινα Ἐρασυδαίων ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ
δήμου προστάτῃ φώντο Ἐρασυδαίων ἀπεκτονεῖαι,
ἂντε ὃ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμησε καὶ ἁμα-
χίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' φώντο πεπρα-
γμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο
τὰ ὁπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὃ δὲ Ἐρασυδαίως ἐτὶ
καθεύδων ἐπυγχανεν οὐπερ ἐμεθύσθη. ὡς δὲ
ἔσθετο ὃ δῆμος οὐ τῇ τέθνηκεν, 2 περιεπλήσθη
ἡ οἰκία ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ ἑσμοῦ
μελετῶν ὃ θηγμών. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤγείτο ὁ Ἐρασυ-
δαῖως ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης
ἐκράτησεν ἡ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρῆσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς.
ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἀγις ἄπων διέβη πάλιν τοῦ Ἀλ-
φείων, φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον
tοῦ Ἀλφείου καὶ Δυσίππου ἀρμοστήν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ
'Ἡλίδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διήκεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε.

28 Καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἑπίοντα χει-
μῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δυσίππου καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν
ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἡλείων χώρα, τοῦ δ' ἑπίοντος θέρους πέμψας Ἐρασυδαίος εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τείχος περιελεῖν

1 τὴν πόλιν: inserted by Leunclavius, whom Kel. follows.
2 After τέθνηκεν the MSS. have ὁ Ἐρασυδαίος. 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 Κυλλῆνης καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ 'Επιτάλιον καὶ Δετρίνους καὶ 'Αμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας καὶ 'Ακρωρείους καὶ Λασιώνα τὸν ὑπ’ 'Αρκάδων ἀντιλεγόμενον. Ἡπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἡξίουν ὦ 'Ἡλεῖοι ἐχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ ἐφασαν τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυνότες μηδὲν δικαιοτέρον εἶναι βία πριαμένους ἢ βία ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡπτῶν λαμβάνειν, ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἠμάγκασαν τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Δίως τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ ὕπκ ἀρχαίου ὶλείοις οὐτοῖς, ὑπόμεντες τοὺς ἀντίποιοιμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὖχ ἰκανοὺς προεστάναι· τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία ὶλείων πρὸς Λακεδαιμόνιος. καὶ οὔτω μὲν δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ὶλείων πόλεμος ἐληξε.  

III. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Ἀγιος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἑκαμεν ἐν Ἡραία, γέρων ἥδη ὄν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἐτὶ ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἐτυχε σεμιστέρας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσιώθησαν αἱ ἥμεραι, καὶ ἐδει βασιλέα καθιστασθαί, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας ἰεωτυχίδης, νῦὸς φάσκων ὡς Ἀγιὸς εἶναι, Ἀγι—
and Cyllene, to leave the Triphilian towns of Phrixia 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 σίλας δέ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δέ τοῦ Δεστυχίδου: ἦν ὁ νόμος, ὁ Ἀγησίλας, οὐκ ἀδελφόν ἄλλον βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ νῦν ἦν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ δὲς βασιλεύου. Ἀμέν ἄν δει βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε οὖντος; Ὄτι ὅτι τῷ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἐφή σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. ἦν ὁ πολὺ κάλλιον εἰκεῖνοι εἰδούσα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἐτί φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ο Ποτείδαν ὡς μάλα σεν γενομένῳ κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσσας σεισμῶν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμάτυρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· εἴ οὖ γὰρ τοῦ ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον. Διοπείδης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἁνήρ, Δεστυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἰπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἶν φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησίλαον ἀντείπει πῶς οὐκ οἴοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπεταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ὃς ἀλλὰ μάλλον μή οὐκ ὁν τὸν γένους βασιλεύεσει. παντάπασι γὰρ ἄν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλεῖαν ὁπότε μή οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἤγοιντο. τοιαύτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἶλοντο βασιλεά.

Οὐπω δ' ἐνιαυτόν οὖντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησίλαον, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰθυσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἰπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι

1 ὡς MSS.: καὶ Kel.
2 εἰ οὖ γὰρ τοι ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῶ θαλάμῳ Hartman: ἀφ' οὖ γὰρ τοι ἐφυγε καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ MSS., which Kel. follows, changing τοι τῳ.
3 χωλεύσαι MSS.: Kel. inserts after it τὴν βασιλείαν.
tended for the kingship. And Leotychides said: 397 n.c.

"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 1 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. 2 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.
ἐπιβουλὴν τινα τῶν δεινοτάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοὶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθηκεν, ἐτὶ δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἶπεν Ὡ Ἀγγείλαε, ὦσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτων θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτηρίοις, καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἑπαύσαντο. ἠγγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐρωστος, οὐ μὲν τοῖς τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς φαίη τὴν πράξειν ἔσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ ἐισαγγείλας ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐσχατὸν τῆς ἁγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύω ὁπόσοι εἰὲν Σπαρτιάται ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἄριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὡς τετταράκοντα, ἥρομην. Τί δὴ με τούτους, ὁ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἄριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε: Τούτους, ἔφη, νόμιζε σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισ- χιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύει δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐνθα μὲν ἔνα, ἐνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπαντας συμμάχους καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἔνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἕκαστῳ πολλούς.

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: "Agisilaeus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." Thereupon 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 ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ τούτον ἐφη αὐτὸν ὡς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστατεύουσιν οὐ πάνι πολλοί, ἀξιώπιστοὶ δὲ συνειδεῖν· αὐτοὶ μεντοὶ πᾶσιν ἐφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ εἰλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τὸς λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἤδεως ἀν καὶ ὦμοι ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.

7 πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτῶντων: "Οταλα δὲ ποθεν ἐφασαν λήψεσθαι; τὸν δ' εἴπειν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δήπου συντεταγμένοι ἤμοιν αὐτοί ὅπλα κεκτήμεθα, τῷ δ' ὀχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδείξαι αὐτὸν ἐφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη, πολλοὺς δὲ ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ ἄξινας, πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἐφη ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὅπλα πάντες εἶναι ὀπίσοις ἀνθρωποι καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ ὀργάνα ὅπλα ἐχειν ἄρκοιντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ὀπλοῖς. πάλιν αὐ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα πρώτησθαι, εἴπειν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελμένου εἴη.

8 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὕδε τὴν μικρὰν καλομένην ἐκκλησίαν συνελέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συνλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθι ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλώνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεύσαι

1 After this word Kel. assumes a lacuna.
2 αὐτὸλ ὅπλα Sauppe: αὐτὸλ ἐφασάν γε ὅπλα MSS.: αὐτὸλ ἐφ' ὅςον γε δεῖ ὅπλα 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.
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ἡκεῖν ἂγοντα τῶν Ἀὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλωτῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγα-γεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναίκα, ἡ καλλίστῃ μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυ-τέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἀλλ' ἡδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τουστα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἐδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην ἐκεῖνη ἐν ἡ γεγραμμένοι ἠσαν οὐς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τῶν νέων. "Ἰθι, ἐφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρητῶν κέλευε σοι συμπέμ-ψαι ἔξ ἡ ἐπτα οἷς ἂν τύχωσι παρόντες. ἐμε-μελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρήτης εἰδείη οὐς δεοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδείην ὅτι Κινά-δωνα δεοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἄμαξας, ἢν μὴ πεξοὺς ἂγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὡς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἕνα ἐκεῖνον ἐπεμπον. ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἦδεσαν ὅπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἶ, καὶ ἀκούσαν πρὸς τὸν ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οὕτωσις εἰεν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθήσατο αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμήνυνται, ἢν μὴ ἀποδρῶσιν. ἐμελλον δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες ἀποσέμ-πειν τὴν ταχύστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἐφόροι πρὸς τὸ πράγμα, ώστε 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
11 ἵππεων ἐπεµψαν τοὺς ἔπ' Ἀὐλώνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰληµµένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦκεν ἵππεως φέρων τὰ ὄνοµατα ὅν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρήµα τὸν τε µάντιν Τισαµενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάµβανον. ὡς δ' ἄνηχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἢλέγχετο, καὶ ὦµολογεῖ πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἐλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἤρουτο τί καὶ βουλόµενος ταύτα πράττοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Μηδενὸς ἦττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαιµονι. ἐκ τούτου µέντοι ἦδη δεδεµένος καὶ τῷ χείρε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ µαστιγούµενος καὶ κεντούµενος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ µετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγουτο. καὶ οὔτοι µέν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

IV. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ ὁν µετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς µὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωµένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐτὶ κατασκευαζόµενας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἔπιθας ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόµενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιµονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τούτου παρασκευαζο-2 µένων' ὅποι δὲ οὕδεν ἐφή εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτερω-µένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιµονίων καὶ τοὺς συµµάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευοµένων τῷ χρῆ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νοµίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέ-σεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόµενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ µετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ύποστήναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα

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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
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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, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνω ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκύιας δὲ διὰ τούς ἑφόρους, οὗ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσει μετ’ Ἀγασιλάον.

3 ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγασιλάον τὴν στρατείαν, διδόσα τε οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὀσατερ ἦτησε καὶ ἐξαμήνου σίτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὡς ἐδεί καὶ τάλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προείπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἐκκαταχόθην πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐβουλήθη ἠλθὼν θύσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἐνθα-περ ὅ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ’ εἰς Τροίαν ἐπλεί ἐθύνετο.

4 ὡς δ’ ἐκεί ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι θύσιν, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἰπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἰς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροὶς τεθυμένοις διέρρηξαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὥσ’ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τρῆρα ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστῶν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεί ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλείστον εἰς Ἑφέσου τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείσθη 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 Spartiatae, 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.
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σαφέρνης πέμψας ἦρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἤκου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταύτ᾽ εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης. Εἰ τοῖνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἔως ἃν ἐγώ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἃν σε ταύτα διαπράξαμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. 'Αλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰώμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. 'Αλλ᾽ ἐξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως ¹ σοῦ πράττοντος ταύτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς 6 σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥήθεισι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὁμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλ- λῳ ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ αὐτόμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν ταύτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπουδὰς. οἱ μὲν δὲ Τισσαφέρνης ἢ ὁμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐφεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρά βασιλέως πρὸς ὦ ἐίχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπτε. Ἀγησιλαὸς δὲ, καίτερ αὐσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ² ταῖς σπουδαῖς.

7 Ὅσ δὲ ἤσυχιαν τε καὶ σχόλην ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησιλαὸς διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἀτε συντεταραγ- μένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτείων, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἢτι οὐσίας, ὥσπερ ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἀτε γυνώσκουσιν πάντες τῶν Λύσανδρου, προσέκειντο αὐτῶ ἀξιούντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτῶν παρ᾽ Ἀγη- σιλάον ὃν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταύτα ἂεὶ παμπληθής

1 ἀδόλως: after this word Kel. and others insert the following: ἐμὲ ταύτα πράξειν. Kal soi δὲ, ἔφη, ἐξεστί παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως. 2 ἐπέμενε MSS.: ἐνέμενε 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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όχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἥκολούθει, ὡστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἱδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Δύσανδρος βασιλεὺς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμην καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἑδήλωσεν ὕστερον, οἳ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἔσιγων, ἀλλὰ ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοῖς Δύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὁγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἦρξατο προσάγειν τινὰ τῷ Ἀγησίλάῳ ὁ Δύσανδρος, πάντας οἰς γυναῖκι αὐτοῦ συμπράττοντά τι περιμένουσι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ' ἀεὶ τὰ ἐναντία ὑπὸ ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ, ἐγνοὶ δὴ τὸ γιγνόμενον καὶ οὕτε ἔπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἐτι εἰά ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεσμένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἑλάττων ἔξοιεν, εἰ αὐτῶς παρεί. 9 βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμῇ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν 'ΙΩ’ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους ἡπίστω. Ναι μὰ Δῆ, ἐφι, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι τοὺς δὲ γε αὐξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἀν. καὶ ὁ Δύσανδρος εἶπεν Ἀλλ᾽ ἱσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἡ ἐγὼ ἐπιρραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μήτ' αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μήτ' ἐμπόθον σοι ὧ, ἀπόπεμψον ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὧ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἐδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησίλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεὶ δὲ ὁ Δύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, 1 See § 2 above.

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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 πεῖθει ἀποστῆμαι ἔχοντα τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρήματα καὶ ἵππεας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλυσα ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγνησίλαον. ἵδων δὲ ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος ἦσθη τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προέπετεν Ἀγνησίλαος πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίστω ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μᾶλα ἀχθέσθεντες φανεροὶ ἐγένετο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγνησίλαῷ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγνησίλαος δὲ μᾶλα φαινοῦ τῷ προσώπῳ ἦπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνης τοὺς πρόσβεις ἔκελευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δὲ Ἐλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιῶταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατεύμα, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἄς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καριάν προείπεν ἄγοραν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέτειλε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὶ καὶ Λισλεύσι καὶ Ἐλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευουμένους. οὐ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικον οὐκ ἔχειν ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος, ἢ δὲ Καρία ἀφιππὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἥγειτο αὐτῶν ὄργιζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὅτι νομίζας ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ οἴκων εἰς Καρίαν αὐτῶν ὄρμησειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἄπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκείσε, τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαίανδρον πεδίον περιήγη, νομίζον ἴκανος εἶναι καταπατήσαι τῇ 232
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
"ιππεῖς ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιτπα ἀφικέσθαι. ὦ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἴναι εὐθὺς τάναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἤγε καὶ τὰς τόλμῃς κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθὴ χρήματα ἑλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο, οὗ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡλαυνοῦ ἐπὶ λόφου τινά, ὡς προιόντοις τι τἀμπροσθεν εἰη. κατὰ τύχην δὲ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ 'Ῥαθύνην καὶ Βαγαίον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, περμφέντες ὕπο Φαρναβάζου ἡλαυνοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ Ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τεττάρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἐστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνες ἵππεῖς ὡσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλεύον ἂς δοῦνα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἐπείτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὄρμησαν οἱ Βάρβαροι. ὡς δ' εἰς χειρας ἤλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαισαν τινάς, πάντες συνετρίψαν τὰ δώρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτὰ ἐχοντας ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἤππεας, δύο δ' ἤππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνες ἤππεις. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ Βάρβαροι, καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν

1 ἀπαντώσας ... τὰς: inserted by Valckenaer, whom Kel follows, from Ages. i. 16.
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 plethra apart, at first both halted, the Greek horsemen being drawn up four deep like a phalanx, 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.
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15 ἀποθνῄσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, θυμόμενος τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μὲντοι φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γυνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππικὸν ἴκανον κτήσατο, οὐ δυνήσοντο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγινο τούτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἑκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξεν προειπὼν δὲ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππων καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὔτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι ἄσπερ ἀν τὶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἁπαθανούμενον προθύμως ξητοῖν.

16 Ἡκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδῆ ἦαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἄπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσοῦν ἀσκήσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἂθλα προὔθηκε ταῖς της ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἢτις ἀριστα σωμάτων ἐχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἢτις κράτιστα ἱππεύου καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἂθλα προὔθηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὅραν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἄνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τῶν δὲ ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαξομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. ἄξιαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἦ ἦν θέας ἐποίησεν ὣς ὁ γὰρ ἄγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ ὅπλων ὄντων, οἱ ταχακτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ 236
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 ὅπλα κατεσκεύαζον, ὡστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οὐεσθαί πολέμου ἐργα-
18 στήριον εἶναι. ἔπερρωσθῆ δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαοι μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτατας ἐστεφανομένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στε-
φάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπως γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιτο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῦν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐπιθδῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι: ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ κατα-
19 φρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πολεῖν. ὁρώντες οὖν οἱ στρατιώται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύσθησαί, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἅπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμι-
σαν οὖν διοίςειν τὸν πόλεμον ἥ εἰ γυναῖξι δέοι μάχεσθαι.

20 'Εν δὲ τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ δ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὐ εξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διελήλυθει, ὡστε οἱ μὲν περὶ Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέ-
πλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἔριππίδαν παρῆσαν. τούτων Εὐνοκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἑταξὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοδαμώδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἐριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρέλους, Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ προείπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὖθὺς ἡγή-
σοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σῶματα καὶ τὴν
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 gymnasia 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. cp. III. i. 6, ii. 7.
XENOPHON

21 γινόμην παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἔξαπατήσαι, εἰς Καρδίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὸ τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρδίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἵππων εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρον πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔψευσατο, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ προείπεν εὔθυς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἥμερας δὲ ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος πολλά τὰ ἐπιτίθεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰχε, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν1 διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτὸι δὲ κατιδότες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἑσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρπαγήν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αὐσθόμενοι δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππεας. οἱ δ’ αὐ τὸ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπληθέσθι τῶν ἵππεων τάξειν.

22 ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γεγονόσκων ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίως οὔπω παρείη τὸ πεζὸν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπειρὶ τῶν παρασκευασμένων, καρδία ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύνατο. σφαγιασάμενοι οὖν τὴν μὲν φίλαγγα εὔθυς ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἵππεας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ’ ἡβῆς θεῖν ὁμός αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι. παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἵππεας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀμα πάντα

23 ὃ ἡγεμῶν: inserted by most editors from Ages. i. 36. Kel. follows the MSS.

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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\(^1\) of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and biding 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

\(^1\) *op. ii. iv. 32 and the note thereon.*
tά δεινά παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὖθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες άριστοῦ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὡσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἄρπαγήν ἔτραποντο. ο̣ δὲ Ἀγησί-λαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιε-στρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ήπερ πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ὡς Ἀγησί-λαος εἰς τὴν Ἕλλαδα ἀπήγαγεν.

25 "Οτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὡν· ὡστε ἦτιώτου οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόθηκαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνης αὐτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τα ἕαυτον, Τιθραύστην κατα-πέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτὸ τὴν κεφαλίν. τούτο δὲ ποίησας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τοὺν Ἀγη-σίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας: 'Ω Ἀγησίλαε, ο μὲν αὐτίος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἤμων καὶ ἤμων ἔχει τὴν δίκην βασιλεὺς δὲ ἄξιοι σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οὔκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσία πόλεις αὐτονίμους

26 οὐσα τοὺν ἀρχαῖον δασμόν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀποκριμαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησίλάου οτι οὐκ ἂν ποιή-σειε ταύτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκων τελών, Σὺ δ' ἄλλα, ἐως ἂν πῦθη τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἐφι, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδῆ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. "Εως ἂν τοίνυν, ἐφι ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκείσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρα-τιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκεῖνω 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 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· ὅ δὲ λαβὼν ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὅντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοτελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὁποῖος γυνώσκοι καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὅντως αὐτὸς βούλοιτο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τοιώδε λογισμῷ, ὡς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφότεροι ἄρχοι, τὸ τε πεζῶν πολὺ ἀν ἴσχυρότερου εἴναι, καθ' ἐν οὐσίᾳ τῆς ἴσχύος ἀμφότερος, τὸ τε ναυτικὸν, ἐπιφαινο-

μένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἑνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὁπότας ἑκάστη βούλαρτο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο κανών, ἡδ' ὅν αὐτὶ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγέλαντο καὶ οἱ ἄδιδώτα ἐποιοῦντο χαρί-

ζεσθαι βούλόμενοι, εἰς εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν. Πεί-

σανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλότιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν γυνὴν, ἀπερῶτερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἐπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς περ ὤρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.

V. Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ διανοούμενον ἀπίεναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἑλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγά-

λας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τὶ χρῶτο τοῖς πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ρώδιον εἰς Ελλάδα, δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἄργυριον, καὶ κελεύει πειράσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν
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
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ’ ὧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσεων πρὸς Δακεδαιμόνιος. ἐκείνος δ’ ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξίδωρῳ, ἐν Κορώθῳ δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυνάθη, ἐν 'Ἀργεί δὲ Κύλωνι τε καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὃμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖν εἶναι. 1 οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιους. ἔπει δὲ ταύτας εἰς μίσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνύστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις ἀρξεῖ πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Λοκροὺς τοὺς ὸπονυτίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεὺς τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τοῦτον γενομένου ἐμβαλείν εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐγεύσθησαν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα ἐλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκρόις, ὥς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητησίμον, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Δοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπει δὲ οἱ Θηβαίοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήμην τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Δακεδαιμονία καὶ ἱέριον βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἠρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ’ ἦμυνο-

1 αὐτῶν τὸ ἀρχεῖν εἶναι Laves: τε αὐτῶν ἀρχεσθαι MSS., which Kel. retains, though marking a lacuna.
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 Λοκροὺς. οἱ μέντοι Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀςμενοὶ ἐλαβον πρόφασιν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης εἰν Δεκέλεια καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἔθελησαι ἀκολουθήσαι. ἦτιώντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὃς θύει τ' ἐν Ἀυλίδι τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον οὐκ εἶων καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἰερὰ ὡς ἔρρυσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι εὖδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγνησίλαφ συνεστράτευον. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶρὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιᾶν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἕβρεως· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλὸς σφίσιν ἐχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγνησίλαον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἔμποδῶν σφίσιν

6 εἶναι. οὗτῳ δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων φρούραν μὲν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ἐφαινον, Δύσαυδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλίας καὶ Δινᾶνας εἰς Ἀλίαρτοι. ἐκείσθε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας, ὁσπερ ἐμμελλειν ἤγεισθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ρητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Δακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ο μὲν Δύσαυδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελεύμενα ἐπράττε καὶ

7 προσέτη Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατηρία ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεξόμενος ἐν Τεγέᾳ τοὺς τε Ξεναγοὺς διέσεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιῶτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεί γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖν ὁι Δακεδαιμόνιοι 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 at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus. 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.
αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθηναίοις λέγοντας τοιάδε.

8 "Οι άνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ἓ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ἴπποι καθέπᾶ περὶ υμῶν ἐν τῇ κατάλυσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὅρθως μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκείνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐπευγενέτο, ὅσι ἐπὶ τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθῆμενοι. ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλον ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἀπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δ’ ύμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἠκιστά ὁργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ύμᾶς τῇ πόλει υμῶν. πολὺ δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἄξιοῦμεν, ὅσι οὗ τῶν ἐν ἀστεὶ ἐγενέσθε, προσθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἴεναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καταστήσαντες ύμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ύμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ύμᾶς τῷ πλῆθει. ὅστε τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐκείνους εἶναι ἀπολῶλατε, ὅ δὲ δήμος οὕτως υμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὁ άνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, βούλοντο ἃν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥν πρότερον ἐκέκτησε άναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τούτῳ δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἡ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων ἀδικομένους βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τούτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ύμεῖς ὅτε

1 cp. π. ii. 19. 2 cp. π. 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-

3 cp. ii. iv. 11, 24, etc.
πλείστων ἦρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἔχθροὺς ἐκείκετος. Ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποστάζειν, ἐκρυμπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν. ἔπει δέ γε Δακεδαίμονιοι προέστησαν, τότε ἔφηναν οία περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγίγνοσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνασπίσοιτες ἐναντία τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις, εὖ ἵστε, ἀναφανήσομεν πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτοῖς.

'Ὡς δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγομεν, έαν ἀναλογίσοιρσηθε, αὐτικα γνώσεθε. τίς γὰρ ἡδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενῆς; οὐκ Ἀργείοι μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἡλειοὶ γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἔχθροι αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἱ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λυπαρούμενοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετείχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Δακεδαῖμονοι, ποίας ἡ άρχης ἡ τιμῆς ἡ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδωκαίν οὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἴλωτας ἁρμοστὰς ἠξιώσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων οὐτών, ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν, δεσποταὶ ἀναπεφήμασιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὐς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν· ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἁρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὕς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει. ὁ γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρα-
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
κατεπολέμησεν αυτούς; πώς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς ἀν προστήτη τῶν οὖτω φανερῶς ἄδικου-
μένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἢδη μεγίστους τῶν πόλετο
γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἠρχετε, τῶν κατὰ θάλα-
tαν μόνον δήποι ἡγεῖσθε νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν
καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὃν πρόσθεν ἠρχετε καὶ
αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος
ἡγεμόνες ἢν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἤμεν πολλοὺ ἄξιοι
καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε νῦν
δὲ γε εἰκός τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως ὑμιν συμ-
μαχεῖν ὑμᾶς ἢ τότε Δακεδαμιονίοις; οὐδὲ γὰρ
ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ ἄλλο-
τρίων, ὠσπερ τότε, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἄδι-
kουμένων βοηθήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲντοι χρὴ εὑ
εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Δακεδαμιονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ
eὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρ-
χῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων
ἥρχετε, οὕτω δὲ ὁλίγοι οὕτε πολλαπλασίων
ὕμων καὶ οὗθεν χεῖρον ὀπλισμένων πλεον-
εκτοῦσι. ταῦτ’ οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς; εὖ γε μέντοι
ἐπίστασθε, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν
ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμε-
tέρα πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

'Ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἴπων ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ’ Ἀθη-
ναίων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ’
ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ
ἀποκριτὰν τὸ ψῆφισμα καὶ τὸν ἐνεδείκνυτο,
ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὃμως παρα-
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 αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἡ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφι, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἥμεις δὲ τε μεθ' ὕμων μαχούμεθα ἐκεῖνοι, ἀν ἦσαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἡθβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βουστίαν τὸ τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουσαν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ἐρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἐφθη τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἠσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονοῦ στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἰχεν ἤει πρὸς τὸ τείχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπευθεὶς αὐτοῦς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτούμονος γίγνεσθαι ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἡθβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλυσαν, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τείχος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἡθβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοηθοῦσαν οἱ τε ὁπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἰτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἰτε καὶ ἀισθόμενος προσίστατας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τείχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσανδροῦ ἐφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἔδωκαν ἐρρωμένως οἱ Ἡθβαῖοι. ὃς δὲ ἄνω ἦδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ ὁυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία ὑπε-256
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
Λάμβανεν αὐτοὺς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὀπλιταὶ ἥκοντες τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἐπέσον αὐτῶν δύο ἤ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλώνουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντως καὶ ἀποθησκοῦσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.

21 Ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἡθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεποιθέναι ἢ πε- ποιηκέναι τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπεὶ ἡσθοντο ἀπε- ληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας οὐκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τούτων μείζων δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Δακεδαι- μονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἴσωντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὸν ἐφασαν σιωπῆν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τῇ υστεραίᾳ οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμ- παρετάξαντο ὁ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσήγειν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτων τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μείζων φρονήμα ἐγύρνετο· ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντήρας ἐβουλεύετο πόσ- τερον μάχην συνάπτοι ή ὑπόσπονδον τὸν τε Δύσανδρον ἀναρρότο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόν- τας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Δακεδαίμονιον ὡς Δύσανδρος τετελευτη- κῶς εἰ̣η καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύ-
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 were not serving with any spirit;

1 *i.e.* the other Peloponnesians (*cp.* § 17 above).
μως στρατεύοντο· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν ὃς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄλγον εἰς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἐκεῖντο, ὡστε οὔδε κρείττοσιν οὔσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ράδιον εἴη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταύτα ἐδοξεν αὐτῶς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους

24 ἀναίρεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαίοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίην τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ὃτε ἀπίεναι εκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἀσμενοὶ τε ταύτα ἡκουσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βουωτίας. τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι μᾶλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν τις τῶν χωρίων τοῦ ἐπιβαίνη, παίουτες ἔδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ

25 στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι Παυσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἶκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλιαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη ἑπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἄνηκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγυμνώσθη· καὶ ἐφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἔτελεύτησε μέντοι ἔκει νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν 'Ελλάδα ταύτ' ἐπράχθη.

1 ἀποδοίην MSS. except B: ὑποδοίην B, followed by Kel.
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.
Δ

1. Ὅ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἄμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαριαβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐκαί καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βία, τὰς δὲ ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. Λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τὸν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξον καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμους ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ αφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ὑπὸ βασιλέως.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἤλθεν ὁ Οτός καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποίησατο καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἄνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ ὁ Οτός χιλίους μὲν ἵππεας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστάς. χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθριδάτῃ. Εἰπὲ μοι, ἔφη, διὰ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δοίης ὁ Οτός τῇ θυγατέρᾳ; Πολὺ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκεῖνος ἄν λάβη φυγάδου ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύουν πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἔρρῆθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Οτός ἐμελλεῖν ἀπιέναι, ἤλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀσπασόμενος. ἦρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν

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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

\[1 \text{ cp. iii. iv. 29.}\]
6 Σπιθριδάτην. Δέξοι μοι, ἕφη, ὁ Ὄτυ, ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; οὗ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὖνέν ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ νῦν, ἕφη, ἐόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστὶ; Τι δ' οὗ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτων μὲν φασί τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι.

7 Νὴ Δί', ἕφη ὁ Ὄτυς, καλὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἕφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦμιν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύοιμ' ἂν σοι τὴν παίδα ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα, καλίστην μὲν οὕσον, οὐ τί ἄνδρι ἥδιον; πατρὸς δ' εὐγενεστάτον, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, διὸ ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄδικηθεὶς οὔτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὡστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὄρας, πεποίηκεν. εὐ ίσθι μέντοι, ἕφη, ὅτι ὀσπερ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὔτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν ἂν δύνατο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων πρακτέντων μήκειν ἂν σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Δακεδαιμονίους, ἦμοιν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἐλλάδος καὶ τῆν Ἀλλήν Ἐλλάδα. καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοσέρως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τὸς ἄν ποτε γῆμειε; ποιὰν γὰρ νῦμφην πῶς ποτε τοσοῦτοι ἰππεῖς καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλῖται προὔπεμψαν ὡςοι τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἃν; καὶ ὁ Ὄτυς ἐπήρετο: Δοκοῦντα δ', ἕφη, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἕφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμὲ γε οὐκ ἐκε-
Spartiatae, after asking Spithridates to withdraw. "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 handomer 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;
λευσε ταῦτα λέγειν: ἐγὼ μέντοι, καὶ περ ὑπερ-χαίρων, ὅταν ἔχθρον τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ ἰδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοὺς φίλους ἀγαθῶν
11 ἐξευρήσκω. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνῳ
βουλομένῳ ταῦτ' ἐστί; καὶ ὁ 'Ἀγησίλαος: 'Ἰτ', ἔφη, ὡς ἤμεις, ὁ Ἡριπίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν
12 βουληθήναι ἀπερ ἤμεις. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες
ἐδίδασκον. ἑτεὶ δὲ διέτριβον. Βούλει, ἔφη, ὁ
"Οτυ, καὶ ἤμεις δεύρο καλέσωμεν αὐτὸν; Πολὺ γ'
ἀν οἴμαι μᾶλλον ὅποι σοῦ πεισθήναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὅποι
τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ
'Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Ῥπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.
13 προσιόντων δ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριπίδας. Τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα, ὁ 'Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἂν τις μακρο-
λογοῦν; τέλος δὲ λέγει Ῥπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν
ἀν ἢδέως ὅ τι σοὶ δοκοῖν. 'Εμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη,
δοκεῖ, ὁ 'Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὁ Ῥπιθριδάτα, τύχη
ἀγαθή διδόναι 'Οτυὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμ-
βάνειν. τὴν μὲν τοῖς παιδα πρὸ ἢρος οὐκ ἂν
dυναίμεθα πεξή ἀγαγεῖν. 'Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη
ὁ "Οτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἦδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ
14 βούλοιο. ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβῶντες
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν 'Οτυν.
Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ 'Ἀγησίλαος, ἑτεὶ ἔγγοι αὐτὸν
σπεύδοντα, τριήρῃ πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Δακε-
dαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παιδα, αὐτὸς
ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο, ἐνθα καὶ τὰ βασί-
λεια ἣν Φαρναβάζω, καὶ κώμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ
cαὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτίθεια,
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 περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγι-καλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἱχθύων πλήρης. ἢν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνά ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρυθεύσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διε-χείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. καταφρονη-τικῶς δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν πρότερον ἑσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιω-τῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσπαρμένοις, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχων δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἢπείας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίων.

οὶ δ' Ἡλληνες ὡς εἰδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα, συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἐπτακοσίους· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλ-λησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἄρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἢπείοις ὁπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκελευσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἄρματα ἐμβαλόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἄθροον, ταχύ οἱ ἢπεῖες κατέβαλον ὡς εἰς ἐκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγγείλαιον ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἐτυχε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὃν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτη ἡ τετάρτη ἡμέρα αἰσθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Καυχώ κόμη μεγάλη στρατοπεδευμένον, ἀπέ-χουτα στάδια ὡς ἐξῆκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ εὐθὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἑπιθυμῶν λαμπρὸν τὸ ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ τὸν Ἀγγείλαον ὀπλίτας τε εἰς δισχιλίοις καὶ πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσοῦτον καὶ ἢπεῖας τοὺς τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὀπόσους πείσειεν. ἢπεί δὲ ὑπέσχετο
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
αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἀμα δείλη καλλιεργησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαν-
τας παρίγγυελε παρεὶναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατο-
pέδου. σκότος δὲ γενομένου οὐδ’ οἱ ἡμίσεις
23 ἐκάστων ἐξῆλθον. ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέ-
pοιτο, καταγελώθη εὕτω οἱ ἀλλοι τριάκοιτα,
24 ἐπορεύετο σὺν ἡ εἴχε δυνάμει. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐπιπέσον τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν
προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν δυτῶν πολλοὶ ἐπέσοι,
αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλλι-
σκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ
οἰα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύη
25 πολλὰ καὶ ὑποξύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ
φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἰ που κατασταίη, κυκλωθεῖσιν
πολιορκοῖτο, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας ἐπῆμεν,
ώσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μᾶλλα ἄφανίζων τὰς στρα-
26 τοπεδεύσεις.¹ ἔπει δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα
ἀπῆγαγον οὐ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης,
ὕποστῆσας Ὁριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς
ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα τὸν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς
Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἄπαγάγοι τὰ ἀἰχμά-
27 λωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα
παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀδικηθέντες καὶ
ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι φύσει
ἀπιόντες εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀρυμαῖον, πιστεύσαντες,
ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀρυμάιος ἀποστάζε δαμιέως 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 895 B.C.
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 de-
tachments 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 day-
break 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 Spithri-
dates 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 Ariaeus at Sardis, putting their
trust in Ariaeus because he also had revolted from the
28 σεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως
tοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν
Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ
στρατείᾳ.
29 Ἡν δὲ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, δς καὶ
Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένου ὅν καὶ
Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ' ἐκείνου τῶν χρόνων ἐξενώθη.
οὕτως οὖν εἰπεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς οὗτο
συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἄν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας
30 Φαρνάβαζον. ὥς δ' ἦκουσεν αὐτοῦ, στοινᾶς
λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον
 eius συγκείμενον χωρίον, ἐνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ
οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τρικόντα χαμαί ἐν ποί τινι
catakeίμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤκεν
ἐχὼν στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄξιαν. ὑποτεθέν
tων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ραπτά, ἐφ' ὅν καθί-
ξουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ἡσυχύθη ἐντρυφῆσαι,
ὅρων τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον τὴν φαυλότητα· κατεκλίθη
οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁσπερ εἴχε χαμαί. καὶ πρώτα
μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖται, ἐπειτὰ τὴν
dexiāν προτεινάσως τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπροϋ-
tεινε καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἢρξατο
λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος:
31 Ὡ Αγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαι-
μόνοι, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε,
φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν
τὸ ύμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἵσχυρὸν ἐποίουν,
ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰπποῦ μαχόμενος μεθ'
ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολε-
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 Apollophanes 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, Apollophanes, after obtaining a truce and a pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the thirty Spartiatae 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.

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μίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὦσπερ Τίσσαφέριον οὐδὲν πώποτε μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτε εἶπόντος πρὸς
33 ύμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἃν κατηγορῆσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενό-
μενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ύφ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὔδε
δείπνου ἐχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χώρᾳ, εἰ μὴ τι ὑν ἂν
ύμεις λήππης συνλέξομαι, ὦσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δὲ
μοι ὁ πατήρ καὶ οὐκῆματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους
καὶ δενδρῶν μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ' ὁς κυφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὅρω τὰ μὲν κατα-
κεκομμένα τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ
gυγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὁσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ύμεῖς δὴ
dιδάξατε με ὅπως ταύτ' ἑστιν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστα-
μένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.

34 'Ο μεν ταύτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν
ἐπησχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰσώπτησαν ὁ δὲ Αγγεί-
λαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν Ἡλλ' ὦμιάι μὲν σε, ὡς
Φαρνίβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς
πόλεσι ξένων ἀλλήλοις ἱγνώνται ἀνθρώποι. οὕτω
δὲ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιας ἱγνώνται, σὺν ταῖς
πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξευμένοις πολεμοῦσι καὶ, ἂν
οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἑστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους.
καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐν νῦν Βασίλειοι τῶν υμετέρω πολεμοῦν-
tes πάντα ἡμαγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου πολέμια νομί-
ζειν· σοὶ γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν
ποιησαίμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαι σε ἐδει ἀντὶ
δεσπότου Βασίλεως ἡμᾶς δεσπότας, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε
σοι συνεβούλευον νῦν δὲ ἐξεστὶ σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν
γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην
ἐχοντα ξῆνα καρπούμενον τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλευ-
θερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν
35 πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο σε κελεύ-
μεν, πένητα μὲν, ἐλευθερον δ' εἶναι, ἅλλ' 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 Spartiatae 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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συμμάχους χρώμενον αὐξεῖν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἄλλα τὴν σαυτοῦ ἄρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἀμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἰς καὶ πλοῦσιος γένοιο, τίνος ἄν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν ευδαίμων εἶναι;

37 Ὅντοι, ἐφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς υμῖν ἀποκρίνομαι ἀπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοῖς, ἐφη, ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἔμε δὲ ύπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττη, βουλήσομαι υμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· εὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἄρχην προστάττῃ,—τοιοῦτον τι, ὡς ἐσικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστὶν—εὖ χρῆ εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμήσω υμῖν ὃς ἄν δύνωμαι ἄριστα. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὃ λῶστε σὺ, τοιοῦτος ὃν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἐν δ' οὖν, ἐφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἄπειμι ὃς ἄν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λουποῦ, καὶ πόλεμος ἦ, ἔως ἄν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.

38 Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππὸν ἀπῆι, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπίτας ύιὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἐτί ὄν, υπολειφθεὶς καὶ προσδραμών. Ἐξένω σε, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ποιοῦμαι. Ἐγὼ δὲ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησο νυν, ἐφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτὸν—εἰχε δὲ καλὸν—ἐδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἐχοντος περὶ τῷ ἱππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντεδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππὸν μετεδίωκε

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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 altogether 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." "Remember, 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 secretary, had round his horse's neck. Then the boy leaped upon his horse and followed after his father.
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40 τὸν πατέρα. ὡς δ’ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φαρνάβαζου ἀπο-
δημία ἀποστερῶν ἄδελφος τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα
ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας νίον, τὰ τ’ ἄλλα ὁ
'Αγησίλαος ἐπεμελείτο αυτοῦ, καὶ ἔρασθέντος
αυτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκους νίεος 'Αθηναίων, πάντ’
ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δέ’ ἐκείνον ἐγκριθῇ τὸ στάδιον
ἔν 'Ολυμπία, μέγιστος ὅων τῶν παίδων.

41 Καὶ τότε δὴ, ὅσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον,
eὖθυς ἀπεπορεύτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ
ἐὰρ ἦδη ὑπέφαινεν. ἀφικομένος δ’ εἰς Θῆβης
πεδίον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυ-
ρνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ιερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς φ’ εἶχε
συνέλεγεν πανταχόθεν παμπληθεὶς στράτευμα.
παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὡς δύνατο
ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὅποσα ὁπίσθεν ποιήσατο ἔθνη
πάντα ἀποστήσειν βασιλέως.

Π. 'Αγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ
Δακεδαμιώνοι ἔπει σαφῶς ήσθοντο τά τε χρήματα
ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πό-
λεις συνεστηκνίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν
κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρατεύειν

2 ἄναγκαιον ἡγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα
παρεσκευάζοντο, εὖθυς δὲ καὶ ἔπι τὸν 'Αγησίλαον
πέμπονσιν Ἑπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ’ ἔπει ἄφικετο, τὰ τε
ἀλλὰ διηγείτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι

3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ
'Αγησίλαος ἔπει ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν,
ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἴων τιμῶν καὶ οἴων ἐλπίδων

1 The stadium, or two hundred yards' dash, was a race for
ten and Eualees' son was too young to be eligible, but his
usual 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 money 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 Epicydidas to fetch Agesilaus. And when Epicydidas 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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὁμως δὲ συγκαλέσας τὸς συμμαχοὺς ἑδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαίον εἶναι βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι ἔκεινα καλῶς γένηται, εἰ ἐπίστασθε, ἐφι, ὦ ἀνδρές σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἄλλα πάλιν παρέσωμαι πράξων ὃν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησίλαος τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι, εἰ δὲ καλῶς τὰκεὶ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἦκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκενάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέληπτεν Εὔξενον ἀρμοστήν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὖν ἐλαττὸν τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύναιτο διασώζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρων ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐφ' Ἐλληνας στρατεύσεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, θὰλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεισιν, ἢτοι ἀριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὡστε εὐσπλήτατον λόχων ἔχων συστατεύοιτο καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππιρχοῖς, ὡστε εὐσπλητάτην καὶ εὐσπλητάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τοῦτος νικηθήρων δώσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἐφι ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερονήσῳ, ὅτως εὗ ἐιδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευο- 7 μένους δεὶ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἅθλα τὰ μὲν πλείστα ὁπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὁπλιτικαὶ καὶ ἰππικαὶ ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι

1 ἀπεστερεῖτο BMDV: ἀποστερεῖτο F: ἀποστερεῖτο C, followed by Kel.
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 there 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
χρυσοί· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἀθλα οὐκ ἐλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσοῦτον μὲντοι ἀναλωθέντων, παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅτιλα εἰς τὴν στρατιάν κατεσκευάσθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ διεβῆ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Δακεδαίμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἥριππίδας καὶ Ὀρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησί- λαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον ἢπερ βασι- λεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.

9 'Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἑφοροὶ φρουρῶν ἐφηναν· ἢ δὲ πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἦτι ἦν, Ἀριστο- δήμου τοῦ γένους ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδὸς, ἤγεισθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν μὲν οἱ Δακεδαίμονὶ, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἄν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσσει αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαίτο.

10 Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἐλέξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων πράγμα οἴονπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. οἳ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἄλλῳ εὐδιάβατοι, ὡς δ' ἄν πορρωτέρω γίγνονται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ ἵσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ βέβα ποιοῦσι, καὶ οἱ Δακεδαίμονὶ ὁσαύτως, ἐνθεν μὲν ἐξέρ- χονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παρα- λαβάοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ ὅσπαχω- τερον γίγνονται. ὥρῳ δ' ἐγωγε, ἐφη, καὶ ὅποιοι σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, εὰν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους· εὰν δ' ἔτι ἐνδοὺ ὄντων τὸ πῦρ
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 followed when he made his expedition against Greece.

Meanwhile the ephors called out the ban; and since Agesipolis 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 οὐδέν, χειρουμένους
de τοὺς σφήκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἠγούμαι
κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μῆ,
ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαιμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεῖ-
σθαι. δοξαντος δ' εὗ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο
tαῦτα. ἐν φ' δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο
καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὅπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι
πάν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς
φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς
πολεμίοις παρέχοιν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνοι
cαὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας

13 ἔξησαν τὴν ἄμφιαλον. καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν
τι ἁμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέα
hydrate, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ
Σικυώνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπι-
εἰκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλ-
λοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν

14 οἱ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ταῦτη προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου,
tέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι
μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἐμπρο-
σθέν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπείχον τῶν
πολεμίων, κάκεινοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
ήσυχιαν εἴχον.

15 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρων. συνε-
λέγησαν γὰρ ὀπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων 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.

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, 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 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

2 The Corinthian Gulf. 3 Of the Nemea.
XENOPHON

έξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωφείων καὶ Δασιωνίων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζνίων καὶ Ἐρμονέων καὶ Ἀλιών ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἐπεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἐξακοσίων, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξόται ἥκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφευδονήται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακόσιων. Φλειάσιοι μὲντοι οὐκ ἥκολούθουν ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἐφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μετὰ

17 Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἦ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, Ἀργείων δὲ ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἐπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὅρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὔβοιας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἐπεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν, ἐπεὶ Ὅρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν, εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἐξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὔβοιας εἰς ἐκατόν, Δοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψίλων δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν καὶ γὰρ Δοκροὶ οἱ Ὀξόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς.

18 Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἔως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι

1 έπεὶ... παρῄσαν 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, Acorians, and Lasionians almost three thousand, and of the Sicyonians one thousand five hundred, while of the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, and Haliaks 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, Letrinians, and Amphidolians, not less than four hundred. The Phliasians, however, would not join them; for they said that they were keeping a holy truce.¹ 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 Aecarnanians 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.
κατήπευσαν τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι κατὰ Λακεδαίμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξίων ἔσχον καὶ κατ᾽ Ἀχαιόνος ἀντιτάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθείαν παντελῶς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ ἤγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξία, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι, ἣν μὴ διασπασθείσαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἰ ἐκκλαθήναι.

19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι οὐκ ἦσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπαιώναν, τότε δὴ ἐγνώσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἀπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύσαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἠγουμένῳ, ἤγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ἐτί τὰ δεξιὰ, καὶ οὔτω πολὺ ὑπερέχειν τὸ κέρας ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἔξι φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ

20 Τεγεάτας. οὔκετι δὲ στάδιον ἄπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὡσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἤγοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψατε εἰς κύκλοσιν.

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 wereadvancing; 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 ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναυτῶν, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπίας γενόμενοι ἐμάχωτό τε καὶ ἐν χώρα ἐπιπτόν ἐκατέρων.

21 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς οὔτε, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο καὶ τὰς μὲν τέταρτας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρῆσαι παρῆλθον, ὡστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν τοῖς Ὁ Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρῶτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἅρα τις ἀναβοήσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρῶτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ’ ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παῖοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωροῦσιν. έτι δ’ ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἕττωμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη ἑπειτα δ’ εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἄρχαῖον στρατόσειον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ αὐτ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίως συνεμείξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον, καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

23 III. Ὅ δ’ Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἁσίας ἐβοήθειν ὄντι δ’ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει

1 i.e. on the right side, the shield being carried on the left arm.

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they had come to close encounter, all the allies of
the Lacedaemonians were overcome by their adver-
saries 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 en-
counter, at the hands of the Tegeans; but the La-
cedaemonians 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 1 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 ὅτι νικῶν τε αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὅκτω, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμ-πληθεὶς ἐδίηλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ 2 ὀλύγοι πεπτωκότες εἶνεν. ἔρομένοι δὲ τοῦ 'Ἀγη-σιλάου: ὁ Δερκυλίda, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπτουσι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας: Ἐὐθυμοτέρους ἤοιν εἰκὸς ταύτ' ἀκουσάντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σὺ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἄν ἀπαγγελλαὶ; ὥδε ἄσμενοι ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ ἅνει φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν: Ἐσ ὅτι τάτ-τοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἐφή, καὶ προσπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὐ γένηται, πάλιν 3 παρεσόμεθα, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐφάμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερ- κυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντων πρῶτον ἔπορεύετο.

"Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Δαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραινώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι οὖντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θεττα-λοί, πλην ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότ' ἔτυγχανον, 4 ἐκακοῦργουν αὐτῶν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμῖσεις μὲν ἐμπροσθεῖν, τοὺς ἡμῖσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρὰ ἔχον τῶν ἱππέων ἐπεί δ' ἐκὼλυν τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὁπίσθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλην τῶν περὶ 5 αὐτῶν ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἄλληλοι, οἱ μὲν Θετ- ταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς 294
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
ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, ὀπέφευρται βαίνῃ ἀπεχώ- 6 ρον. οἴ δὲ μᾶλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνούσ δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀ ἐκάτερο ἴμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν μᾶλα εὐρώστους ἱππείας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς 7 ἀναστροφῆς. οἴ δὲ Θεταλοὶ ὡς εἴδον παρὰ δόξαν ἔλαιοντας, οἴ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἴ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἴ δὲ πειρόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἥλισκοντο. Πολύ- χαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἵππορχῶν ἀνέστρεψε τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποθητῄσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θεταλῶν ἐξαισία γίγνεται: ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθυμηκόν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἥλισκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν 9 ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὀρεί ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαίων τ' ἐστῆσατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔμεινε, μᾶλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἱππικὴ ἐνεικήκηκε σὺν δ' αὐτῶς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' υστεραίᾳ ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαιὰ 10 τῆς Φθίας ὑρη τῆν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὀρια. Ὀντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἤλιος μηνοει- δῆς ἐδοξέονας φανήναι, καὶ ἤγγελθη ὅτι ἦπτημένοι ἐκεῖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναυαρχὸς Πείσανδρος τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ τρόπῳ

1 cp. III. iv. 29.
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 Polyeharmus 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 Laedaeomnians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander, had been killed. It was also stated in what
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-

1 i.e. being practically volunteers (cp. ii. 4). 2 cp. ii. 17.
Λακεδαίμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσαν. ἦμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ’ οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμώδεις συστρατευσάμενοι αυτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ Ἡριππίδας ἠξενάγαγεν ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ πόλεων Ἐλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσα διών παρέλαβεν αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὁ- πλίται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταὶ γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ μετ’ Ἀγγισιλᾶον ἵππεῖς δ’

16 αὐ παραπλῆσιοι ἄμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὐτὴ ἄμφοτέρων· διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οίᾳ οὐκ ἄλλῃ τῶν γ’ ἐφ’ ἦμῶν. συνήθεσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγγισιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Ὁβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλικώνος. εἰχε δ’ Ἀγγισιλαος μὲν δεξίῳν τοῦ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ’ αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ’ αὐ Ὁβαίοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐωνύμον εἶχον.

17 Συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν συγι πολλὴ ἀπ’ ἄμφο- τέρων ἦν· ἦνικα δ’ ἀπείχον ἄλληλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ὁβαίοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ οὕτων ἀντεξέ- δραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγγισιλᾶος φάλαγγος ὃν Ἡριπ- πίδας ἠξενάγαγε καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκ- δραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἅφικόμενοι.
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
'Ετρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ 'Αγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλίκώνα. κανταύθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἴδῃ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαίοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόρεστες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ἐἶησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὑρίς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς· οἱ δ' αὐθ' Ἐλίκώνα πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.

Ἐνταύθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἐξεστίν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἶλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξον γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροσθαί τοὺς ὕπερθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, άλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθυμσκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλίκώνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἢ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησίλαον ἐγεγένητο, πετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσενήμεντο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππεῶν λέγονσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὑγδοίκοντα σὺν ὀπλοῖς ὑπὸ τῶ νεῶ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων τῷ χρῆ ποιεῖν. οὐ δὲ, καῖπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων, ὡμοὶ οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐάν τε ἀπίέναι ἢ βουλοῦντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἰς. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἴδῃ
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
21 ὁψὲ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. πρὸ δὲ Γύλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξει τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαίον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσαν πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίοιν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὔτω δὴ αἳ τε σπουδαῖο γίγνονται καὶ Ἄγγειλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἐκατόν ταλάντων. Γύλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Φωκέας, ἐκείθεν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεύη ἐκ τῶν κομῶν καὶ σῖτον ἡρπαξοῦν ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἂν, τελευταίων ἀποχωροῦντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ Δοκροῖ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζουντες. ὡς δ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλον τινας, ἐκ τούτοις ὁπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον.

22 οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐπιστον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆ προορᾶν τὰ ἐμπρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποβυθήσασθαι Γύλίς τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστάτων Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν, 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 Spartiatae,

¹ The Dorian Apollo.
katαλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβσοθησαν αὐτοῖς έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἃν ἀπαντεῖ ἀπολέσθαι.

IV. Μετὰ τούτο γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ό Ἀγησί- λαος ἐπ' οἶκον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοί καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐ- τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυώνος. ὀρὸντες δ’ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἕαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δηομένην καὶ πολ- λοὺς ἀποθηκήσκοντας διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ οὖντας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὕσας, οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον 2 ταύτα ἄλληλοις. γνώντες δ’ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βοιωτοί καὶ Κορίνθιοι οί τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγεινημένοι ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδῶν ποιήσοντο τούς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμ- μένους, κινδυνεύσει πάλιν ἡ πόλις λακωνίσαι, οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύ- σαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμῳ τις κατα- γινώσκῃ, οὐκ ἀποκτινωνύσῳν ἐν ἔορτην ἐκεῖνοι δ’ Ἐυκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προεῖλοντο, ὡς τοῖς πλείσις ἄν ὠνόμα λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, ὥστε ἀπο- 3 κτεῖναι. ὃς δ’ ἐσημαύνθη ὡς εἰρήτῳ ὅσις 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,¹ 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.
XENOPHON

κτείναι, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἐπαίου τὸν μὲν τινα συνεστήκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ’ ὑν καὶ κριτὴν καθῆμενον. ὡς δ’ ἐγνώσθη τὸ πράγμα, εὐθὺς ἐφευγοῦν οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεύς· ἐνθα δὴ οἱ ἀνασιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον φρονοῦντες, οἱ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἐσφαττον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡστ’ ἐνίους καὶ τῶν οὗ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ’ ἀνθρώπων, ἀδημονήσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἱδόντας τὴν ἄσεβειαν. ἀποθυνήσκουσι δ’ οὗτο τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλῶν μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐτυχοῦν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ οὕτως: οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύοιτος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἐσεσθαί, ἦσυχίαν ἐσχοῦν ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὡς δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἦσθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἅφικοντο πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπεκρούσαντο: βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῖ οὔτε ἁνέμου γενομένου. καὶ θυομένως δὲ τοιαῦτα ἵν τὰ ἱερὰ ὡστε οἱ μάντεις ἐφασαν ἀμεινὸν εἶναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς φευγόμενοι 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.
ιούσαι καὶ ἀδελφαί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων ᾦσαν οὐ ὁμοῦντες ὑπισχυοῦντο μηδὲν χαλεπῶν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθὼν 6 τινες οἴκαδε αὐτῶν. ὀρώντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας 1 τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζόμενῷ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅρους ἀνεστάσθαι καὶ Ἀργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάξεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῆς ἐν Ἀργείῳ μετέχειν, ἣς οὐδὲν ἐδέουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἐλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντο τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὁπέρ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀποδείξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαφόνων καθαρὰν, εὐνομία δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναντο καταπράξαι ταῦτα, σωτηρᾶς γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναντο, τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ορεγομένους ἄξιεσπαίνοντάς τε λευτῆς 7 τυχεῖν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἀνδρε δυό, Πασιμηλός τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύνετο διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτα τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ πολεμάρχῳ, δς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς έαυτοῦ μόρας φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυώνι, καὶ εἴπον ὅτι δύναντι ἀν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα ἐπὶ Δέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γιγνώσκων τῷ ἀνδρε ἀξιοπίστῳ ὅντε, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἀπίεναι μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυῶνος μόραν καταμεῖναι, ἐπράττε τὴν εἴσοδον.

1 ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας inserted by Kel., following Campe.
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. 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.
8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρεὶ καὶ κατὰ τύχην καὶ κατ᾽ ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἐνθαπερ τὸ τροπαῖον ἐστηκεν, οὐτώ δὴ ἔχων ὁ Πραξίτας ἐρχεται τὴν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Κορινθίων ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις, φοβοῦμενος τὴν εἰσόδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν ἄνδρα εἰσπέμψαι σκεψόμενοι τὰ ἐνδόν. τὸ δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην καὶ οὔτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὡστε ὁ εἰσελθῶν ἐξήγησεν πάντα εἶναι ἁδόνος οἰάπερ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰσέρχεται. ὡς δὲ πολὺ διεχούσων τῶν τειχῶν ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων παραταττόμενοι ὁλίγοι ἔαυτοῖς ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμα τ᾽ ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τάφρον οἶαν ἔδυναν πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἐως δὴ οὶ σύμμαχοι βοηθῆσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακῆ. Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἔπι τῇ νυκτὶ ἦ εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν ἃμαχοι διήγαγον. τῇ δὲ ύστεραία ἦκον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πασσυνδιὰ βοηθοῦντες καὶ εὐρῶντες τεταγμένους Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἔπι τῷ δεξιῷ ἕαυτῶν, Σικυωνίους δὲ ἐχομένους, Κορινθίων δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον πρὸς τῷ ἐφοῖ τείχει, ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι τοῦ ἐφοί τείχους οἱ περὶ Ἰφικράτη μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι εὐώνυμον δὲ εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει ευθὺς ἐχόρουν καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες 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
ταυ, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Πασί-
μαχος δὲ ὁ ἱππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππεὰς οὐ πολ-
λοὺς, ὡς ἔωρα τοὺς Σικυωνίους πιεζομένους,
καταδήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἱπποὺς, καὶ ἀφελό-
μενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελῶντων
ηὲ ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀράντες
tὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς Σικυωνίους
οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἦνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασί-
μαχος. Ναὶ τῶ σιῶ, ὦ Ἀργείοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ
σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσει, καὶ οὔτω μαχόμενος
μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἄλλοι
tῶν περὶ αὐτῶν. οἱ μὲντοι φυγαίδες τῶν Κορυν-
θίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν ἀνώ, καὶ
ἐγένοντο ἐγγυς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου. οἱ δ' ἀν
Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ἕσθοντο κρατοῦντα τὰ κατὰ
tοὺς Σικυωνίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξέλθοντες, ἐν ἀρι-
στερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα.1 οἳ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι
ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν ὅπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους,
στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος
ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν
παῖμενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων
ἀπέθυμσκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀθρόοι σὺν
πολλῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχον
tοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορυνθίων, καὶ ἐγνώσαν
πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα
μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες
ἡλιοῦτο κατὰ τὸ τείχος καὶ διεθείροντο, οἱ
dὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὥθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι

1 εξέλθοντες... σταύρωμα MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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.

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ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ' ἄλληλων ἀπετυγγόντο. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἥπορον τίνα ἀποκτείνοιεν ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἶον οὐδ' ηὐξαντό ποτ' ἀν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένου, ἐκπεπληγμένου, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸλλυσθαι πάντα σὲπτητοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις θείον ἡγήσατο, τότε γοῦν οὐτως ἐν ὅλῳ πολλοὶ ἐπεσον ὡστε εἰθυσμένοι ὅραν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ σωροὺς σίτου, 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 νεωσώκων ἀναβάντες. μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν τούτο ὁ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ύποσπόνδους ἀπήγγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥθροϊσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεύν ὡστε δῦδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν εἶναι, ἐπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἥγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἱρεὶ προσβάλων πρῶτον μὲν Σιδούντα, ἐπειτα δὲ Κρομμυώνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τούμπαλιν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τείχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἦν φρούριον εἰς πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεξώρει.

1 i.e. the walls which connected Corinth with Lechaeum. cp. § 7.
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 \(^1\) 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 Epieiceia, in order that it might serve as an outpost to protect the territory of his allies,\(^2\) and then disbanded his army and himself withdrew by the road to Lacedaemon.

\(^{1}\) i.e. the Siyionians.

\(^{2}\) 592 B.C.
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14 'Εκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαυτο, φρουροὺς δὲ πέρπουσαί αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυώνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη. μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἐκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἔρροιμένως ἐπολέμουν.

15 Ἕνθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειώντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὅλγοις δὲ λεηλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσοῦτος ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τείχος οἱ Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγειν κατάγοιες, τότε οὔτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου ὡστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὡς οἱ χρόνον εἰχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὔδε ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρήσα ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οὖν περὶ καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὐτείς περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτοις καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τείχη. ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλίται παντάπασιν οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν οὔτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβησαν. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτως αὐτοὶ τοὺς πελτασταὶ ἐδείξασαν ὡς ἐντὸς αἰκονίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν.
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· ἢδη γὰρ ποτέ καὶ ἐκ τοσοῦτον διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔλοντες

17 ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντες ποτε ἐπὶ ἐκδραμόντας πελταστάς ἐκ τοῦ ἔτη Δέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινας αὐτῶν φεύγοντες. ὡστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκόπτειν ἑτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῦντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὡσπερ μορφόν σακαίρα. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δέχαιον ὄρμωμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν

18 Κορινθίοις ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ρώμην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, μὴ ἔπει τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων διήρητο, ἐλθοίεν ἐπὶ σφῆς, ἤγησαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατείχισαί τὰ διηρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεί μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυώνοις καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἐν ὄλιγαις ἡμέραις πάνιν καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ ἔφον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἤσυχίαις ἐτείχιζον.

19 Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργείους τὰ μὲν οίκοι καρπουμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τὰ πολέμῳ, στρατεύοντο ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἤγείτο, καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὔθεις ἐκείθεν ὑπερβαλῶν κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν 320
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 Lechaeum, 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 Lechaeum 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 αυτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχον τριήρεις περὶ δώδεκα· ὡστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἤμερᾳ δὲν ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἥρηκεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγγειλαος τὸ τε τῶν συμμάχων στρατεύμα διήκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἰκάδε ἀπήγαγεν.

V. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σφόξιντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύοντας τὰλιν ἐις τὴν Κόρινθον,' Ἀγγειλαὸς καὶ τότε ἤγουμένου, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν ἠθέθεν εἰς Ἱσθμὸν· καὶ γὰρ ἢν ὁ μὴν ἐν ὕ" Ἱσθμία γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδώνι, ὡς Ἀργοὺς Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ' ἤθεοντο προσιόντα τῶν Ἀγγειλαοῦ, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμέα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μᾶλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἀστυ κατὰ τὴν 2 ἑπὶ Κεγχρείας ὅδον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγγειλαος ἐκεῖνος μὲν καίπερ ὄρῳν οὐκ ἔδιωκε, κατασκηνώσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτὸς τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε 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 Piraeum\(^1\) 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\(^2\); 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.
μεράρθηκαν, ἦσσεν οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδώνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἰσθμια, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τῷ ἐτεί τῶν ἀθλῶν δὴς ἐκαστὸς ἐνικήθη, ἐστὶ δὲ ἂ δὴς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.

3 Ἡ δὲ τετάρτη ἡμέρα ὁ Ἰσθμιοῦ ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἀριστον πρὸς τὸ ἀστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως· ὡστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῦσιν ὑπὸ τίνων ἡ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰσθμιατὴν σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰσθμιοῦς τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτοῦ, ὑποστρέψας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θέρμα προῆς, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἄκροτατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύστω, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτερεύσεν. ἐνθὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰσθμιοῦς μικρὸ, καριῶ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ηὐδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῆς μόρας φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὔδενος πῦρ εἰςενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος διὰ τὸ πᾶν ἐφ' υψηλοῦ ἡμία καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέθθαι ύδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβίκεσαν δὲ ἔχοντες οίᾳ δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥυγοῦντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἄθυμος πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἔχοντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἰσθμιοῦς ὡς ἐλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἀλλος ἄλλη, καὶ πολλά καὶ

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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 πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ὀτε πολλῆς ὑλῆς παρούσης, πάντες μὲν ἥλειφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἦς ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς ὤτον δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νέως τοῦ Ποσειδώνου ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος: ὄφει ὤτον δ’ ἐνεπρῆσθη σοῦνες οἴδεν. ἔπει δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἑτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ "Ἡραίων κατεφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δούλοι καὶ ἑλέυθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλείστα. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ τῶν ἱππότων ἐπορεύετο· ἢ δὲ μόρα ἁμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Οἰνόπης τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἱρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐνότα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἱμέρα πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οὐ δ’ ἐν τῷ Ἁραίῳ καταπεϕευγότες ἔξησαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες Ἀγησίλαῳ γυνών ὁ τι θρόλιοτο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ’ ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἴσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυγάσι, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἔξησε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἁραίου πάμπολλα τὰ ἀλημάλωτα· προσβεῖαι δὲ ἀλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἵκον ἐρημὸμενοι τί ἄν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν σὺν ὀρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγαγόν· καθήμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην

1 See note 2, p. 323.  
2 See note 1, p. 323.  
3 cp. iv. 2.  
4 The reference is uncertain.

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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
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κυκλοτερόν όικοδομήματος έθεωρει πολλά τά ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλών σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι οἱ γὰρ εὑτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἀεὶ πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ έουκότος ἀγαλλομένως τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἰππεὺς τις προσῆλαυνε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἱδρύοντι τῷ ὕππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος οἱ τῶν ἀγγέλλοι, οὔδενι ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἔπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕππου καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρώπος δὲν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Δεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὅς ἦκοςεν, εὐθὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας αἰνειπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντήρας καὶ ξεναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὁς δὲ συνέδραμον οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ πω ἠριστοποίητο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὃ τι δύναντο ἴκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν υφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὀπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῆ, τοῦ μὲν υφηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἡδὴ δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμά εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Δεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἰππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρμένου εἶσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦκοςε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὀπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ

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 Lechaeum. 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 Lechaeum, 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 Spartiates. Xen. de Rep. Lac. xiii. 1.
στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτῶμενοι ὅ τι ἦκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνυτο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τὶ κωλύσα τοῦ Βούλουτο εἰς ἀστὺ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιγελώσας Ἀλλ᾽ οἶδα μὲν, ἐφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἐφη ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ᾽ ἐμὸν ὄντες γνώσεσθε ποιὸν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστὶ. καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ υστεραιᾳ θυσάμενος ἤγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δὲ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρων, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυσιν ὡς οὕδεις ἀντεξῆλ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίον μὲντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἀστὺ οὐκ ἀνήκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἀτε δὲ ἀγάθους τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίους γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαῦτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Δακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ νυσὶ ἡ πατέρες ἡ ἀδελφοὶ ὅτοι δ᾽ ὡσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλομενοὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περίθαναν.

10 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῷδε τρόπῳ, οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰὲ ποτὲ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τῷ Τακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιγνία, εἰώ τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι

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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 Lechaen; 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. 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 Amyclaeans 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.
τυγχάνωσιν εάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημούντες. καὶ τότε ὑ ἤ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλυπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λέχαιῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ φρονοῦσιν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ὕπο τῶν συμμάχων φρονοῦσι ἐσταζεῖ λαβάττειν τὸ τείχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππεῶν μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορυνθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίες παρῆγεν. ἔπει δὲ ἄπειχον ὅσον εἰκοσι ἡ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυόνου, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις οὐσίν ὡς ἐξακοσίους ἀπῇεὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἰππαρμοστὴν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππεῶν μόρᾳ, ἔπει προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαίες μέχρι ὁπόσον αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορυνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὁπλίται οὐδὲν ἕγγονον κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἀν ἐπιχειρήσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορυνθίων ἁστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἰππούκοι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἀρχῶν, καθορόντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππεῶν, ἐνόμισαν ἄσφαλές εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἄν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖν ὁμόως, ῥαδίως ἄν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὁπλίτας. γυνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε τοὺς ὁπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τους πελ-
a campaign or away from home for any other reason. Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left behind at Lechaeum 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 Lechaeum, 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-
ταστάς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔπει ἢκοντίζουσι καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευσαν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον καὶ οὕτωι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἄφ᾽ ἡβης ἀπο-

15 διώξαι τοὺς προσκειμένους.1 ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἤρον τε οὐδένα εξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ὀπλῖται ὄντες πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλῖτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνε-
χώρον ἐσπαρμένοι, ἄτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἔκαστος ἐἰχεν, ἀναστρέφουτες οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἰφι-
κράτη, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἢκοντίζουν καὶ ἀλλοι ἐκ πλαγίων παραθέουντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἡ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺ

16 ἠδὴ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐπα-
χον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἄφ᾽ ἡβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέσουν. ἠδὴ δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς παρα-
γίγνονται καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὐθίς διώξει ἐποιή-

15 σαντο. ὡς δὲ ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταῖ, ἐν τούτῳ
κακῶς οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔως ἀπέκτειναν
tινὰς αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις

1 προσκειμένους Dobrée: προειρημένους Kel. with MSS.

1 Slaves who carried the shields of the hoplites.
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

1 i.e. saved both in life and in honour.
2 See note on 11. iv. 32.
ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὁμοία τούτως καὶ αὕθις, αὐτόν μὲν ἀεὶ ἐλάττουσε τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγινόντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμωι θρασύτεροι τε καὶ ἀεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχὺν τινα γῆλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν βαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλαξίου ὡς ἡ ἑπτακαίδεκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλαξίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον, ἔως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γῆλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἡδή, ὅτι ἐπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέβησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτως δὲ ὀρώντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλάτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτοντοι αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὅλιγοι δὲ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Ἑλαξίων ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέβανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἁγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπῆλε, ἀλλιγς δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Ἑλαξίῳ. διώκων δὲ ἐπὶ οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὁφαίανοι κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο πρωάιτα πρωάιτα ἐξωρμᾶτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαυτίνειαν ἐξ Ὄρχομενοῦ ὀρθρον ἀναστὰς ἐτει σκοταῖος παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἄν ἐδόκοιν οἱ στρατιώται τοὺς Μαυτίνεας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσασθαί. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλα καὶ τάλλα ἐπετύγχαιεν Ἰφικράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδώντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυώνι ὑπὸ Πρα.
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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εἶτον, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ τεῖχη, ἐν Οἰνόη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάον, ὄτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἔμειν, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μὲντοι Δέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεξῇ παρα- οντες ἐκ Σικυώνων διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παραπλέουσε εἰς Δέχαιον 1 καὶ ἐντεύθεν ὁμώμενοι, πράγματα εἰχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ 'Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυ- δώνα, ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδώνιους, φρουρεῖν ἡγαγό- ξοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνάνες ἐπεστράτευον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βουοτῶν συμπαρῆσαν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεξόμενοι οὖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οἱ 'Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν. οἱ δὲ ἔλθόντες ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

2 Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συνεστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἐπό- μεθα ὅποιον ἰησθεῖ· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολυρκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βουωτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποι- εῖσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὐν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γεγομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἑάναντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολε- μίσωμεν Ἀκαρνάσι τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἡ εἰρήνη ποιησόμεθα ὑποίαν ἂν τινα δυνώμεθα. 3 ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμο- νίοις 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 Lechaean, 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 Lechaean 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.
αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. 1 τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς τ' ἑφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατευεῖσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας. καὶ ἔκπεμπτοσύνη Ἀγησίλαος, δύο μόρας ἔχουσα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ μὲν τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ πανδήμει συνεστρατεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνάνες ἐφύγουν εἰς τὰ ἀστή, πάντα δὲ τὰ βοσκῆματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἀλίσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς πολεμίας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων εἶπεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς Βουωτούς καὶ Ἀθηναίοις συμμαχίας ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς 2 συμμάχους αἱρήσονται, δηώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παραλεῖψει οὖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείδιοντο, οὕτως ἔποιει, καὶ κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὗ προῆι πλέον τῆς ἥμερας ἤ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνάνες, ἡγησάμενοι ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτήτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὰ τε βοσκῆματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ πλεῖστα εἰργάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ πάνυ ἡδὲ θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἢ ἐκτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἢφ' ἢς εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος πρὸ διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἂν τὰ βοσκῆματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἴῃ, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπληθῆ καὶ θουκόλα καὶ ἰπποφόρβια καὶ

1 ταῦτα... ἀντεπικουρήσουσι MSS.: Kel. brackets. 2 Ἀχαιοὺς inserted by Kel., following Simon.
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
άλλα παυτοδατά βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-
7 ούσαν ἠμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἤλθον, καὶ
πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σχημοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγνησίλαον βάλ-
λοντες καὶ σφενδονώντες ὕπο τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας
tοῦ ὄρους ἐπασχον μὲν οὐδὲν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ
eis τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ
dείπνου παρασκευαζόμενον. eis δὲ τὴν νύκτα
ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνάνες ἀπήλθον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευνον.
8 Ἐν τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα ἀπῆγγεν ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος τὸ στρά-
tευμα. καὶ ἴνα μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην
λειμῶνος τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέ-
χοντα ὄρη καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνάνες ἐκ τῶν
ὑπερδεξίων ἐβαλλόν τε καὶ ἤκοντιζον, καὶ ὑπο-
καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὀρῶν προσέ-
κειτο καὶ πράγματα παρεῖχον, ὡστε οὐκέτι ἐδύ-
9 νατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ
ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς
τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδὲν ἐβλαπτοῦν· ταχὺ γὰρ
ήσαν, ὅποτε ἀποχωροῦν, πρὸς τοῖς ἱσχυροῖς οἱ
Ἀκαρνάνες. χαλεπὸν δ' ἡγησάμενοι ὁ Ἀγνησίλαος
diὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας,
ἔγνω διὸκειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκειμέ-
νους, μάλα πολλοῖς ὄντας: εὐβατώτερον γὰρ ἦν
tοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ ἰπποῖς. καὶ ἐν
φ' μὲν ἔσφαγμιζετο, μάλα κατείχον βάλλοντες
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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 Ἀκαρνάναι, καὶ ἐγὼ προσιόντες πολλοὺς ἐπίτρωσκοι. ἔπει δὲ παρῆγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαϊδεκά ἀφ' ἡβης, ἥλαυνον δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱκολούθειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολίζομενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀπέθυνον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἀναντεῖ. ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὀπλῖται ήσαν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταύθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τὰ τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἡφιέσαν καὶ τοῖς δόραις ἐξακοντίζοντες ἱππέας τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἱπποὺς τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν. ἔπει μέντοι μικρὸν ἔδεον ἥδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τρικοσίων. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαίοι ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἐκαε πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἰλε γε οὐδεμίαν. ἡνίκα δὲ ἥδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῆιε ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

13 Οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον αὐτῶν, ὅτι πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήψει οὐτε ἐκούσαν οὔτε ἀκούσαν, ἐδεόντο τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἄλλα τοσοῦτον γε χρόνου καταμείναι αὐτῶν, ἐως ἄν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ἠφη, στρατεύομαι πάλιν δεύρο εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν θέρος· οὕτω δὲ ὅσω ἀν πλείω σπείρωσι, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουσι. ταῦτα δ' εἴπον
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."
Hence, instead of crossing directly from Calydon, the army was compelled to proceed a long distance to the east.
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.
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μενος ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεόν εἰ ὡσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένω τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὄποτε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὄποτε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Δακεδαμώνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔπεσήμανεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένω σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορεύεις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλων εἰ κάκεινο δοκοῖ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα 3 κατὰ ταύτα. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκείσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἐὼς πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμηει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἔπει ἐγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὃσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινόμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖ τοῖς θεοῖς δικαῖως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδὰς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐκπληξῆς κατὰ τε τοὺς ἄγρους καὶ εἰ τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε.

4 Δειπνοποιομένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἑσπέρα, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δείπνου ἦδη γενομένων, ἐσείσεν ὁ θεὸς. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακεδαμώνιοι ἄρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ύμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶν παιάναν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἰοῦντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι

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. 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; and the rest of the soldiers expected to retire from the country,

2 To whom earthquakes were ascribed by the Greeks.
καὶ Ἄγις σεισμοῦ ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν ἐξ Ἡλίδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολος εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, κωλύειν ἂν αὐτὸν ἤγειτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν 5 νομίζει· καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἤγειτο αὐ πόρρῳ εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἄτε δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐστρατευμένον εἰς τὸ Ἀργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἤγαγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποὶ τὴν χώραν ἐδήσασεν, ὃσπερ πένταθλος πάντη ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλ- 6 λειν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ποτε βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τείχος τάφρους πάλιν διέβη· ἢν δὲ οἱχομένων τῶν πλείστων Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Δακωνικὴν οὕτως ἐγγύς πυλῶν προσήλθεν ὡστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἰππέας εἰσελθείν βουλομένους, δείσαντες μὴ συνεισ- πέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι· ὡστὸν ἡμαγκάσθησαι οἱ ἰππεῖς ὡσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξει προσαραρέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ Κρῆτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδράμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἀν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἦπ- 7 ποι κατετοξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἰρκ- τὰς στρατοπεδευμένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν τινὲς πληγέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τείχίσαι φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ 350
because Agis likewise, on an occasion when an earth-
quake took place, had withdrawn his army from
Elis. 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 in-
vasion; 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 Lacedaemo-
nians 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, 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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Κηλούσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀλοβα. ὦς δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο, ἀπῆγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς 'Αργείους, ἀτε ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμ-βαλὼν.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἔστελε. ἐν δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θᾶλατνον αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς προς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γειώμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιομυθοτυποῦσι γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγον παρῆσο. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεί ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νῆσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδιὰς πόλεις τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς ἀρμοστὰς ἔξηλανυν καὶ παρεμυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὡς οὐτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντείχισοιεν ἐάσοιεν τε 2 αὐτοίμους. οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐδουτὸ τε καὶ ἐπήνουν καὶ ξένια προθύμως ἐπεμπον τῷ Φαρνα-βάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδιδακεν ως οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλιαι ἐσούντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσαὶ βουλό-μενοις φιλερὸς ἐσούτο, ἐλεγεν ως μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἴκανὴ εἰς παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἰς μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθοῦντο, 3 συσταίεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς δ' εἰς Ὁφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετ-παράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστοῦν ἐντευν ἀπαντῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρῆι ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὀσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν

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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,1 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.
αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἁβύδῳ ὃν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὖν ὁσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμοσται ἔξελιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἁβύδου καὶ διέσωξε φίλην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἁβυδηνοὺς ἐλέξε τοιάδε.

4 Ὡ άνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὐσὶ τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοῖς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δὲ τινες ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανόσι, τούτ' εἰς τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον μνημονεύται. ἐστὶ δὲ οὖν οὔτως ἔχον ὡς ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐτί ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήποτι, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἰκανὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὗ φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροῦς ποιεῖν. ὁσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσοῦτῳ οὖν ἡ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανεῖ ἂν. εἰ δὲ τοὺτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκόμεθα, ἐνυσύειτο ὁτι Ἑλληνικόν μὲν οὔπω ναυτικόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὡσθ' ἐαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ύμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται.

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

1 cp. iii. i. 9. 2 i.e. in flight from their several towns.
en 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 Abydus² and sent for those who were
ποντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὥς συνελέγησαν πολλοί καὶ χρήσιμοι ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, κατανυκρὺ ὁντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχουντα οὔ πλέον ὁκτὼ σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Δακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἣθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἕλερώπῃ πόλεων ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἔδεχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ’ ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεί, ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἣ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἔστι, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἀ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὕς ὑπήκοοι ὅντες βασιλέως. Καίτοι, ἕφη, ποιον μὲν ἂν ἵσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποιον δὲ δυσπολιορκήτοτερον; δ καὶ νεὼν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. τούτους αὖ τοιαύτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.

6 Ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἔπει ἦςρε τὴν τε Ἀβύδου καὶ τὸν Σηστὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιν τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίησε πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἔπει δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνων καὶ προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοῖς τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔδησιν τὴν τῶν Ἀβύδηνων χώραν. ἔπει δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι, αὐτῶς μὲν ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ’ Ἐλλήσποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλεῖστον ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθείη. ὅργιζόμενος γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο
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

1 cp. III. ii. 10.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΗ

ἐλθεὶν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι
7 ὁ τι δύναιτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμώνα ἐν τοιούτοις οὖντες διήγομεν ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ἕξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἐπλευσέν τὸ Φαρνάβαζος τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ’ αὐ-
τοῦ διὰ νῆσων εἰς Μήλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὄρμωμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσασθα δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φεραῖα ἐδήσωσε ταῦτην τὴν χώραν, ἐπείτα καὶ ἀλλος ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλασσίας ἐκα-
κούργει ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβοῦμενος δὲ τὴν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοσθείας καὶ τὴν σπανιστίαν, ταχὺ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀπο-
πλέων ὀρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.

8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐχοῦσαι τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοίπον ἐξέλιπτον τὰ τείχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποστόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθη-
ρίων τεῖχος φρουροῦσ τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναίον ἀρμοστὴν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήριοις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσας καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας κατα-
πλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνε-
σθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὃσα

9 εἰχεν, ὥστε ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐφη αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικὸν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νῆσων, καταπλεύσας ὃ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστῆσοι τά τε μακρά τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος,
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. cp. ii. ii. 20–23.
XENOPHON

οὐ εἰδέναι ἑφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίωις οὐδὲν ἀν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, Καὶ τοῦτο ὑν, ἑφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τούς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ὁ γὰρ πλείστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελεῖς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατείχισμόν.

10 Ὅ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὄρθωσε, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λυθολόγους μισθὸν δίδοις, καὶ ἄλλο εἰ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἅ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἀλλὰ πόλεις ἐθελοῦσιν συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὅν ο Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθίου ναῦαρχον ἐπιστήμαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαιαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἔπει δὲ οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένῃ ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις αὐτ ἐπιστολεὺς ὅν τρῳθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἡριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναύς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιοι τὰς παρ' Ἀγαθίου παραλαβῶν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε τὸ 'Ῥίων' Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡριππίδου ναῦς ἠλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὐ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

11 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τείχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοῖν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου

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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 Lechaeum. 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 τάς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνήμησαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιριβάζου βασιλέως οὖντα στρατηγόν, ἥ καὶ ἀποστήσας ἀν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιριβάζου ἦ παύσας γ' ἀν τὸ Κόωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γυνότες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλ-κίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιριβάζου, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. οἱ οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόωνο-νος Ἐρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τὲ Βουωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀργοὺς. εἶπε δ' ἐκεῖ ήσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιριβάζου ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης ὀδαστερ βασιλεὺς ἐπεθύμει.1 τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεύ-θαι, τὰς τε νήσους ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτοῦμοίοις εἶναι. Καίτοι, ἐφι, τοιαῦτα ἑθελοῦντων ἡμῶν, τινὸς ἀν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς 2 πολεμοῖν ἡ χρήματα δα-πανίναι; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὐτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγομένων ἡμῶν οὐθ' ἡμῶς αὐτοῦμον οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων.

1 ἐπεθύμει MSS. except B: πάλαι ἐπεθύμει Kel. with B, but doubtfully.
2 Before βασιλεὺς the MSS. have οἱ Ἑλληνεις 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, Callisthenes, and Callimenedon. 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
τίοις λόγοι ταύτι δὲν. οί τε γαρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνδέσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Δήμου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖν, οί τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθείσαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οί τε Ἀργεῖοι, οὐ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν Κόρινθου δύνασθαι ὡς Ἀργος ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπουδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὗτως ἐγένετο ἀτελῆς, καὶ ἀπηλθοῦν οἴκαδε ἐκαστος.

16 Ὁ μέντοι Τιρίβαξος τὸ μὲν ἀνευ βασιλέως μετὰ Δακεδαμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἄσφαλες αὐτῷ ἠγείτο εἶναι. λάθρα γε μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδα, ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικῶν ὑπὸ Δακεδαμονίων οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέοιτο, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὡς ἀδικούντα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθὴ λεγόντων Δακεδαμονίων εἰρξε. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαυνε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ἃ τοῖς λέγοιεν οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφῶς εἴη ὡς ἀδικούντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τῇ χρή ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων ἀπαντῶν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν, ὡς Τιρίβαξος ἄνω παρ’ αὐτῷ ἦν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μέντοι Στρούθας ἵσχυρός τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσείχε, μεμνημένος ὡς κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλεύς χώρα ὑπ’ Ἀγνησιλάον.

1 λόγοι Stephanus: λόγοι MSS.; οὐ βουλομένοις Kel.
2 ὡς Ἀργος Leunclavius: Kel. follows the majority of the MSS. in reading ὡς Ἀργος, but brackets the words.

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words. 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 Seyros; 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, 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.

1 Literally, “were words only”; i.e. were not treated as a reasonable basis for a peace.
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. 3 cp. iv. 6.
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οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἔθρων τῶν Στρούθων πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Ὑβρωνα πέμπτοσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ διαβάζει τε καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαίανδρον πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τὴν βασιλέως.

18 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὑπὸ Ὑβρων βοηθοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἐπεμψεν ἵππεας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλόμενος ἐλαύνειν ὁ τι δύνατο. ὁ δὲ Ὑβρων ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου δισκεύων μετὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἢν γὰρ ὁ Θερσάνδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἠγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς, ἂτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο.

19 ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἵδων ἀτάκτως τε βοηθούντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρῶτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλοὺς τε ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους ἵππεας. καὶ Ὑβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θερσάνδρον πρῶτος ἀπέκτειναν ἐπεὶ δ’ οὕτω ἐπέσου, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐσωθησάν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους διὰ τὸ ὤψε αἰσθέσθαι τὴν βοηθείαν ἀπελεύστω.1 πολλάκις γὰρ, ὃς 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.
'Επει δ' ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ως οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπη περιδείν 'Αθηναίους Ῥόδου καταστρεψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθεμένους. γνώντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ως εἰ μὲν ὁ δήμος κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἀπάσα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώτεροι, έαυτοὺς, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς ὀκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ 'Εκδικον ἐπέστησαν. συνεξεπεμψαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν. ἐκέλευσαν δ' αὐτοῦ διαβάντα εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν τὰς τε Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασφέισε, καὶ στράτευμα τὸ περισσωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἰ ποθὲν δύνατο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Διφρίδας ταῦτα ἑποίει, καὶ τά τ' ἀλλὰ ἐπετύγχανε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν τήν Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν ὡστε εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν εἰχε μισθοδοτεῖν. ἦν δὲ οὕτως ἄνηρ εὐχαρίς τε οὐχ ἤπτον τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγχειρητικότερος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἰ τοῦ σώματος ἥδοναι, ἀλλ' ἦν πρὸς ὃ εἰ ἔργω, τούτο ἐπράττειν.

'Ο δ' Ἐκδικος ἑπει εἰς τὴν Κυίδον ἐπλευσε καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ρόδῳ δήμου πάντα κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασαν, διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἡ αὐτὸς εἰχεν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ Κυίδῳ. οἱ δ' αὐ Λακε-

1 ἄνηρ MSS.: ἄνηρ Kel., following Dindorf.
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,
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daiμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἡσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὡστε τοὺς φίλους ὄφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δόδεκα ναυσίν αῖς εἰχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαίαν καὶ Δέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλείν πρὸς τὸν Ἐκδικον, κακείνον μὲν ἀποτέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὃ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἄφικετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκείθεν ναῦς ἔπτα ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κυίδον, ὃ δ' Ἐκδίκος οὐκαδε. ὃ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπλεί εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἡδη ἐχων ναὐς ἔπτα καὶ εἰκοσὶ πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθηνηθεν εἰς Κύπρου ἐπὶ συμμαχία τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι ἐαυτοῖς πράττοντες· οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι φίλῳ χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμπουν Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα, ὃ τε Τελευτίας Δακεδαίμονίων πολεμοῦντων βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἑκέινου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν. ἐπαναπλευσας δ' εἰς Κυίδον καὶ διαθέμενος ἀ ἐλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὐ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

24 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους πάλιν δύναμιν κατασκευάζοντες ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπον Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειρέα σὺν τεταράκοιντα ναυσίν. ὃ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζον τὴν ἀν αὐτὸς

1 Inserted by Kel., following Hartman.
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 Lechaeum,\(^1\) to sail around to Ecdicus, 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 Ecdicus 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, οὔτ' ἀν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, ταῖς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ ἑνεκρατηκότας· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πλεύσας καὶ οὔδενος ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε καταπράξαι ἵνα τῇ πόλει ἀγαθῶν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθόν στασίαζοντας Ἀμήδοκον τε τὸν Ὀδυσσοῦν βασιλέα καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα ἄλληλοις μὲν διῆλλαξεν αὐτοὺς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τάς ὑπὸ τῇ Ἐράκη οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων τοῦτων μᾶλλον προσ-έχειν ἵνα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν νοῦν. ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεύσων. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ ὀλγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἄχθεινος ἐώρα ὃ τῶν Βυζαντίων δῆμος Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει.

26 Ταύτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιησάμενος ἀπέπλει ἐξῳ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχὼν δ' ἐν τῇ Λεσβῷ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνιζούσαις, ἐπὶ οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τοὺς τε ὑπὸ τῶν έαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὑπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὧσοι 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 προσλαβόν, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθεῖς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις ὡς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Δέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσων ὡς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἱσοίν, ἰκανοὶ ἔσονται ἄπαντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθήναι, τοῖς δ' αὐτὶ ἐπιβάταις ὡς φίλην Δέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἤγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μηθυμναν. Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, δὲ ἀρμοστῆς ἐτύγχανεν δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἦκουσε τὸν Ἐρασύβουλον προσέναι, τοὺς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτῷ, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. έκ δὲ τούτων τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων, έκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεγατῶν χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐσπευσαίνει εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως δ' ἄν καὶ ἔκει ὡς ἐρρωμενεστάτοι τοῦ στρατευμα ποιήσατο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἡγυρολόγει καὶ εἰς 'Ασπενδὸν ἀφικόμενος φρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Ἐὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἦδη δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν 'Ασπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅρμισθέντες οἱ 'Ασπενδίοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν εὖ τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτῶν.

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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 Lacedaemonian 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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

31 Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μὲντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλόμενοι ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἑξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Δακεδαϊμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη εἶη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἐλλησπόντιαι πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῦς Φαρναβάζου εὖ ἔχουσιν, ἐγνώσαν ἐπιμελεῖ-τέον εἶναι.

32 τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδα οὔδὲν ἐμέμφοντο. Ἀναξιβιος μὲντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὅστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἀρμοστὴς εἰς "Ἀβύδουν. εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναὺς, καὶ πολεμήσειν ὑπισχνέιτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ.

33 οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἑξέπεμψαν τῶν Ἀναξιβιοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδῆ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν τῶν τ’ Ἀιολίδων πόλεων παρεσπάτο τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ‘Ἀβύδουν ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδήμου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αῖς εἰχε συμπληρῶσας ἐξ ’Αβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας κατήγεν, εἰ τί που λαμβάνοι ’Ἀθηναίων πλοίον ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρεῖν σφίσιν ἄ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ Θρασύβουλος,
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
ἀντεκέμπουσιν Ἰφικράτην ναύς ὄκτῳ ἔχοντα καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὅν ἐν Κορώνθῳ ἦρξαν. ἐπεῖ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρωνθον Ἀργος ἐπεποίησαν, οὐδὲν ἐφασαν αὐτῶν δεισθαί καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθὼν Ἀθηνάζη οὐκ έτυχεν ὡν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁφίκετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλοις· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης αἰσθόμενος ¹ Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἀνταῦδρον σὺν τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν Δακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἀνταῦδρον φιλίαν προσείληφός ε-inline, ὑπονοοῦν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐ τὴν ἐκεῖ φρονμαν ἀποπορεύσοιτο πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἰκαδε, διαβᾶς τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ ἔρημότατον ἥν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὅρη ἐνέδραν ἐποιήσατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αὐτὴν ἔθαγαν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλείν ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως ὁδοιποίη, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπὶ ἀργυρολογίαν ἐπαναπεπλευ-κέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ’ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὦς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γεγενημένων αὐτῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταφρονῆσας, ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἦκουν τῶν ἀπαντῶν.

¹ After αἰσθόμενος 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 τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ
37 Προκονυῆσον, ἀμελέστερον ἔπορευτο. ὦμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, ἐως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξιβίου ἦν, οὐκ ἐξανίστατο· ἐπειδή δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ὤδη ἐν τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστήν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἕνθα ἑστὶ τὰ χρύσεια αὐτοῖς, τὸ δέ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξιβίος ἀρτί κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Δακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτὸν. καὶ ὁ Ἀναξιβίος γυνὸς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, ὦρῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενῶν ἐκτεταμένων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες οὐκ ἄν δύνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς προεληλυθότας, ὀρῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἀπαντάς, ὡς εἴδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· Ἄνδρε, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποβανείν, ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμείξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταύτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ μαχόμενου ἀποδημήσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μὲντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Δακωνικῶν δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀρμοστήρων ὡς δῶδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἐπιπτοῦν. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς διακόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα. ταύτα δὲ πρὸς οἱ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Χερρώνησον.
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.
Ι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλησποντοῦ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τοιαύτα ἦν. ὃν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἑτεώνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατ-ταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐφίησε λήξεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι πολιορκοῦμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἰγίναν καὶ ὀπλῖτας καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινη- ταῖς καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήμερον. ὁ μὲν Τελευ- τίας τυχών ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἄφιγμένοις κατὰ χρημάτων τόρον, ἀκούσας ταύτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμοῦ, ἐβοήθησε τοῖς Αἰγινηταῖς καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπῆλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύ- λαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφίκεται. κάκεινος μὲν παραλαμ- βάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οὔκαδε. ημῖκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ οἰκον ὑμωμένοις, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιόστατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑπερήπαντες

1 περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτείχισμοῦ 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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ὁμώς καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ἡχόντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.  

4 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτου οὔτε δαπάνημα οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχάνημα ἄξιολογον οὔδὲν διηγοῦμαι ἄλλα ναὶ μᾶ Đία τόδε ἄξιων μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιών ὁ Τελευτίας οὔτω διεθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους, τοῦτο γὰρ ήδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἄξιολογῶ- 
teron ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἑστίν.

5 'Ὁ δὲ αὐ Ίέραξ τάς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν 

πάλιν ἐπλείει εἰς Ἰρόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις 

δόδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπι- 

στολέα ἀρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο 

μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτείχισματι Αἴθηναῖων ἢ οἱ 

ἐν τῷ πόλει ὡστε ἀπὸ ψηφίσματος 'Αἴθηναι ὁ 

πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ 

Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. 

toútvon de gevomévon oí 'Aíthēnai pólon aú 

πράγματα εἴχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τοῦ 

Γοργώπας καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα, 

καὶ αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ὑπ’ αὐτάς.

6 οὔτος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ἰρόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 

'Ανταλκίδας ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες 

καὶ Τιριβάξῳ τούτῳ ποιοῦντες μάλιστ’ ἀν χαρι- 

ζεοθαί. ὁ δὲ 'Ανταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς 

Αἴγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς 

ἐπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν 
páliv ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα 

ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἑπέστησε

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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 Lace-daemonians 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
τοῦ ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἐπτεί ἐκείσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδήν τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβῶν 7 ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀβυδοῦν. οὗ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τένεδίοις. ὡς δ’ ἦσθοντο εἰς Ἀβυδοῦν καταπεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὄρμομένοι ἐκ Χερρονήσου ἐπολισορκούν αὐτὸν ἑχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ μὲντοι Γοργώπασ ἀποπλέων ἥξ Ἐφέσου περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμων καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἴγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν. εκβιβάσας 8 δ’ ευθὺς ἐδείπνυζε τοὺς στρατιῶτας. ὁ δ’ Εὐνόμω ν ὄλγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλευ. νυκτὸς δ’ ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὄσπερ νομίζοι, ἀφηγεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανώνται αἱ ἐπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπασ ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς εἰη μηδ’ αἰσθήσις παρέχῃ, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῆς 9 τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστήρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἥξ ἐνίοιο μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἅρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐτὶ 1 ὤρμιζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐτὶ κατέπλευσαν. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει  

1 καὶ ἔτη MSS.: Kel. brackets.
vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon 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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ώρετο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγυπτον. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι νῆς αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

10 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλευ εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρα, πελταστάς τ’ ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήμεροι, προσλάβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνηθεὶν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλῆς αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πορρωτέρῳ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνίδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστὰς. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὠσπερ ξυνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλῖται, Δημαϊνέτου αὐτῶν ἡγωμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ως ἐκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἐνθα ἡ Τριπυργίᾳ καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοηθεὶ μετά τε τῶν Ἀἰγυπτῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἑπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχοι αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτὼ. καὶ ἄπο τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι ἔλευθεροι εἰσέν. ὡς’ ἐβοηθοῦν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὁ τι

12 ἐδύνατο ἐκαστὸς ὑπλοῦν ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίσταται οἱ περὶ τῶν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἥκοντίζον καὶ ἐβαλλον. ἐπῆςαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὀπλῖται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἀτε οὔδενός ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχύ ἀπέθανον, ὃν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτωι ἐπέσουν, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγυπτῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάτ-
captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, 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 Tripyrgia\(^1\) 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.
13 τοὺς διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἑπτευκίῳ ὤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδον. 'Εκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ ἐκπέμπτουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἥκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς συγκαλέσας ἐπε τοιάδε: 14 'Ο ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἦκο: εὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἔθελῃ καὶ ύμεῖς συμπροθύμησθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλείονα πορίζειν. εἰ δ' ἵστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὐχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἦττον ἥτιν ύμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τὰ τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσατε μὲν ἄν ἱσως, εἰ φαίνη βούλεσθαι ύμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἐχειν: ἐγὼ δὲ νη τοὺς θεοὺς δεξάιμην ἀν αὐτός μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἀσίτος ἢ ύμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι: ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμή ἀνέωκτο μὲν δήποι καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσιέναι τῷ δεσμένῳ τι ἐμοὶ, ἀνεφξηται δὲ καὶ νῦν. 15 ὡστε ὅταν ύμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ όψεσθε ἀφθονότερον διαιτώμενον: ἃν δὲ ἀνεχόμενον με ὀράτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ύμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα παρτεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ύμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλὰ ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθὸν τι 16 λαμβάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δὲ τοι, ἐφ' ὃ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ ἠμετέρα, ἡ δοκεί εὐδαιμον εἶναι, εὖ ἵστε ὅτι τάγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ

1 After αὖ the MSS. read ἐπὶ ταύτῃ: 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
ράθυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεῖν, ὅποτε δέοι. καὶ ὡμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς εγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειράσθαι χρῆ ἐτί ὡμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἦν ἡδέως μὲν ἐμμοιοῦμεν, ἡδέως δὲ ἐμμευδαίμονῶμεν. τι γὰρ ἦδιον ἡ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ἐλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μυσθοῦν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς ἰκανοῦς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οἴκειπερ κάλλιστον; ἢ γὰρ τοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὐ ἱστε ὃτι ἀμα τροφῆν τε καὶ εὐκλείαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.

18 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ παντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν ὥ τι ἄν δέη, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ο δὲ τεθυμέων ἐπτύγχανεν εἶπε δὲ: 'Αγετε, ὡ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἀπέρ καὶ ὡς ἐμέλλετε· προπαράσχεσθε δὲ μοι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀκέτε ἐπὶ τᾶς ναῦς αὐτίκα μᾶλα, ὅπως πλεύςομεν εὐθα θεος ἔθελει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιξόμενοι. έπειδὴ δὲ ἡλθον, ἐμβίβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναύς ἐπλεί τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κόπαις προσκομίζομεν. εἰ δὲ τῖς ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς ἀφρόνως ἐπλεῖ δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔξων ἐπὶ πολλάς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐν

19 νοσσάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολυλότος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶνεν τριήρεις ὀρμοῦσαι, ἀσφαλέ-

201 Kel., following Hartman, regards the text of the preceding line (ἀπέρ...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,
στερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ’ εἶκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων οὐσας πλεύσαι ἦ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἦδει ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἐμελλόν οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐγκυνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἀλλή σκηνήσοιεν. ἐπλει μὲν δὴ ταύτα διανοηθεῖς: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπείχε πέντε ἢ ἔξω στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἴσως ἐνδειξεν ὅτι καταδύεις μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι στρογγύλου πλοίου οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δὲ που τριήρη ἵδοιεν ὅρμουσαν, ταύτην πειράσθαι ἄπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους ἄγειν ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύναυτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεύγμα ἐμπόρους τῷ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰςήνεγκαν. ὅ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἐνυδόθεν ἔθεον ἔξω, σκεφώμενοι τίς ἡ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ’ Ἀθηναίοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὀπλίται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὡς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπεστείλειν εἰς Ἀγίναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων τρεῖς ἢ τέταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλιευτικὰ ἐλαβέ

1 A quay where merchants displayed (cp. δείκνυμι) their wares.
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-
καὶ πορθμεία ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σοῦνιον ἠλθὼν καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμοῦσας τὰς μὲν τινὰς σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἐλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἰγιμα. καὶ ἀποδόμενοι τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων ἠλάμβανεν ὁ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἳδεός καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.

24 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρήσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὡς δὲ ἦκοσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι εὖ Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικρατοῦ καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ὕχετο εἰς Ἀβύδον. ἐκείθεν δὲ λαβῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων ὀρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἤσυχιαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαινέτον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἔδωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου: ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέφας εἰς Ἀβύδουν ἀφίκετο· ἦκη κοί ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύζενος ἁγῶν τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακούσων καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἰκοσὶν ὅπως ἁναλάβοι καὶ ταῦτα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ὀρασύβουλος ὁ Κόλλυτευς ἔχων ναῦς ὅκτῳ ἐπέλει ἀπὸ Ὁράκης, 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 Demaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phanias, 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 Collytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian
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27 μείξαι. ο δὲ 'Ανταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἑσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἀριστὰ πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἰ τις ἐνεδείτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὡς εὕνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν οἱ δὲ ἴδοντες ἐφευγοῦν. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἀριστὰ πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφειν: παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλαβεν, ἴδοντες οἱ ὑστεροὶ ἁλισκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων ἡλίσκοντο· ὦσθ' ἠλοσαν ἀπασαί. ἐπεὶ δ' ἠλίθων αὐτῷ αἲ τε ἐκ Συρακούσῶν νῆς εἰκοσιὼν, ἠλίθων δὲ καὶ αἲ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατῆς ἦν Τιρίβαξος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς 'Αρισβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ 'Αρισβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαξος ἦδη ἀνακεκλημένος φόχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγγέμε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα: ὁ δὲ 'Ανταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυὶς πλείοσιν ἡ ὁγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναύς 'Αθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατηγεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν 'Αθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολέμιας ναυῖς, φοβοῦμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον καταπολεμηθείσαν, συμμάχου Δακεδαιμονίως βασιλέως γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς 400
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
Αἰγίνης υπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσχυρός ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ’ αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Δεκαίῳ, μόρα δ’ ἐν ‘Ορχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἰς μὲν ἐπίστευν, μὴ ἀπόλοιπον, αἰς δὲ ἡπίστευν, μὴ ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ’ ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἐφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οὐ̣ γε μὴν Ὄργευοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφόρα οὐδὲν ἐτὶ σφᾶς ὕφελθει, καὶ οὔτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὅστ’ ἐπεὶ παρῆγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρείναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἄν τας ςιλέως εἰρήνην καταπέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθθησαν, ἐπιδεῖξαν ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰς βασιλείας σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσке τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἰχε δὲ ὁδε. 30

'Αρταξέρξης βασιλεύς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νῆσων Κλαζομενᾶς καὶ Κύπρουν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Δήμουν καὶ 'Ιμβροῦ καὶ Σκύρου ταῦτας δὲ ὠσπερ τὸ ἄρχαῖον εἶναι 'Αθηναίων. ὑπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τὼν ταῦτα 1 βουλομένων καὶ τεξῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.

32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις, ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκαστοῖς ταῦτα MSS.: ταῦτα Kel.

1
being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for these reasons were exceeding desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaeum 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 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

\[1 \text{ cp. iv. vii. } 2 \text{ f. and note.} \]
πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀπαντεῖς ὅμως σαν ἐμπεδόσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἥξιον ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὁμοῦναί. οἱ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δεξασθαί τοὺς ὄρκους, εὰν μὴ ὅμως, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικράν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ' εἶν. Ἡτε ὲνν, ἔφη ο Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτάτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκστοιον ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ φύχοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους έχθραν οὐκ ἐμέλλειν, ἀλλὰ πεῖσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγέετο τὰ δια-βατηρία, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέστηκε τῶν μὲν ἰππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπιστεύσοντας, διέστηκε δὲ καὶ ἤσαν οἱ εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι εἰς Τεγέας, παρῆσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφίσα τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὐκ αὐτὴς ἀπήλθουν, Θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἔξεπεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων φρου-ράν. ἀλλ' ο Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιε τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίστευεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεί δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργείοι καὶ αὐτή ἐφ' ἐαυτῇς ἦ

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 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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tῶν Κορινθίων πόλεις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἐργου ἀυτοῦ γυνότες ἀπῆλθον καὶ τῆς Κορινθοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πολίται ἔκοντες¹ κατέδεχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράξθη καὶ ὠμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ ἐιρήνῃ ἴνα κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὑστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθηναίων τείχῶν αὕτη πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπος τοῖς ἑναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυνδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ᾽ Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας ταῖς πόλεις πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κορινθοῦν, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὕτε πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἐπανήγγειλαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους Κορινθοῦν σφετεριζόμενος, φουράν φήμαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἔξοικεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

Π. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἤσαν ἡ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, τούτῳ κολάσαι καὶ κατα-

¹ ἔκοντες MSS.: ἔκοντες Kel.
² τῇ MSS. except B: ἐν τῇ Kel. with B.
HELLENICA, V. i. 34-11. i

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 out-
break 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 cham-
pions of the treaty proposed by the King and by es-
tablishing 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.
σκενάσαι ὃς μὴ δύναιντο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτούς τὸ τείχος περιαρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολέμοις 2 γενέσθαι. αὐσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἐφασαν καὶ ὡς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντων, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἀκολούθοιεν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. έτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἐφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ’, εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεύσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχῃ τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι. 3 ἔπει δ’ οὖν ἣθελον καθαρεῖν τὰ τείχη, φρουράν φαίνουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς.

'Αγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδείηθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἕαυτον ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τῶν Μαντινεῶν πόλεις πολλαὶ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις. 'Αγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν καὶ μάλα Παυσανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχουτος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. 4 ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔδην. ἔπει δὲ οὐδ’ οὗτο καθήρουν τὰ τείχη, τάφρον ὀρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἥμισει τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένους σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ’ ἥμισειν 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 Lacedemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befell them.\(^1\) It was also common talk that the thirty years’ truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea,\(^2\) 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,\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) *cp. iv. v. 18.*  
\(^2\) *In 418 B.C.*  
\(^3\) *Who was still living, though deposed and in exile. cp. iii. v. 25.*
λέγει δὲ ἐξειργαστῷ ἡ τάφρος. ἀσφαλῶς ἦδη κύκλῳ τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠκοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπῶν ἐσεσθαί, εἰ δεῖσθι πολὺν χρόνου τρύχειν στρατεύας τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ἰέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μᾶλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη. εἰς τῆς ἀπορροίας ἦρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλάνθων καὶ προδίδουσῶν τὰς ἀνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρίγνυτο τὸ τείχος, ἔσετα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τίνα ξύλα ἀντῆρειδον καὶ ἐμηχανώντο ὡς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος· ἔπει δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὑδάτου, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πη τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους δομιάλωτοι γένοιτο, ὠμολόγου περιαρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Ῥακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείρεσθαι, εἴ μὴ καὶ διοικισάντο κατὰ κόμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἴομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλειδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἔξηκοντα οὕσι. καὶ ἀμφότεροθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Ῥακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὀμως ἀπεί-
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 Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μὲγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.

7 Ἔκ δὲ τούτου καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τείχος, διψκίσθη δὲ Ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῆ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαίον φῶκον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἑχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἐδει καθαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὕσια ἐγγύτερον μὲν φῶκον τῶν χωρίων ὑπῶν αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κόμας, ἀριστοκρατία δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἦδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἐπεμπόν μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἐν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κόμην ἑκάστην ἔξειαγὸν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατούντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μή διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὅποιοὶ τινες ἐκαστοὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένητο, καὶ τῶν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαιμονα καὶ ἔδιδασκον ὡς ἔως μὲν σφεῖς οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετο τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ τείχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι ἡγοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς ἐξέβαλον, ὡς ἐπεσθαί μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάνων

1 After σφᾶς the MSS. have αὐτὸι (or αὐτοῖς): 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 Philiasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to
ἀνθρώπων Δακεδαίμονίους οὐ δέχοντο εἰςω τῶν
9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσασιν ὁν ταῦτα τοῖς ἑφόροις ἀξιον
ἐδοξεῖν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς
τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἐλεγον ὡς φίλοι μὲν
οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Δακεδαίμονίων πόλει εἰεν, ἀδι-
κοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν μὴ
ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι
κατελθεῖν αὐτοὺς. ἓ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι
ἐδείσαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαστο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, τῶν
ἐνδόθεν παρείσαν τινες αὐτούς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἐνδο ἤσαν τῶν φευ-
γόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὑμενεῖς, καὶ οἶτα δὴ ἐν ταῖς
πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινες ἐπιθυμοῦντες
10 πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγήν. τοι-
αὕτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐγκαθίσαντο καταδέχε-
σθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι
τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πρια-
μένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν εἰ δὲ
τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη δια-
κριθήναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὲν περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων
φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αὐτέρ πέμψα-
σται τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθοῦν πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφι-
κοντο εἰς Δακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἐφοροῖ
ὡν ἐνεκα ἤκουν, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν
12 ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἐνθα δὴ Κλει-
γένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεγεν. Ὡ τῶν Ἀνδρεῖ Δακεδαίμονοι
τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἴομεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πράγμα
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
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μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. οτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις ὁλυνθὸς σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὕτω τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ’ ωτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἐπεῖτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβον τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ῥαμύντον τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. ἔπει δὲ εἰσῆκον εἰς ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πόρρω καὶ μειζόνων ἐπορεύοντο καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἥδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων καὶ Ῥαμύνταν δὲ ἀποκρούομεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἥδη ἐκ πᾶσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίατας οἱ Ὁλυνθίοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συνυπερσχόμεθα, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ’ ἡμῖς ὑιοῖς.

13 Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρες Δακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι· εἰ μὲντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ’ ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τοις νῦν γ’ ἢδη αὐτοῖς εἰςίν ήπλῖται μὲν ὁκτάτου ὀκτακοσίων,1 πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἵππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἡ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἡδη αὐτῶθι. ἡκουόμεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ Ὁλυνθίοις ἐψηφίσμενοι εἰς συμπέμπτειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας

1 ὀκτακοσίων: Kel. marks this word as corrupt. The number seems far too small.
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 Olynthians, 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 Olynthians, 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 Olynthians on their side had voted to send ambassadors with them to these states in regard to
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tὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαῦτη
dύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ
Θηβαίων ἵσχυ, ὥρατε, ἑφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι
eὐμεταχείρίστα ἐσται ἐκεῖνα ύμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
Ποτείδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἵσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης
οὖςαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπη-
kόους ἐσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δὲ ἐτὶ ἔστω ύμῖν
καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἵσχυρῶς αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηθη-
tαι: μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσα τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὄμως
οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν
dιδαξοῦσας ταύτα. ἐννοίσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς
εἰκὸς ύμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως
μὴ καθ᾽ ἐν εἶ, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἄθροιζομένης
δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μό-
νον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἵσχυρᾶς γυγνο-
mένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν
ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστὶ, χρημάτων
dὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν
δὲ ἐμπορίων, πολυνθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυ-
σιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονες γ᾽ εἰσὶν
αὐτοῖς Ἐράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι
μὲν καὶ νῦν ἦδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἐκεῖ-
νους ἐσονται, πολλῆ καὶ αὐτῇ δύναμις προσγενοῦτι
ἀν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθοῦντων καὶ τὰ
ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἀν αὐτοῖς ἦδη
ἀρέσοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὐ
καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτον ἐστι.
τὸ γε μὴν φρονήμα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνους 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 Potidaea, 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?
γάρ ὁ θεὸς ὅσις ἔποιησεν ἄμα τῇ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀλκηδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἔζαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰκεῖ ἔχει· ὡς ἴνα δε βουλεύσῃ, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὡς ἴνα εἰρήκα- μεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὕσαν, οὕτω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὕται, ἢν τι Ἰδούν αὐτίπαλον, ταχὺ ἀποστῆσονται: εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθῆσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἐς ἐφησισμένοι εἰσί, καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων ἐπεσθαὶ κερδαλέων ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Ἁρ- κάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὕμων ἰσός, τά τε αὐτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν, ἵσως οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως εὐνυτα ἔσται.

20 Δεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Ἀλκηδαι- μόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγου καὶ ἐκέλευσον συμ- βουλεύειν ὅ τι γιγνώσκει τις ἀριστον τῇ Πελο- ποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτων μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγοροῦν στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀλκε- δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἐδοξεί πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίοις σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριον τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἔξειναι διδόναι τῇ βου- λομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναίον κατὰ ἀνδρα, ἵππεας τε εἰς τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων

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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\(^1\) 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.
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22 ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἵππει δίδοσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Λακε- 

dαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιών στατήρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα 

tῆς ἡμέρας. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ 

'Ακάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν 

εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνάτα ταχὺ περαν-

θῆναι. Βέλτιον οὖν ἐφασαν εἰναι, ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ ἡ 

παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξεῖλ-

θεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίος τε, 

όσῃ ἄν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων 

tούτων γὰρ γενομένου τὰς τε οὕτω προσκεχωρη-

κυίας πόλεις στῆναι ἃν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας 

24 ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, 

ἐκπέμπτοσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ 

σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ 

tῶν Σκιρτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχείλους. οἱ μέντοι 

Εὐδαμίδας ἐξιόν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδείχθη 

tῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῶ 

προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετίεναι· αὐτὸς δὲ 

ἔπει ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἔπτε Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν 

dεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουρῶς ἔπεμπτε, Ποτεί-

dαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη 

ἐκείνων οὐσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμη 

ὡς περ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἐχοῦντα δύναμιν. 

25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἥθροισθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπο-


πο-


λειψθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπο-


1 στρατιάν MSS.: στρατελαν Kel.
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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ρεῖστο ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θηβαις, ἐστρατοπε- 
δεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον 
στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες 
μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Δεοντιάδης, διά- 
φοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐκάτερος 
tῶν ἐταίρων ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μίσος 
tῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδα, 
ὁ μὲντοι Δεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὸν, 
καὶ ἔπει eἰσφωκείωθη, ἔλεγε τάδε. Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὁ 
Φοιβίδα, τῇ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ὑγαθὰ τῇ σεαυ- 
tοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃς 
ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σὲ ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν 
ἀκρόπολιν τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θη- 
βας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ ἡμῖν 
τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν, 
ὡς ὅρας ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρα- 
tευέων Θηβαίων ἐπ᾽ Ὀλυνθίους ἐὰν δὲ γε σὺ 
tαῦτα μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν πράξῃς, εὔθὺς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς 
mὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἰππέας συμπέμψομεν. 
ὡστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἄδελφῳ, καὶ 
ἐν ὁ μὲλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθοῦ καταστρέφεσθαι, 
οὐ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει Θῆβας, πολὺ μέξῳ πό- 
λιν Ὀλυνθοῦ. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας 
ἀνεκουφίσθη καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρὸν τι ποιῆσαι 
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἑραστῆς, οὐ μὲντοι λογι- 
στικὸς γε οὐδὲ πάνω φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἔπει 
δὲ ὁμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι 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 gymnasium. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs, 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 Phoeibidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with him, spoke to him as follows: "Phoeibidas, 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 Phoeibidas 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 ἀπιεναι Ἡνίκα δὴ ἂν ἦ καιρὸς, πρὸς σὲ ἥξω ἐγώ, ἑφι ὁ
29 Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν δὲ ἦ μὲν βούλη ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἄγορᾷ στοὰ διὰ τὸ
tὰς γυναίκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφορίας, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἔρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ’ ἦππον ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρά
dοὺς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἴπὼν μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐτινα μὴ
aὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.
30 ἔλθων δὲ εἰπε τάδε: Ὀτι μὲν, ὁ ἀνδρες, Δακε
dαιμόνοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μὴδὲν ἀθυ
μείτε· οὐδὲν γὰρ φασί πολέμου ήκειν, ὅστις μὴ
tολέμου ἑρά: ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι
pολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τούτου Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμο-
pοιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ
tούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες
31 ἀπαγάγετε τούτου ἐνθὰ εἰρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες
tὸ πράγμα παρῆσαν τε καὶ ἐπείδουν ται συνε-
λάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄν-
tων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἐφευγοὺν εὐθὺς
ἐξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ
cαὶ οὐκάδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον

1 The Theban Acropolis, which was the usual meeting-place of the senate.
his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebcs. 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, 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
τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ἤσθοντο ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας ὁι ταῦτα ἡγημόνευσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία μᾶλιστα τριακόσιοι.

32 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἄντι Ἰσμηνίον ἄλλον εἰλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἑχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδα, ὅτι οὐ προσταθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγγίλαος ἐλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαίμοι πεπραγῶς εὖς, δίκαιος εὖς ἡμιονόθεαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθά, ἀρχαῖον εἰναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. Αὔτο ὅν τοῦτ’, ἐφ᾽, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἡ κακὰ ἐστὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα.

33 "Εσπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἔλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἐλεγε τοιάδε· ὁ Ἀνδρέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ύμῖν οἱ Θηβαιῶι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ύμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἐωφὰτε γὰρ ἄει τούτους τοῖς μὲν ύμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἑχοντας, τοῖς δ’ ύμετέροις φίλοις ἔχθρους ὑντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν εὖ Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὑντα ύμῖν, οὐκ ἡθελήσαν συντρατεύειν; Φωκεύσι δὲ, ὅτι ύμᾶς ἑυμενείς ὑντας ἑώρουν, ἐπεστράτευνοι; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ύμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφεροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ύμεῖς γε τότε μὲν ἂεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν υφ’ αὐτοῖς

4 ὑμᾶς MSS.: υμῖν Kel.
was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who 383 B.C. 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 Olynthians, 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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eίναι· νῦν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ύμᾶς ἔτι Θηβαίους φοβείσθαι· ἀλλ᾽ ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὡστ' ἐκείθεν πάντα ὑπηρετείσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, εἰν ὡςπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὔτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθε. ἀκούονσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακε- 

dαιμονίοις ἐδοξε τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὡςπερ κατε-

ληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνία κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πέμπουσι δικαστάς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἕνα ἀφ᾽ ἐκά-

στης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπει δὲ 

συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγο-

ρεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὧς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς 

ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῇ Ἐλλάδος 

gεγενημένος εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρη-

μάτων μετειληφὼς εἴη καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι 

tαραχῆς πάσης ἐκείνος τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας 

αἰτιώτατοι εἴεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα 

tαῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἐπειδῆ ὑπὲρ τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπρά-

γμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν 

κατεψυχῆσθαι καὶ ἀποθυγῆσκεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεο-

ντιάδην εἴχών τε τήν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 

ἐτι πλείω ὑπηρέτουν ἡ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς. 

37 Τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 

πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυνθον στρα-

τιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν 

μὲν ἀρμοστὴν, τὴν δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν 

αὐτοῖ τε ἄπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς 

συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέσπεμπον, κελεύ-

οντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτία κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν 

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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 Androcleidas 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
συμμάχων. καὶ οὗ τε ἄλλοι προδόμως τῷ Τε-
λευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτουν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει
εἶναι τοῖς ὑπονυμοῦν τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ
πόλις, ἀτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάον οὐντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ,
προδόμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὀπλάτας καὶ ἵππεας. ὁ
dὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μᾶλα ἔπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος
dὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ
tοῦ ὡς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέρχεται
δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἄρμυνταν, καὶ ἥξιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔνειον
μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίοις βασιλεύσῃ χρήματα
didόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἰπερ βούλιοτο τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπτο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν
τὸν Ἑλιμίας ἀρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὁλύνθιοι
κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζων δύναμιν Μακεδονίας
eϊεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις
αὐτοὺς παύσετι τῆς ὑβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν,
mάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν
ἐαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἔπει δὲ ἠλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτει-
δαιαν, ἐκείθεν συνταξόμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν
πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἵνα οὗτ’ ἐκαεν
οὗτ’ ἐκοπτε, νομίζων, εἰ τι ποιήσειε τούτων, ἐμ-
ποδῶν ἀν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι
καὶ ἀπιόντι ὅποτε δὲ ἀναχωροῖ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,
tοτέ ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δεύδρα ἐμποδῶν
καταβάλλειν, εἰ τις ὁπίσθεν ἑπίοι.

40 Ὁς δὲ ἀπείχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα
στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὀπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς
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in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And 382 B.C. 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
ἐχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνεβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἵνα ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ δὲ ἀλλὰ φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξιὸν. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἑτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῶ ἐκεῖ Θέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι ἱππέας ὡς εἰς τετρακοσίους διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι τούτο τὸ ἵππικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Θέρδαν, ὡς ἡδόμενος παρείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὕπο τῷ τείχει, συσπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλοσι κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτοὺς. καὶ Πολύχαρμον τε τὸν Δακεδαμόνον ἱππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατετρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικὸν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλου δ᾿ ἂν ἐκνομυνουσιν ἠττήθη καὶ τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Θέρδας ἐχὼν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυμπιῶν ἠλασεν. ἐπηδε καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς 41 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τάξει. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἱσθοῦντο οἱ Ὀλυμπιοὶ ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Θέρδας παρελαύνουντας παμπόλλους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὔ μεντοὶ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἀτε ἐγγὺς 42 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τάξει. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἱσθοῦντο οἱ Ὀλυμπιοὶ ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Δέρδας παρελαύνουντας παμπόλλους αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὔ μεντοὶ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἀτε ἐγγὺς 43 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τάξει. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖον τε ἐστάθη

1 After παμπόλλους the MSS. have ἱππέας: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.
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 Bocotians. 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 Olynthian 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
καὶ ἡ νίκη αὐτὴ τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπὶ δὴ ἐκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διήκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στρατεύμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα: πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὁλύνθιοι καταθέουσει εἰς τὰς τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίας πόλεις ἔλεηλάτουν καὶ ἀνδραὶ ἀπεκτίνουν.

Τ. Τῷ ἁμα δὲ τῷ ἦρε ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὁλύνθιοι ἤπειροι οὐντες ὡς ἐξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμῆκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν. δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἄφυγμένως μετὰ τῶν ἤπειρων τῶν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιοῦμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομήν, ἡσυχίαν εἰχε, τοὺς θ' ἦπειρους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβατάς ξεω-πλισμένους ἢχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὁλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἠλαυνοῦν, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἢχων ἑξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὃς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὃς ἀπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνήκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτίνους, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὁλυνθίων τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτείναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὑγιοῦκοντα ἢπείς. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχηρεῖς τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην.

2 ἑξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὃς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὃς ἀπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνήκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτίνους, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὁλυνθίων τὸ τείχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτείναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὑγιοῦκοντα ἢπείς. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχηρεῖς τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην.

3 παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὁλυνθίων πόλιν, ὡς εὖ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἶνή πολλῶν ἔτη εἰς εἰργασμένοι τοὺς πολεμίους, φθέρου, ἐξελαύνει. οἱ Ὁλυνθίοι ἤπειροι ἢσυχοὶ πορευο-μενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰέσοντα
HELLENICA, V. ii. 43—iii. 3

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
ποταμών, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο 1 πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στρατεύμα. ὡς δ᾿ εἰδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείλεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ὅλυθιοι ὡς εἶδον προθέοντας τοὺς πελταστάς, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δ᾿ ἡκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως καὶ ὡς φεύγουσι διώξοντες ἐπιδείβαινον. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ὅλυθιοι ἐπιείς, ἡνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν τα ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἡ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ὡς εἶδε τὸ γυγόμενον, ὄργισθεις ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὀπλὰ ἤγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὄπλιτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἱππεὰς καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καρποῦ ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχωρήσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ᾿ ἔπει ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλ- λοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἡναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὅλυθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππεὰς, ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὄπλιται ἐπεξέθεουν, καὶ τεταραγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθυμῆσκει. τοῦτον δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἁμφ’ αὐτῶν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτὶ ἱστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖ- 

1 After ἐπορεύοντο the MSS. have ἡσυχή: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.
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
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στοὶ δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὃς δ᾽ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐφευγὼν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσ διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὁ τυπερ ὀφελος ὡν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγὼ φημὶ ἀνθρώπους παίδευσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὃς οὐδ᾽ οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται ὀργιζόμενοι μείζῳ κακὰ ἔπαθον ἡ ἐποίησαν ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλους τὸ μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμῃ προσφέρεσθαι ὅλον ἀμάρτημα, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργῇ ἀπρονόντον, ἡ δὲ γνώμῃ σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἥττον μὴ τι πάθη ἡ ὁποῖς βλάψῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.

8 Τοῖς δ᾽ οὖν Δακεδαίμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πράγμα, βουλευόμενοι ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τὸ τε φρόνημα τῶν νεικηκότων κατασβέσθει καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὔτω δὲ γνώντες ἤγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν Βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὀσπερ Ἀγησιλάον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριά...

9 κοντὰ Σπαρτιατῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἔθελονται καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἤκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἀπειρο. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἔθελονται, καὶ Θεταλῶν γε ἵππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἐτὶ προ-
HELLENICA, 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 Spartiatae. 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 Spartiatae 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.
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θυμότερον ἦ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπον.

10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθείσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως ἀυτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατεύματος ἔδωσαν, νομίζουσα δὲ ἐξω ὅντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἄν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ’ ἄν γενέσθαι ὅστε ἀμμοφότεροι τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασεός οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη φυγάδες ἥξιον τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἰσω δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι: οἱ δὲ ἦναγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων, καὶ τίς αὐτῇ δίκη εἰῃ ὅποι αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄδικοντες δικάξοιεν, οὐδὲν εἰσῆκον. ἐκ τούτων μὲντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσουσε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοὶεν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτως τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐξημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.

12 οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οὔκαδε μὲν ὁκνοῦν ἀπείναν, μένοντες δ’ ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὔτοι μὲν εἰῆσαν, οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οὔπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὔτοι δὲ οἱ πριάμενοι τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδίδοναι, οὔτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰςι ζημιώθηναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας,

1 cp. ii. 10

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with even greater eagerness than before. Under 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 giving 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. 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. Consequently 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 return 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 τολμῆσθαι εἶναι δηλώσων
13 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γυνώμενα. τῷ δὲ οὐτὶ ύβρίζειν
dοκούντων τῶν Φλειάσιον φρούραν φαίνουσιν ἐπ’
αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐφοροὶ. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἄχθο-
μένῳ ταῦτα: καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχι-
δάμῳ ἔξοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμου, καὶ τότε τῶν
κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν αὐτῶ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα
tὸν Ἰππούκου. ὡς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομέ-
νων οὐκ ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπορεύετο, πολλαὶ πρε-
σβείαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὡστε μὴ
ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἦν ἄδικοὶ
στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τοῖς ἄδικουμένοις βοηθή-
σειν. οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἐφασκοῦν ποιῆσειν,
ἐδέουσι τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς
οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσεις λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον
ψεύσασθαι αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν
ἐφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τούτ’ ἂν εἴη; πάλιν
ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ὀπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἐφη, ποιῆσαντες
οὐδὲν ύπ’ ἧμῶν ἥδικηθετε. τούτο δὲ ἦν τὴν
16 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἔνεβάλε τε εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ
περιτείχισας ἐπολιώρκει αὐτοὺς. πολλῶν δὲ λε-
γόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώ-
πων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοντο πλέον πεντακισχιλίων
ἀνδρῶν καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ’ ἔνδηλον εἴη, οἱ
Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἐξω ἐκκλησίαζον.

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 Poda- nemus 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,1 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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XENOPHON

ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσατο. 17 ὅποτε γὰρ ξίδοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ἔξυσιτιά τε αὐτῶν κατα-
σκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἴκανόν διδόναι,
ὅποσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἑθέλοιεν καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπο-
ρίζειν ἀπασὶ τούτως διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν
eἰς ταῦτα χρήματα δανεῖζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα
ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν
ἀριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ
εὐσπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ἐλεγον ὡς τοιούτως δέοις τυχρατιστῶν.

18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ
Ἀγησίπολις εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσήκοιν
ἐθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα.
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆι αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας
eἰ τι ύπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδίου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας
ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἐφθειρε τὸν σῖτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ
προσβαλὼν εἴλε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτως
ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καύμα περιφλεγές λαμ-
βάνει αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν ἔορακότα τὸ ἐν
'Αφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρως αὐτῶν τὸν ἐσχε
τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν
καὶ ψυχρῶν ύδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖσε
ἐτὶ ξόν, ὁμοὶς μέντοι ἐβδομαίοις ἀφ’ οὗ ἐκαμεν
ἐξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπελεύσησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν
μέλιτι τεθέες καὶ κομισθεῖς οἴκαδε ἐτυχε τῆς
βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.

19 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὖν ἦ τις ἄν
ὅτετο ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλω, ἄλλα καὶ ἐδάκρυσε

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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 Olynthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olynthian 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 midsummer 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· συσκευώσε μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἶκοι δῶσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἰππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπηδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰδός πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Δακεδαῖμονι ἄντ' ἐκείνῳ Πολυβιάδην ἀρμοστὴν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ολυμνοῦ ἐκπέμπουσιν.

21 Ὑἱς μὲν ὑπερῆβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐλέγετο ἐν Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρός ἀκρατείας διαφέρει ὅστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἦμισθόν ψηφισά-μενοι σῖτον τελεῖν ἥ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ ἑκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι διήρκεσαν. καὶ τὸλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦ-τον διαφέρει ὅστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τρικασίους ἀνδρὰς Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλο-μένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἰς ἡπίστει ἐἵρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἰς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἱέναι καὶ τούτοις ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὅν ἐξε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέσων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἀλλ' ἀλλή τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. ἔπει μέντοι οἱ ἐπιλεκτοὶ οὕτω πάντα τρόπων ἄγωντες οὐχ ἠμιτικοὶ σῖτον ὣς τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμ-ψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἐγησίλαον ἐδέοντο 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
σθαὶ πρεσβείαν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἱοῦνα δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἐφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοὺς τέλεσι τῶν Δακεδαίμονῶν χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὁ τι βοῦλοντο. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποίουν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἶκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἕαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειούντος, ἐσπείσατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἵσχυρότερα ἡ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ὅνα μηδεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔζιοι. ὅμως μέντοι οὐ γε Δελφίων καὶ στυγματίας τις μετὰ αὐτοῦ, ὅς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὀπλα τῶν πολιορκοῦντων, ἀπέδρασαν νῦκτωρ.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον ὥς τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι 'Ἀγχισιλάω διαγινώναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοῖ, 'Ἀγχισιλάος δὴ οὗτως ἐγνώ, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρίναι ὅντινα τε ξῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὅντινα ἀποθανεὶν δίκαιον εἴη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θείναι, καθ’ οὓς πολιτεύσωντο· ἔως δὲ ἃν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρονοίς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφήκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπῆγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὐτῷ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ καὶ ἕναυτῷ.

Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ πανταπασὶ κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς ὶλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μήτ’ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν εἰσάγεσθαι σῶτον αὐτοῖς, ἣνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Δακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· οἳ δὲ ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτ. 450
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
τορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἄν ἥγωνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὀμοσάντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οὐκαδὲ.

27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡστε Θηβαίους μὲν καὶ τοὺς Ἀλλοὺς Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπὶ ἐκείνους ἐδει, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενήσθαι, Ἀργείους δὲ τεταπεινώσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδέν ἐτὶ ὡφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφορὰν, 1 Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἧρμοδόθαι, τῶν δ' αὐτοπολιορκηθέντων ὡκεν πανταπασιν ἦδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

IV. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἀν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσιν νῦν η εὐή λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε γὰρ οἱ ὀμόσαντες αὐτοῦμοις εἰςεἰν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θῆβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον 2 οὐδ' ὡφ' ἐνός τῶν πῶς τοῖς ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς των πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ὡστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τοῦτον ἀρχήν ἐπὶ

1 διὰ ... ὑποφορὰν MSS.: Kel. brackets.
2 πρότερον Wolf: πρῶτον Kel. with MSS.
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 despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were
μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἦρκεσαν καταλύσαι. ώσ ἐδὲ τούτον ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

2 Ἡν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχους, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἀρίστα. τούτῳ δ’ ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναξε κατὰ πράξιν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὃν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναξε πεφευγότων Ὑβαίων συγ-γίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμάρχουν καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἐτί μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οίκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο

3 ως δὲι ἐκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτοιν προσλα-βὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐὰν τους ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξεφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτὸς ἐπειτα δὲ ἠμερεύσαντες ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἤνικαπερ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὑψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διευκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνη τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρων τοις, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ οὐσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἀλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχους, ὡς Ἀφρο-δίσια ἅγουσιν ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχυόμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Ὑβαίως, τότε ἐφὶ 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

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enough to destroy the government of these men. 379 B.C.

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 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 ἥδεως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-
πησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμομένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἁγεῖν τὰς ἐταῖ-
ρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θερα-
6 παίνας. κακείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προτα-
μείον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἴπε 
τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ 
γυναῖκες, εἰ τις τῶν διακόνων ἐνδον ἔσοιτο. ἐνθὲν 
οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλ-
λίδας δοὺς ὄνον εἰς ἐνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέτεμψεν 
αὐτοὺς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δὴ, 
καὶ ἐκάθισε παρ’ ἐκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ 
7 καθίζοιτο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ 
μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθάνειν, οἱ δὲ 
καὶ ως κωμαστάς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα 
ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλ-
λίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Δεου-
τιάδου οἰκίαν κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν ἐίπεν ὅτι 
παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγέλαι τι βούλοιτο. 
ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ 
δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ έριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο. 
ἐκέλευσε δὲ τῶν Φιλλίδων πιστῶν νομίζων εἰσὶ-
έναι. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντας, ¹ 
τὴν δὲ γυναίκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξ-
ίοντες δὲ εἴπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεισθαι· ἐδὲ λῃ-
ψοντας ἁνεφιμένην, ἦπειλησαν ἀποκτείναν ἀπαν-
8 τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα 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 εἰργυμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἁγοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ὅν εἰρξαί δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνέφη, τούτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμῶτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοὰς ὁπλῶν καθελόντες ὄπλισαν, καὶ ἄγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφειόν θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὁπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξεῖναι πάντας Ἐβδαίους, ἵππεας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεῶν. οἱ δὲ πολίται, ἐως μὲν νῦξ ἦν, ἀπίστοντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἔπει δ’ ἡμέρα τ’ ἦν καὶ φανερὸν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχύ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐξεβοϊθοῦν. ἐπεμψαν δ’ ἵππεας οἱ κατελθυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίων δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ’ εἰδότες τὸ πράγμα ἐφ’ ὁ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοΗθοῦν.2

10 Ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστῆς ἐπεὶ ἠσθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιᾶς καὶ Θεσπὶδας ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσίνοντας οἱ τῶν Ἐβδαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον ἡ εἰκοσι’ ἔπει δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ ’Αθηναίοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἥδη παρῆσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ ἐγνώσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει οἶλογοι οὔντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσίνοντων ἀπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-

1 Inserted by Kel., following Dindorf.
2 Inserted by Kel. The text of the last four lines of this section is probably corrupt.
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 Ampheum, 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

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1 The shrine of the Theban hero Amphion.
XENOPHON

γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνα-
βάσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίσοιεν
ἀν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπιῶσι
διδοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμενοὶ τε ἔδοσαν ἄ ᾔτουν, καὶ
σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὁρκοὺς ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξίοντοι μέντοι, ὅσοις ἐπέγνωσαν
τῶν ἔχθρῶν οὕτας, συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν.
荣誉称号 δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώ-
θησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θῆβαιοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν
ἀποθαυνόντων, ὅσοις ἤσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
tῶν μὲν ἀρμοστὴν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρό-
πολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν θεόθειαν ἀπέ-
κτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαύνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θῆβαιοις.
καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταρά-
κοιντα ὧφ' ἡβης εἰς, καὶ ὁσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
τηλικοῦτοις οὐκέτι ἀναγκὴ εἰς τῆς ἔαυτῶν ἐξω
στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεύσει τὸν αὐτῶν
νόμον ὅντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων
tαῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἐνεκεν
cατέμεινεν, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατη-
γοὶς, λέξοιν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως
βοηθήσει τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει
παρέχοι. εἰά οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλεύεσθαι ὁποίον τι
βούλησαι περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι
ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θῆβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτω-
κότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τὸτε

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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.
XENOPHON

ηγούμενον, μάλα χειμώνος οὕτως. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελ-
tαστάς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιᾶς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ
οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυχαίοιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρῷ
φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὡς
περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὕσι. καὶ τούτοις
μὲν ἀπαντᾷ, εἰ μὴ τις ἑξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ
ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλα-
tαιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὕσας. ἔπει δὲ εἰς Θεσπιᾶς
ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθείς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλᾶς
οὕσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ
ἐκεῖ περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἤμερας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς
Θεσπιᾶς· κἀκεῖ μὲν ἀρμοστὴν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων
παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν
οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξευκίων προσμισθοῦ-
σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν. ὁ δὲ
Κλεόμβροτος ἀπήγγειν ἐπὶ οὐκοῦ τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος
τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀπο-
ροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ
εἰρήνη εἰς. ἦγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων
τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὦς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα
κακουργῆσαι. ἀπείροντι γε μὴν ἀνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαι-
σιος ἐπεγένετο, δυ καὶ οἰωνίζουτο τινες σημαινεῖν
πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ
μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθήκον

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he had a command,—in the dead of winter. Now 379 B.C. the road which leads through Eleutherae 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 Cynosecephalae, 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 foreshadowing 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. Cithaeron.  \(^2\) cp. vi. iv. 2–15.
XENOPHON

ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὅρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὅπλα ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς πορεύεσθαι, ἐνθευ καὶ ἐνθευ τοῦ ἀκροῦ κατέλιπτον λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἄσπιδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς εἰν Ἀιγοσθένους ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὁπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἰκάδε ἤδη ἐκαστοι ἀπῆσαν. ἀφίκη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι ὅρωντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ρώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παριόντες τῆν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι εἰς τὰς Θῆβας ἐνέβαλλον, οὔτως ἐφοβοῦντο ὡστε καὶ τῷ δύο στρατηγῷ, οὐ συνηπιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Δεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπεκτείναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.

Οἱ δ' αὖ Θῆβαιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ μιθέες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοίούτε οὐρίσκουσι μιχάλημα. πείθουσι τὸν έν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρηματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσειε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κακεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρὸ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φύσκων πρὸ
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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

21 ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Ὁριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὅστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινές τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἀστυ ἀπηγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἵππεις καὶ ὀπλῖται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.

22 τῶν δὲ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθηναίοις ὄντες παρὰ Καλλία τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὡκυλλος· οὐδ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πράγμα ἡγεῖθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς εἰ ἤδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, εἰ τῷ ἀστεὶ ἄν ὑποχειρίως αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὐ τάχιστ' ἄν

23 ἦρεθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὡς εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐσοίτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὐ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κάκεινοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι ἄφειβησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτον. ἔκεινοι μέντοι φοβούμενοι οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὡμοὶ δὲ καῖπερ οὐχ 466
that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before 378 B.C. 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
υπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοὶς ἔδωξεν αὐτῇ δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἡ δίκη κριθήναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τούτῳ ὁ αὐτίου.

25 Ὡν νῦν τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ἤλικίαν τε ἔχων τὴν ἁρτὶ ἑκ παιδῶν, καὶ ἁμα κάλλιστος τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἠλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἔρῴν ἑτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἀτε ἑταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δὲ ἁγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνον φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δὲ δείνα γὰρ ἐδοκεὶ πεποιη-κέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον Ἐξεστί σοι, ὁ νιέ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεηθέντι Ἀρχίδαμον εὐμενὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἐμοί εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκοὺσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδείτο σωτήρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν ὁ Αρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο Ἀλλ', ὃς Κλεώνυμε, ὅσθι μὲν ὧτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἔμῳ πατρὶ οὖν ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μάλλον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι· ὦμως δ' ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πάσαν μὲ προ-θυμίαν ἔξειν ταύτα σοι πραχθῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ φιλίτιον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνε-παύετο· τοῦ δ' ὀρθροῦ ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτόν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθὼν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ τις τῶν ποιτῶν

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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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παρίν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐπείτα
d', εἰ τις ξένος, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ
deομένῳ παρεχώρει. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Εὐρώτα ἀπίων ὁ Ἀγισίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οἶκαδε,
ἀπιῶν ψχετο οὔδε προσελθῶν. καὶ τῇ ύστεραια
dὲ ταύτα ταύτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγισίλαος υπό-
πτευε μὲν ὁν ἐνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὔδεν μέντοι ἠρώτα,
ἀλλ' εἰα αὐτῶν. ὁ δ' αὐ 'Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει
μὲν, ὦστερ εἰκός, ὅραν τὸν Κλεόνυμον' ὅπως
μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ
περὶ ὁν ἐκείνος ἐδείηθη οὐκ εἰχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν
Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὅρωντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἱόντα,
πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ᾲσαν μὴ λειο-
δορημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγισίλαον εἰη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ
'Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν. 'Ο
πάτερ, Κλεόνυμος με κελεύει σου δεηθήναι σώ-
σαι οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταύτα σου δέομαι, εἰ
δυνατών. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο: 'Ἀλλὰ σοι μὲν ἔγων
συγγυμνὴν ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἀν συγγυ-
μῆς τύχομι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδρὰ μὴ καταγι-
γνώσκοιν ἑδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς
πόλεως οὐχ ὅρῳ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταύτα
οὐδεν εἰπεν, ἀλλ' ἤτηθεις τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν.
ὕστερον δὲ ἡ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἥ διδαχθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
eἰπεν ἐλθῶν· 'Ἀλλ' ὅτι μέν, ὁ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν
ἡδίκει Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἀν αὐτὸν οἰδά· νῦν δὲ,
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,
ei ἡδίκηκε τι, ἦμων ἐνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ τυχέτω. ὦ δὲ εἰπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἄν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταύθ' ἦμων εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὦ μὲν δὴ ταύτ'

32 ἀκούσας μᾶλα δύσελπις ὃν ἀπῆει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος ἑτυμοκλεῖ εἰπεν· 'Τμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἐφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγγειολάου φίλοι ἄποκτενείτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μᾶ Δία οὐκ ἥρα ταύτ', ἐφη, ποιήσωμεν Ἀγγειολάω, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας ὁσιός διείλεται ταύτ' λέγει, μὴ ἁδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὀστὶς μέντοι παῖς τε ὃν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἴδιων πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτηνύνων· τὴν γὰρ Ἐπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.

33 ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταύτα ἀπῆγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὦ δ' ἱσχεῖς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἰπεν· "Οτι μὲν ἦμων ἐπιμελὴ ἦδη ἵσμεν· εὐ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὦτι καὶ ἤμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὃς μῆποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῆς· καὶ οὐκ ἐφευσάτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξοῦν ἀπαντ' ἐποίηε ὁσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Δεύκτροισ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρὶς πεσὼν πρὸτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἴνιασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυνεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκόσμησε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Ἐπάρτης 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, fighting in defence of his king with Deinou 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.
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34 Τῶν μεντοι 'Αθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες εἰδίδα-
σκον τῶν δῆμον ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὃπως
timwrišaın̂ to, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσεια τῶν Σφο-
δρίαν, ὡτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς 'Αθηναῖς. καὶ ἐκ
toû tōn oĩ 'Αθηναίοι έπύλωσάν τε τῶν Πειραιᾶ,
ναῦς τε ἐναυτηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πώση
προθυμία ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὐν Λακεδαιμόνιοι
φρουράν τε ἐφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν
'Αγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι
toû τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἤγείσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἀγει
τὴν στρατιάν. ὅ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὃ τὶ
tὴ πόλει δοκοῖ ἀντειπεῖν1 παρεσκευάζετο εἰς
tὴν ἔξοδον. γυμνόσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μή τις προ-
katalήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρώνα, οὐ ράδιον ἔσται
eἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας
tοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὄρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικῶν
τρέφονται, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὃπως γένοιτο2
τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἰ τι δεθεὶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ δια-
βατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρῶν ἐν Τεγέα αὐτὸς
ἐίναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορί-
ους ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοῦς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προ-
katalαβεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα. τοῖς δ' Ὄρχομενίοις ἐπευν, ἐως στρατεία εὖπη, παύσασθαι
tοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δὲ τὶς πόλεσ στρατιᾶς οὐς
ἐξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύουσι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐφη πρῶ-
tον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
36 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρώνα, ἐλθὼν

1 ἀντειπεῖν MSS.: Kel. prefixes ἐχοῦ.
2 γένοιτο MSS.: προσγένοιτο Kel.
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
eis Θεσπιάς ἐκείθεν ὅρμηθεις ἦς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρών δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἀξία τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδευόμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἕξαγων ἔδην τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρῆσαν αὐτῶν ἑντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι. καὶ ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἦδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἔξαιρησαν διὰ τῶν ὀδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελάνυουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἐτὶ καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἑνα, Εὐδίκον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς φυγάδας, οὕτω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐβοήθησαν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ἠλαυνοῦν ἐναυτίον τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἳ μέντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἔφκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι ποὺ ἐν μεσημβρία ὑπέμεινον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὡστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνυόντο δ' οὖ. ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσοῦτοι 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 δόδεκα. ώς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι ἁεὶ μετ' ἀριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαύνυτο, θυσά- μενος ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγεν ὡς οἰόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρῆλθε δι' ἑρμίμας ἑσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἐτεμεὶ καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἀστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχω- ρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἔτειχισε τὸ ἀστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἔκει μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλυπεν ἀρµοστὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ύπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμ- μάχους διήκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπὶ οἶκου ἀπῆγαγεν.

42 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπτων μὲν ἱσ- στήρια ἑφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομάς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργη τῆν χώραν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαίοι ἀντιτιμορείσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύ- ουσι πανδήμει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἰὰ αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάσωσθαι τῆς φαλάγγος; ὡστε οἱ Θη- βαίοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολής θάττονα τῆν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ θρεσκόμοι δὲ ἀπορ- ριπτοῦντες δὴν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπῆλαυνον οἶκαδε. οὐτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέ- πεσεν. οὐ δὲ τούτῳ θρασέως ἑπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἐχὼν τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἑπεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγέ- νετο τροπὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι: αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἤγετο, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπτεθαί τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύτο, καὶ τούς τῶν Θεσπιῶν ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ἦς δὲ ἀποχωροῦν- τες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἰππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπη ἅδιαβάτῳ ἐγύγυντο, πρῶτον μὲν θροίσθησαν, ἑπεὶ τα ἐδέ

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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 Thespians. 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 Thespians. 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 Thespians 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
Ἀνέστρεψον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπη διαβάειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταῖ ολίγοι οὕτε οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἑφυγοῦν· οἱ δὲ ἵππεῖς αὐ τοῦ ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἡ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτοι γενομένου πάντες ἑφυγοῦν. ἔπει δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσσιών, κα-κεῖνοι, μᾶλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπεί-ξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἑφυγοῦν, οὐδὲν τι πάνω διωκό-μενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὄψε. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐστησαν οἱ Θε-σπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἑγένοντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτοι πάλιν αὐ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνεξωπηρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιᾶς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιουκίδας πόλεις. οἱ μὲντοι δήμοι εἰς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας ἀπεχώρηε. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πό-λεσι δυναστείᾳ καθειστήκεσαν, ὅσπερ ἐν Θῆ-βαις· ὡστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Δακεδαμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τῶν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς Θεσπιᾶς ἐφύλαττον.

Επει δὲ τὸ ἱππὸ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἑφαίνουν φρου-ραν οἱ ἑφοροὶ εἰς τὰς Θῆβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὕπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἤγείσθαι. οὐ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταύτα γιγνώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ δια-
βατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιᾷς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς
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\(^1\); 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,\(^2\) he sent to the polemarch at Thespiae before even offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him

\[^1\text{i.e. formerly; cp. § 1.}\]
\[^2\text{See § 36 above.}\]
κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα ὁδὸν ἀκρον καὶ φυλάττειν, 48 ἐως ἀν αὐτὸς ἐλθῇ. ἔπει δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλόν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποίησατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπίας πρῶτον ἱέναι, καὶ πέμπων ἄγο-
ράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς προσβείας ἐκεὶ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν
πρὸς Θεσπίων ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγη-
σίλαος τῇ ὑπερείᾳ ἀμα τῇ ἥμερᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπο-
ρεύσετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἕρυθράς. καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι
δυνών ἥμεραν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας, ἔφθασεν
ὑπερβᾶς τὸ κατὰ Σκώλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν
toὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρό-
σθεν εἰς ἠλθεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἐω
τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδήσου μέχρι τῆς Τανα-
γραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ
Ταπάδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
eἰχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆκε ἐν ἱκανοτέρᾳ ἔχων
τὸ τείχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετά-
ξαντο ἐπὶ Γράδος στήθει, ὄπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε
τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι
ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενῶν ἤτα ταύτη
ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησί-
λαος ἵδων ταύτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν ὦκ ἤγεν, ἐπι-
σιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ᾦει. οἱ δ' αὐτὸι Θη-
βαίοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, δὴ ἐρήμη ἤτιν,
ἀπολιπόντες ἐνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμω
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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
εθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτινᾶς ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἄσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτούς ἐποίησεν· ὡμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέουτας αὐτούς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Ὁηβαίοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὡστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύτητος; εἰς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὡμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτοι τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Ὁηβαίοι· ὡστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρίται καὶ τῶν ἢπτέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Ὁηβαίων παρελαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὡς μέντοι ἐγγύς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ Ὁηβαίοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρίται ἰδόντες αὐτούς θάττον ἡ βάδην ἀπήλθον· καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὡμως δὲ οἱ Ὁηβαίοι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὁρὰ ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδέυσατο ἐνθάπερ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ᾿ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιᾶς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθοῦντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ ἤσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Ὁηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλοῦντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἥκολοῦθε, ὑποστράφεντες οἱ τῶν Ὁλυνθίων ἢππείς, ἦδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὀρκους συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδιώξαν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἥκολοῦθοιν, καὶ ἀπεκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλοὺς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἰσταντες εὐθλατον ἀλλιποντιοι πεζοὶ ὑφʼ ἢππέων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ο
which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. 877 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.
XENOPHON

'Αγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρῶν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτείναι τοὺς ἐναντίον, ὁν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τούτῳ μὲν σὺν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄρκους ῥμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὔτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκείθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἄφηκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἰκάθε ἀπῆγαγε.

56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτον διὰ τὸ δυνών ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμποντιν ἐπὶ δυνῶν τρίηροις ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασᾶς ἐπὶ σίτου δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεών, ἐν ὃ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σίτου συνεωνύμως ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἔξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν ὁ σίτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σίτου καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας ἡ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἰρήθη εἰ πῆ ἄκροπολει, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐσκήνων. ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλὸν τὸ κάγαθον, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἄκροπόλεως περὶ τούτον ἦν. καταγινόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμαλωτοὶ τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἄκροπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφισταται· ὅστ' εὐπόρος ἦδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σίτου παρεκομίζοντο.

57 Ὁποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἧρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετῆς 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 377 B.C.
ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἄρχειον ρήγματι ὅποια δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρυῃ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ύγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κυνῆς ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακοσίως τις ἱστρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἀπάξ ἠρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ βέβα μὲν ἐλπισιν ἀλλ' ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεῖς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἦρρωστε τὸ τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔπει ξαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρονοῦν τε ἐφαίνου καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἤγεισθαι ἐκέλευν. ἔπει δ' ἐχὼν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κεθαρῶν ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὡς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντες τινὲς τὸ ἀκρον τέως μὲν εἰὼν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν ἔπει δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπεκτείναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγγε τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγέγραπτο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὁτι διὰ μαλακίαν καταπριβήσωντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἔξειναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν

1 ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.
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.
αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ’ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Ὁηβαῖας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν δ’ θόλουσι, ἐπὶ Φωκέου, ἐδὲ θόλουσι, ἐπὶ Κρεύσιος. ταύτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ’ αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἔφευσθησαν οἱ ταύτα γυνότες, ἀλλ’ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπολυσκυνήσαντες τὰ γάρ σιταγωγὰ ἀυτοῖς πλοία ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ’ οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὁντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τε Αἰγινα καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γυνότες δ’ οἱ Ἀθη- ναίοι τῇ ἀνάγκῃ, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναύς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίον ἤγομένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρασκευα- ζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βουωτοὺς, ἔδεικνυσαν οἱ Ὁηβαίοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαν, νομίσαντες εἰ τούτῳ γένοιτο, οὔ δυνατὸν ἐσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀμα μὲν τῇ ἑαυτῶν χώρᾳ φυλάττειν, ἀμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἀμα δὲ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη- ναίοι μέντοι ὁργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τῆς Πελοπόννησου ναύς τε ἐξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεου ἐλόμενοι. ἄτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Ὁηβαίας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ’ ἐν ὧν Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὔτ’ ἐν ὧν Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύσας οἱ Ὁηβαίοι 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
64 πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανοι. ὁ μέντοι Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ύφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησατο· οὐ μέντοι ἕνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγίδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. ἐξ ὧν τὰς περὶ ἔκεινα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας ἔσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι ναυτικῶν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, ἔξεπεμψαν· ὅς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καὶ περὶ ἑξ νεῶν αὐτῶν ἀποσώκω τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἔξηκοντα οὐσαίς ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττήθη, καὶ τροπαίον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐστησεν ἐν Ἀλυξεῖα.

65 ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμόθεου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζόμενων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἐξ τρίηρεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύξειαν ἐπιλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὦς δὲ οὐκ ἄντικηθηκε, τροπαίον αὐτὸς κάκεινος ἐστησάτο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτω νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἀσ το εἰχεν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῶν χρήματα μέντοι μετεπέμπτο τ' Αθηναίοις· πολλῶν γὰρ ἔδειτο, ἀτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.
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.
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