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Hellenics of Xenophon

Books I. and II.

The text revised

With notes critical and explanatory
Analysis indices and map

By

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INTRODUCTION.

The ancients themselves never doubted as to the genuineness of the complete Hellenics. Amongst later critics however Niebuhr had no hesitation in styling Xenophon "an utterly unworthy citizen, and a historian of but little integrity." Vollbrecht\(^1\) further brings before our notice charges laid against the Historian of "openly disregarding topics, which, either from their want of striking interest, or of congeniality with Spartan sympathies, did not court narration"; of "wholly suppressing, or setting forward, with strong bias, judgment on many of the leading characters of later Peloponnesian history"; of "closely curtailing, or treating diffusely grave and important incidents." In short, modern critics no longer share the confidence of earlier scholars in our author's candour and simplicity of style. Many charge Xenophon himself with a direct perversion of the truth; many complain of the lateness and imperfections of the manuscripts; some infer that the Hellenics which we now possess are but notes of single

INTRODUCTION.

events jotted down for a complete review of history; others, that we have no more than a summary of the entire original composition.

From the frequent notices of later historians we may with certainty gather that there existed a work of Xenophon amongst them treating of Greek History from the period at which the pen of Thucydides was laid down; and the opening words\(^1\) of the Hellenics prove nothing to the contrary. Grote\(^2\) indeed writes that “to pass from Thucydides to the Hellenica of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us.” We miss, it is true, the elaborate research and power of narrative in Xenophon’s continuation of his predecessor’s story; the absence, on the other hand, of anything like philosophical or legendary digression, even if the narrative becomes thereby somewhat over-plain and simple, yet imparts to the successive details a close and practical connexion.

The first two books of the Hellenics comprise the scenes of the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, with the ensuing events at Athens, down to the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants in 403 B.C.\(^3\). Throughout the narration of this series of events, the historian appears to his best advantage: his heart is still warm with an innate love of country and of her free institutions: like a true Athenian, he condemns the

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\(^1\) Merà δὲ ῥαῦρα, cp. note i. 1. 1.
\(^3\) Mure, Lit. Anc. Greece, p. 278.
INTRODUCTION.

wholesale murders of the Thirty Tyrants, no less than the inconsiderate cruelty of the fickle populace towards the six admirals who perished undefended and unheard. Dislike indeed to accurate detail and rising aristocratic sympathies have subjected our author to the grave charge\(^1\) of "purposely involving the events following upon Arginusae and the position of the generals in obscurity": and certainly that strict impartiality in judging of events, which Thucydides especially shews, is wanting in his successor\(^2\). If however Xenophon becomes crude in his narration, yet his speeches will not fail to give complete satisfaction. In length, argument, and purpose these are equally appropriate; and their rhetoric is lightened with playful sarcasm and dramatic colour. The combatants’ harangue is pleasingly relieved by the interposition of events, the historian’s judgment, or the listeners’ words and feelings as to the point in question\(^3\): while sometimes an eloquence, not unworthy of the orator Demosthenes or Æschines, rises above the historian’s unambitious evenness of speech\(^4\).

In this supplement to Peloponnesian history, the method of chronology by years and seasons is continued according to the practice of Thucydides\(^5\); while in addition to the usual formula, the notice of minor details seems to mark more closely the historic series of events. Thus we have mention of Olympiads\(^6\), of victors in the stadium\(^7\), of a race of two-horsed chariots\(^8\), of archons and ephors\(^9\). Thucydides indeed

\(^1\) Grote, Hist. Gr. vii. p. 435, n.
\(^2\) Mure, p. 318.
\(^3\) ii. 3. 24, sqq.
\(^4\) ii. 4. 20, sqq.
\(^5\) Thuc. ii. 1.
\(^6\) i. 2. 1, ii. 3. 1.
\(^7\) i. 2. 1, ii. 3. 1.
\(^8\) i. 2. 1.
\(^9\) i. 3. 1, i. 6. 1, ii. 1. 10, ii. 3. 1.
makes frequent mention of archons and ephors, and even of priestesses of Juno at Argos; but rather to define more distinctly some event of note, than to arrange in due order the transactions of successive years. When we contrast however these notices of our historian with the general plan of Thucydides¹, who only mentions the Olympic victor once², and that in strict connection with the summoning to Olympia of the Mitylenean ambassadors—or of Herodotus, who only mentions an archon once³, to define the year more clearly in which Athens was laid waste by the Persians, the citations may with some reason be considered suppositious. In the latter part of the second book, there is no distinct method of computing time⁴; and the dates assigned to events, according to computation of years from the commencement of the war, hardly present sufficient correctness to exclude the idea of later interpolation⁵.

There is little doubt but that the present division of the Hellenics into books is the work of later grammarians⁶. Niebuhr considered that the Greek History of Xenophon was formed of two distinct works, written at different times, viz., the conclusion of Thucydides and the Hellenics. The conclusion of Thucydides, consisting of the first two books, was, in his opinion, written in the interval between the Return of the Ten Thousand, and the recall of Agesilaus from Asia (B.C. 400—394), while the last five books were written about 356 B.C. He also conceived it not improbable

² III. 8.
³ VIII. 51.
⁴ Mure, p. 321.
⁵ i. 6. 1, ii. 1. 7.
⁶ Mure, p. 323.
that Xenophon published the books of Thucydides, when residing at Athens after the battle of Cnidus, and subjoined to them two supplemental books. But even if the earlier and later books were written at different periods, it does not follow that Xenophon did not consider them as belonging to the same work, especially when we call to mind the long delay and limited publicity attending the production of an ancient work. Probably the Histories of Thucydides and of Herodotus were written continuously without any division of words, and still less of paragraphs or chapters or books. The Dialogues of Plato moreover shew no signs of any division into books, with the exception of the Republic and the Laws; and although the philosophical treatises of Aristotle had in the time of Diogenes Laertius been all divided into books, yet they are wholly devoid of internal evidence that these divisions were made by Aristotle himself. Polybius who survived 129 B.C. is the earliest Greek writer whose extant remains exhibit unquestionable evidence of an original division into books.

As regards the text in general, all scholars who had the good fortune to study Greek and Roman antiquity under the auspices of Shilleto, will readily call to mind his favourite saying, "Cobet has gone too far": and in the present instance I myself would rather be content to follow the liberal judgment which could confess "that Xenophon frequently departs from his country’s usage,” than be a slave to the despotism of a critic who could dictate, "in cæteris

2 Shilleto on Thuc. i. 43. 2.

H. X.
librariorum errores sedulo correcxi, vitiosas vocabulum formas ad certam Atticorum consuetudinem redegii, insulsa scilicet additamenta sustuli, et ubique hoc egi ut Hellenica sine offensione legi et explicari possent." In particular, I have endeavoured to preserve throughout the reading of the Manuscripts, especially that of B and D; and have followed in the main the accurate judgment of Sauppe.

These editions and treatises moreover have been used in the preparation of this instalment of the Hellenics: Histories of Greece—Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote: Xenophon's Hellenics—Schneider, 1849; Breitenbach, 1853; Dindorf, 1853 and 1876; Hickie (Book I), 1842; Cobet, 1862; G. Sauppe, 1866; Emil Kurz, 1873; B. Büchsenschütz, 1876; J. S. Philpotts (Selections), 1876: Sturz's Lexicon Xenophonteum: Sauppe's Lexilogus Xenophonteus, 1869: G. C. Lewis, "the Hellenics of Xenophon and their division into Books," Journ. Phil., pp. 1—44, 1844: Mure, Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, 1857: G. Vollbrecht, Dissert. de Xen. Hellen., 1874: Hellenics, literally translated by J. S. Watson, and H. Dale, 1876.

For further information I am indebted to Jelf's Greek Grammar, Arnold's Thucydidès, Macmichael's Anabasis, &c. &c.

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LIFE OF XENOPHON.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was an Athenian by birth. Lucian tells us that he lived to the age of ninety years; and the historian himself relates the assassination of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, which took place about 357 B.C. In addition to this we find him present at a banquet given by Callias in honour of Autolycus "victor among the boys" in the pancratium 421 B.C., on which occasion he would probably be somewhat under sixteen years of age. Phalinus also addresses him as "young man" (i.e. under forty) 401 B.C. He runs to the battle-rescue 400 B.C. in company with comrades "not yet aged thirty." The date of his birth may therefore reasonably be placed between 435 and 431 B.C.

Xenophon himself speaks thus of his first introduction to the service of Cyrus—"that Proxenus, an ancient guest-friend, had sent for him with promises that if he willed to join the expedition, he would gain for him the friendship of Cyrus; that such a patron would be of more service than his native country." Accordingly he spoke with Socrates on the matter: and Socrates, fearing lest friendship with Cyrus might make him mischief in his own land, bade him enquire of the God at Delphi concerning the journey. And Xenophon, neglecting to ask whether he should even
join the adventure, sought to which of all the deities he should sacrifice and so be prosperous in his voyage. The God answered him to which he should do sacrifice; but Socrates blamed him that he had not asked whether it would be well indeed to journey forth or stay at home. Then Socrates bade him go: and Xenophon did sacrifice, and sailed away to Sardis. It appears that the historian did not join the march either as an officer or soldier, but as a civilian or volunteer: during his ordinary education however as an Athenian citizen, he would have learnt much of military duties, and his rank amongst the Knights would enable him to acquitted himself well in respect of horsemanship. The expedition at first was represented as against the Pisidians; but, on arriving at Cilicia, it was plain that the object of Cyrus was to attack his king and brother Artaxerxes. Accordingly the armament marched, though not without many murmurs of much discontent, eastward: and on the plains of Cunaxa they met the great King and all his Persian host. Cyrus was burning with vindictive anger against his brother, and impetuously called to the Spartan Clearchus to charge the Persian centre, where Artaxerxes commanded himself in person. Clearchus replied that it was his duty to see that all should go well. The omens were favourable; the pæan sounded, and the left wing of the Persians broken fled; and Cyrus was saluted king. But Artaxerxes was not yet slain; and maddened with fury the usurper struck a blow at his brother's breast: at the same time wounded with a javelin he himself fell with eight of his chiefs. The victorious Greeks
meanwhile followed up their success still further; and the remaining Persian soldiers were pursued and routed. Offers of mediation then came from Artaxerxes; and after a month's delay it was agreed that Tissaphernes should escort the Greeks homeward to Ionia. But the security of their return was to be interrupted by the murder of their five generals through the perfidy of the Satrap; and the Spartan Clearchus was to suffer a traitor's death. It is here that amidst the universal despondency of his countrymen Xenophon stands forward as the champion-leader of the Return. Prompted by a vision he rouses his comrades from despair with remembrances of the valour which they had put forth against the Barbarian; and he is elected general by acclamation in the room of his murdered friend. The order and line of march is then determined on; Chrisophus will lead the van, and he himself with Timasion will take charge of the rear. The route lies up the left bank of the Tigris; and the Persians harass the retreating army with assaults of archers and slingers. A counter-force of fifty horsemen and two hundred Rhodian slingers however soon enabled Xenophon to lead his troops unmolested over the deep ravine which lay before them; and on the twentieth day's march they reached the mountain country of the Carduchi. And here they had to encounter constantly, in exchange for the organized attack of Tissaphernes, the irregular sallies and guerilla warfare of the mountaineers: until after scaling a lofty pass, while Xenophon and the main army were following the direct route through showers of rock and stone, which the
inhabitants rolled over their heads, at length they encamped on the banks of the Centrites. Before them were ranged fresh hosts of cavalry and infantry; and no penetrable ford appeared. But as Xenophon lay down, he dreamed there fell off from his hands fresh chains; and at the morning meal there ran into his tent two soldiers with word that a passage lay open across the stream, where no cavalry could approach; and the whole army went over the ford with safety. So the table-lands of Western Armenia came to view; and on the third day snow fell thick around them. Terrible in very truth were the distresses and suffering of the travellers; and not Xenophon's own energy and active example could save very many from giving themselves over to their fate. An assault on the camp of the traitor Tiribazus did much indeed to relieve their ravenous hunger: and after fording the Euphrates, on the ninth day they were destined to obtain rest in the neighbouring village settlement. The march was shortly renewed: and after passing through a succession of native tribes, whose warfare and weapons were similar to those of the Carduchi, they came upon the city Gymnias. Thence conducted by a guide they ascended the hill-summit of Theches. And as they went up, suddenly a mighty shout arose, "The Sea, the Sea." And so amidst embraces and many tears they knew that they had passed free out of the mysterious hill-country of the Barbarian. A week's journey brought them to Trapezus: and games were celebrated, and sacrifice was offered. And now after so long a land-march a general desire took the weary soldiers to sail in ship to By-
LIFE OF XENOPHON.

zantium, where Anaxibius was high-admiral; and
Chrisophus was sent thither to bring transports. But
Chrisophus did not return; and the army jour-
neyed on to Cerasus, and thence to Cotyora. And
about this time Xenophon conceived the plan of es-
tablishing his fellow-warriors in a colonial settlement
on the shore of the Euxine; but after much discussion
in the army the project was abandoned. They there-
fore sailed forth to Harmene near Sinope, where
Chrisophus met them with the message that Anaxi-
bius would have them seek military service with him
at the Bosphorus. It was here that Xenophon (the
omens dissuading him) declined to lead into Greece
the returning troops; and Chrisophus was invested
with the dignity of commander-in-chief. Heraclea
was reached after two days' voyage; where a serious
mutiny broke up the army into three divisions, all of
whom however mustered again at Calpe. Here Chi-
risophus died; and in this harbour more than ever
did Xenophon long to found a resting-place. But
the minds of his followers were set on seeing father-
land; while the omens for departure day by day
continued to be unfavourable. At this point Cleander
came from Byzantium, and induced by Xenophon's
persuasive eloquence promised to conduct the Return.
But the Gods willed it not; and so he sailed away.
Six days' march brought them onwards to Chryso-
polis, whence Anaxibius, high-admiral, deluded the
impoverished Greeks to Byzantium. The promised
pay was not delivered; and Byzantium was only
saved from plunder and destruction through the tact
and prudence of Xenophon himself. The army here-
upon disbanded; and Xenophon took his leave, and sailed with Anaxibius homewards. At Cyzicus they met the new harmost Aristarchus, with whom Pharnabazus had already commenced negotiations; and Anaxibius prevailed on Xenophon to bring across the Cyreian forces to his aid in punishment of the satrap's broken confidence. But an exchange for the service of the Thracian Seuthes drew off the soldiers, who after the hardships of a winter campaign were with difficulty able to obtain payment from the reinstated prince. An invitation here arrived, with offers of service against the Persian satraps, from the Ionian harmost Thimbron, to whom Xenophon resigned all that survived from the Ten Thousand. And the last fact recorded in the history of their march is the plunder of the castle of Aridatis, a wealthy Persian nobleman, near Pergamus.

About the time of his return from Thrace into Asia, after service with prince Seuthes, the historian probably received sentence of banishment from Athens on a charge of Laconism, *i.e.* as having been an ally of Cyrus, the Lacedæmonian friend and patron: although by some he is said to have returned to Athens, and there collected materials of the conversations of his master Socrates—that same Socrates, who, as tradition tells us, would have the modest boy follow him and learn whence men became good and noble, and who at Delium had borne him on his shoulders from the battle. In the latter case his service in the Lacedæmonian ranks at Coronea 394 B.C. furnishes his cause of exile. However this may be, within the fourth year after the conclusion of the Return, he accompanied Agesilaus
in his invasion of Northern Greece against the newly allied Thebans and Athenians; and was present at the battle of Coronea. Not long after he found a home at Scillus near Olympia; and there he built a temple to Diana, whom he enriched with spoil from his Cyreian marches; and games were instituted against the festival, and he followed hunting, and feasted friends, and tilled his lands; and in this retirement wrote his Histories. We may wish that he was not compelled to abandon his home at Scillus, though we are told that after Leuctra, 374 B.C., he was forced to fly to Corinth. Subsequently his sentence of banishment was revoked: and he became again an Athenian citizen and knight. His son Gryllus fell fighting bravely at Mantinea 362 B.C.
CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF XENOPHON.

(1) The moral qualities of our historian may be mainly gathered from a review of his conduct while engaged in conducting the retreat of the Ten Thousand. On more than one occasion Xenophon here stands forward as of intrepid courage, keen tact, and never-failing energy. Unlike many of his fellow-generals, he seeks no personal aggrandizement: the soldier is his friend, and not his slave: he is at once kind-hearted, temperate, and affable. Retaliation for wrong and obloquy is unknown to him: injustice is repaid with justice, meanness is met with generosity. When character and country are assailed, he can make a smart retort; and his opponents never fail to find an apt reply from him. Inbued with the precepts of his mentor Socrates, he sets high faith in divinations, dreams, and omens: Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis are amongst his favourite objects of worship. As a husband and a father he preserves the ordinary principles of Greek morality; and to plunder a barbarian seems to him in strict accordance with the equity of warfare. A natural love of novelty, although it seldom overcomes his prudence, yet betrays him into varied fortune: he exchanges the life of a man of letters for a soldier's lot, a soldier's hardships for
the quiet retirement of a country farm, with an indifferent evenness of spirit. The spur of adventurous ambition prompts him to arms against his fellow-citizens: distaste for a corrupt democracy calls forth strong foreign partialities: but the constant patience of an amiable mind will have him confess no shame and no regret at his country's condemnation of unfaithfulness.

(2) Diogenes Laertius ascribes the following works to Xenophon, all of which we now possess: Hellenica, Anabasis, Cyropædia, Polity of Athens, Polity of Sparta, Memorabilia of Socrates, Apology of Socrates, Symposium, Agesilaus, Hiero, On Economics, On the Athenian Revenues, Hipparchicus, On Horsemanship, On Hunting. Over this varied field of subjects flows forth constantly a pleasing elegance of language, which renders and will render our historian dear to the scholars of Greek antiquity. And so it was that with the ancient critics such delightfulness won for Xenophon the names of "Attic Bee," and "Attic Muse." Cicero would fain believe "that with his mouth spoke the Muses, for his language is sweeter than honey." Quintilian ascribes to him "an unaffected sweetness, to which no affectation could attain—that Pericles' declaration of the ancient comedy could with justice be transferred to him, that on his lips sat the goddess of Persuasion." The purity of his periods, the choice selection of his phrases, his grace of style cannot but be attractive; and we find the surface of such a model present to our touch little we would desire to smooth away. He will not strive indeed to sculpture his conversations after the mighty statues
of the rhetorical Thucydides: we miss alike the kindling poetry of the impassioned Plato: and hence a certain slenderness of diction often assumes the place of more majestic dignity. Elaborate style and subtlety of words are equally absent from his purpose: poetical expression he may introduce but not develope: an even and unstudied perspicuity will not admit the depth of more obscure research. The essential manliness of the historian-soldier favours his scenes of warfare, rather than of drama; while an aversion to affected labour disregards much intricate detail. His speeches are well-chosen, and display strong vigour: philosophy with him only dictates a practical morality. A want of patriotism may lend a colour to his adopted creed: but the truth of history never suffers at his hands deliberate disguise.
HISTORICAL NOTICE.

The period comprised in the first two books of Xenophon's Hellenics (411—403 B.C.) embraces the closing scenes of the memorable war between Athens and Sparta. Thucydides, at the commencement of his writings, states emphatically the importance of his subject, with which the earlier periods of Grecian History could afford no comparison. The real cause of the war, we shall remember, was the fear entertained by the Lacedæmonians of the growing power of Athens, a fear which had gradually increased since the rebuilding of the city walls and the fortification of the great harbour of Piræus: the alleged causes, the alliance of Athens with Corcyra and the siege of Potidæa. Ever since the battles of Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.) the maritime empire of Athens, based upon the confederacy of Delos, had gradually risen in greatness: the Athenian allies had become her subjects (owing rather to circumstances perhaps than to any positive aggression), and the independence of Greece was threatened. At that crisis the high influence of Pericles prevented any concession on the part of Athens towards the independence of her allies, which was then required by the congress of the Lacedæmonian states; and open hostilities commenced (431 B.C.). Following the events of the war, we shall call to mind the sufferings caused
by the annual invasion of the Lacedæmonians into the Athenian territory—the terrible visitation of the pestilence, and the violent excesses consequent upon its ravages (430 B.C.)—the revolt of Mitylene, and the severe punishment of its inhabitants (428—427 B.C.)—the blockade of Sphacteria, and the unexpected capture of the Lacedæmonian prisoners (425 B.C.). In the eighth year of the war (424 B.C.), the failure to reconquer Megara, and the disastrous defeat of Delium began to mar the success which had hitherto attended the Athenian arms: in addition to which, several important towns in Thrace, including Amphipolis, fell into the hands of Brasidas. A truce thereupon ensued for a year, and early in the spring of 421 B.C., what is called the Peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a general restoration of all places taken in the war, the Athenians only keeping Nisæa in compensation for the Theban Platæa. The year 420 B.C., however, found the Spartan allies generally dissatisfied with the peace; and next comes the ascendancy of Alcibiades, leading to the two years’ campaign in Peloponnesus in conjunction with Elis, Argos, and Mantinea, and ending in the complete re-establishment of Lacedæmonian supremacy. The seventeenth year of the war (415 B.C.) saw the departure of the Athenian expedition to Sicily: the eighteenth, the preparations of Nicias for the siege of Syracuse, and the arrival of the Spartan general Glylippus: the nineteenth, the total destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily. Such a defeat naturally encouraged a general revolt of the Athenian allies; and we find Samos alone remaining firm in her allegiance, and henceforward the head-quarters of the
Athenian fleet. Lesbos was recovered 411 B.C.; and at the suggestion of Alcibiades, the democracy was abolished, and the oligarchical government of the Four Hundred reigned supreme at Athens. These, in their turn, were overthrown: the proposed assembly of 5000 was demanded, and a fair and effective government established. Alcibiades meanwhile had been recalled, and the principal leaders of the 400 had fled to Decelea. With a short notice of several events on the coast of Asia, the history of Thucydides ends abruptly; and Xenophon sets forth the remaining details of the war from the winter of 411 B.C.
SUMMARY OF EVENTS

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.


CHAPTER II.


Takes four Syracusan vessels off Lesbos. Joins Alcibiades and Athenian armament at Sestus. United forces fortify Lampsacus, and establish winter-quarters. Soldiers of Alcibiades refuse to fraternize with those of Thrasylus. Joint ex-

Lacedæmonians dismiss under treaty from Pylos revolted Helots. Achæans at Heraclea in Trachis betray settlers. Labotas governor from Sparta slain with seven hundred. Revolt of Medes from Darius and subsequent submission (§§ 18, 19).

CHAPTER III.


Convention concluded by Athenians with Pharnabazus. Calchedon becomes a tributary dependency of Athens. Pharnabazus engages to escort Athenian envoys to Susa. Special covenant of Alcibiades with the satrap (§§ 7—13).


CHAPTER IV.

Lacedæmonian embassy favourably received at Persian court. Pharnabazus detains Athenian envoys at Cyrus’ instigation. Unlimited authority over sea-coast entrusted to Cyrus. Envoys sent back from Cappadocia in third year to Athenian armament (§§ 1—7).

Alcibiades brings Athenian fleet to Samos: levies one hundred talents on coast of Caria. Thrasybulus attacks Thrace: reduces Thasos and revolted towns. Thrasylus conducts remaining armament to Athens. Alcibiades in exile elected general (§§ 8—10).


Hesitation and distrust of Alcibiades on landing. Support of friends and kinsmen. Defends himself in council and

CHAPTER V.

Lysander supersedes Cratesippidas as high-admiral. Sails by Rhodes Cos and Miletus to Ephesus. Lacedæmonian complaints before Cyrus of Tissaphernes. Promises of Cyrus. Increase of seamen's pay. Athenian envoys not received by Cyrus. Lysander refits at Ephesus (§§ 1—10).


CHAPTER VI.

Callicratidas supersedes Lysander. Silences the boasts of Lysander. Murmurs and ill-will repressed by his rectitude. Refuses to court Persians. His appeal to the Milesians. Receives supplies from Miletus and Chios (§§ 1—12).


CHAPTER VII.


BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Eteonicus suppresses plot of his distressed forces to plunder Chios. Levies money upon the Chians. Allies ask for Lysander as high-admiral. Is sent as vice-admiral. Cyrus puts to death Autoboeaces and Mitraeus (§§ 1—9).

Lysander summons Eteonicus from Chios and refits fleet. Solicits and receives supplies from Cyrus. Tributes and revenues assigned to him by Cyrus, who goes up to visit his dying father. Storms Cedreæ and sails to Rhodes (§§ 10—15).


CHAPTER II.


CHAPTER III.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

Thirty delay to draw up laws. New Senate appointed. Execution of democrats without trial. Lacedæmonian garrison introduced with Callibius as Governor. Multiplied and indiscriminate executions by the Thirty (§§ 11—14).


CHAPTER IV.


ξενοφωντος ελληνικά.

A.

META δὲ ταῦτα οὖ πολλαὶς ἤμεραις 1 ὕστερον ἤλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ὑμοχάρης ἕχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐθίς Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ’ ὀλίγον 2 δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρος ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλησπόντον εἰσέπλευ άρχομένου χειμώνος τέτταροι καὶ δέκα ναυσίν ἀμα ἡμέρα. κατιδών δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμην τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐϊκοσὶ ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὃς ἦνοιε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοῖτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ 3 γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεὼν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μὲχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ 4 θυών τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως
5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ἀνταναγόμενοι ἑναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἥνα μέχρι δεῖλης ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεί δυνῶν
6 δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ φυγῇ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἀβυδοῦ καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθη καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἅππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἢν ἐμάχετο καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἑπευσί καὶ πεζοῖς παρε-
7 κελεύτω. συμφράζαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἄς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν
8 κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεύθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ φόντῳ ἐπὶ ἀργυρολογήαν ἐξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ ὁ Ṣθασύλος, εἰς ὦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπελευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγ-γελῶν καὶ στρατιῶν καὶ ναὺς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρης ἤλθεν εἰς Ἑλλησπόντου ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ἱένα τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβῶν εἰρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθη-
9 ναῖσι. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ἑππῶν εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν
10 εἰς Κλαξομενάς. οἱ δ’ ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσθόμενοι Μίνυδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσίν ἔξηκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέ-
11 δρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταύθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἥκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαξομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ Α. 1.

ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆσες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ανηγμέναι εἰεν εἰς Κύκικον αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἠλθεν εἰς Σηστῶν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἔκεισε ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπει δε θλθου, ἀνάγεσθαι ἡδὴ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἔπι ναυμαχίαν, ἐπεισπλεῖ Ἐθηραμένης εἰκοσι ναυσίν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἀμα δὲ καὶ ὕρασιβουλος εἰκοσιν ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἤργυρολογηκότες. Ἁλκιβίαδης δὲ εἰπῶν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτόν ἐξελομένους τὰ μεγάλα ἑστία αὐτὸς ἐπελευσεν εἰς Πάριον ἄθροι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆσες ἀπασαὶ ἐν Παρίῳ ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοῦκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτός ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὤραν ἱκου εἰς Προκόπουν. ἔκει δὲ ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κύκικῳ εἶναι καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταῦτην μὲν ὅμως τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὡπεραία Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκκλεισεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τείχομαχεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστων, εἴπῃ, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολέμοις ἀφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὀρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτῶν, ὅπως μηδέσι ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολέμοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξε τε, ὅσ' ἀν ἀλήσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν ξημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος ὡς ἔπι ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύκικον ὄντος πολλῶν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγνύσ τῆς Κύκικος ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἠλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾶ τὰς τοῦ Μίνδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα
17 οὐσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἱδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήμερες οὐσας πλείουσ τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἐφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεὼν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἵδον δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ψῆφοντο ἁγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόπην πλῆν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν
18 οἱ Συρακοσίοι. ἐκείθεν δὲ τῇ ύπεραί ἐπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζίκην τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρμαβάζου ἐκλυπόντων αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζίκην ὦδεν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόπην.
20 ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν. καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἀστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Σηλυβρίιανοι δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἐδοσαν. ἐντεύθεν δ' αφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἔτειχισαν αὐτὴν, καὶ δεκαεπτήριοι κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκαθημέριον ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλειπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγῷ δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο δύναυτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ
21 ἐν τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ἄχωντο. παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μίνδαρον ἐπιστολέως εἰς Δακεδαίμονα
γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε: 'Ερρει τὰ καλά. Μίνδαρος ἀπέσσυα. πει-

νώντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρην. Φαρνά-
βαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύ-

ματι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἑνεκα ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ

βασιλείᾳ, ἡς ἄν τὰ σώματα σῶδα ἦ, ἵματιον τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδισαν δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλί-

σας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ

παραβαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριπαρχοὺς ἐκέλευν

ναυτηγείσθαι τριήρεις ἐν 'Αντάνδρῳ ὡς ἐκαστὸι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματα τε διδοὺς καὶ ὑλὴν ἐκ τῆς

'Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζον. ναυτηγομενῶν δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ᾃμα τοῖς Ἀντάνδριοις τοῦ τείχους τι

ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ήρεσαν πάντων μά-

λιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία

Συρακοσίως ἐν 'Αντάνδρῳ ἑστι. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν

οὐν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρα-

κοσίων στρατηγοῖς ἐκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ

δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας

Ἐρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπολοφύροντο τὴν

ἑαυτῶν συμφόρων, ἃς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἄπαντες

παρὰ τὸν νόμον παρῆμεσάν τε προθυμοῦσαν εἶναι καὶ

τὰ λοιπὰ, ὡσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς

πρὸς τὰ αἰὲ παραγγελλόμενα, μεμνημένους ὡςας τε

ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς γενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς

εἰλήφατε, ὡςα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντιτητοῦ γε-

γόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχουτες τὴν κρατίσ
τὴν διὰ τε τήν ἡμιτέραν ἄρετήν καὶ τὴν ἡμιτέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὑπάρχουσαν· ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφικόνται οἱ ἡρημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνηταί. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασίαζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν εἰ δὲ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγου ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἑσος ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχος τε Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γυώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριήραρχοι ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλείστοι κατάξειν αὐτούς, ἔπαυν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφικόνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἡβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαυώνυτες· ἱδία δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἐρμοκράτην προσομιλούντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὥν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τῶν τριήραρχον καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸ καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἄνεξινούτο ὁ, τι ἐμελλεν ἡ λέγειν ἡ πράττειν, κακείνως ἐδίδασκε κελεῦον λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. 31 ἐκ τούτων Ἐρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ εἰν τῷ συνεδρίῳ εὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ Βουλευσιν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγοροῦσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Δακέδαιμων Ἐρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντο καὶ Ἀστυχοῦ, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὑπὸ λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζου, πρὶν αἰτήσαι χρῆματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε
καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναύς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου στάσεως γενομένης ἐκπίπτονσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Δάκων ἀρμοστὴς Ἑτεώνικος. κατακτισθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σιὰν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Δάκων ἐφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἥθροικεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ. περί δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλου ἐν 'Ἀθηναίων ὄντος Ἁγίς ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἠλθὲ τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων· Θρασύλος δὲ ἐξαγαγόν Ἁθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντᾷς παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Δῦκειον γυμνάσιον ὡς μαχούμενος, ἄν προσίσωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἀγίς ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὄλγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν 'Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἐτὶ προσμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἄ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὁπλίται τε αὐτῶν καταλέχασθαι χιλίους, ἰππεάς δὲ ἐκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα. Ἁγίς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σῖτον εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταβέντα, οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦσ' ἐφ' εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον 'Ἀθηναῖους εἴργεν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις σχῆσι καὶ ἄθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλασσαν σῖτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστον τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν 'Ραμφίον πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἐκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρα-
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

tιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἡ ταχείων ᾣχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται εἰς τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ αὐτὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δὲ ἄλλα ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν.

37 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἔσωθησαν. καὶ δὲ ἐνιαυτὸς ἠληγεν, ἐν ὧν Καρχηδονίου Ἀννίβα ἠγούμενος στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυρίας στρατιῶς ἀἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελευκοῦντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.

2 Ἀ. Κ. 409. 

Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, ὦ ἦν Ὀλυμπίας τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ, ἣ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρίς ἐνίκα Εὐαγρὸν Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβωτας Κυρηναίος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίσσας, ἀρχοντὸς δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναίᾳ Εὐκτήμονος, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Ὀρασύλος δὲ τὰ τε ᾙψισθέντα πλοῖα λαβῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἀμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένους, ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ 2 θέρους εἰς Σάμου. ἐκεὶ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πυγελαῖον καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χῶραν ἐδήσας καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου Βοηθήσαντες τινες τοῖς Πυγελεύσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον.

3 οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν δύο λόχων δεξιόν ἑπιθυσάντας πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτῶς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας

4 ἐλαβον ὡς διακοσιάς, καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. τῇ δ'] ύστεραίᾳ ἐπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφώνα. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης
νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Δυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σῖτου, καὶ κόμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀλλην λείαν πολλὴν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταύτα τὰ χωρία 5 ὤν, ἐπεὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἴδιας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ξωὸν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν. Ὡρασύλος δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἀπῆγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν 6 τὴν στρατιάν ὡς εἰς 'Εφεσον πλευσόμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αὐθόμενος τούτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀπέστελλε παραγγελλόν πᾶσιν εἰς 'Εφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι. Ὡρασύλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη ήμέρα μετὰ τὴν τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς 'Εφεσον ἐπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσόν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἀμα τῇ ήμέρᾳ προσήγε δύο στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ εἰς τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν 8 σφίσιν, οἵ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αὖ ἐτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαν μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ 'Ἰππωνος καὶ 'Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ 'Αριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιαν δυὸ. οὕτω δὲ πάντες πρῶτον 9 μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσοῖ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰ ἐκατόν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώκαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράπωντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκει οἳ 'Αθηναίοι καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. οἳ δὲ 'Εφέσιοι τρόπαιον ἐνταύθα ἐστησαν 10
καὶ ἐτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖαι ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἵδια πολλοῖς, καὶ οἱκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν. Σελινουσίοι δὲ,
11 ἔπει ὣ πόλις ἀπωλόλει, καὶ πολιτείαι ἔδοσαν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκει θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἔπλεον καὶ Ἐλλησπόντον. ὅρμοντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Δέσβου εἶδον παραπλεοῦσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτάς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράς, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς Ἐφέσου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Ὀρασίλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναίον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιον καὶ συμφυγάδα, ἀπέλυσεν. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἔπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Σηστοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπασά ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Δάμψακον. καὶ χειμῶν ἐπῆ, ἐν δὲ οἱ αἰχμαλώτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τὸν Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύζοντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες ὑπεκτὸς ὄχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Δαμψάκῳ συντάπτοντος Ἀλκibiάδου τὸ στράτευμα πάντως πρὸς τοὺς πρότεροι στρατιῶται ὀν κηβοῦλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Ὀρασίλου συντάπτεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἁγττητοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἥκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἀπαντεῖς Δαμψακον τευχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβιδοῦν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἐβοήθησεν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἡττηθείς ἐφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχον τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν,
ἡρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. ἐκ 17
dὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται
αυτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥψαζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Ὁρασύλου.
ἐξῆλθον δὲ τίνας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος
eἰς τὴν ἥπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.
tῷ δὲ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Δακεδαϊμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ 18
Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλότων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας
ὑποσπόδους ἄφηκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καταν
καὶ ἐν Ὁρακλείᾳ τῇ Ῥαχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποι-
κους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Ὀἰταίους πολε-
μίους ὑπότας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν
πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Δακεδαϊμονος ἀρμοστῇ
Δαβύτῃ. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐληγεν ὤντος, ἐν ὧ 
καὶ 19 Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀπο-
στάντες πάλιν προσεχορήσαν αὐτῷ.

Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ 3
A.C. 408. νεὼς τῆς Ἁθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστήρος
ἐμπεσόντος. ἔπει δ' ὁ χειμῶν ἐληγε, Παντακλέους
μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἐάρος
ἀρχομένου, δυνῶν καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ
παρεληθότων, οἱ Ἁθηναίοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Προ-
κόνησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπὶ 2
Καλχηδώνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὄρμησαντες ἐστρατοπε-
δεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνει. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι
προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἁθηναίους τὴν λείαν
ἄπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Ἐράκας ἀστυ-
γείτονας ὑπότας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε 3
ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἐπέεσας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς
παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς
ἀπήτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή,
4 πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκι-
βιάδης δὲ ἐπελ ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε
λείαν ἔχουν καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένους, ἀπετείχιζε
τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάτ-
της εἰς θαλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄσον οἶον τ'
5 ἦν ξυλίνω τείχει. ἐνταῦθ' Ἰπποκράτης μεν ὁ
Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆγαγε
τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενοι· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν
περιτείχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιὰ τε καὶ
6 ἱπποῖς πολλοῖς. Ἰπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ὀρα-
σύλος ἐμάχοντο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον
πολὺν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχουν ὀπλίτας τὲ τινὰς
καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἰπποκράτης μὲν
ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἐφυγον εἰς τὴν
7 πόλιν. ἀμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος
συμμίζαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπο-
ρίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτείχισμάτων ἐγγὺς
ἀυτῶν, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν
8 Καλχηδονίων, οὐ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ
τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ἄχετο εἰς τὸν Ἐλλη-
pοντοῦν καὶ εἰς Χερσόνησον χρήματα πράξων' οἱ
dὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχόρησαν πρὸς Φαρνά-
βαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἰκοσὶ τάλαντα δοῦναι
'Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις
9 'Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον
παρὰ Φαρναβάζον ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχη-
δονίους 'Ἀθηναίοις ὄσονπερ εἰσέθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλό-
μενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, 'Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολε-
μεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν ὁ παρὰ βασιλέως
πρέσβεις ἐλθοσιν. Ἀλκηβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὀρκοῖς 10 οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν ἤν ἔκειν ὄ το Βυζάντιον ἦκεν ἔχων Χερσονησίτας τε πανδημεί καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἵππεις πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνά- 11 βαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖ κάκειν όμνύναι περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἑλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζάντιου ἔπει δ' ἤλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὀμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεινος αὐτῶ ὀμεῖται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὁμοσεν ὦ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει 12 οίς Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἅρναπει, ὦ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκηβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἱδία ἄλληλοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβα- 13 ξος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῆει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλεὰ πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοδίκης, Θεσσαλίας, Εὐρυπτολέμος, Μαυτίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτως Ἀργεῖον Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Παυσπίδας καὶ ἐτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἔρμοκράτης, ἦδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακοσίων, καὶ ὦ αἴδελφος αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτως ἦγεν οἱ 14 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοῦς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τὸ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν 15 Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής καὶ σύν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοικῶν τινῶν καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχον αὐτῶν Ἐλείζος Μεγαρεύς καὶ Βοωτοῖ καὶ τούτων ἄρχον Κορυτάδας. οἱ 16 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἦδυναν διαπράξασθαι κατ'
ισχύν, ἐπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι 17 τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστὴς οἱμένος οὐδένα ἄν τοῦτο ποιήσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἀπαντα ὡς ἐδώνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἑλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοὺς στρατιώτας παρ’ αὐτοῦ ληψόμενον καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαι ἐν τῷ Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἀλλαὶ κατάλειμμα μέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀνταύδρῳ καὶ ἐς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἴχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὁν Μυδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἀλλαὶ ναυπηγηθεῖσαν, ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποστάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἔπει δ’ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδότης τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Δυ- 19 κουργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὠστερών ἐν Δακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπεφυγεν, ὅτι ὁ προδοή τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι, παῖδας ὀρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολυμένους, Βυζαντίοις ὁν καὶ οὐ Δακεδαιμόνις’ τῶν γὰρ ἐνότα στὸν Κλέαρχον τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίων στρατιώτας διδόναι: διὰ ταύτ’ οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφή εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἑνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Δακεδαιμο- 20 νίους: ἔπει δὲ αὐτοῖς παρασκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοί- ξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἔπει τὸ Θράκιον καλοῦμενον 21 εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἑλίξως καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν’ ἔπει δὲ πάντη οἱ πολέμιοι κατείχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὁ, τι
ποιήσανεν, παρέδωσαν σφάς αὐτοὺς. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν 22 ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἁθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὀχλῷ ἀποβαίνοντων ἐν Πειραιᾷ ἐλαθεν ἀποδράς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

Α.Σ. 407. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς 4 Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδιείῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιου πεπραγμένα ἦκουσαν. ἀρχομένοι δὲ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πορευομένους αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τε Λακεδαίμονίων πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαίμονοι πάντων ὑπὸ δέονται πεπραγότες εἰς ἐπάρα βασιλέως, καὶ Κύρου, ἀρξὼν πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαίμονίως, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἑφερε τοῖς κατῳ πᾶσι τὸ βασιλείου σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ἡ ἐνή καὶ τάδε. Καταπέμπτω Κύρου κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἄθροιζομένων, τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. ταύτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἁθηναίων πρέσβεις, 4 καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κύρου εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ βασιλεά ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οἴκατε ἀπελθεῖν. Κύρος δὲ Φαρνάβαζῳ ἐπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς 5 πρέσβεις ἐαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκατε πω ἀποτελεύσαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἁθηναίους μὴ εἴδεναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατείχε τοὺς 6 πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτε μὲν ἀνάζειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλεά, τοτε δὲ οἴκατε ἀποτελεύσειν, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐναυτοὶ πρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδείχθη 7 τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτοὺς, φάσκων ἓμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλεᾶ, πέμψαντες δὲ Ἰριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς
ἐκεῖλενον· ὦ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.
8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλείων οὐκαδεὶς ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκείθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἰκοσιὼν ἐπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκείθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἐκατον τάλαντα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμου. Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσίν ἐπὶ Ὀράκης ὢχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέφατο καὶ Θάσου ἤχουσαν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στασεων καὶ λιμοῦ. 10 Ὁρασύλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἦκειν αὐτόν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εὑλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Ὁρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτων ἐκ τῶν ὁικοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὴ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἤχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρουν ναυσίν εἰκοσιν, ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείον ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τρημάτων, ἃς ἐπενθάνετο Λακεδαίμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οὐκαδε κατάπλου 12 ὅτες ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα ἐαυτῷ εὑνοῦν οὐσαν καὶ στρατηγόν αὐτὸν ἵρημένους καὶ ἰδία μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρα, ἡ Πλυντήρια ἤγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδος κατακεκαλυμμένον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὁ τίνες οἰωνιζοντο ἀνεπιτηδεον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίον ἔργον τολμήσαι ἄν ἄφα- 13 σθαι. καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεος ὁχλος ἥθροισθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς,
θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδης, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν, ὡς κράτιστος εἶ ἡ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος ἀπελογηθῆ ὡς οὗ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπὶ-βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττοῦν ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου οὐκ ἦν τὸ κοινὸν αὐξόντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνα-τοῦ, ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρήμα τῆς αἵτις ἀρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἥσσηκότος εἰς τὰ μνητήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δικαία εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτοῦ ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρί-δος· ἐν γὰρ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἡμα-κάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τους ἐχθίστους, κυνδυνεύον ἀδικά καθ’ ἐκάστην ἦμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπασαν ὅρων ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἰχεν ὅπως ὀφελοῦν ἄγχη ἀπειρήμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴκων ἐναν καὶ ἐνείπαν διείσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτοῦ μὲν τῶν τῆς ἐναλκηντῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτως δοκεῖν εἶναι οἶκωστερ πρῶτορον, ἔστερον δὲ δυνασθεὶσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνος λειψάντας δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἁγα-πᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἔτεροις βελτίσσων οὔκ εἰχον χρήσθαι· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αὐτίος εἶνα, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενόσθαι μόνος κυνδυνεύσαι ἡγεμῶν καταστήναι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὅρμισ-θείς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβοῦμενος τοὺς
ἐχθροῖς ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρόφατος

19 ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπτυγθείους, εἰ παρεῖσαν. κατι-

δῶν δὲ Ἐωρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, αὐτοῦ

δὲ ἀνεψιῶν, καὶ τὸς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς

φίλους μετ’ αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβᾶς ἀναβαινει εἰς τὴν

πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἀπτούτο,

μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἥσεβίκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς

ἡδικήται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ

οὐδενὸς ἀντεπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἀν τὴν

ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἰγεμόναυτοκράτωρ,

ὡς οἶδος τε ὧν σώσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως

dύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων

κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν

21 ἐποίησεν ἔξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἀπαντας’ μετὰ

δὲ ταύτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὅπλίτας μὲν πεν-

τακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ

ἐκατόν, ναὸς δ’ ἐκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῳ

μὴν ἀνήχθη ἐπ’ Ἀνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαι τῶν Ἀθη-

ναίων, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαν-

tος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρμῆνεοι κατὰ

22 γῆν στρατηγοῦ. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ

στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειου ἐκβοη-

θήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλει-

σαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πόλλοις,

καὶ τοὺς Δάκωνας, οὐ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ

τρόπαιον τε ἐστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας

ἐπέλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κάκειθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

23 Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ

χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθὼν

5
Αὔσανδρον ἔξεπεμψαν ναύαρχον. οὐ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐδιείχθη, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε νὰς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα, μέχρι οὗ Κύρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἔπει δὲ ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν 2 τοῖς ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἑυταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνου ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἶναι, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. Κύρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἐφῆ ταῦτα 3 ἐπέσταλκεν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνώκεναι, ἄλλα πάντα ποιήσεως ἔχων δὲ ἦκεν τάλαντα πεντάκοσια· εάν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπη, τοῖς ἱδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἐφῆ, ἀ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐδωκεν· εάν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψει, ἐφ' οὐ εἰσεβαθητο, ὅταν ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπήνουν καὶ ἐκέλευσαν 4 αὐτὸν πάξαι τῷ ναῦτῃ δραχμὴν Ἁττικῆν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναύς καὶ μείω χρηματα ἀναλώσει. ἦ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἐφῆ αὐτοὺς λέγειν, 5 οὐ δυνατὸν δὲ εἶναι παρ' ἅ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκες οὐτως ἔχοιςας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκάστη νηθ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὁποσα ἄν βούλωνται τρέφειν Δακεδαίμονιον. οὐ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸτε μὲν ἐσωπήσε 6 μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἐπεῖ αὐτῷ προπισθον οὐ Κύρος ἦρετο, τί ἄν μάλιστα χαρίζοντο ποιών, εἴπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὄβολον προσθεῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὄβολοι ἤν ὁ μισθός, ἵ πρότερον δὲ τριῶβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προσφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὡστε τὸ


8 στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθη
ναίοι ἀκούστες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἴχον, ἐπεμπο
νὴ ὃς τὸν Κύρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους. οὐ
δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δειομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λε
γοντος, ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἑποίει πεισθεῖς ὑπ’ Ἀλκιβιάδος,
σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οὕτως ἱσχυρὸι
ωσι, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ εἰν αὐτοῖς στα-
σιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ
ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ
οὕσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἥσυχλαν ἡγεν, ἐπισκευάζον
καὶ ἀναψύχουν αὐτᾶς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Ἐρα
σύβουλον ἔξω Ἐλλησπόντου ἥκουτα τειχίζειν Φώ-
καιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς
ναυαὶ Ἀντιόχου τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτης, ἐπιστείλας
μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναὐς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντι
οχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νη καὶ ἀλλὰ ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν
λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ’ αὐτᾶς τὰς
πρόρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλευς. ὁ δὲ Λύ-
σανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας
ἐδιώκειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ
ἐβοήθουν πλείονοι ναυσί, τότε ἡ καὶ πάσας συντά-
ξας ἐπέπλευς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ
tοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λυπᾶς τριήρεις
14 ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἤμοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ’ ἐναυ-
mάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρ-
μέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὐ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες
πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείσ-
tοι ἔξεφυγον, οἱ δ’ ἔξωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ
tὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στῆσας ἐπὶ
tοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι
εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἰ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Δύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσίν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ὅλίγῳ ύστερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνων καὶ Ἰἱώνα. οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναίοι, ἐπειδὴ ἱγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλε-πῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δὲ ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρα-τηγοὺς εἶλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδουτα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Ὠρασύλου, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονῆρος καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μιᾶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἐαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἔκ τῆς Ἀνδροῦ σὺν αἷς εἰχε ναυσίν εἴκοσι ψηφισμαένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἀνδρον ἐπεμψαν Φαυσθένην τέταρας ναύς ἔχοντα. οὕτος περιτυ-χὼν δυοῖν τριήρων Θουρλίων ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπαντᾷς ἑδησαν Ἀθη-ναίοι, τὸν δὲ ἀρχόντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδινον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεησάντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κό-νων δ' ἐπεί εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἄθυμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἦ
Έκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολέ-
μίων χώρας ἐληίζετο. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ὧν ὁ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες έἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν τριήρεις καὶ πεζῶς στρατιὰς δώδεκα μυριά-
σιν εἶλον „Ακράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἦττηθέντες, προσκαθεξόμενοι δὲ ἔπτα μῆνας.

6 Δ. C. 406. Ὁ δ’ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ὁ ἦ τε σελήνη ἐξε-λυπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς ἐν Ἀθηναίας ἐν μορφήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἀρχοντος δὲ Καλλίων Ἀθηνησίων, οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Δυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἦδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσι ἔτων ἐπεμψάν ἐπὶ
2 τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδον ὁ Δυ-
σάνδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔληγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδα ὅτι ἡ καλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοθή καὶ ναυμαχία νεω-
κηκός. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκείλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀρισ-
tερά Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, ὁυ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδόθηκαν τὰς ναῦς, 3 καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλον ἀρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αῖς παρὰ Δυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυτὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χῖου καὶ Ῥώδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταῦτας δὲ πᾶσας ἀθροίσας, οὕςας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὃς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς 4 πολεμίοις. καταμαθῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Δυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροβυπὸς ὑπηρετοῦντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθρούντων ἐν ταῖς πό-
λεσιν ὅτι Δακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν
τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ανεπιθυμεῖν δείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἀρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπως ὡς χρηστέουν οὐ γιγνωσκόντων, ἀπείρους δὲ θαλάττης πεποντες καὶ ἄγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεί, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Δακεδαμονίων ἐκεί παροῦντας ἐλέγειν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε:

'Εμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ ὦκοι μένειν, καὶ εἶτε Δῦσανδρος 5 εἶτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθείς οὐκ ἔχω τι ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελεύμενα ὡς ἄν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ προς ἂ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αὐτίαξεται, ἵστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὠσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἀριστα ὑμῖν δικοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οὐκάδε ἀποπλεῖν ἔροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἶπεῖν ἢ τοῖς 6 οίκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ᾽ ἢ ἦκει, ἔλθων παρὰ Κύρον ἦτε μισθὸν τοῖς ναῦταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δῦο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἄχθεσθεὶς τῇ 7 ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσειν, ὁργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἅθλωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς "Ἑλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἐνεκα ἄργυριοι, φάσκων τε, ἢν σωθῇ οὐκάδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατοῦ διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναῖοὺς καὶ Δακεδαμονίους, ἀπεπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον" κακεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς 8 Δακεδαμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλήσιων τάδε εἴπεν·

'Εμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οίκοι ἄρη,
χυου πείθεσθαν ύμας δε ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτοις εἶναι εἰς πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις
πλείστα κακὰ ἡδὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δει δ' ύμάς ἐξηγείσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἀν
tάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολε-
mίους, ἐως ἃν οἱ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὐς ἐγὼ
ἐπεμψα χρήματα ἀξιόντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρ-
χοντα Δύσανδρος Κύρων ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα
οἴχεται' Κύρων δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἂεi
ἀνεβάλλετο μοι διαλεξήθηναι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου
θύρας φοιτάν οὐκ ἡδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισ-
χυνόμαι δ' ύμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχάμεθα χάριν ἀξιαν ἀποδόσεων. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν
τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅτι καὶ άνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους βαυμάζειν
dυνάμεθα τοὺς ἔχθρους τιμωρεῖσθαι.

'Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἴπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοί,
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντίονθαί, δεδιότες
eἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑπαγγελ-
lόμενοι ἴδια. λαβὼν δὲ ταύτα ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐκ
Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφο-
dιασάμενος ἐπλευσε τῆς Δέσβου ἐπὶ Μηθυμναν
πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμ-
ναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων 'Αθη-
nαίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττικεῖτων,
προσβαλῶν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν
οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπαξον οἱ στρατιώται, τὰ
dὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας
eἰς τὴν ἁγοράν, καὶ κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων
ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὖκ ἐφη ἑαυτοῦ
γε ἀρχοντος οὐδένα Ἐλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνον δυνατὸν ἀνδράποδοςθηναι. τῇ δ᾽ ύστεραια τοὺς μὲν 15 ἑλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο. Κόνων δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλασσαν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἁμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδώκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖσε φύγω. Κόνων δ᾽ ἐφευγε ταῖς ναυσίν εὐ 16 πλεοῦσαι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλγάς ἐκλελέξθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἑρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. Καλλικράτιδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσίν ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ 17 ὥς ἐφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακολυθεῖς, ἡμαγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπόλυες ναύς τριάκοντα: οἱ δ᾽ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γην ὑπέφυγον τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεὼν, τετταράκοντα οὖσας, ὑπὸ τῶν τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικράτιδας δὲ ἐν τῷ 18 λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε χρήματα τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἤλθεν, ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ 19 κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ σῖτων οὔδαμόθεν ἤν εὐπορήσαι, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἤσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταύτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεὼν τὰς ἀριστα πλεοῦσας δύο ἐπιλήψε σπο ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεὼν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἑρέτας
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ἐκλέξας καὶ τούς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μετα-βιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρρύματα παραβαλὼν. τὴν μὲν ὤν ἡμέραν ὅτως ἀνείχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβιβαζέω, ὡς μὴ κατάδηλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σίτα μετρία, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλυγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπάνυντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἣ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὄρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δὲ ἐφορμοῦντων ὡς ἐκαστοι ἡμοιογιον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοηθοῦν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιοῦμενοι εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμὴςσασαν, καὶ ἀμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶς ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόωνων πολιορκουμένῳ δόδεκα ναυσὶν ὄρμισατο εἰς τὸν εὐρύποτον τοῦ τῶν
Μούτιληνατον. ο δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἠλαβε, Διομέδων
δὲ ἐφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλῆ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἦκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἐκατον καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ οὕτας ἀπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἑλευθέρους καὶ πληρώσαντες τάς δέκα καὶ ἐκατον ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπήραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κάκειθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἐλαβον.
δέκα ἠθροίσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἡ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἀλλών συμμάχων, εἰσβάϊνειν ἀναγκά-
σαντες ἀπαντᾶς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς αὐτοὶς ἔτυχον ἐξω οὕσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἡ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ὡς δὲ Καλλικράτιδας ἀκούσαν 26
τὴν βοήθειαν ἦδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὕσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέ-
λυσε πεντήκοντα ναις καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς
δὲ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατον ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς
Δέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέα ἀκρα ἀντίον τῆς Μυτηλῆνης.
τῇ δ' αὐτῆ ἠμέρα ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνο-
21 ποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις αὐταὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀντίον τῆς Δέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἴδον τὰ πυρᾶ, 28
καὶ τινῶν αὐτῶ ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὅς ἐξαπιναῖς
προσπέσων ὕδωρ δ' ἐπηγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βροντάλ
διεκάλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἀμα
τῇ ἠμέρᾳ ἐπλεῖ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι 29
ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατη-
γμένοι δὲ. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον
ἔχων ἦγείτο πεντεκάιδεκα ναυσὶ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκάιδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ
Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρα-
σινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσίν
ἐπὶ μᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐπιστράτηγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος
ὑνόματι Ἰππεύς· ἔχομεναι δ' αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων
dέκα καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτας αἱ τῶν
ναυάρχων τρεῖς καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες.
τὸ δὲ δεξίων κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκάιδεκα
30 ναυσὶ· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ὀρασύλους ἐτέραις πεντεκα-
δεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομᾶχῳ μὲν Ἀυσίας,
έχων τὰς ἰσας ναῦς, Ὁρασίλω ἔν Ἀριστογένης.
31 οὕτω δὲ ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοὺν χείρον γὰρ ἐπλεόν. αἱ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων αὐτοτεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἀπασαὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλείων ἐίχε δὲ τὸ δὲξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.
32 Ἡρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ κυβερνῶν ἐίπε πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι εἰ ἡ καλὸς ἐχὼν ἀποπλεύσαν- αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλέονες ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὦτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγει δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐφῇ εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχθησαν χρόνον πολὺν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόια, ἐπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλοῦ- σης τῆς νεώς ἀποπεσόν εἰς τὴν ἑλατταν ἤφανσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δὲξίῳ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεύθεν φυγῇ τῶν Πελοπο- νησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλέοστον δὲ καὶ εἰς Φῶκαιαν οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινοῦσας κατέπλευσαν. ἀπωλόντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσικ αὐτοῦ ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλύγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελο- ποννησίων Δακονικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἦ ἐξήκοντα.
34 ἐδοξέ δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναοῦς Θηραμένην τε καὶ Ὁρασίβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκαίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀνδρώτως, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμοῦσας. ταῦτα δὲ
βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἀνέμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοῦς μέγας γενόμενος· τρόπαιον δὲ στῆσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο. τῷ δὲ 'Ετεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξῆγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὦ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνούσι σιωπῆ ἑκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρήμα δὲ αὐθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστε- φανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενί- κηκε ναυμαχὸν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆς ἀπολώλασιν ἀπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλευον, ἔθευ τὰ εὐαγ- γέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρῆγγειλε δειπνο- ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῆ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον, ἢν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὕριον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχύστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναύς, ἐπεὶ οὐ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἀνέμος εὐδαίτερος ἤν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἑδὸν ἀνηγμένους ἐκ τῶν Ἀργυνουσῶν ἐφράσε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκείθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Ἁμόρου.

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἶκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπαυ- σαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδελ- μαντον καὶ τρῖτον Φιλοκλεά. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχη- σάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστο- γένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθῆνας, τῶν δὲ ἔξι κατα- πλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδους καὶ Λυσίον

3—2
καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Ὄρασιλοῦ καὶ Ἕρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος δ' τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκώς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς καὶ τῆς διωβελιάς ἐπιμελόμενος Ἕρασινίδη ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἐλλησσόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα οὐτα τοῦ δήμου κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἕρασινίδην.  

3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρή δεδέντας εἰς τὸν δήμον παραδόθηναι, ἧ βουλῆς ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἧ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγου ὑποσχέεν, διὸτι αὐτοὶ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγοὺς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθῆπτοντο ἐπιστολήν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον, ἢν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δήμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενον ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἐκαστὸς ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προύτεθη σφίσθω λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιες, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαντες τῶν τριήματων ἀνδρᾶσιν ἰκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἡ δή, Θηραμένει καὶ Ἕρασινίδου καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις.  

5 καὶ ἐπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτοις, οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἐφασαν, ἴδον τοίς φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἄλλα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ καλύτερα
τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλοὺς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἐπείθον τὸν δῆμον ἐ- 7 βούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἱδωτῶν ἐγνώσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· ἐδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν· τότε γὰρ ὅψε ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτω τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοντο. μετὰ δὲ 8 ταῦτα ἐγγύνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνειοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἄνθρώπους μέλανα ἰμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ὡμο σὺν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκισεν, ως δὴ συγγενεῖς οντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλιξένου ἐπείσαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν 9 ἡ βουλὴ εἰσῆνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τῆνδε· 'Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγοροῦντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίοις πάντας κατὰ φυλὰς· θείναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἑκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῆ ἀρκίναι ἑπάττειν, ὅτω δοκοῦσιν ἄδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτω δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ϊστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἄδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρῆματα δημοσιεύσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε 11 δὲ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολ-
Δυμένους, εὰν σωθῆ, ἀπαγγεῖλα τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσε-καλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι. Εὐρυπτόλεμος τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπήμουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τις ἔσει τὸν δήμον πράτ- τειν ὁ ἄν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Δυκισκοῦ καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἦπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, εὰν μὴ ἄφωσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθηρύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἴναι- κάσθησαν ἀφίεναι τὰς κλῆσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτά- νεών τινῶν οὐ φασκόντων προθήκεσιν τὴν διαψή- φισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὕθες Καλλίξενος ἀναβᾶσι κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὁμολόγουν πάντες προθήκεσιν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἐφή ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον παντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀναβασι Ἐυρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε':

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορῆσων, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἄθηναιοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέος ἀναγκαῖοι μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδελοῦ καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπερ- απολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἀριστα ἐναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐπείσαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας, βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβοῦλῳ τεταρά- κοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινήν.
Ἐλληνικά Α. 7.

ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδία ἀμαρτώτων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλεύομενοι κινδυνεύονσιν ἀπολέσθαι οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γε μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἐσια 19 ποιοῦντες, καὶ θεῖον μάλιστα τάληθι πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὑστερον εὐφήσετε σφάς αὐτῶς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. συμβουλεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ' ὑπ' ἐμοὶ οὐθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου οὖνεός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἵ ἂν βούλησθε δίκη, καὶ ἁμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἔκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον ἄλλα μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογηθῆσαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἢστε δὲ, ὁ ἀνδρές Ὅθηναίοι, 20 πάντες οτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψηφισμα ἐστίν ἱσχυρότατον, ὁ κελεύει, ἐὰν τις τῶν τῶν Ὅθηναίων δῆμον ἄδική, δεδεμένων ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγγώσθη ἄδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθήναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψή- 21 φίσμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἡ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμὸν προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ 22 βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλους καὶ προδόταις, ἐὰν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδόῃ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτη, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἄν καταγγωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἄττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τούτων ὑποτέρω βούλεσθε, ὁ ἀνδρές Ὅθηναίοι, τῷ νόμῳ 23
κρινέσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἑνὰ ἐκαστὸν διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ὧν συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, εάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν εάν τε μή, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ὧν κατηγορησαι, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ὧν ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γυνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεῦξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερώθησονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι,
καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὑσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐφρούντες κρίνειτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Δακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκεῖνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νεικικότας,
tούτων ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί δὲ καὶ δεδότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὃν ἄν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἃν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὡσπερ Καλλίξενος τὴν βούλην ἐπείσεν εἰς τὸν δήμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιὰ ψήφῳ; ἀλλ' ἵσως ἃν τινα καὶ οὐκ άιτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείνατε, μεταμελήσει δὲ ὡσπερον. ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγειῶν καὶ ἀνοφελές ἡδὴ ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. δεινὰ δ' ἄν ποιήσατε, εἰ 'Αριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύσαι, εῖτα δὲ Οἰνόπῃ προδίδοντι Ὑθβαλοίς πολεμίοις οὕσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ τάλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προῦθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γυνώμην πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοι ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἀνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν.
πειράσθηε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενηθῆσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδεω μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἀπαντας ἀναίρετας τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγοὺς, Ἄρασινίδης δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλείω ἀπαντας. Ἄρασυλος ὃ' ἀμφότερα ἐφη γενεσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλύσωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς αὐταὶ ἀπασαὶ γίγνονται ἐπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέταρες περὶ ἐκάστην ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυμένων δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλείπθεντων τριηράρχων ήσαν καὶ Ἄρασὺβουλος καὶ Ἄρασμένης, ὅσ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησία κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τὰ τούτων οὖχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἐπράξαν; οὖκοι δικαίον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναλρεῖν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνέλιστο κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἴπειν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν διεκόλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξαι ὃν ὁ στρατηγὸς παρεσκευάσατο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρις οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὃν εἰς τῶν ἠμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσῃς νεώς διασωθεῖς, ὃν κελεύσοι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ
αὐτοῦ τὸτε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἦπερ τοὺς οὗ
33 πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοῖνυν, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὁμοία ποιήσητε τοὺς ἰττημένους τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δοξητε, προδοσίαν καταγγόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἄδυναμίας οὐχ ἴκανοὺς γενόμενους διὰ τὸν χειμὼν πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἄλλα πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ξημιοῦν πονηρῶς ἀνθρώπους πειθομένους.

31 Ταύτ’ εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γυνώμην κατὰ τὸ Καυνωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας δίχα ἐκαστον’ ἢ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἢν μιὰ ψήφο ἀπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκρίναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου' ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἐκρίναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν νυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν ὁκτὼ ὄντων ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἔξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ύστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οὕτως τὸν δῆμον ἐξητατήσαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐγχυτὰς καταστήσαν, ἐὼς ἄν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχυσαμένων. ύστερον δὲ στάσεως τινος γενομένης, ἐν ἣ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὕτως πρὶν κριθῆναι. Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθὼν, ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.
Οἱ δ ἐν τῇ Χῖῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεούκου στρατιώται 1 ὄντες, ἔως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπό τε τῆς ὄρας ἐπέφυγε καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔτει δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλους καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χἰῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι οἷς δὲ ταύτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μᾶθουν ὑπόσοι εἶσαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ 2 Ἑτεούκος ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τὶ χρύτο τῷ πράγματι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων τὸ τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπὸλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἃν κρατήσωσι, τὸ τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαβόλην σχοῖνεν καὶ οἱ στρατιώται δύσον πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὡς ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ 3 ἀνδράς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχῶν τινι ὀφθαλμῶντι ἀνθρώπω ἀπιόντες ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων 4 τινῶν διὰ τὶ ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνθρωπος παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἑτεούκος, ὃτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρύπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδώσ μὴ ὀφθείῃ ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἑτεούκος συγκαλέσας 5
τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὡσπος οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήγαγαν ἀμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν προσίων δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνε τε καὶ παρῆμει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδός, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς 6 διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἑφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπτειν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταύτα τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Δύσαιδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὐ φερόμενον παρὰ τοὺς συμμάχους κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. 7 καὶ ἀπετέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτα λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Δύσαιδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἀρακον ὡς γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδωσαν Δύσαιδρον, ἐτῶν ἡδὲ τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων.

8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραίον, υἱίς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χειρὰς, ὁ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνου [ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἡ χειρίς, ἐν ἡ τὴν χειρὰ ἐχὼν 9 οὐδὲν ἀν δύνατο ποιῆσαι]. Ἰεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαίον δεινόν εἶναι εἰ περιόφυει τὴν λίαν ὑβριν τοῦτον ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.
Τὸ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου, Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς ὉἙφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἰ ποῦ τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκέψαξε καὶ ἀλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο. ἔλθον δὲ παρὰ Κύρον χρῆματα ἤτει' ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπιπερ ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη καὶ ἔτι πλεῖον πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἔκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὡμοὶ δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τάργυριον ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τῶν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

Κύρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἀγγέλος λέγων ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκείνον καλοίη, ὥν ἐν Θαμνηρίων τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὔς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστώτας. ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶνα ναυμα-χεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐδν μὴ πολλῷ πλεῖον ναύς ἔχῃ εἶναι γάρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ, ὥστε τούτων ἐνέκειν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέ-δειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἰδίοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἐδωκε' καὶ ἀναμμήνασα ωσ εἰχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδία, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κύρος πάντα παραδοῦσι τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπ-τος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατῷ ἀνήχθη
τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κέλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὅνομα Κε- 
δρείας τῇ ὑπεραλή προσβολή κατὰ κράτος αἴρει 
καὶ ἐξηνδρατόδισεν. ἤσαν δὲ μιξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοι- 
κοῦντες. ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς 'Ρόδον. οἱ δ’ 
Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁμομενοι τὴν βασιλέως 
κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίου καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον 
ἐπέπλευον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ 
στρατηγοῦσα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχουσι προσεῖλοντο Μέ- 
νανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ’ ἐκ τῆς 
Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλή- 
pοντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ 
tὰς ἀφεστηκυιὰς αὐτῶν πόλεισ. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ 
oi Ἀθηναίοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία 
pολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν’ Λύσανδρος δ’ ἐξ ’Αβύδου παρέ- 
pλευ εἰς Λάμψακου σύμμαχον οὐσαν Ἀθηναίων καὶ 
oi ’Αβυδηνοί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν πεζῆ ἢ γείτο δὲ 
Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει 
αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιώται 
οὕσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἴνου καὶ σιτού καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 
ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα πάντα 
ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι κατὰ πόδας 
πλέοντες ὁρμᾶσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιούντι 
ναυσὶν ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστο- 
pοιουμένοι αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακου, 
καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστὸν. ἐκείθεν δ’ εὐθὺς 
ἐπιστησάμενοι ἐπέπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοῦς ἀντίον 
tῆς Λαμψάκου διέχει δ’ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτη 
σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐδειπνο- 
pοιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ
όρθρος ἡν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβαλὼν προείπεν ὡς μηδὲς κινῆσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξιοτο. οἱ δὲ 'Ἀθηναίοι ἁμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Ἀγὸς ποταμοὺς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχύστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαί τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβόσι, κατιδόντας ὡς, τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγείλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐτὸν ἤκου. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας καὶ οἱ Ἐλευθερινοὶ ἐπανήγγευσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμίᾳ πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαὶδέκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἐχοῦντας πάντα, οὐκ εἰς καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὡρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαε εἰς Σηστοῦ παρῆκεν πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσθετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπίεναι αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχετο. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέοντος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπί ποὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὶ ἴδιωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὡπερ ἐποίοις πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὅνομένεοι
καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτανήγειν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἅραι ἀστίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. Δύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσήμην τὴν ταχιστὴν πλείν συμπαρῆμε δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλου τὸ έσήμην εἰς τὰς ναῖς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένοι δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δικροτοὶ ὅσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχηθαν ἄθροι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Δύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν·

29 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια. Кόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεῦγον, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Δαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Δυσάνδρου νεῶν ἑστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὅκτῳ ναυσὶν ἀπεπλευσε παρ' Εὐναγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δ' Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὰ γεγονότα. Δύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναύς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τάλλα πάντα εἰς Δάμψακου ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ἢ δ' ἡμέρα ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἐπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον λῃστὴν εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὰ

30 γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγαγε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δύσανδρος ἄθροίς τοὺς συμμόχοις ἐκέλευσε βουλευεσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐν- ταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαν ἐγγύνουτο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, ἃ τε ἦδη παρανεομῆκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ νυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χείρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ἄωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθιανοὶ καὶ Ἀνδρίου, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔξ ἀυτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν Ἐιλόκρις δὴ ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἔλεγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, 33 καὶ ἐδοξεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἦτιάθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινῶν προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσαινδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρημνίσε, τί εἰ ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

'Επεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, 2 ἐπλευ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυξάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ’ αὐτῶν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρούρων ὑποστόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδη ὁ Βυξάντιον τότε μὲν ἐφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὅστερον δ’ εἰς Ἀθῆνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Λύσαινδρος δὲ τοὺς τοῖς φρούροις τῶν Ἀθηναίων 2 καὶ εἰ τινὰ που ἄλλον ὤδοι Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλοστὸς δ’ οὗ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσον ἄν πλείους συλλέξωσι τίς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θύττου ἐπιτηδείως ἐνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλληλῶν δὲ Βυξάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνας Σθενέλαιον ἀρμοστὴν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.
Εν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθηναίως τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἔλεγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἀστὺ διήκεν, ὁ ἔτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων ὡστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἔκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοῖς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἵ ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίες καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Λυκινῆτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων. τῇ δ' ύστεραια ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἧ ἐδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχώσαι πλὴν ἐνός καὶ τα τείχη ἐυτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακᾶς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὅποι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

Δύσανδρος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ναυσί διακοσιαίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάζατο τὰς τις τάλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐπεμψε δέκα τρίηρες ἔχοντα Ἐτέονικον, ὅς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλλή Ἐλλάς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων, ὦντοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γυνώρίων ποιήσαντες κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. Δύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμονία ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμονίοι δὲ ἐξήκεσαν πανδημεῖ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπε-
δευτερ  ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τῷ καλομένῳ γυμνασίῳ. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀγίναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν 9 πόλιν Ἀγινήταις, ὡς ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ Μηλίως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ δηώσας Σαλαμίνα ὀρμώσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιάν ναυσὶ πεντηκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοία ἔργη τοῦ ἔσπυλον.

Οἱ δὲ Ἄθηναιοι πολυρκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ να ἑλάτταν ἡπόρουν τῇ χρή ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεὼν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὗτοι εἰναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν δὲ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ᾿υβριν ἢδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μιᾶ αὐτίᾳ ἐτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ τάυτα τοὺς ἀτίμοις ἐπιτίμησαν ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀποθυμηκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῷ οὖ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἡδὴ ὁ σύτος ἐπελευσίτε, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ’ ᾿Αγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἰναι Δακεδαλμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιά, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς Δακεδαλμονα ἔκελευν ἴεναι οὐ γὰρ εἰναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταύτα τοῖς Ἄθηναιοι, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Δακεδαλμονα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦν οἱ ἐφοροὶ αὐτῶν ἄμελεγον, ὡς αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ᾿Αγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἔκελευν ἀπείναι, καὶ εἰ τί δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἰκάδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πάσιν ἔσοντο γὰρ ἀνδραπο-

4—2
δισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἔως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσ-
15 βεις, πολλοὶς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν
tειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβουλεῖτο συμβουλεύειν. Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἶπον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Δακε-
δαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προὐκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη προὐκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν
μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἐκατέρων
ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ οὐνῶν Ὑθραμένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ βουλοῦνται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Δυσανδρὸν, εἰδὼς ἦξει Δακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξ-
ανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἡ πίστεως ἑνεκα. πεμφθείς δὲ
διέστριβε παρὰ Δυσανδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείως,
ἐπιτηροῦν ὅποτε Ἀθηναίοι ἐμελλοῦν διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπό-
ντεν τὸν σῖτον ἀπαντά ὅ,τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογο-
17 ἡςειν. ἔπει δ' ἦκε τετάρτῳ μνήμι, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Δυσανδρὸς τέως μὲν κατέχοι,
εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἴναις ὃν γὰρ ἐναι
cύριος ὃν ἐρωτήστω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.
μετὰ ταῦτα ἥρεθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Δακεδαίμονα
18 αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτὸς. Δυσανδρὸς δὲ τοῖς
ἐφόροις ἐπεμψεν ἄγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Δακεδαι-
μονίους Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίον ὁντα, ὅτι
ἀποκρίνατο Ὑθραμένης ἐκεῖνοις κυρίοις εἶναι εἰρή-
19 νῆς καὶ πολέμου. Ὑθραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσ-
βεις ἔπει ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἔρωτόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
λόγω ἦκουὲν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης,
μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἐφόροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευσον αὐτοῖς. ἔπει
δ' ἦκον, εἰκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἡ ἀντέλεγον Κορίν-
θιοι καὶ Ὁηβαίοι μᾶλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπέυδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ ἐξαιρεῖν. 
Δακεδαμόνοι δὲ οίκ ἐφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀν- 
δραποδιών μέγα ἅγαθὸν εἰργασμένην εν τοῖς μεγίσ-
τοις κυνύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλὰ ἐποι-
ούντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ὧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν 
Πειραιᾶ καθῆλοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δῶδεκα 
παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τῶν αὐτῶν 
ἐχθρῶν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Δακεδαμόνοις ἐπεσ-
θαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅποι ἃν ἤγον-
ται. Ὑπαιμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπαν-
ἐφερον ταύτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. εἰς ἐσότας δ' αὐτοὺς 
ἄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἀπρακτοῖ 
ἠκοιν' οὐ γὰρ ἐτί ενεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος 
τῶν ἀπολυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἀπήγ-
γελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι ποι-
οῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Ὑπαιμένης, 
λέγων ὅσ' χρὴ πείθεσθαι Δακεδαμόνοις καὶ τὰ 
τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῶ, πολὺ 
δὲ πλεύσων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν 
εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Δύσανδρος τε κατέπλει εἰς 
τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη 
κατέσκασσον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῆς προθυμίας, νομι-
ζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς 
ἐλευθερίας.

Καὶ ὁ ἔνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν δὲ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος 
ὁ Ἐρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐπιράνησε, μάχῃ μὲν 
πρότερον ἦττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακόσιων Καρχηδο-
νίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλώτων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλι-
pότων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πολυν.
Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ὁ ἦν Ὄλυμπιᾶς, ἔτοι στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Ἡθταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναῖς ἀρχοντός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὅλιγαρχίᾳ ἱρέθη, οὐκ ὠνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν καλοῦσιν. ἔγενετο δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ὅλιγαρχία ὤδε. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι, οὗ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράφουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσι. καὶ ἱρέθησαν οὕδε, Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλυχος, Ἕκλειδῆς, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλυχος, Χρέμων, Ὑπαμήνης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαϊδρίας, Χαυρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρκλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέονις, Ἀἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήνης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μνησθείδης. τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων ἀπέπλει Δύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμου, Ἀγισ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

Κατὰ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρὸν περὶ ἥλιον ἐκλειψὶν Δυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἀρξαί ὅλης τῆς Θεταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θεταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχη ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχη ἠττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντίνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονύσιον καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐπιπεῖς ὑπὸ Διονύσιον εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.
Οἱ δὲ Σάμωι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσανδροῦ πάντη, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἢδη ἐμελλεῖν ὁ Λυσανδρος, ὁμολόγησαν ἐν ἰμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραδόναι καὶ οὕτως ἐξήλθον. Λυσανδρος δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πολίτας παρατεῖσαν δοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἀρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφήκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχους ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαίς ναυσίν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Δακεδαιμονα, ἀπάγον τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτηρία καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δῶδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὕς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δόρα ἱδία, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομηκοντα τάλαντα, ἐπιρεγόντο τῶν φόρων, οὕς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἶ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Δακεδαιμονίους ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὁ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἐφοροὶ οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἴδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὐ ἡρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκατῳ ἐτεί τῶν μετ' Εὔβοιας ἁλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἴδε, Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἔξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγωνίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινομάχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαρίλας, Πατησίαδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιπτίδας, Μισγολαίδας, Ἰσίας, Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐδίος, ἐφ' οὐ Λυσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἰκαδε κατεπλευσεν.
Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἵρεθησαν μὲν, ἔπει τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιὰ καθηρέθη· αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὃτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ᾽ οὕστινα πολιτεύοντο, τούτοις μὲν ἄεὶ ἐμελλόν συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἄποδεικνύναι, Βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὖς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ξώντας καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συμμαβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτον· καὶ ἧ τε Βουλή ἤδεως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἳ τε ἄλλοι, ὅσοι συνῆδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἦχθωντο. ἔπει δὲ ἡρξαντο βουλεύσεθαι ὅπως ἀν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλωσιν, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Δακεδαίμονα Λισχιῦν τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐπείσαν Δύσανδρον φρουρός σφίζοι συμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἐώς δὴ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαντο τὴν πολιτείαν θρέψεων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπίσχεοντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφῆναι. οὐ δ᾽ ἔπει τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τοὺς μὲν Καλλίβιον ἑθεράπευσον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοὶ ἀ πράπτοις, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτων συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβουλοῦσαν συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς ποιητὰς τε καὶ ὁλῖγον ἄξιος, ἀλλ᾽ ἦθη οὗς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλεῖστος ἀν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. τῷ μὲν οὖν πρῶτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κρίτης τῷ Ὁηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν ἔπει δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετῆς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν,
άτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὃ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰὴθανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτκματὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἔπει καὶ ἐγὼ, ἐφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἐνεκά τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὦ δὲ, ἔτι γὰρ οἰκεῖως ἔχρητο τῷ 16 Ἐθηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροῆ τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ έἰς, ἦττον τι οἱ άδικοὶ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὖθηθα εἰ. ἔπει 17 δὲ ἀποθυνσκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοί δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοι τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τὴν ἐσωτήρι τῆς πολιτείας, τάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοῦς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἐσωτήρ τῆς ὀλυμπρίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου 18 μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἦδη φοβουμένοι καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῦ Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολίται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίως τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αὐ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς τάυτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀτοποῦ δοκοὶ ἐαυτῷ γε εἰναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοῖς βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς, ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίως, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τούτου ἔχουσα τὴν ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ οὐτέ ἐξω τούτων σπουδαίοις οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροῖς οἶδον τε εἰη γενέσθαι ἐπείτα δ', ἐφη, ὅρῳ ἐγώγη δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἠττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευασμένους. ὁ μὲν ταύτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν 20
μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἄλλαχοι, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα, ἐν ὧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογινώμονας αὐτῶν τὰ ὀπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρεῖλουν καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνε-θηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἔξων ἦδη ποιεῖν αὐτῶς ὅ,τι βούλουντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἐδοξεὶ δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρηματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἔκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρηματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐθραμέθουν λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλουτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλά οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἐφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἅδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὅν χρηματα λαμβάνοιεν ξῆν εἰὼν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἅδικοῦντας, ἦνα χρηματα λαμβάνομεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἅδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτῶν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι βούλουντο ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγείλαντες νεανίσκοι οἱ ἑδόκοιν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγεινόσθαι. συνελέξαν τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐθραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κρίτης ἔλεγεν ὅδε· Ο άνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τὶς ὡμῶν νομίζει πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθυνήσειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνε-
ταὶ πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι
toῖς εἰς ὀλυγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τὸ πολυ-
ανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι
cαὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστου χρόνου ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν δήμων
tεθράφθαι. ἥμεις δὲ γνώντες μὲν τοῖς οὕτως ἡμῶν 25
tε καὶ ἕμιν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν,
γνώντες δὲ ὅτι Δακεδαιμονίου τοῖς περισσώσασιν
ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δήμος οὐποτὰ ἀν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ
βέλτιστοι ἁεὶ ἀν πιστοὶ διατελοῦν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν
τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων γνώμη τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν κα-
θίσταμεν. καὶ ἕαν τινα αἰσθανόμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ 26
ὀλυγαρχίᾳ, ὅσου δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιοῦμεθα·
πολυ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῶν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἰ τις
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαλνεται ταῦτη τῇ καταστάσει,
δίκην αὐτῶν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Ἐθρα-
μένην τοὺτοι οὐς δύναται ἀπολλύνητα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
ἡμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἡν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε
οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Ἐθραμένους τοὺτοι
τα παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν
βουλώμεθα ποιῆσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν
τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγγύνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἡν,
οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ’ ἀν δικαίως ἑνομίζετο: νῦν δὲ 28
αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους πίστεως
καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως,
mάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρῶτοι ὑπαγο-
μένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἔπει καὶ ἡμεῖς
καὶ ἡμεῖς φαινόμενος ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα,
ὀυκέτ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γεγονόμενα ἄρεσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν
αὐ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ καταστῆ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν
tῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῶν αὐτῷ 29
προσήκει ἀλλά καὶ ὡς προδότη ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καὶ τοι τοσοῦτο μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὡσφ χαλεπότερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανές τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσοῦτο δ' ἐχθιον, ὡσφ πολεμίως μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπέιδονται αὐθίς καὶ πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὅν δὲ προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὖτε ἐσπείσατο πάτποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπιστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ίνα δὲ εἰδήτε ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οὖτοι ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὡμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐξ ἁρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα "Ἀγνώνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἔπει δ' ἡ σθετο ἀντίπαλον τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενο, πρῶτος αὐ ἤγεμον τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐγένετο· οὐθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμότειν μὲν τοὺς πολὺν ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δὲ, ὃ Θηράμενες, ἀνδρά τόν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγει μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δὲ τῷ ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅστερ ἐν νη διαπονεύσθαι, ἐως ἃν εἰς οὐρον καταστάσῃ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοιτο ποτὲ έὑρα δει, εἰ ἐπειδὰν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντια πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰ σι μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτείων θανατηφόροι, συ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταλτίος εἰ, εξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιώνων. οὗτος δὲ τού ἐστὶν ἐς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ


'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο. Θηραμένης δὲ 35 ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν: 'Αλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθῆσομαι, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὡς τελευταῖοι κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δέ οὐκ ἦρχον δῆπον κατ' ἐκεῖνων λόγου, ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Δέσβον ναυμαχία. ἐγὼ δέ ἀπολογοῦμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χει-
μόνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς δυνατῶν ἢν, ἐδοξά τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ έαυτῶν κατηγορείν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἴον τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς, προέμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ψέχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκέναι ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἢν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαξε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὑπελιγέν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὃν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἐπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἶ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βουλεῖται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἱσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν ὡστις μέντοι δ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἴομαι ἄν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τὰ τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἦμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδεικθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγχυρόκομεν ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὕτω ἦρξαντο ἀνδρᾶς καλοὺς τε κάγαθους συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου κατ᾽ ἡρξάμην τὰναντία τούτους γυγώσκειν. ὃδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποδηνοκοντος μὲν Δέοντος τοῦ Σάλαμινίου, ἀνδρός καὶ ὁντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἰκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὁμοίοι τοῦτῳ φοβησοντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῆδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐσοιντο. ἐγχυρωσκον δὲ ὑπὸ συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικῶν οὕτε αὐτοῦ οὕτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτω ὁμοίοι δυσμενεῖς ἦμῶν γενὴ-
σώντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἄπολλυμένου, ὅσ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὐθεὺς πλεούσας παρεῖχοτο, ἦπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἠμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα έκαστον λαβεῖν ἐφασαν χρήναι εὐθηνὸν γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μετοίκοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐσοίντο. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηγοῦντο, οὐ νομίζοντες χρήναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τοῦτον ἐνεκα βουλομένων περισσῶσιν ἡμῖν, ἐπόσῳ ὅλῳ πανες μηδὲν δυνάμεθα αὐτοῦς ὑφελεῖν· ἐξὴν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γέ δέοιντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὅλιγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδὲ γε τὸ φρουροῦς μισθοῦσθαί συνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτος προσλαμβάνειν, ἡς ῥαδίως οἱ ἁρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἁρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεί γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἁρχῇ τῇ δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γεγομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Ῥασύβουλον οὔτε 'Ἀκμηβιάδην φυγαδεύειν' ἤδειν γὰρ ἢτι οὔτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἐσοίντο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἤγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δ’ ἤγείσθαι βουλομένους σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο. δ’ ὁ ταύτα οὖν νοθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενῆς ἀν δικαίως ἡ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὁ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαί, οὐδ’ οἱ συμμάχοις πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτάσθαι, οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ
ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιροῦμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὕτοι εἰσίν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μονον τοὺς φίλους ἄλλα καὶ ἐαυτοὺς δὲ αἰσχρο-κέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνωτέρω ὅτι ἄληθῆ λέγω, ὦδε ἐπισκέψασθε, πότερον οἴεσθε Ἡρασί-βουλον καὶ Ἀντον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἄν εὐθάδε βούλεσθαι γῆγρεθαι ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττονσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶσ ἢμῶν εἴρη, χαλεπῶν ἂν ἥγεισθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλειν ποι-τῆς χάρας. ἢ δὲ αὖ εἰπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμί οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτοῦ δήποτε ὁ δήμος ἐσφηστατο, διδυσκόμενος ὡς οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πάση πολιτεία μᾶλλον ἃν ἡ δημο-44 κρατία πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴς ἑκεῖνων μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίσαται, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιου καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἐρύμα τευχίζοντες, εἰς δὲ βούλουντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσασθαί; εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθά-μενος ἐγὼ διεκωλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι 45 τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορυν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέρως πειρώμενον ἁρμότειν. ὡστε δὲ μηδετέρως ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὁ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν ποτὲ καὶ καλέσαι χρῆ; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἁριστο-46 κρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ
δ', ὁ Κριτία, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀεὶ ποτὲ πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν ὁμομένοις καλῇ ἄν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δὲ ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἄν ἀποδόμενοι τῇ τῶν τόλμων δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ
tοῖσδε γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οὐκ οὖν οἴονται καλῇ ἄν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλυγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ύπ' ὀλύγων
tυπαννείσθαι τῇ τῶν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μὲν τοῦ
σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἑπτῶν καὶ μετ' ἀστι-
don ὦφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρόσθεν ἀριστον ἱγοῦμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.
eἰ δ' ἔχεις ἐπείν, ὁ Κριτία, ὅπου ἔγω σύν τοῖς
δημοτικοῖς ἡ τυραννικὸς τοὺς καλοὶς τε κἀγαθοῖς
ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγει' εὰν γὰρ
ἐλεγχῶν ἡ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἡ πρότερον πώ-
ποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχάτωτα
tαθῶν ἀν δικαλῶς ἀποδιδόσκειν.

'Ως δ' ἑπτῶν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη

ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθυμησάσα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας

ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ

αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύγοιτο, καὶ τούτο οὐ βιωτῶν ἡγησά-

μενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεξθεῖσι τι τοῖς τρίακοντα

ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστήμαι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τα ἐγχειρίδια

ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις.

πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν εἰπεν· 'Εγὼ, ὁ βουλὴ, νομίζω ἶ

προστάτων ἔργον εἶναι οἷον δεῖ, ὅσ ἂν ὀρῶν τοὺς

φίλους ἔξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ, καὶ ἔγω οὖν

τοῦτο τοιχήσω. καὶ γὰρ οὖδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ

φασιν ἤμων ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φα-

νερῶς τῆν ὀλυγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς

καίνοις νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὐντων

II. Χ.
μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἀνευ τῆς ύμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν
δὲ ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα
θανατοὺς. ἐγὼ ὅππ, ἐφη, Θηραμένην τοποὺλ ἐξ-
αλείψω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνιδοκοῦν ἀπασιν ἡμῖν.
52 καὶ τοῦτον, ἐφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα
ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπίθησεν ἔπι τὴν 'Εστίαν καὶ εἶπεν,
’Εγὼ δ’, ἐφη, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώ-
tata, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείψειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε
ὑμῶν ὅν ἄν βοῦληται, ἀλλ’ ὄντερ νόμον οὗτοι
ἐγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον
53 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν,
ἐφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνων, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἄρκεσει
ὑδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδέιξαι,
ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶτατοι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἁσβεστάτου. ὑμῶν μέντοι,
ἐφη, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοη-
θήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι
οὐδὲν τὸ ἕμον ὄνομα εὐεξάλεπτοτερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν
54 ἑκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριά-
kontα κήρυξ τοὺς ἐνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι
de εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς υπηρέταις, ἥγουμένου αὐτῶν
Σατύρου τοῦ θραυστάτου τε καὶ ἀναίδεστάτου, εἶπε
μὲν ὁ Κριτίας, Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἐφη, Θηραμένην
tοποὺλ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμεῖς δὲ
λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἐνδεκα οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ
55 τοῦτων πράττετε. ὃς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἰλκε μὲν
ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ υπηρέται.
ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἑπεκαλεῖτο
cαὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορὰν ὑπὸ γυνώμενα. ἦ δὲ βουλή
ἡ συνήχιαν εἰχεν ὀρίῳς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτωις
ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ Βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δ᾿ ἀπῆγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἐπασχε. Λέγεται δ᾿ ἐν ῥήμα καὶ τούτῳ αὐτοῦ. ὥσ εἰπέν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἱ μοίρακοτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσεις, ἐπήρετο, Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἂρ, ἔφη, οἱ μῶξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κῶνεον ἐπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἴπεῖν αὐτόν. Κριτία τοῦτ ἐστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, οτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκείνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνυμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολυτεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Ὀθραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἐξὸν ἡδὴ αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἐξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, ἦγοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἢν αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦς τούτων ἄγρος ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγνοτες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Ὁβύβας τῶν ὑποχωροῦντων.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου Ὀθρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Ὁλίβοις 2 ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλήν χωρίων καταλαμβάνει ἱσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεού σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχυλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὖσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοι τινὲς τῶν νέων προσεβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. Βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα 3 ἀποτελεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἐκπολυρκήσεαν αὐτοὺς ἀπο-
κλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται
tὴς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθῆς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραῖα. οἱ
δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς
tῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλέντες.
4 γυγνάσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατή-
σοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἐσοιτο, διαπέμπτουσιν εἰς
tὰς ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
tοὺς τὲ Δακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰππεῶν δύο φυλᾶς. οὐτοὶ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
5 ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὃ δὲ Ὁρασύβουλος,
ἠδὴ συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλῆν περὶ ἐπτακοσίους,
λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς θέμενος δὲ
tὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἡ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν
φρουρῶν ἠσυχίαν εἰχέν. ἔπει δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγγύ-
νετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἔδειτο ἐκαστὸς ἀπὸ
tῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς
ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ
Θασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσεπιττοῦν καὶ
ἔστι μὲν οὐς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεφά-
μενοι ἔδωξαν ἐξ ἑ ἐπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
tῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλέον ἡ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν
dὲ ἱππεῶν Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλοῦ-
μενον, καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ δίῳ, ἐτί καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς
7 εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στη-
σάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἐλαβοῦν
καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀστεοῦ
ἰππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἐτὶ
εἴδον, προσμείναντες δὲ, ἔως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο
8 οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἁστυ. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο
οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίς τὰ
πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἔξιδωσασθαι, ὡστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἴ δεησείε. καὶ παραγγελάντες τοὺς ἵππεον ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἵππεοι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βουλέσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσιντο, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δ’ ἀπογραφάμενον ἄει διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξέναι. ἐπὶ δ’ τῷ αἴγιαλῷ τοῦ μὲν ἵππεος ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ’ ἐξίοντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Δυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς εὗδεκα. τῇ δ’ ύστεραια εἰς 9 τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππεος. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν, Ἦμεὶς, ἐφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, οὔδεν ἦττον ὑμῶν κατασκευάζωμεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἡ ὑμῶν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κυνηγῶν μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἕνα ταυτά ὑμῶν καὶ θαρρῆται καὶ φοβησθε. δεῖξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκεῖνεν φανερὰν φέρεων τὴν ψήφου. οἱ δὲ 10 Δακωνικὸς φρουροὶ εὖ τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖον ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν, ἣν δὲ ταυτὰ ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἐμελεῖν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων λαβὼν ὁ Ὑρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἥδη συνειλημμένους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιά. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεί ἤσθοντο ταύτα, εὖθες ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Δακωνικόις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις.
έπειτα ἐξώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν
11 ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπέχειρή-
σαν μὴ ἀνέναι αὐτούς, ἔπει δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὁ
πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὔπω πολλοὶ οὕσι,
συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μονυχίαν. οἱ δὲ έκ τοῦ
здание εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδαμείου ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρώ-
τον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὡστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν, ἥ
φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱέρον τῆς Μονυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος
καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἐλαττοῦν
ἡ ἐπὶ πεντῆκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὔτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι
12 ἐξώρουν ἀνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν
τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἡ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας
ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι
τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετρο-
βόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν
προσεγένοντο. ἐν δὲ προσήσεσαν οἱ ἑναυτίοι,
Θρασύβουλος τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς
ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὀπλὰ ἔχον,
13 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἐλεξεῖν Ὡνδρές πολίται, τοὺς μὲν
dιδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνησάμενοι ύμῶν βούλομαι ὦτι εἰσι
τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἠχοντες, οὕς ὑμεῖς
ημέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιάξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ
εὐωνύμου ἐσχατοί, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οὗ ἡμῶς
καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἄδικοντας καὶ οἰκίων
ἐξῄλαυνοι καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπε-
σημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηται οὐ
οὗτοι μὲν οὕποτε ὄψοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ εὐχόμεθα.
14 ἠχοντες γὰρ ὀπλὰ ἑναυτίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν
οἱ δὲ θεοῖ, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβαν-
όμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ελληνικά Β. 4.

οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδ-εὐόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἦμιν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἦμιν συμφέρη, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλύνως οὕσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαί διδόσαι καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομί-κασιν ἦμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ὃ οὕτωι μὲν οὐτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθοὺν ἑναι δύναυτ’ ἄν, ἢμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτ-αντει καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξεύρεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. καὶ ὥστο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ῥῡσον μάχεσθαι νῦν δὲ, ἂν ἢμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητη τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὔδεις ὡς γε μεστή ἡ ὄδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ὡστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τυπτεῖν ὅπου ἂν βουλωμέθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ’, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, οὕτωι ἥρι ποιεῖν ὑπὸς ἐκαστὸς τις ἐαυτῷ συνείσεται τής νίκης αἰτιώτατος ἄν. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἦμιν, ἂν θέοις θέλη, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οίκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ παίδας, ὅις εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναίκας. ὃ μακάριοι δήτα, οὗ ἂν ἠμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδοσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἢμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ μνημείου γὰρ οὔδεις οὕτω πλοῦσιος ὦν καλοῦ τείξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἦνικ’ ἂν καιρὸς ἢ, παιῶνα: ἃταν δὲ τὸν Ἐμνάλιον παρακαλ-έσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἄνθ’ ὃν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ταύτα δ’ εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἰς· καὶ γὰρ ὃ μάντις παρῆγ—
γελλεν αυτοίς μή πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσου τις ἢ τρωθεὶς· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἐφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὤμιν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὡς γε 19 μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐπεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγ- ὄμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσάν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποδυνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κη- φισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἀλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιαί δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπλα ἔλαβ- ου, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκυ- λευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἄλληλοις 20 πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλεξ εὐφώνως ὄν, κατασκωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν: "Ανδρεσ πολίται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτείνας βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακῶν μὲν οὐδὲν πῶς τούτο ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσίων καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχορευταί καὶ συμφωνηταί γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατίζοταί, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκυνδυνεύκα- μεν καὶ κατὰ θῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφότερων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἔλευθερίας. 21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶν καὶ μητρῶν καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἄλληλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν
πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἵδιων κερδέων ἑνεκα οὐλόγον δεῖν πλείον ἀπεκτόων τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ ἐν ὅκτῳ μησίν ἡ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἐτῆ πολεμοῦντες. ἔξον δ’ 22 ἡμῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὕτω τῶν πάντων αὐσχιστῶν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἠχηστῶν καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποις πόλεμον ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχονσιν. ἀλλ’ εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ύφ’ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐστίν οὐς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

'Ο μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. τῷ δ’ ύστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα 23 πάνω δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἔκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπετοικεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς ὦ χρεὶς καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεί. ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδίκηκέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ἡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ’ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαύσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἔλέσθαι. καὶ ἐξόντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

Ἀ. Τ. 403.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἑλευσῶνάδε ἀπῆλθον οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μᾶλα τεταραγμένοι καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλους σὺν τοῖς ἵππαρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ
οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐν τῷ ᾽Ωιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἱπποὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχουτες, καὶ δὲ ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἅφ′ ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς, οὐδὲ φοβοῦμενοι μη ἐπεισπέσοιεν τινες αὐτοὶς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

25 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἥδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὁπλὰ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἤψιλνοι, οἱ δὲ ὀσύνια, καὶ ταύτα ἑλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἤμερας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἴτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένους εἶχεν, ἱσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξήσασιν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνίτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππεῖς ὦσε τὸ ἐβδομήκοντα· προιομᾶς δὲ ποιούμενοι καὶ λαμβάνοντες ἤψιλν καὶ ὀπώραν ἐκάθενδον πάλιν ἐν

26 Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄλλοις μὲν οὐδεῖς σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἔξηκέ, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ ληστᾶς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακοῦργον. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰ-ξωνέων τισιν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἔπε τὰ ἑπιτη-δεια πορευομένους· καὶ τούτοις Λυσίμαχος ο ὑπ-παρχος ἀπέσφαξε πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν

27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππεῶν. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπ' ἀγροὶ λαβόντες Καλλιστρατοῦ φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἥδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ἄστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὦς ἐπεὶ ἐγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ξεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξίαιους λῖθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἐκαστος βουλοῦτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τούτο ἐγέν-
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ Β. 4.

ετο, πολλα εις έκαστος των λήθων πράγματα παρείχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἀστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Αὐσάνδρος λογισάμενος ὃτι οἴον τε εὑρεί ταχὺ ἐκτολιορκήσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείσων, συνέπραξεν ἐκατόν τε τᾶλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστὴν, Λίβων δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν νααρχοῦντα ἐκτεμφθῆναι, καί 29 ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσίναδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλῖτας πολλοὺς Πελοπονησίους· ὃ δὲ νααρχὸς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν ἐισπλέου αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὅστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορία ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀστεῖ πάλιν αὐ μέγα ἐφρόον ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχειρουντών Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονίσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἄμα μὲν εὐδοκιμῆσοι, ἄμα δὲ ἱδίας ποιήσει τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων πρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνείπωντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐροκεῖν ἀν στρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ 'Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὃτι ἐγύγωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ 'Αλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεὶ δεξίον ἔχον κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.
31 πέμπτων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν’ ἔπει δ’ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοής ἐκεῖν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἰη εἰμενῆς αὐτῶις ὦν. ἔπει δ’ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραὶ λαβῶν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἵππεων τρεῖς φυλᾶς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῷ πῇ εὐαπτοειχιστ- ὁταίοις εἰῃ ὁ Πειραιεῦς. ἔπει δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτὸι προσέθεον τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς παρῆγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἵππεας ἑλὰν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἅφ’ ἡβης συνεπέσθαι’ σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτός ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπεκ- τειναν μὲν ἑγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους κατεδώξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιὸθθεάτρον. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἑξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοί εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἡκόντιζον, ἐβαλλοῦν, ἐδὼξουν, ἐσφενδόνων οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔπει αὐτῶν πολ- λοὶ ἐτιπρόσκοντο, μάλα πιεξόμενοι ἀνεχόρουν ἐπὶ πόδα’ οἱ δ’ ἐν τοῦτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Ἐἰβραχος, ἀμφό πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὀρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀρασύ- βουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλῖται ἐβοήθουν καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ’ ὦκτῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυ- σανίας μάλα πιεσθεῖς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέταρτα ἥ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινὰ παρῆγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχω-
ῥεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθειὰν τὴν φάλαιγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οί δὲ εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἳ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀποθνησκοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πευτή-κοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ὦ δὲ Παυσανίας τρόπαιον στη- 33 σάμενους ἀνεχώρησε καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἔργετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπτων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οία χρῆ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπτειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρουσ. οἳ δ' ἐπείθοντο. δι- ἱστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συνλεγομένους, λέγο- ντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολε- μεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαίμον- νίοις φίλοι εἶναι. ἢδεως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας 36 ἐφόρος ἐν συνήκουν ὡσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτος τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς μετὰ Λυ- σάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἐπεμπὸν τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχον- τας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφώντα τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἔτη τε ἐντὸς ὦτοι ὧχοντο εἰς Δακε- 37 δαίμονα, ἐπεμπὸν δὴ καὶ οἳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείος λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδίδοσι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἅ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους χρῆσθαι ἐ', τι βούλονται· ἀξιόν δ' ἐφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασίν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνι-
χιαν, ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἑφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδρὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλ-λάξαι ὑπὲρ δύναμτο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διηλλαξαν ἐφ' ὅτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπίηναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἔκαστον πλῆν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἐνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιᾷ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δὲ τίνες φοβοῦντο τῶν ἔξ ἀστεος, ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἕλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυ- 

σανίᾳ μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πει- 

ραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατη- 

γοὶ, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ὀρασύβουλος ἐλέγεξεν, Ἑμῖν, ἑφη, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος ἀνδρεῖς, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γινώσκει ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς. μάλιστα δὲ ἁν γνώθητε, εἰ ἀναλογισασθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἑστίν, ὡστε ἡμῶν ἀρχεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἔστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὁνοματοποιεῖται ἐνεκα κρηματών μὲν ἑδίκηκεν ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἅρα ἐπὶ ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. καὶ τὶς ἁν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γενοῖτο ἡ ὁς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἁν προέχεω, οἱ ἐχοῦντες καὶ τείχος καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πε- 

λοποννησίους ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοις δὴ οἶδεθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οὐγε ὡστε τοὺς δάκ- 

νοτασ κύνας κλοιῶ δήσαντες παραδιόδασιν, οὔτω
κάκεινοι ύμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δῆμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὗ μέντοι γε ύμᾶς, ὥ 12 ἀνδρεῖς, ἄξιω ἐγὼ δὲν ὑμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ προς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπίδειξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὐορκοὶ καὶ ὅσιοι ἔστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρήσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχᾶς καταστησά- 43 μενοὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο· ύστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκουσάντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπεκτείναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαῖος ἐπεισάν συναλλαγῆναι καὶ ὑμᾶσαντες ἔρκους ἡ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσεων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ἔρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.
NOTES.

BOOK I.

P. 7. c. r. § 1. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα] This is a general formula used (especially in Xenophon) in connecting one part of a subject with that which has preceded. Ταύτα does not appear to be intended to refer to any particular fact, such as the sacrifice of Tissaphernes at Ephesus, with the mention of which the history of Thucydides concludes (viii. 109).

ἦλθεν] into the Hellespont, to the Athenian fleet at Sestus.

Θυμοχαρῆς] Thymochares had followed the Peloponnesian fleet to Euboea (Thuc. viii. 95. 2), and had been defeated by Agesandrias.


Ἀγεσανδρίδου] Agesandrias, son of Agesander, had commanded the Peloponnesian fleet against Euboea (Thuc. viii. 91. 2), and surprised Athens on his way (id. viii. 94. 1, 2).

§ 2. μετ' ὀλγον δὲ τοῦτων] equivalent to μετά δὲ ταύτα ὀλγῳ ὀστερον. The genitive τοῦτων arises from the notion of comparison. Herodotus gives us τρίτῳ ἐτεὶ τοῦτῳ, δευτέρῳ ἐτεὶ τοῦτῳ (vi. 40; vii. 80). Jelf, § 532.

Δωριές] Dorieus, a Rhodian, twice victor at Olympia (Thuc. iii. 8. 1), had taken refuge at Thurii, and commanded ten Thurian ships (id. viii. 35. 1).

ἄρχομενοι χειμῶνοι] i. e. about the beginning of October.

ἡμεροσκόπος] “day-watcher.” These are opposed to the signalmen who gave alarm by beacon-fires (φυκτωρίς). We find the Greeks posting them on the headlands of Euboea (περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὔβοιας) to keep their look-out (Hdt. vii. 182). Cp. Hell. vii. 2. 6 τῶν ἡμεροσκόπων.


H. X. 6
chants "as he was making the open sea." Cp. 5. 13; 6. 21. Note the less regular form ἕνοηγε, used exclusively in nautical terms. Contrast Ἀναβ. v. 5. 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄνειγον τὰς πῦλας.

§ 3. Μάδουτοι] The beach between Sestus and Madytus had been the connecting point of the bridge of Xerxes with Abydus (Hdt. vii. 33).

§ 4. Μνάδαρος] Mindarus had superseded Astyochus as high-admiral (μαθαρχός) of the Lacedaemonian fleet (Thuc. viii. 85. 1).

P. 8. ἀναλάβοι] "rescue."

§ 5. ἕνοης] a poetical word, used also by Herodotus and the tragedians. Cp. Ἠλίβατοι (Ἀναβ. i. 4. 4), ἐτρεσεν (i. 9. 6), ἐπεταιτο (i. 9. 19), ἐσινοντο (iii. 4. 16), ἀναχαίζων (iv. 1. 16), θαμνά (iv. 1. 16), μόλωσιν (vii. 1. 33).

μέχρι δειλης εξ ἐωθινοῦ] The word δειλη (δειλη πρωτα and ὁψα, cp. Thuc. iii. 74. 2 περὶ δειλην ὁψια) was used both for the early afternoon, and the late afternoon or evening. Cp. Hell. iv. 1. 22 ἢμα δειλη καλλιεργησαμενος κατέλυε τὴν θυσιαν. εκ δὲ τοῦτον δειπνησαντας παρήγιγελε παρείναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπεδου, where we see that the δειλη there mentioned came on before the δειπνον which usually took place about sunset. For the expression εξ ἐωθινοῦ, cp. Arist. Thesm. 2.

ἐπεσπλει] "sails up into the straits," from Samos, whither (Thuc. viii. 108. 2) he had returned at the beginning of September (προς τὸ μετόπωρον) after having exacted large contributions from Halicarnassus, fortified Cos, and planted in it an Athenian officer.

§ 6. ἐπεσβαλων . ἐμάχετο] Pharnabazus reminds Agesilaus and the Lacedaemonians of this: Hell. iv. 1. 32 ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπτού μαχόμενος μεθ' ὕμων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολεμίους.

§ 7. συμφράξαντες τὰς ναῦς καὶ παραταξάμενοι] "having closed up their ships and ranged them in line." Τὰς ναῦς seems to apply to παραταξάμενοι as well as συμφράξαντες. Cp. Thuc. i. 52. 2 παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους (τὰς ναῦς). Thuc. i. 29. 3, we find ἀνταναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι, where we must understand τὰς ναῦς or ἐκατοντάς.

§ 8. ψεινον] Xenophon (cp. 1. 13; 3. 8; ii. 1. 26) appears not to observe the idiomatic usage of this verb according to which, as in ἕνω, the present is used in a perfect, and the imperfect in a pluperfect sense. Homer uses the imperfect
of οὗμαι in its proper sense: II. v. 495, 6 πάλλων ὁ δὲ ἐξεῖ δόθη κατὰ στρατὸν ψέχει (was going) πάντης. Thucydidus uses it as an Aorist: i. 90. 4 Θεμιστοκλῆς ταῦτα διδάξας ψάχει. Jelf, § 396. 1. Obs. 1, 2.

Θομάσιος] This is the reading of all the Manuscripts, not Θομάσιος. Thuc. v. 59. 5, the reading varies between Θομάσιος and Θομάσιος.

§ 9. ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον] from Ephesus, where he had offered sacrifice to Diana (Thuc. viii. 109).

ξένα τε καὶ δώρα] ξένα include chiefly meat and drink: Aesch. Ag. 1590—3 ξένα...παρέσχε δαίτα παιδείων κρεῶν. Hell. vii. 2. 3 ἄλλως τ᾿ ἐτιμών αὐτοῦ καὶ βοῦν ξένα ἔρεμομεν. It seems especially used of presents sent by peaceful inhabitants to an army: Anab. iv. 8. 23 καὶ ἐδέξαντο τοῦς Ἑλλήνας καὶ ξένα ἔδωσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφητα καὶ οὐν. Schneider remarks with justice that ξένα are usually presented by not to the host.

φάσκων κ.τ.λ.] The real fact was that Tissaphernes wished to reconcile himself, if possible, to the Peloponnesians, διαβεβληθαν νομίσας αὐτοῖ σφόδρα (Thuc. viii. 109).

βασιλέα] When applied to the Persian king, the article was omitted with βασιλεῖς, as if it were a proper name. Cp. Hdt. vii. 174 βασιλέας τε (Xerxes) μέλλοντος διαβαίνως ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης. Arist. Ach. 61 οἱ πρόσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως. Contrast τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, 2. 19. 6 Περσῶν βασιλέως, Hell. iii. 4. 25.

§ 10. Ἀλκιβίαδης...μετὰ Μαντιδέου...ἀπέδρασαν] Cp. Thuc. iii. 109. 2 Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ἐξουσιαστῶν σπένδονται. Jelf, § 395. 2. Obs. 3.

Ρ. 9. § 11. Κύκλων] The Athenians had attacked and recovered Cyzicus which had revolted: Thuc. viii. 107 ἄφικομενοι δὲ καὶ ἑπὶ τὴν Κύκλων ἀτείχιστον οὔσαν προσηγάγοντο πάλιν, καὶ χρήματα ἀνέπραξαν. It was a colony from Miletus.

περιπλεῖν ἐκείσε] se. to sail round the Mastusian promontory from Cardia to Sestus.

§ 13. διώκειν αὐτὸν] "to follow him (i.e. Alcibiades)." Cp. Hippiarch. iv. 5 ὃς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν ἠγεμόνων διώκοντες. It seems hardly probable that αὐτὸν refers to Mindarus (§ 11).

ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία] so that the ships might be free and unencumbered for a sea-fight. Cp. Hell. vi. 2. 27 ἀμα δὲ πάντα ὁσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο (ὁ Ἰφικράτης)."
Similarly Lysander had left τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία at Cape Abarnis (viii. 1. 29) before the battle of Aegospotami, which Conon took away, so as to lessen the enemy’s powers of pursuit. Probably the two sails belonging to the mainmast were called ἱστία μεγάλα, those of the foremost ἱστία ἀκάτες or ἀκάτια. Cp. Thuc. viii. 28. I ἔβολοντο (ὁ Πελοποννήσιοι) πλεύσαντες τὰ σκεῦα ἀπὸ ἐξελόντος ἐς Τειχιώσαν τόλων (i.e. the sails, &c. which had been left on shore in expectation of going into action).

περὶ ἀριστον ὣραν] “Suidas places the ἀριστον as περὶ ὥραν τρίτην. This at the equinoxes would be about nine o’clock. But we have various reasons for distrusting this account. The ἀριστον must be fixed nearer noon. It would appear to have been the midday meal, answering to the Roman ‘prandium.’” Cp. Xen. Ἐκον. xi. 14—18.” Becker, Char. pp. 312, 3. Cp. note, 6. 21.


αὐτοῖς] his men.

§ 15. ὄρμισαντο] ὅρμεῖν, “be at anchor;” ὄρμιζεῖν, “bring a ship to anchor (as a pilot);” ὄρμιζοσθαι, “bring oneself to anchor.”

τὰ μικρὰ] “small craft.”


γυμναζομένας] “exercising, practising manœuvres.”

ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ] “cut off by himself from the port.” There is another reading ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ λιμένος).

P. 10. § 18. ταῖς ἐλκοσι τῶν νεῶν] “The use of the Article with adjectives of number is one of the remarkable peculiarities of the Greek language.” Arnold. The article is used here with a part of the whole number, where no definite mention has been made of the other part. Cp. Thuc. i. 116. 1; viii. 39. 3. Cp. also insfr. 6. 26 ταῖς δὲ ἐλκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἀναχθέλει. Jelf, § 455. 1.

τῶν Συρακοσίων] “those of the Syracusans.” We learn from Thuc. viii. 26 that twenty Syracusan ships sailed from Sicily to assist the Peloponnesians against Athens at the instigation of Hermocrates.
§ 21. Πέρινθος καὶ Σηλυβρίαν] Herodotus (vi. 33) includes these in his list of towns on the Chersonese: Χερσόνησος τε ἐν τῇ πόλει συνανεύει, καὶ Πέρινθος, καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηκῆς, καὶ Σηλυβρία τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Perinthus was colonized from Samos, and afterwards called Heraclea.

§ 22. Χρυσότολων] the modern Scutari. Strabo (xiv. 4) calls it κώμη (an unwalled country-town).

τὴν δεκάτην] Cp. Polyb. iv. 44. 4 ὣν Ἀθηναῖος ποτε κατασχόντες (Χρυσότολων), Ἀλκιβίαδου γυνώμη παραγωγάζειν (demand a transit duty from) ἐπέβαλοντο πρῶτον τούς εἰς Πόντον πλέοντας.


§ 23. ἐπιστολέως] “vice-admiral.” This officer was second in command in the Spartan fleet, and succeeded to the command if anything happened to the high-admiral (ναύαρχος). Cp. π. 1. 7.

P. 11. γράμματα] This despatch would be written in the hard Doric dialect, which was spoken in Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and Magna Graecia. The soft was spoken in Sicily, Messene, Argolis, Megara, and the islands near Asia Minor; and was used by Theocritus, Epicharmus, and Sophron. The principal characteristics of the dialect are breadth and openness, and dislike of sibilant forms: cp. Theocr. Id. 15. 88 ἐκκναίσεϊντι πλατείαδοσοισάι ἀπαντά.


ἐρρει...δημή] Compare, for the true Laconic brevity of the despatch, Thuc. iv. 17. 2: ἐπικύρωκαν ὅν ἡμῶν οὗ μὲν βραχεῖς (λόγοι) ἄρκωσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρηθάι. Herodotus (iii. 46) gives us a very amusing anecdote illustrating Spartan taciturnity.

τὰ καλά] “our prosperity.” This seems to suit ἐρρεῖ, as an abstract idea, better than τὰ κάλα, “timbers” i.e. “ships,” for which cp. Arist. Lysistr. 1253. So Sophocles (Ed. Tyr. 910) ἐρρεῖ δὲ τὰ θεῖα. Xen. Symp. 1. 15 ἐρρεῖ τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα (cp. Lat. actum est). Τὰ καλὰ is the Manuscript reading. It may be as well to remark here that Hickie in his otherwise thorough and painstaking edition of Book i. gives ἐρρεῖ as the imp. of ἐρω, to flow.

ἀπέσουνα] sc. ἀπεσοῦθη.

πεινώντι] contracted from πεινάοντι; Attic πεινάσωσι, πεινῶσι. Cp., for the termination, Lat. amant. So in the treaty between Lacedaemon and Argos (Thuc. v. 77) we find εἰκώντι, ἑχοντι, ἐντι.
§ 24. ἕνεκα ξύλων] "as far as timber was concerned." Cp. ii. 1. 14. Brasidas (Thuc. iv. 11. 4) uses the same word contemptuously: ἐβδα λέγων ὦς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰ ξύλων φειδομένους τοῖς πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους. Compare the speech of Mardonius, Hdt. viii. 100: οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἄγων ὁ τὸ πάνταν αἰστὶ ήμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.

τῇ βασιλέως] sc. χώρα. Cp. Thuc. viii. 84. 5 ἐν τῇ βασιλέως. We have the full expression τὴ βασιλέως χώραν, 2. 17.

§ 25. Ἀντάνδρω] Cp. Thuc. iv. 52. 3 καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἀντανδρῶν, καὶ κρατινάμενοι αὐτὴν (ναιὸς τε γὰρ εὐπορία ἦν ποιείσθαι αὐτὸθεν, ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἰδης ἐπικείμενης)...Virg. Aen. iii. 5, 6 classensque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae. Cp. also ii. 1. 10.

§ 26. ναυπηγουμένων] sc. τῶν Πελοποννησίων.

eὔφρεγεία] Xerxes in correspondence with Pausanias (Thuc. i. 129. 2) says κεῖται σοι εὔφρεγεία (title of εὔφρεγεία) ἐν τῷ ἠμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἑσεῖ σαν ἀνάγραπτος. Themistocles writes to Artaxerxes (id. i. 137. 7) καὶ μοι εὔφρεγεία ὁφελεταί. Cp. Hdt. viii. 85. Xenophon shows (de Vect. iii. 11) that the name and rights of an εὔφρεγεία were eagerly sought by leading men in other states, when conferred by the people of Athens: οἶμαι δὲ ἐγώ, εἷς μέλλονς ἀναγραφήσεσθαι εὔφρεγται εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξένους ἄν πολλοὺς εἰσενεχείν, ἕστι δὲ ἂς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὀρεγομένας. The privileges of these public beneficiaries included public maintenance in the Prytaneum: Dem. F. L. 446 δοθή ἐν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σῖτην ἢ ἄλλην τινά ὀφελεῖ, αἷς τιμάτω τοὺς εὔφρεγτας; Socrates, towards the close of his defence (Plat. Apol. 36 D, E), claims this privilege at the hands of the Athenians: τί οὖν πρέπει ἄνδρι τένης εὔφρεγτης;... ὁ μὲν γὰρ (ὁ 'Ολυμπιάδας νεωκηκώς) ἡμᾶς ποιεὶ εὐδαιμονίας δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖ. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμάσθαι, τούτον τιμώμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτίσεως.

Καλυκνδώνα] a Megarian colony.

§ 27. Ἐρμοκράτους] son of Hermon, whom we are first acquainted with (Thuc. iv. 58—64) as urging the Siceliots to peace with each other in the face of the impending Athenian invasion. He is described by Thucydides (vi. 72. 2) as ἄνθρ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα ξύσειν οὐδενὸς λειτομένος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρία τε ἱκάνος γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιφανῆς.

προηγοροῦντος] "acting as spokesman." Cp. ii. 2. 22; Anab. v. 5 προηγουρεῖ δὲ Εκατώνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος λέγειν.
NOTES.

ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἄει παραγγελλόμενα] “brave in following out each successive order.” Archidamus insists upon this point: Thuc. ii. 11. 10 καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὄξεως δεχόμενοι. Cp. id. i. 121. 2.

μεμνημένους...ὑπάρχονσαν] As to the position of this clause, Schneider’s observation appears to me satisfactory: “non in- ficior, Hell. v. 2. 20, διδόναι λόγον τινι significare dicendi potestatem allicui facere: sed ea notio locum non habet, ubi accusandi mentio præcedit.” Διδόναι λόγον (§ 28) = “give an account,” “answer for,” “rationem reddere.” For the transition from indirect to direct narration, cp. Hell. iv. 1. 13 τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπυριδάτης πάν ποιεῖν ἂν ἰδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Anab. i. 3. 14 πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφθομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κιλκες καταλαβόντες, ὥν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. Infr. ii. 1. 25.

P. 12. ἀντ’ ἐκείνων] sc. ἀνθ’ ἐαυτῶν. Cp. 6. 14 οὐκ ἔφη ἐαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντο...εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν. Memor. i. 2. 3 ἐποiei τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἐαυτῷ μιμουμένους ἐκεῖνον τοιούτῳ γενήσεται. Dem. de Cor. 276 (148) ἣ τῶν παρ’ ἐαυτῷ πεπομομένων ἱερομηνι- μόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων.

§ 28. στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν πόλιν] Cp. Anab. vi. 1. 29 ὡστις...παραστὰτ πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τούτον πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν.


ἀπεπέμψαντο] “dimiserunt.”

§ 30. ἐπιδόθησαν] “felt the loss of,” “missed,” “desidera- verunt.”


ἀνεξωνυτό] sc. ἀνεκοινωτό, ξυνὸς differing from κοινὸς only in dialect. Cp. Hell. vi. 3. 8 ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίοις οὐκ ἀνακοινω- μένοι τοῖς συμμάχοις.


τὰ δεῖτα] “the truth.” Cp. Symp. iv. 45 νομίζοντες τὰ δεῖτα
eirhexeina ai'tov. Thuc. vii. 8. 2 φοβούμενος μη...ου τα ὄντα ἀπαγγέλλωσιν.

P. 13. § 32. ἐν Θάσῳ] The insurrection was headed by Ephantus: Dem. c. Lept. 474, 5 Θάσιος τοὺς μετ᾽ 'Εκφάντον οἱ παραδώτες ὕψων Θάσον καὶ τὴν Ἀλκεδόμωνιτῶν ἰδρύσαν μεθ᾽ ὀπλῶν ἐκβάλοντες...The island of Thasos was colonized from Paros, being situate S. W. of Abdera, and distant half a day's sail from Amphipolis (Thuc. iv. 104. 3). It revolted from Athens B.C. 465 in consequence of a dispute concerning the trading-marts and mining works on the Thracian coast (id. i. 100. 2, 3). The inhabitants at that time solicited aid from Lacedaemon, which the great earthquake and revolt of the Helots prevented from being sent, and the island surrendered. In the year 411 B.C. Diotrephe of Pisander's party put down the democracy and established an oligarchical government: upon which the Thasians proceeded to rebuild their city wall and negotiate through their exiles with the Lacedaemonians.

§ 33. Δεκελεῖας] This outpost, about midway between Athens and Boeotia, was occupied and fortified by the Lacedaemonians on the advice of Alcibiades (Thuc. vi. 91. 6, 7; vii. 19. 1). The occupation was the cause of heavy losses and great distress to the Athenians (id. vii. 27, 28).

τῶν ἄλλων...ἀπαντᾶς] sc. resident-aliens (μέτοικοι), strangers (ξινοί), and others.

§ 34. τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν] "those in the extreme rear," sc. τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων, "novissimi agminis." Cp. ii. 4. 12, for a similar use of ἐπὶ. Anab. vi. 5 ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐπεσθαί. Jell, § 634. 1. a.


καταθέντα] Cp. note, ii. 2. 23.

eἰ μῆ τις σχῆσον] Cp. note, ii. 3. 17.

φωτ Получал "kept coming in (of repeated action)." Cp. Hdt. vii. 23 σῖτος δὲ σφίσι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληθεσμένος. Inf. 6. 7 ταῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς βουραῖς φοιτήσειν (repeated visitings). Cp. also Anab. vi. 6. 3 ἄγοραι πάντοθεν ἄφικνουντο ἐκ τῶν Ἐλληνιδῶν πόλεων.

Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου] This Clesarchus, after peace had been established, led a Lacedaemonian army against Thrace; and on refusing to obey the summons of the ephors to return home, was condemned to death in his absence. Subsequently he
joined the expedition of Cyrus, and we find him represented (Anab. ii. 6. 1—15) as a brave and keen soldier (ἀνήρ πολεμικός καὶ φιλοπόλεμος), adventurous yet full of tact (φιλοκινδύνως καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος), adapted to command (ἄρχικός), of surly countenance and harsh voice (ἄραν στυγγός καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς).

§ 36. δοξαντος δὲ τοῦτον] Similarly the nominative absolute is used: Hell. iii. 2. 19 δοξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα. Cp. 7. 30.

P. 14. Σηστόν] described in Hell. iv. 8. 5, as κατ' ἀντικροδ νατα Αδεύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλείον ὄκτω σταδίων. Grote (vii. p. 370, n.) thinks that Sestus, the Athenian station, is put by inadvertence for Abydus, the Peloponnesian station.

§ 37. 'Ἀννίβα] grandson of Hamilcar.

Σελωνώντα] Virgil, Æn. iii. 705 teque datis linguo velis, palmosa Selinus.


ἐνίκα] "was the victor." Cp. κατηγόρει, 7. 31; προηγόρει, ii. 2. 22; ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδιώξαν, ii. 4. 19.


πλοία] sc. πλοία μακρά (1. 34 τρεῖρες δὲ πεντήκοντα). Cp. Ἐκον. viii. 12 πολλοίς δὲ μηχανήμασιν ἄνθωπλισται πρὸς τὰ πολέμια πλοία.

ὁς ἁμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένους] "considering that they were about to engage with targeteers." Jelf, § 603. 2. We first find πελτασταὶ in the army of Brasidas (Thuc. iv. 111. 1). The πέλτη appears to have been a light shield, less cumbrous than the ὅπλων, and consisting of a frame of wood or wickerwork covered with skin or leather without the metallic rim (ἐτίς). A shield of similar construction was part of the national armour of Thrace and of other kindred nations. Iphicrētes (Hell. iv. 5. 11—17) almost totally destroyed a mora of Lacedaemonian heavy-armed troops with a body of these targeteers.

ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους] about the beginning of April.

§ 2. Πύγελα] Livy xxxvii. 11 post solis occasum prefectus septuaginta navibus tectis vento adverso ante lucem Pygela portum tenuit.
The double participle is worthy of notice: cp. ii. 1. 28; Ἐμψυ. viii. 2 Κριτόζουλος ἐρώμενος ὁν.

§ 3. ἐκτὸς] “except.” Infr. 6. 34. Cp. the use of the Latin extra: Cic. ad Fam. vii. 3. 2 extra duce os paucosque pratera reliqui in bello rapaces. Liv. viii. 32 extra ea cave vocem mittas. We find ἐξω used with a similar meaning: Hdt. vii. 29 οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμεζα ἐς τόδε...ἐξω σεύ.

§ 4. Νότιον] Notium was occupied by the Colophonians on the loss of Colophon: Thuc. iii. 34. 1 ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφώνιν, οὐ κατάμχηντο Κολοφώνιν τῆς ἀνω πόλεως ἐπὶ λυκῆς ὑπὸ Ἰσπαμένου καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν άδί ἐπαχθέντων. Herodotus (i. 149) reckons it among the Αἰελιαν towns. Livy (xxxvii. 26) says “ipse copias ad Notium ducit: τὸ oppidum Colophonium mario immiinentes abest a vetere Colophone duo ferme millia passuum.”


§ 5. Στάγγις] ὑπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους (Thuc. viii. 16. 3).

§ 6. συνελεγε καὶ ἀπέστελλε] “proceeded to collect and despatch.”

τῇ ’Αρτέμιδι] Thucydides (iii. 104. 6) compares the Ephesian festival with the ancient Delian meeting: ἐὼν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παιινὲν θεώρουν, ὥσπερ εὖν ἐς τα Ἑφέσα Ἰωνες, καὶ ἀγών ἑποιεῖτο αὐτόθι, καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χόρους τε ἀνήγγειν αἱ πόλεις.

§ 9. πρὸς τοὺς ὄπλας ἐβοήθησαν] “came to aid against the hoplites;” supr. § 3, πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψίλωσ = “to the aid of their light-armed.” So βοηθεῖν ἔτι, followed by the name of a person, is “to carry aid against him”; followed by the name of a place, “to carry aid to it.” Arnold, Thuc. viii. 11.

P. 16. § 10. ἐδωκαν...ἐδοσαν] Xenophon not unfrequently delights to vary his style of writing: cp. Anab. i. 7. 3 ἄμεινοις; καὶ κρέπτους. ν. 7. 7 Βορέας...ὁ Βορρᾶς. Hell. iv. 8. 15 στερηθεῖν...ἀναγκασθεῖσαν.

NOTES. 91

§ 12. αὐτῶς ἀνδρᾶς] "crews and all." The notion here is that of an accompaniment or accessory. In Homer and the Attic poets we find αὐτῶν also used with this expression; sometimes also the article is added. Cp. 5. 19. Jelf, § 604. 1.

§ 13. Λάμψακον] a colony from Miletus and Phocaea.

§ 14. ἐν λιθοτομίαις] This was in retaliation for the confinement of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse at the close of the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. vii. 86, 87).

οἱ δὲ εἰς Μέγαρα] "and some few to Megara." The second clause is not in the speaker's mind when he conceives the first. For a similar ellipse, cp. Plat. Apol. 18 D ὤσι δὲ (οἱ μὲν) φθόνῳ καὶ διαβόλῃ χρώμενοι ύμᾶς ἄνεπεθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἀλλος πείθοντες. Dem. F. L. 397, 8 καὶ ὤσι διὰ τὰ ταύτ' ἀπολώλασι παρ' ύμῖν οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὄφληκασιν (where Shilleto says that the ellipse is more common in Plato than in other writers). Jelf, § 767. 1, 2.

§ 15. οἵκ ἡβούλοντο...συντάττεσθαι] Cp. Plut. Alc. 29 οὕτω δ' ἐπήρθησαν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ 'Αλκαβιάδου στρατευόμενοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφόνησαν, ὥστ' ἀπαξιώθη τι τοῖς ἀλλοις καταμαγνύναι στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦς πολλάκις ἡττημένοι ἀγγίζοντες ὑπῆρα.

P. 17. § 16. ἀφείλετο] either "precluded farther pursuit," or "concealed Pharnabazus."

§ 17. ἐκ] "immediately after (following upon)." Lat. "ab."

ἡπείρον] the Asiatic continent: cp. Hell. iii. 1. 5 ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. Hdt. iii. 134 ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου (Asia) ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ἡπείρον (Europe).

§ 18. τὸ Κορυφάσιον] Cp. Thuc. iv. 3. 2 ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ᾗ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνία ποτὲ οὐσί γῆ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. It appears from Diodorus (xiii. 64) that Pylus was retaken by the Lacedaemonians after a severe assault (Anytus having failed to relieve it with his fleet). Demosthenes had fortified it B.C. 425.

Ἡρακλεία τῇ Τραχυλᾷ] Heraclea was founded by the Lacedaemonians b.c. 426. On that occasion none had been excluded from participating in the colony except Achæans and Ionians and some others (Thuc. iii. 92. 7). Its failure was owing in a great measure to the tyranny of the Lacedaemonian governors (id. iii. 93. 4). Thucydides mentions the hostility of the Εταίροι against the Trachinians; iii. 92. 2 τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχινοὶ πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ύπὸ Οἰταλῶν ὄμορφων ὄντων: also against
the Dorians; iii. 92. 3 ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰλαίων καὶ αὐτῷ (ὁλ Ἀρείης) ἐφθείρωντο. We find Agis punishing the Οἰλαϊ for their ancient feud, Thuc. viii. 3. 1. On this occasion he also exacted money and hostages from them.

πρὸς ἐπτακοσίους] "about (almost up to) seven hundred." Cp. Aμαβ. iv. 5. 2 καὶ διέσαυων αὐτῶν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὄμφαλον. πρὸς defines the number more loosely than εἰς. Cp. the expressions πρὸς ἐπτέραν, ἠμέραν, &c.

c. iii. § 2. Καλχηδόνα] "The true name of this city, as given universally on its coins, is Καλχηδόνα. But the Attic writers, or at least the existing MSS. of them, have adopted the form Χαλκηδών, and the Romans followed them in writing "Chalchedon," and not "Calchedon." Arnold on Thuc. iv. 75. 3.

λείαιν] moveable property which could be pillaged.

κατέθεντο] "deposited (in a place of safety)." Plutarch (Alc. 29) gives us εἰς Βιθυνοὶς εκτίθενται ("export").

Βιθυνοὶς Θράκας] This people originally came from the banks of the Strymon in Thrace: Hdt. vii. 75 οὕτω δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, εκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί· τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκάλεστο, ὡς αὐτὸς λέγων, Στρυμώνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμώνι· εξαναστήσαι δὲ φασὶ εἰς ἥδειν ὑπό Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσάων.

§ 3. παραπλεῖν] "oram legere."


ἀναγαγεῖν] "conduct up (from the coast into the interior)."

§ 9. τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα] "arrears."

πολεμεῖν Καλχηδόνιοις] "I agree with the remark made by Schneider in his note upon the passage Ἀθραλοὺς δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδόνιοις. He notices the tenor of the covenant as it stands in Plutarch—τὴν Φαρναβάζου δὲ χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν (Alc. 31), which is certainly far more suitable to the circumstances. Instead of Καλχηδόνιοι he proposes to read Φαρναβάζῳ. At any rate, this is the meaning." Grote, vii. p. 374. For the dative, cp. Jelf, § 601. 1.


πανδημεῖ] "en masse."

§ 15. _περιοίκων_ The _Periacci_ were the outlying population of the Laconian towns, of Achæan origin and subject to their Dorian conquerors. They enjoyed civil but not political liberty. The rights which were granted to them at the conquest were forfeited on an attempt to regain their independence: henceforward they were made tributary to Sparta; they lost the right of intermarriage with the Dorians, had no voice in the public assembly, and could not be elected to important offices. On the rising of the Helots, b.c. 464, some of the _Periacci_ joined them (Thuc. i. 101). _Hell._ vi. 5. 25, we find them inviting the Thebans to invade Laconia. In connexion with Cinadon's conspiracy (_Hell._ iii. 3. 6) they appear most bitter against the Spartans: ὅποιο γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο _περὶ_ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδὲν δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ υ ὑ ἡδέως ἀν καὶ ωμῶν ἐσθειν αὐτῶν. T. Quint. Flamininus placed several of their provincial communities under the protection of the Achæan league, and Augustus Cæsar restored them to the full possession of their civic rights.


νεοδαμώδων] This was the name by which those Helots were known who had been freed by the state in reward for service in war: Thuc. vii. 58. 3 δύναται δὲ τὸ _Νεοδαμώδες_ ἔλειθυρον ἤδη εἶναι. We find this liberty given to the Helots who fought under Brasidas, b.c. 421 (Thuc. v. 34). In respect of their civil rights they ranked above the _Periacci_.

"Ελίγος] Cp. Thuc. viii. 80. 3.

P. 20. § 17. _ἐπιβάτης_] Cp. Thuc. viii. 61. 2 Ἀλεοτά τε ἄνδρα _Σπαρτιάτην_, ὃς 'Ἀντιοθένει _ἐπιβάτης_ ἐξεξήλθε, where the Scholar says οὐ τριήραρχος, οὐδ᾿ ἄλλην ἄρχην ἔχων. Krüger there supposes it to be the title of an inferior officer in the Spartan naval service, like _ἐπιστόλευς_ (supr. 1. 23). "Perhaps," says Arnold, "it only signifies one who was on board, without having anything to do with the management of the ship; as if it had been the custom for one or two Spartans, without any distinct command, like Demosthenes before the occupation of Pylus (iv. 2. 4 _Δημοσθένει ὡνι ἴδιωτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας_, αὐτῷ δευτέρῳ ἔποιον χίνδοσθαι ταῖς ναυτὶ ταύταις, ἣν βοῦληται, _περὶ τὴν_ Πελοπόννησον), to accompany the Spartan admiral; in order that they might be ready to take the command on any separate service where a Spartan might be needed."

§ 18. _ὁ προδίδωτες τὴν πόλιν_] "who were ready to betray the city."
§ 19. οὖσαί] Xenophon frequently uses the common form of the optative: cp. ποιήσαιε, § 21; τολμήσαι, 4. 12; κινδυνεύσαι, 4. 17; παρείησαι, 4. 18.

eἰσπέρασαι] Cobet here proposes εἰσφρέσθαι, comparing Hell. vi. 5. 43 ἐλθοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ ἥξωτες ἑπεισφρέσθαι τῶν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἐλλάδοι.


P. 21. § 22. ἄποβασινυπνον] genitive absolute, where τῶν ἄλλων or something similar must be supplied: cp. note, 1. 29. For the construction, cp. Thuc. viii. 24. 3 ἐν τῇ Καρδαμίλῃ ἄποβαντες καὶ ἐν Βολισοῦ.

c. iv. § 2. οἱ ἄλλοι ἁγγέλοι] "the other ambassadors." Cp. Hell. iii. 2. 18 προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἁγγέλους. Ἀπαθ. vii. 6. 12 Ξεύθου τουτοῦ πολλοὺς ἁγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος.

πάντων ὃν δεόνται] sc. πάντα ὃν δεόνται, πάντων being attracted into the genitive case by ὃν. Jelf, § 824. 1. 1. Dindorf would read πάνθ’ ὃν.

καὶ Κύρος] sc. αὐτής τινος.

§ 3. πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη] "the whole sea-board." Cp. Ἀπαθ. i. 9. 7 ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδιέξθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλίου πεδίον ἀδροίζεσθαι...

"His command did not at that time comprise the Greek cities on the coast, which were still left to Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus." Grote, vii. p. 377.

τὸ βασιλείου σφραγίσμα] The Scholiast on Thuc. i. 129 gives us the following information: ἴσφραγίς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἔλεγε κατὰ μὲν τινας τὴν βασιλέως εἰκόνα, κατὰ δὲ τινας τὴν Κύρου τοῦ πρῶτου βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τινας τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, δὲ ὁν χρεμετίσαντα ἐβασιλεύσευν (Hdt. iii. 85, 86, 87). Cp. Hell. vii. 1. 39 ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δεῖξας τὴν βασιλείως σφραγίδα ἀνέγγυς τὰ γεγραμμένα.

καὶ τάδε] "these words amongst other information."

κάρανον] "chief (head-man)," akin to κάρα, κολρανος.

§ 4. μὲν μάλιστα...εἰ δὲ μή] "if possible...failing that." Hell. v. 3. 7, we find an equivalent expression μάλιστα μὲν οὖν, with which compare Thuc. iv. 104. 4 ἐβουλεύτο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν
NOTES.

95

οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὶν τι ἐνδούναι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν Ἡδύνα προκαταλαβῶν.

§ 5. μὴ...πω] "not...at present."

§ 6. φάσκων] "alleging." This word usually conveys a collateral notion of pretence, as super. 1. 9 φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολέμειν Ἀθηναίοις. π. 4. 8. Cp. however 6. 7; 7. 11; Mem. i. 2. 29 φάσκων ἀνέλευθερον τε εἶναι. Grote (vi. p. 441) contends for the simple sense of "affirming," infr. 7. 11; and refers to Plat. Apol. 21 B, where Apollo at Delphi styles Socrates in riddles the wisest man: τι οὖν ποτε λέγει (ὁ θεὸς) φάσκων ἐκεί σοφότατον εἶναι; The meaning there appears to be intentionally ambiguous.

ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται] sc. ὁ Κήρος.

§ 7. ἐναυτὸν τρεῖς ἡσαν] "three years had passed." Cp. Thuc. iii. 29. 2 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἡσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυίᾳ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖς ἐστὶ τὸ Ἐμβατον κατέπλευσαν. Herodotus uses γίγνεσθαι, π. 2: ὦ γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνει ταύτα τῷ ποιμένι πρόσοντι. Cp. infr. π. 1. 27; 4. 25.

P. 22. § 11. τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλων...ἔχει] "(to see) how the state was affected towards him with regard to his return home." Jelf, § 528.

§ 12. ἡμέρα ἡ Πλυντήρια ἡ γεν ἡ πόλις] on the 25th of the month Thargelion (about the end of May). The day of this festival (πλύνειν, to wash) was reckoned among the ἀποφράδες or dies nefasti, on which no assembly or court was held; while the statue of the goddess Athena was stripped of its ornaments, in order that they might be cleansed by the Πραξιεργιά, and covered up from human sight, her temple being surrounded by a rope.


σπουδαίον ἐργον] "serious undertaking."

§ 13. ἅστεος] the upper town: cp. Dem. c. Lept. 460 τῶν μὲν τῶν δεινοςμένων ἀπαρεῖναι κελευτῶν, τῶν ἐκ ἅστεως (i.e. the Thirty and their followers who supported the Oligarchy as opposed to the popular party in the Pireus). Cp. π. 4. 1.

P. 23. τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην] It is certainly tempting to render "the great Alcibiades." The article generally omitted with proper names is sometimes added for the sake of emphasis. So Arist. Ach. 10 προσδοκῶν τῶν Αἰχύλον, "expecting to hear the famous Ἐσχύλος." Jelf, § 450. 1.
"Indicatius aπελογηθη bene habet, quippe in te facta." Wolf.

and more pernicious in their harangues," "who spoke with less principle."

with the power of the state."

Ethelontos δε τοτε κρινοσθαι] Cp. Thuc. viii. 29. 1 o δ' (Αλκιβιάδης) ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μηνύματα ἀπελογεῖτο (was ready to defend himself), καὶ ἐτοίμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρινοσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

Hebeshkonos eis τὰ μυστήρια] Cp. Thuc. vi. 28. 1 μηνύεται οὖν...καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμα ὥς ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὑβρεί. Plut. Alc. 19 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ γέγραπται Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Κίμωνος εἰσαγγελιαντος 'Αλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τῶ Θεῶ (Demeter and Persephone).

Doulleisv] used in the same sense, Thuc. viii. 84. 5: ἕφη τε χρῆμα Τισσαφέρει καὶ δουλέειν Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὰ μέτρα καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν.

θεραπεύειν] "pay court to."


Στων οὐσιντερ αὐτῶς δυτων] "such men as he." When the subject of the abbreviated adjectival sentence and the article are of different number, the subject is in the nominative, without being affected by the attraction: ep. Arist. Ach. 601 νεανίας δ' οίους σὺ διαδεδρακότας. Jelf, § 823. Obs. 6. Contrast πι. 3. 25 οίοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν.

καυνῶν πραγμάτων] "innovations."

ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ] "he had to start with." "'Ὑπάρχειν keeps its proper meaning, 'to be at hand to begin with,' just as elinai is simply 'to be,' and γίγνεσθαι, the opposite to ὑπάρχειν, signifies 'to come into being,' as opposed to that which was in being beforehand." Arnold on Thuc. vi. 87. 4.

ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου] "at the hands of the people."


ἀγαπάστηαι] "be tolerated."

Στων παροιχομένων κακῶν] Alcibiades had incited the Lacedaemonians to aid Syracuse (Thuc. vi. 88), had urged the necessity of fortifying Decelea (id. vi. 91), had effected the revolt of Chios (id. viii. 14) and Miletus (id. viii. 17), and had originated the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.
Notes. 97

ηγεμών] "auctor."


P. 24. καταστρῶματα] Pliny ascribes the invention of decks to the Thasians. At the time of the Persian war, the Athenian ships were without a complete deck: Thuc. i. 14. 4 καὶ αὐται οὐτω εἰχον διὰ τά σης καταστρῶματα. Ships which had a complete deck were called κατάφρακτοι (Thuc. i. 10. 6).

§ 19. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν] "not to put up with it." This seems to be rather a favourite phrase with Thucydides, who uses it i. 71. 1; i. 82. 1; i. 95. 1; vi. 40. 2. Cp. Dem. F. L. 426 εὖ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα.


τὰ μυστήρια] the great Eleusinian mysteries which were celebrated in the month of Boedromion, and on the sixth day of which the statue of Iacchus was carried along the sacred road from the Ceramicus to Eleusis. Cp. Plut. Alc. 34 ἔτην ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἰαχχὼν. Hdt. viii. 65. Arist. Ran. 316, sqq.

ἐποῖσεν] "Intellige áγεσθαι" Schneider: sc. "caused them to be conducted." Ἐποίησεν might also be used here to avoid repetition of the verb of the first clause (ἀγόντων). Below we have (Hell. iv. 5. 2) ποιεῖν τὴν θυσίαν, ποιεῖν Ἰσθμία ("sacra facere"), which might raise a question whether we should not understand it here also in the sense of "celebrate" (sc. τὰ μυστήρια).

§ 21. Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος] Diodorus and Cornelius Nepos both state Thrasybulus and Adimantus as the colleagues of Alcibiades. Aristocrates, son of Scellias, took part with Theramenes in the outbreak for the suppression of the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 89. 2), and subsequently separated from the extreme oligarchical party (id. viii. 92. 2). Aristophanes (Av. 125) plays upon his name: ἄριστοκρατεῖσθαι δῆλος εἰ ἥττῶν. ἐγώ; ἩΠιστα. καὶ τὸν Ἐκλήσιον βδελύπτωμαι.


§ 23. ὀρμόμενος] "making it his base of operations." Cp. Thuc. iii. 31. 1 τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίαι πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινὰ δὴ Κύμην τὴν Ἀλοίδα, ὅπως εκ πόλεως ὀρμόμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσι. Cp. also infr. ii. 1. 16.
c. v. § 1. τούτων] i.e. the series of events included in c. 4. §§ 8—23.

P. 25. § 3. πάντα ποιήσεις] "would use all endeavours ('leave no stone unturned')." Lat. "omnia experiri," "nihil intentatum relinquere." Cp. Plat. Apol. 39 A ὁπως ἀποφεύξεται πάντα ποιών θάνατον. We find it in construction with ὁπως, ὡς, ὡστε. Infr. 7. 15, it seems merely equivalent to "would do everything," and the sense may be the same in this passage, sc. "would execute all his father's commands."

κατακόψειν] "would coin into money." Cp. Hdt. iii. 96 ἐπεὰν δὲ δειθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει (ὁ Δαρείος) τοσοῦτο ὄσον ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέχαται. Compare the promise of Tissaphernes to the Athenians, Thuc. viii. 31: μὴ ἀπορήσεων αὐτοὺς τροφῆς, οὐδ' ἣν δὲ τελευτώντα τὴν έαυτοῦ στραυμῆν ἐξαργυρίσαι.

§ 4. ἐκέλευον] "urged." Whether the imperfect is used in this sense ("urge," "request") and the aorist in that of "ordering," "bidding" seems questionable. The best Manuscripts read in Thuc. i. 138. 1 ἐθαύμασε τε καὶ ἐκέλευε, where Artaxerxes could hardly be said to make a request to Themistocles. The imperfect use Arist. Ach. 960, 962 is however well satisfied in denoting the request of Lamachus to Dice-opolis; and we find the aorist ἐκέλευε (p. 3. 54) of the positive order for the seizure of Theramenes. Cp. Anab. i. 6. 3; vii. 1. 38; ii. 3. 20; iv. 2. 16.

τῷ ναῦτῃ] "a sailor." Cp. Anab. i. 3. 21 τρία ἡμιδαρεικά του μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτη.

δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν] The Athenian sailors received an Attic drachma or six obols per diem (the Αἰγινητὸν drachma being equal toten Attic obols) in the Sicilian expedition: Thuc. vi. 31. 3 τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμῆν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναῦτῃ ἐκάστῳ διδόντος. At the siege of Potidaea the Athenian hoplites, their servants, and the ships' crews received equal pay, viz., a drachma a day (Thuc. iii. 17. 4). Tissaphernes also paid the Peloponnesian fleet at the same rate, but wished to reduce their wages to three obols a day (the usual rate of pay): Thuc. viii. 29. 1 καὶ μηνὸς μὲν τροφῆν, ὡσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι, εἰ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκάστῳ πᾶσαι ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἔρυθεν τρεῖς διδόναι. The half-drachma was also the pay of the diceasts or jurymen for a day's sitting in court.

διδάσκοντες] "affirming." Cp. Hell. ii. 3. 5. 4 διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἦρεν τοῦ πολέμου.

μελω χρήματα ἀναλῶσει] sc. ὁ Kúros.

§ 5. τρέφειν] "maintain." Cp. Thuc. viii. 44. 1 καὶ ἀμα
§ 6. **προπίων** "having drunk his health." Sometimes we find **προπίνεις** φιλοστήσιαν, φιλοστήσια (i.e. κύλικας), "drink one’s health in a loving cup."

εἰπεν ὅτι] "Or must be represented in English by inverted commas. Cp. Hdt. ii. 207 εἴπον μὲν καὶ πρότερον τοι ὅτι ἐπελ μὲ ζεύς ἔως τοι, τὸ ἀν ὅρῳ σφάλμα ἑδν οἰκρ τῷ οὕτω κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψεων. Blakesley there says that ὅτι sometimes is used to introduce the very words which have been employed on any occasion alluded to; in which case it is not taken into account in the construction. It is not correct to regard the word ὅτι as simply pleonastic.

§ 7. **προσοφειλόμενον** The Manuscripts here give **προσοφειλόμενον,** "owing in addition (to what had been paid, cp. note, ii. 4. 22) i.e. in arrear," which we find also in Thuc. viii. 45. 2, τὸν προσοφειλόμενον μισθὸν, and in Hdt. vi. 59, τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον. Cp. Thuc. vii. 48. 5 καὶ ἐτὶ πολλὰ (τάλαντα) προσοφειλεῖν. Later editions read **προσοφειλόμενον,** comparing Thuc. i. 32. 1. So in Thuc. vi. 31. 5, the Manuscript reading is **προσετετελέκει,** for which cp. Anab. vii. 6. 30 εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ύμῖν ταῦτα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάντων μισθῶν προσετελεῖ τίς ἀσφάλειάς, τούτο δὲ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα; Many editions there read **προσετετελέκει,** comparing Anab. vii. 7. 25 τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες.

**προέδωκεν** "paid in advance." Cp. Hell. v. 1. 24 μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.

**P. 26.** § 8. **ἀθύμως εἶχον** "were in a desponding state of mind." Cp. 5. 16; 6. 20. Xenophon gives us also ἀκολάστως, ἐπιφθόνως, εὐνοίκας, φιλοτίμως ἔχειν. We find the simple dative or **πρὸς** c. accus. after these expressions.

§ 9. **πεισθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου** Cp. Thuc. viii. 46.

§ 10. **ἀναψύχων** lit. "airing," i.e. by hauling them up high and dry, and exposing them to the wind. Cp. Thuc. vii. 12. 3, 4 τὸ γάρ ναυτικὸν...τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡκμαξε...τῶν μεῖν τῇ ἐξορίτητι νῦν δὲ αἱ τε νῆς διάβροχοι (soaked and rotten), τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἠγὰρ ἐλεφότοιοι...τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς οὐκ ἔστω ἄνελκυσαντας δια-ψύξαι. Cp. also Hdt. vii. 59 ὡς τοῦτο τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχοι ἄνελκυσαντες.

§ 11. **Εἰς Ἐλλησπόντου**] Schneider reads **ἐξ** for **Εἰς,** referring to 4. 9. "Εἰς however seems to be used with the genitive in much the same way as **ἐξ,** especially in Homer and the Attic.
poets. Cp. 6. 20 ἐξεπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος. Herodotus even gives us ἐκπλώσαντες τε ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου (v. 103), and ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πλέων (vii. 58), where only one Manuscript has τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

τελείωσεν] "was fortifying," probably to make it his base of operations.

'Ἀντίοχος] Plutarch tells us (Alc. 10) how Antiochus first won the favour of Alcibiades by catching a tame quail which had escaped from his bosom. He gives him this character c. 35: ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τάλλα καὶ φορτικὸς (coarse).

§ 13. τὸτε δὴ] "then, and not till then," "tum demum."

ὁς ἐκαστὸς ἡμοίεις] "as each cleared the harbour, and made the open sea." Cp. 1. 2; 6. 21.


P. 27. § 15. ἐλ τίς] Cp. note i. 3. 17.

Δελφίνων] Delphinion in the island of Chios had been fortified by the Athenians b.c. 412: χωρὶς ἄλλως τε ἐκ γῆς καρπηροῦ καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς τῶν Χιῶν πόλεως οὐ πολύ ἀπέχει (Thuc. viii. 38. 2).

'Ἡώνα] Diodorus says Teos; and Grote (vii. p. 396) would follow him in reading Τέων.


§ 17. ποιητῶς φερόμενος] "male audiens": cp. εὖ φερόμενος, "in good estimation," i. 1. 6. Εὖ φερόμενος (Thuc. v. 16. 1), καλῶς φερόμενος (ii. 60. 3) as opposed to κακοτυχών, appear to have the meaning of "being successful," with which we may compare Hell. iii. 4. 25 γνών δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρην αἰτεῖν εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσαι τα αὐτοῦ.

τὰ ἐμνήτω τέχνη] Cp. ii. 1. 25. Corn. Nep. Alc. 7 se Pactychen contulit, ibique trica castella communiit, Bornos, Bisanthus, Neontichos; manuque collecta primus Graeciae privatus in Thraciam introitit, gloriosius existimans, barbarorum prædâ locupletari, quam Graiourum. Anab. vii. 3. 19 (where Seuthes to Xenophon) καὶ ἐν τῷ τῷ χώρᾳ ἡς ἀξιώσεις καὶ τεχνὴ λαμβάνει,
NOTES.

101

 vöser καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ύμετέρων ἔλαβον. Cp. also Corn. Nep. Milt. 2 tota regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communiiit.


Δωρίδα...ἀφεῖςα] Pausanias (vi. 7. 1, 2) tells us that this Dorius, son of Diogoras, had gained the first prize at three Olympic festivals in succession, eight victories at the Isthmian games, and seven at the Nemean; and that when the Athenians saw before them a man of such stature and renown in the garb of a prisoner, they set aside their anger, and at once released him.

αὐτοῖς] sc. the Thurians.

P. 28. c. vi. § 1. ὁ παλαίως τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς] probably the temple of Athena Polias, the Parthenon having been already built (438 b.c.) on the site of the old Heatompedon. The remarks however on τῷ πολέμῳ πεττάρων καὶ ἔκσοιν ἑτῶν (p. viii, Introduction) may apply to the whole section.


§ 3. οὐ φαμένου πολυπραγμονεί] "declining to be officious."

§ 4. καταμαθὼν...καταστασιαζομενο] "finding that he was being intrigued against." Cp. Anab. v. 8. 14 κατέμαθον ἀναστάς μόλις. So with Lat. "sentire." Jelf, § 683.

διαθροούντων] "noising abroad." Cp. Thuc. vi. 46. 4 ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας διεθρόνσαν ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ ἴδονεν.

ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους] The office of ναυάρχος lasted for one year at this period. Earlier in the war Cnemus and Alcidas both held it for two years. Aristotle (Polit. π. 9. 33) speaks of the ναυαρχια thus: τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν ναυάρχων νόμῳ καὶ ἐτεροὶ τινες ἐπιτετμηκασιν, ὄρθως ἐπιτιμῶντες στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἵτως. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεύοις συνύσ στρατηγοίς αἴδιοι (αἴδιοι) ἢ ναυαρχια σχεδοῦ ἐτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. Cp. Arnold on Thuc. πι. 80. 2.

P. 29. τὶ παθεῖν] "meet with some disaster."


§ 5. τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ] "as far as I am concerned." Sometimes we find εἶναι with these expressions, as Anab. i. 6. 9 τὸ κατά τοῦτον εἶναι. Cp. Hell. iii. 5. 9 τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνοις εἶναι. Thuc. iv. 28. 1 τὸ ἐπὶ σφάς εἶναι. Jelf, § 679. 2.
πρὸς ἡ ἐγὼ τε...αλτιάζεται] "having regard both to the objects of my ambition, and to the charges laid against our country."

τὰ καθεστῶτα] "state of affairs."

§ 7. φοιτήσεων] Cp. note, 1. 35.

P. 30. § 10. τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα] "the supplies which were here ready." Cp. note, 4. 16. "Τπάρχειν is stronger than εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι.

ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι] "bring myself."


§ 12. πόρον χρημάτων] "a grant of money," lit., "a way or means of getting money (cp. our 'ways and means')." The πορισταὶ at Athens were a board of commissioners who levied the extraordinary supplies. Cp. Hell. v. 1. 2 ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον (ad cogendas pecunias).

πεντεδραχμάν] equivalent to ten days' pay at the usual rate.

§ 13. οὐ βουλομένων...ἐμφρούρων ὑπτω] Cp. Hell. iii. 1. 15 αἱ δὲ ἀλλαὶ πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ Φαρμακάζῳ ἐσωθὺν αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνοῦτες φρονοῦν. Cobet reads ἐμφροουρώτων, comparing Thuc. iv. 110. 3 τοῖς Αθηναίοις τοὺς ἐμφροουρώτας: vili. 60. 1 Ἀθηναίων ἐμφροουρώτων.

τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἑχόντων] "those at the head of affairs.' Cp. Thuc. iii. 72. 2 τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἐχόντες τὰ πράγματα: iii. 28. 1 γρόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. Demosthenes uses οἱ ἐπὶ τοὺς πράγμασιν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπτως.

κατὰ κράτος] "by storm," as ii. 1. 15. The expression is used as equivalent to ἀνά κράτος, "totis viribus," ii. 1. 28: cp.
Thuc. viii. 100. 5 παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος μηχανάς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἣν δύνωνται, αἰρήσοντες τὴν Ἐρεσον.

P. 31. § 14. ἀνδραποδίσθησαι] We might expect the Future tense, but the Aorist properly expresses the indefinite notion of time: cp. Hell. v. 1. 32 ὅ ἔγερσιας οὐκ ἐφε δέξασθαι τοὺς ὀρκοὺς (where δέξασθαι and not δέξεσθαι is the reading of all the best Manuscripts): Thuc. i. 26. 5 προεῖπον...χρῆσασθαί. v. 22. 1 οὐκ ἐφασαν δέξασθαι. Infr. 7. 29 Ἰπασύλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἐφῄ γενέσθαι. We find the present, Anab. i. 3. 1 οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐφάσαν λέναι τοῦ πρὸσω: iv. 5. 15 καὶ οὐκ ἐφάσαν πορεύεσθαι. There does not seem any sufficient reason to suspect that ἄν has been omitted in transcription in these places, or to substitute the future for the aorist (where practicable).

§ 15. τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα] “the slaves who had been bondsmen,” i.e. those who had not merely become slaves by being captured in war. Cp. Thuc. viii. 28. 4 τὸ τε πόλισμα Τισαφέρνει παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἐλεύθερα. Δοῦλος is the general term, applying equally to political and to domestic slavery; ἀνδράποδος applies exclusively to domestic. Cp. Arnold on Thuc. v. 9. 6.

μοιχῶντα] “dallying with.”


παραρρύματα] “curtains of hide (or hair),” Cp. Æsch. Suppl. 715 στόλμοι τε λαίφους καὶ παραρρύμεις νεῶς. These were probably to afford shelter from the enemies’ darts: whether they are the same as the παραβλήματα mentioned ii. 1. 22, we have no means of determining.

§ 20. ξὺ τοῦ λιμένος] Cp. note, 5. 11.

§ 21. ὃς ἐκαστοι ἵνα γίνων] “as each began to clear the harbour, and make the open sea.” Cp. note, 1. 2; 5. 13.

ἀμεταποιούμενοι] Cp. § 20 ἐπειδὴ ὡς μέσον ἡμέρας ἤν. This agrees with what has been said (note, 1. 13) as to the hour of the ἄριστον.

ἀναδησάμενοι] “having taken in tow (by lashing it to the stern).”
§ 22. τὸν εὐρετοὺς] the strait or narrow sea which opened into an interior bay towards the town.

§ 24. τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ δεσπασ] “those of military age.” Cp. Thuc. vi. 24. 3 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροι...τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. Thucydides also uses the word as a collective noun: π. 67. 2 τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεσθαρμένην. viii. 1. 2 στερέμενοι... καὶ ἡλικίας οἶνον οὐχ ἔτέραν ἐφόρων υπάρχουσαν. Cp. Hell. vi. 5. 12 τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμω ἡλικίᾳ. “The Grecian armies consisted chiefly of free denizens, whom the laws of their country obliged, at a certain age, to appear in arms at the summons of the magistrates. In some places they were admitted into the army at an earlier age than in others. The Athenians at eighteen years of age were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it; and hence they were called περιπολοι; but they were not sent to foreign wars till the age of twenty, and the Spartans seldom till that of thirty. In both cities the young and the aged were left to defend their habitations. At threescore, it was usual, in most places, to allow them to retire. At Athens, no man who was above forty years of age was obliged to serve in war, except in times of great danger.” Mitford.

δουλωσ] Manumission was promised to these slaves as a reward for service.


ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέα ἀκρα] Thucydides speaks of a promontory of Malea as lying on the north side of Mitylene: π. 4. 5 οἱ ὀρμοῦν ἐν τῇ Μαλέα πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως. There was another promontory of the same name in the Peloponnesus at the south of Laconia.

§ 27. Ἀργυνοῦσαι] These islands were so called from their bright appearance, owing to the chalky nature of the soil. Ἀργυνοῦσαι is contracted from ἀργυνόσασαι (sc. νῆσοι). Cp. Pitiusae, Ενυσα (insulae). Hom. Π. 11. 647 ἄργυαλεν τὰ Λύκαστον: 556 ἄργυνοετα Κάμερον: 739 πόλιν τ’ Ῥωσσόνα λευκῆν.

§ 28. ύδωρ] “rain.” Cp. Hell. iv. 5. 4 διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ύδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν. Hor. Od. iii. 17. 12, 13 aquae nisi fallit augeat Annosa cornix. Liv. xxiv. 9 aquae magiae bis eo
NOTES.
anno fuerunt. We find the fuller expression, Thuc. ii. 77. 6 ὑδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ. Anab. iv. 2. 2 καὶ ὑδωρ πολύ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Hor. Od. iii. 10. 19, 20 aquae Cælestis patiens latus.

ἀνέσκεψιν] “held up.” The quasi-impersonal use of this word, compared with Theogn. 26. 7 οὖν δὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεύς ὁ θύον πάντως ἀνάθειμεν οὕτως ἀνέχων, seems to make a good addition to Shilleto’s note on εὑρεσκότατε, Thuc. i. 51. 2, which I roughly transcribe (lest we should be tempted to supply τὸ ὑδωρ or ὁ χειμών as a subject to ἀνέσκεψιν): “it might be pedantic to give too faithful a rendering, but it seems to deserve a remark that all this family of words ἰδέ, ἱδέ, εὐνύφει, ἀπαιθραῖζε κ.τ.λ. never is impersonal. The God of the atmosphere Ζεύς is acknowledged.” Cp. Arist. Av. 1501; Pac. 1141; Ach. 510. So Hell. iv. 7. 4 ἐσείνεν ὁ θεὸς (Ποσειδών). We find the subject expressed, Hom. II. xii. 25 ὦ δ’ ἀπρά Ζεὺς Συνεκχέσ. Hdt. iii. 117 τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμώνα ἦε τοι ἂθετεν. Jelf, § 373. 2.

§ 29. ἐπὶ μᾶς] “in single line.” Cp. note, π. 4. 11.

ταξιάρχων] By taxiarachs appear to be comprehended all officers under the στρατηγοὶ, i.e. commanders of the subordinate divisions of the army. Cp. Demosthenes at Pylus (Thuc. iv. 4. 1) ὥσ δὲ ὡκ ἐπειθεν οὕτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὕτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχαις καυκόσας, ἠσχαζέν ὑπὸ ἀπλοῖας.

§ 30. παρὰ δ’ αὐτῶν] Cp. Thuc. v. 67. 2 παρὰ δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἠσύν, where all the best Manuscripts read αὐτῶν. Anab. i. 8. 5 τοὺς δὲ βαρβαρικοὺς ἐπείς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν. The accusative is correct, where the idea of juxtaposition is intended. Cp. Anab. iii. 4. 9 παρὰ ταυτήν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμιδίνη.

P. 34. § 31. ἵνα μὴ διεκπλων διδοίειν] “that they might not give (the Laacidæmonians) any opportunity of performing the diekplus.” Contrast the altered state of things with Thuc. π. 89, where Phormion τοῦ δὲ ἄγνων ὡκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ (Gulf of Corinth) ἐκὼν εἶναι (if I can help it) ποίησομαι, οὖν ἐσπλέουσαι ἐς αὐτῶν ... διέκπλω τε οὖκ εἰσον οὖν δὲ ἀναστροφαὶ, ἄπερ νεῶν ἀμενῶν πλουσιῶν ἐργα ἐστίν. Cp. also id. vii. 36. 4 (where the Syracusans introduce improvements in the construction of their ships to suit the peculiar tactics of the Athenians) τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὖκ ἐσεθαί σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐτὲ περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλων, ὧπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλωτα ἐπιστέυειν. “The diekplus was a breaking through the enemy’s line, in order by a rapid turn of the vessel to strike the enemy’s ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it.” Arnold on Thuc. i. 49. 3.

§ 32. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.] Cp. Cic. de off. i. 24
inventi autem multi sunt qui non modo pecuniam sed etiam vitam profundere pro patria parati essent, idem gloriam qualiter te-ram ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante, ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaci bello multaque secisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnibus, cum consilio non paruit eorum qui classem ab Argimusis removendum nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit Lacedaemonios classe illa amissa amissam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.

οἰκεῖται] The sense seems to require a future as οἰκεῖται, which some Manuscripts give. But, as Breitenbach says, οἰκεῖται (οἰκίζειν) nonquam significat "incoletur," sive "se habebit." Schneider proposes οἰκησαι, for which compare Thuc. viii. 67 γνώμην εἰσενεγκείν καθ' ὅτι ἀρίστα ἡ πόλις οἰκησε-ται. Οἰκήσαι would also be correct.

§ 33. ἡφαίσθη] "was seen no more." Cp. Thuc. viii. 38. 1 Ἡραμένης ... ἀποστείλων ἐν κέλητι ἡφαίστεται (was lost at sea).

§ 34. τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα] "the ships being ten in all." Cp. Hell. v. 4. 66 γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐξερευνήκουσα. Thuc. i. 100. 1 καὶ διέφθεραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. ii. 101. 7 μείνας τρίακοντα τάς πάσας ἡμέρας. vii. 60. 4 ἐξερευνήθησαν νῆες αἱ πάσαι δέκα μάλιστα καὶ ἐκατόν. viii. 21 ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινας τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτενε. Jelf, § 454 1. β. The Manuscripts here read πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, sc. "the ships being not less than ten," with which we might compare Hdt. i. 163 ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν (ἔτεα).

§ 35. καταδεδυκώλας] "water-logged." Cp. Arnold on Thuc. i. 50. 1 "Καταδεδυκὼς ναῦς is synonymous with διαβέβλησαν. Κατα-δύκως ναῦς does not mean 'to sink a ship to the bottom,' but to make her water-logged, so that she was useless, although she did not absolutely go down. The Greek triremes were so light and shallow, that they would float in a manner under water, or rather with parts of the vessel still out of water, on which the crew used to take refuge. This appears from a passage in Herodotus, viii. 90, where the crew of a ship, that had been sunk as far as it would sink, were still able to throw their javelins from it with such effect, that they cleared the deck of the ship which had sunk them, and actually took her."


ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] Compare the conduct of Agesilaus, Hell. iv. 3. 13.
NOTES.


tοῖς ἐμπόροις] sc. the masters of the trading-ships, which followed the fleet.

tὰ χρήματα] "merchandise." Cp. Thuc. iii. 74. 2 ὡστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαθῆ.

tὰς τριήρεις] sc. ἀποπλέειν.


c. vii. § 1. ἐν οἶκῳ] more commonly οἶκοι. Cp. 5. 16.

P. 36. § 2. Ἀρχένθμος] ridiculed by Eupolis and Aristophanes, and charged with having embezzled public money.

dιωβελλας] "largess of two obols (for theatrical entertainments)."

ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν] The ἐπιβολὴ was a limited fine which the various magistrates at Athens might impose without reference to a judicial tribunal.

§ 4. Θηραμένης] Theramenes, son of Hagnon, we find (Thuc. viii. 68. 4) conspiring against the democracy and described by Thucydides as ἀνὴρ οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε γενόμενον ἀδύνατος. He subsequently led the more moderate aristocrats (id. viii. 89. 2), and even asserted that the oligarchy had invited the Peloponnesian fleet. Eetionia, a fort at the mouth of the Pireus, was destroyed by the people at his suggestion (id. viii. 92. 10). He afterwards joined Alcibiades (supr. 1. 12) with twenty ships from Macedonia, and having shared the victory at Cyzicus, was left in charge of Chrysopolis (1. 22).

dικαλοὺς εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχέων] Lat. "dignos esse qui c. subj." Jelf, § 667.

οὐκ ἀνεῖλοντο] "had not picked up." For this pluperfect use of the aorist, cp. Thuc. 1. 50. 1 τὰ σκάφη τῶν νεῶν ἀς κατάδωσεν: π. 98. 2 ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὀδῷ ἵνα πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἐποίησατο: viii. 93. 1 τὸν τε Ἀλεξιλέα δὴ ξυνέλαβον ἄρεστε. Where there is no continuance in the effects resulting from the completed action which is represented as having occurred, the pluperfect is not used but some other simple past tense. Cp. p. 2. 3; 3. 20. Jelf, § 404.

τοὺς ναυαγοὺς] "the shipwrecked crews," i.e. living men
who had suffered shipwreck. Grote (vii. p. 417) calls attention to the fact that the question is not about picking up dead bodies but living men (cp. πέλειν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκίας ναῦς καὶ τῶν ἣπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώποιν, 6. 35). "Ναυαγὸς," he says, "corresponds to the Latin 'nausfractus'—mera rate naufragus assem Dum rogat, et picta se tempestate tuetur (Juv. xiv. 301)."

§ 5. οἱ στρατηγοὶ...ἐκαστος ἀπελογήσατο] Cp. Hdt. vii. 104 τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. The number of the verb is not regulated by the whole subject, but by the apposed particulars. Jelf, § 478. Cp. Anab. i. 8. 9 πάντες δὲ οὕτως κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλασίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἐκαστὸν τὸ ἔθνος ὑπερέβετο. We find the converse Anab. iv. 2. 12, ὅτη ἑδύναντο ἐκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐβαλλον.

οὐ γὰρ...νόμον] i.e. the formal trial had not come on yet, where they would have a set time measured by the κλεψύδρα or water-clock for defence.

ικανός] "competent."

ἐστρατηγηκόσῳ ἡδῆ] "who had already held command," i.e. not belonging to those ἄρτι οὐνέντων τὰ ναυτικά, 6. 4.

§ 6. δεόι] sc. αἰτίάσασθαι.

P. 37. παρεθυμοῦ] "were ready to bring forward."

§ 7. ἐπείθου] "were in a fair way to persuade." Sturz misses the force of the imperfect in giving πείθειν (in this one passage) the meaning "mitigare," "placare." Cp. Anab. vii. 3. 7 ἐπείθου (tried to persuade) ἀποτρέψεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑπήκοον.

ἀναζαλέσθαι] "make an adjournment."

τὰς χειρὰς οὐκ ἀν καθεώρων] "they would not have seen clearly (κατὰ, cp. κατάδηλος, &c.) the show of hands." The method of voting by show of hands (χειροτονία) was employed chiefly in the election of magistrates chosen in the public assemblies, in voting upon laws, and in certain trials on matters which concerned the people. The other decision of the people was given by ballot, i.e. by casting pebbles into urns (ὕδραι, κάδισκοι). Cp. 7. 9; ii. 4. 9.

εἰσενεγκείν] "bring in a motion."

§ 8. ἐγιγνετο 'Ἀπατούρια] Thucydides (i. 126. 5) uses a plural verb (according to many Manuscripts) with the neuter plural substantive of festivals, which some explain by imagining a plurality of spectacles. The use of the imperfect here seems to confirm such an explanation, as denoting the continuance of the several events of the festival. The Apaturian festival
NOTES.

(a=āμα, πατρία) was celebrated by all Greeks of the Ionian name excepting those of Colophon and Ephesus. Cp. Hdt. i. 147 elai δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες, δόσει ἀπ’ Άληθινὸν γεγονάς καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἀγονοί ὅρτην’ ἀγονοί δὲ πάντες πλην’ Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων. On the first day of the festival members of the same φρατρία (clan) assembled together to eat a supper of sausages. Cp. Arist. Ach. 146, 7 ὃ δ’ ὕλος (Sadocus), δὲ Ἀληθινάιον ἐπετοιομέθα, Ἡρα φαγεῖν ἀλλάντας ἕξ Ἀπατούριων. The second day was called ἄνδρωσις, when sacrifice was offered to Zeus Phraetrios and Athens. On the third day (κουρεὼτις) grown up youths were enrolled among the φράτερες: cp. Arist. Αὐ. 1669 ἤδη σ’ ὁ πατὴρ ἐσήγαγ’ ἐς τοὺς φράτερας; Theophrastus represents the garrulous man (ἀδολέχης) as displaying his knowledge that this festival was held in the month of Pyanepson.

οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμέννη) “Theramenes and his party.” Cp. Thuc. viii. 63. 3 οἱ περὶ τὸν Πεισανδρόν πρεσβείς. The preposition ἀμφι is also thus used, π. 3. 46. Jelf, § 692. 3. 1. b.

μέλανα ιμάτια...κεκαμμένους] These were the two especial signs of mourning: cp. Eur. Hel. 1087 ἔγω δ’ ἐς οἶκον βάσα βοστρύχου τεμώ, Πετπλων τε λευκῶν μέλανα ἀνταλλάξομαι. Ἰρη. Α. 1438 μητ’ οὖν γε τὸν σὸν πλάκαμον ἐκτέμις τριχὸς Μητ’ ἀμφι σώμα μέλανα ἄμπλοχη πεπλικοῦ. The Barbarians even cut off their hair and the manes of their horses in sign of public mourning: cp. Hdt. ix. 24; Eur. Alc. 428.


ὁς δῆ] “in pretence that they were.” Cp. p. 3. 13; 3. 18.

§ 9. τὴνδὲ] “as follows.”

§ 10. τοῖς ἐνδεκα] Socrates asks (Plat. Apol. 37 C) why he should be content to live in prison and serve a board of these magistrates elected annually (τὴν ἀεὶ καθισταμένη ἀρχὴ).

τῆς θεοῦ] Athena.


P. 38. § 12. παράνομα συνγεγραφέναι] “had proposed an unconstitutional measure,” and was therefore liable to an indictment (γραφὴ παρανόμων) for violating the spirit or letter of any existing law.

δεινὸν ἐναι] “it was monstrous.”


§ 14. **kaleiν** “would summon.”

§ 15. **Σωκράτους** Xenophon tells us (Μem. i. 1. 18) that Socrates was chief president (ἐπιστάτης) on this occasion. Socrates himself says (Plat. Apol. 32 A—C) ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὥ ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂλλων μὲν ἄρχην οὐδεμᾶν τῶποτε ἥρα ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευα δὲ (was member of the council of 500)· καὶ ἔτυχεν ἥμων ἡ φυλή Ἀντιοχίς πρυτανεύουσα, ὅτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς καυμαχίας ἐβούλευσε ἀδρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πάσιν ὑμῖν ἐδοξεῖ. τότε ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν πρυτανεῶν ἱματιώθην ὑμῖν μηδὲν ποιεῖν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ ἐναντία ἐπισφιάζων· καὶ ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων ἐνδεικνύει καὶ ἀπάγει τῶν ῥήτωριν, καὶ ὑμῶν κελεύοντων καὶ βοῶντων, μετὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ὄφειν μᾶλλον με δεῖ διακυδωνεύειν ἡ μεθ’ ὑμῶν γενέσθαι μη δίλαια βουλευσομένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμῶν ἡθανατον.

§ 17. **ἐπεισαγεῖν** sc. μὴ πέμπειν. Cobet reads μετέπεισαν, but we may compare Thuc. iii. 32. 3 καὶ ὃ μὲν ἐπεισάθη τε (was over-persuaded) καὶ Χιών ἀνδρεῖς ὅσους εἶχεν ἐτι ἀφῆκε.

§ 18. **εἴτα** “accordingly,” “in consequence.”


εἰδότες] “in full possession of the facts.”

§ 20. **ἀποδικεῖν** “causam dicere.”

τὸ βάραθρον] This pit, into which criminals were cast at Athens, answered to the Spartan καλάδας. The envoys whom Darius sent to ask earth and water (Hdt. vii. 133) were cast by the Athenians into this pit, and told to fetch it up thence for the Great King.


§ 24. **οὐκ ἄδικοιντει ἄπολοντας** “will not be put to death as guilty (ἄδικοιντει, in the character of ἄδικοι).” The negative here must be taken in close connexion with ἄπολοντας, as in Hell. iii. 5. 18 οὐκέτι ἄναξ ἔχων ἄνεμεν τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνου στρατευμα. Cobet reads ἄδικως. Cp. Anab. v. 7. 29 εἰ μὲν ἄδικει υμᾶς, “if he is guilty of having wronged you.” Thuc. iii. 65. 2 ἄδικοιμέν, “we are guilty.”

§ 26. **τὶ δὲ καὶ δεδώτες** Cp. note, ii. 3. 47.

σφόδρα οὐτὼς ἐπείγεσθε] Pausanias (vi. 7. 2) brings a charge
of reckless haste (προπετεία) against the Athenians in this matter. Such a charge is certainly not unfounded when we consider also their decree that the whole Mitylenæan people should be put to death, and their subsequent remorse on the following day, owing to which, upon the motion of Diodotus and after an illegal assembly, a second ship being despatched arrived only just in time to prevent the execution of the decree (Thuc. iii. 36—49). Cp. Arist. Ach. 630 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυ-βοῦλοις...632 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους.


ηδη] "by that time."
θανάτου ἀνθρώπον] "a man’s life (‘capitis’)."

§ 28. Ἀριστάρχω] Aristarchus was an extreme opponent of the democracy, ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστων ἐναντίων τῷ δήμῳ (Thuc. vii. 90. 1). On his flight from Athens he betrayed Ἑνοε to the Boeotians (id. vii. 98. 3).

tόν δήμον] sc. τήν δημοκρατίαν.

κατά γνώμην] "according to your satisfaction," "ex sententia."

P. 41. § 29. εἰς τήν γῆν] sc. εἰς τὰς Ἄργινοβας (6. 33).

ἐπὶ κέρως] "in column": Arnold on Thuc. ii. 90. 4 (ἰδοντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντες) says "this term generally, I think, denotes a long thin column of men or ships; sometimes, however, a long thin line. The notion of extension and thinness is equally preserved in a single rank and in a single file; but usage has generally applied the term ἐπὶ κέρως to the latter." Cp. note, ii. 1. 23.


§ 30. δοξάντων τούτων] Cp. note, 1. 36.

§ 31. κατηγόρει] "was the accuser of." Cp. note, 2. 1.

οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς] Dindorf thinks the words καὶ καλῶς a gloss, comparing Plato’s frequent use of the simple ἱκανῶς.


ὄν] sc. ἐστίν.

P. 42. § 33. τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαλῶν] sc. the bad weather (ὁ χειμών, § 32). Cp. Theophr. Char. 25 (where the coward asks the steersman) τλ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.
BOOK II.

P. 43. c. i. § 1. ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὄρας] "on the fruits of the season (τῶν ὃραιῳς)." Cp. Thuc. i. 120. 3 τὴν κατακομβὴν τῶν ὁρῶν. ii. 58. 4 ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνείδιον ὄραια. So ὄπωρα is used for "fruit," i. 119. 4. For the preposition ἀπὸ, cp. Hdt. i. 216 ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ λείψων. Thucydides uses the compound ἀποζην (i. 2. 2). Cp. i. 119. 3 ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζώντας. For a similar construction of the sentence, cp. Anab. vi. 1. 1 οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς έξων, οἱ δὲ καὶ Λησσαμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας.


ἐδοκε] "it was agreed upon."

§ 2. σωθῆμα] This commonly means "the watchword," "tessera militaris," which was given out before battle, and passed down the ranks; cp. Hdt. ix. 98 τοῦ σωθῆματος "Ἡβῆς. Xen. Anab. i. 8. 16 ἦρετο δὲ τι καὶ eius τὸ σωθήματος ὅ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὀτι Ζεύς Σωτήρ καὶ Νίκη. vi. 5. 25 ὡς τοῦτον σωθῆμα παρήκει Ζεύς Σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμών. vii. 3. 39 σωθήματα δὲ εἶπον Ἀθηναίων. Here however it appears to be equivalent to συνήκη, "agreement": cp. Anab. iv. 6. 20 καὶ σωθήματα ἐποιήσαντο, ὡς τοὺς ἔχοιν τὰ άκρα, τυρά καλεῖν τοκτά. Hell. v. 4. 6 ἦν δὲ σωθήμα, ἐπεὶ καθίζομεν, παῖειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους.

ἀπόρως εἶχε] Cp. note, i. 5. 8.

τὶ χρῆστο τῷ πράγματι] "how to deal with the matter."

τὰ πράγματα] "the cause."
NOTES.

§ 3. ὁφβαλμέντω...ἀπιόντω...ἐχοντι] The absence of any connecting particle brings forward each notion as distinct and emphatic. Jelf, § 467. 6.

§ 4. ἀπέθανεν] "had been killed." Cp. 3. 24.

ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων] "each one as he heard the news (successively)." Cp. 4. 8 τὸν ἄπογραψαμένον ἀεὶ.

P. 44. § 5. ἐσήμηνεν] It is difficult to say whether ὁ Ἐτεθύνκος is the subject to ἐσήμηνεν (cp. 1. 22 Λύσανδρος...ἐσήμηνεν) or whether the subject is implied in the predicate, sc. ὁ σαλπιγκτής. Jelf, § 373. 2. We have the full phrase, Ἀναβ. τυ. 3. 29 ἐπειδὰν δ’ ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικὸν.

ἐν μέρει] Cp. ἀνὰ μέρος, κατὰ μέρος.


§ 7. ἑπιστολέα] "vice-admiral": cp. note, ι. 1. 23.

§ 8. οὐ διέωσαν κ.τ.λ.] "they had not thrust their hands through the sleeve (of their loose tunic)." Probably the sleeve would be wide and flowing, and on ordinary occasions would either hang at the side, or be thrown back over the shoulder: in the present case they would cover their arms with it as a mark of respect. A similar garment is still retained amongst the neighbouring nations. Cp. Cyr. νυγ. 3. 10 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρήσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδών, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν διείρουσιν, ὡς τὰ βασιλεῖς. So the king alone might wear his bonnet erect: cp. Arist. Λυ. 486, 7 διὰ ταῦτ’ ἄρ’ ἐχὼν καὶ νῦν ὡσπερ βασιλεῖς ὁ μέγας διαβάσκει Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθῆν. Ἀναβ. ι. 5. 23.

χειρίς] The Persians serving in the grand army of the invasion are represented (Hdt. νυγ. 61) as wearing περὶ τὸ σῶμα κιθώνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους. The old Manuscript reading here is ἡ χειρός. I have ventured to enclose this explanation of the κόρη in brackets (cp. a similar explanation of the κόδορος, 3. 31), ranking it among Cobet's "insula sciororum additamenta."


§ 9. 'Ιεραμένης] mentioned by Thucydides (νυγ. 58. 1) as sharing in the treaty of Tissaphernes with the Lacedæmonians.

P. 45. § 10. 'Ἀπάνδρῳ] Cp. note, ι. 1. 25.
§ 13. Καδουσίων] dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian sea.


προσβολή] Dindorf would strike out this word, alleging that it cannot be taken in connection with either τῷ ύστεραν or κατὰ κράτος. Cp. note i. 1. 14. But why cannot προσβολή be taken with τῷ ύστεραν? Cp. Poppo on Thuc. vii. 11. 2 μάχῃ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ...τῷ δ' ύστεραν. v. 46. 1 τῷ δ' ύστεραν ἐκκλησίᾳ. Demosthenes gives us κατὰ κράτος in close connection with εἰ προσβολή: Π. L. 360 τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεως τῶν ἐν Φωκείσι αὐτῶν πολυκρίς μηδ' εἰ προσβολής κατὰ κράτος (where see Shilleto’s epigrammatic note), so that on all hands we must not concur lightly in Dindorf’s “manifesto tollendum.”

κατὰ κράτος] Cp. note, i. 6. 13.

αἰρεῖ καὶ εἰγνοραπόδισεν] “The more important action, represented by the Historic Present, is brought vividly before our eyes, while the less important is allowed to pass rapidly by in the Aorist.” Jelf, § 401. 6. The Present seems to convey the general statement, while the Past tense singles out some particular incident in close connection with it: cp. Ἀναδ. iv. 6. 22 οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες φχωντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος. v. 8. 6 ἀναγιγνώκει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἥρετο. Thuc. vii. 83. 4 οἱ Συρακοσίουι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαίωνται.


§ 16. ὄρμῳμενοι] Cp. note, i. 4. 23.


πρὸς τοῖς υπάρχονσι] in addition to Conon, Adimantus, and Philocrates (i. 7. 1).

§ 17. πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλου] “both to watch the sailing out of the merchant vessels,” “naves oneraric,” as distinguished from “naves longa.” Cp. Thuc. iv. 116. 2 τοῖς τε πλοίοις καὶ ταῖς ναυσί.

NOTES.

§ 18. 'Ἀβύδου] a colony from Miletus: Thuc. viii. 61. 1 "Ἀβύδου ἀποστήσων (εἰπὲ δὲ Μιλησίων ἀποικοῖ). Strabo says that the inhabitants came from Cyzicus.

Θόρας] Plutarch tells us (Lysand. c. 19) that this Thorax (ἀργυρίῳ ἰδίᾳ κεκτημένον) met his death at the hands of the Lacedaemonians on the complaints of Pharnabazus respecting Lysander's system of oppression.

§ 19. σώματα] Cp. for this use of σώματα (ἀνθρωποι) Dem. c. Lept. 480 τρισχίλια δ' ἀπεπάραστα σώματα δεῦρ' ἡγαγε. de Cor. 231 οὕτε χρήμασι οὕτε σώμασι (troops) οὔτ' ἄλλω οὐδενί τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ύμῖν.

§ 20. κατὰ πόδας] "in close pursuit." Cp. Thuc. viii. 17. 3 καὶ οȗ Ἀθηναίοι κατὰ πόδας μᾶς δεσθάντας εἰκοσὶ ναυσίν ἐπιπλεῦ-

σαντες.

tör Xερρωνήσου] Partitive Genitive of place. Cp. i. 2. 14 εἰργάμενοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιβοστοιλίας. Anab. i. 2. 7 εἰς Κελανᾶς
tòs Φρυγιας. ii. 2. 6 εἰς 'Εφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας. Thuc. viii. 100. 3 Ερεσρὶ τῆς Δέσβου.

§ 21. διέχει] The Manuscripts here give διείχε, but the breadth of the Hellespont must have remained the same. So in Thuc. i. 63. 2, ἀπέχει not ἀπείχε seems to be correct: διέχετον not διείχετον, id. ii. 86. 3 (where the distance between Rhium and Antirrhium could not have varied between the time of which Thucydides was speaking, and that at which he wrote). Several Manuscripts give ἀπείχον for ἀπέχει, Thuc.

vii. 34. 8. Jelf however (§ 398. 1. Obs. 3) believes that the imperfect is used in consequence of the present fact being stated with reference to past circumstances.

P. 47. § 22. παραβλῆμα] Cp. note, i. 6. 19.

§ 23. ἀνίχνοντι] This is the usual form in this phrase: cp. Hdt. iii. 98 ἐστι τῆς 'Ινδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίον ἀνίχνοντα ψάμμος. However Xenophon gives us ἀμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι, Cyn. 6. 13.

ἐν μετωτῷ] sc. μετωπηδόν, "in line," opposed to ἐπὶ κέρως, "in column (i. 7. 29)."

§ 24. εὔξεθελασε] sc. τῶν ναύτας. For the omission of the object, cp. i. 6. 20.

§ 25. ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν] Cp. note, i. 5. 17.

πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους] nearly two miles.

§ 26. αὐτὸς γὰρ... ἐκεῖνον] Many Manuscripts here give αὐτοῦς. Αὐτοῦ, if not universal, is more congenial to the Greek idiom, as referring to the subject of the sentence: cp. 2. 17 οὗ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος... ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔφρους. Cp. also Thuc. iv. 28. 2 οὐκ ἕφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν. When however the subject has not yet been mentioned, the accusative is correct, as in Thuc. vi. 4. 2 πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆται, ἐτεαν ὑστερον εκατὸν η ἀυτοῦς οἰκήσαι, Πάμμαλλον πέμψαντες Σελινωῦτα κτίζουσι.

ἐχέτο] Cp. note, i. 1. 8. The Imperfect of ἥκω is also used in an Aorist sense: cp. Ἀναβ. i. 2. 6; ii. 3. 17. Thuc. vi. 30. 2 οἶ δὲ ἔξοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὕξος κατὰ θέαν ἥκεν.

§ 27. ἐπεὶ ηὗ... Ἀθηναίοις] Cp. note, i. 4. 7.


ἀραὶ ἀστίδα] The Alcmæoniadēs had the credit of inviting the Persians to sail round the promontory of Sunium and occupy Athens by a similar signal after the battle of Marathon: cp. Ἡμ限期. vi. 115 τούτους γὰρ συνήκειν τοῖς Πέρσῃσι ἀναδέξια ἀσπίδα εὑσε ἥδη ἐν τῇσι νυσι.


dιεσκεδασμένων... ὄντων] Cp. note, i. 2. 2.

dικροτοι... μονόκροτοι] "with two tiers of rowers... with one tier." Each trireme had three ranks of rowers (θραυταῖ, ξυγίται, θαλαμοί). Thucydides (i. 13. 2) credits the Corinthians with the invention of triremes. Vessels with more than three ranks of rowers were not constructed in Greece till after the Peloponnesian war, when Dionysius I built τετράχρεις about 400 B.C. Subsequently we find πεντήρεις, ἕξηρεις and even a τεσσαρακοντήρης.

ἡ Πάραλος] The Paralus and the Salaminia were the two state-triremes at Athens. Their crews were composed of free citizens, and received four obols per diem, i.e. one obol more than the usual pay.


Εὐαγόραν] prince of Salamis.


P. 49. § 31. τὴν δεξιὰν χείρα ἀποκόπτεων] Cicero (de Off. iii. 11) refers to a similar decree as having been made with respect to the Αἰγινετάνς: "durius etiam Athenienses, qui
NOTES. 117

seiverunt ut Ἐγινετὸς qui classe valebant, pollices praeidente.

§ 32. ὅσοι ἦσαν] Pausanias says four thousand.

§ 32. ὅσοι ἦσαν] Pausanias says four thousand.

Ηγιασθε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] Demosthenes (de F. L. 401) tells us that Conon actually preferred an accusation against Adi- mantus. Cp. for the passive sense (usually, αἰτίαν ἐπεμένει) Thuc. vi. 53. 2 αἰτιαθέντα ἀνέλεγκτον διαφυγεῖν. viii. 68. 2 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτιαθεῖς.

ἀρξάμενος] "having made a beginning (for himself and others)," not "having been the first," which would be ἀρξα, as Hell. vi. 5. 37 τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν. "Ἀρχεῖν = "make a beginning" (cp. ἄρχειν ἄδικας, ἄδικον χειρῶν, "be the aggressor," &c.), ἄρχεισθαι="make a beginning for oneself." So Thuc. i. 144. 2 πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἄρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνοῦμεθα, "we will not be the first to open hostilities, but if they begin the war (for themselves and others), we will resist them:" infr. 3. 38 ἐπεὶ δὲ γε οὕτω ἄρξαντο (quiem caprisset) ἀνδρας καλοὺς τε κάγαθος συκλαμβάνειν. Cp. Anab. i. 6. 5 ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου, "open the conference;" iii. 2. 7 τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἦρξετο ὡδὲ, "began his speech thus."

ἀπέσφαξεν] Plutarch tells us (Lyssand. 13) that Philocles refused to answer the question of Lysander, and walked in a bright cloak to execution at the head of the prisoners.

c. ii. § 1. οἱ προδότες] Cp. i. 3. 14, sqq.

ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοι] i.e. received the Athenian franchise. Cp. Thuc. ii. 67. 2 τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγεννημένον Ἀθηναίον.

§ 2. εἰ τινὰ ποὺ ἀλλὰ] This would include the κληροῖς, or citizens to whom conquered lands had been allotted. Cp. Memor. ii. 8. 1 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἄφηρέθημεν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα (ὑπὸ τὴν κατάγωσιν τοῦ πολέμου).

ἐιδὼς ὅτι...ἐσεσθαι] Xenophon (as Shilleto says on Thuc. i. 43. 2) not unfrequently departs from his country's usage in these matters. Thucydides himself has a confusion (iv. 37. 1) between γνῶν διαφθαργομένους and γνῶν ὅτι διαφθαρήσονται. Cp. Hell. iii. 4. 27 τούτον δὲ λογισμῷ ὡς...ἐιναι. Jelf, § 804. 7.

P. 50. § 3. ὁ ἐπερος...παραγγέλλων] not exactly a nominative absolute, but in apposition to and explanatory of οἷμωγη, thus taking the place of a following genitive. Cp. Thuc. v. 70. 1 ἡ ἔννοια μὲν οἱ καὶ οἱ ξυμμαχοὶ ἐντόνως καὶ ὁργὴ κυροῦντες—Δακεδαιμόνιος δὲ βραδέως. Soph. Antig. 259, 60 λόγος ὅ ἐν ἀλλήλους ἔρροθουν κακόλ, Φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα. Jelf, § 708. 1.
XENOPHON.

τενθοῦτες] sc. πάντες.

ἐπολησαν] Cp. note, i. 7. 4.


τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία [including the Athenian possessions along the northern coast of the Αἰγεαν from Thessaly to the Hellespont. Jelf, § 633. 1. c.

§ 6. σφαγᾶς...πόλιν] “having made (on a former occasion) a massacre of the notables, were still keeping possession (not κατέσχον, cp. 1. 2 τίν πόλιν κατασχόντες) of the city.” This former occasion Grote refers to Thuc. viii. 21, by which the island was firmly secured to the alliance of Athens. Οἱ γυνω-ρμοι are opposed to ὁ δήμος. Aristotle calls them καλοὶ κάγαθοι (“gentlemen”).

§ 7. ἐπεμψε] “sent word.”

P. 51. § 8. τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ] not exactly “in the gymnasium called the Academy,” but, “in the Academy, as that gymnasium is called.” Cobet omits these words as spurious.


ἐστέρωτο] “were lacking (had been deprived of).”

§ 10. ἐκείνους] sc. the Peloponnesians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἄτιμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες] Such a decree as the present one (proposed by Patroclides) had never been submitted to the people since the advance of Xerxes in the Persian war. It consisted in the restoration of those who had become ἄτιμοι, i.e. judicially deprived owing to crime of civil rights and privileges (Lat. “ararii”), to their rights and franchises. The ἄτιμοι could not hold office, speak in the senate or assembly, bring actions, appear as witnesses, or claim any state-protection. A law mentioned by Demosthenes ordained that the releasing of ἄτιμοι should never be proposed in the public assembly unless an assembly of at least 6000 citizens had previously in secret deliberation agreed that such might be done. Thucydides tells us that the Spartans in Sphacteria who had surrendered to the Athenians were punished with a temporary ἄτιμα: v. 31. 2 ἄτιμους ἐποίησαν, ἄτιμαν δὲ τοιάνδε
\[\varepsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \mu\nu\tau\iota\ \epsilon\epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \mu\nu\tau\iota\ \pi\rho\iota\alpha\mu\iota\mu\nu\nu\varsigma\ \kappa\upsilon\iota\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\iota\nu\\iota\nu\tau\iota\ \iota\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\omissa\nu\ \delta\ \alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\varsigma\ \chi\rho\omicron\upsilon\omega\varsigma\ \varepsilon\pi\iota\tau\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\iota\nu\omicron\nu\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\tau\iota\nu\].

§ 12. οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτὸς ["for that he had not full powers (to treat)."

§ 13. αὐτόθεν] ["on the spot."

P. 52, § 15. ἔβουλετο] The best Manuscripts here give ἔβουλετο, not ἢβουλετο. Supr. i. 1. 29 one Manuscript only reads ἢβουλοντο, and ἢβουλοντο is the common reading, i. 2. 15. Ἐβουλοντο is read, i. 7. 7. The Tragedians use the double augment rarely: Aristophanes never. In Thucydides we read ἢβουλοντο only in vi. 79. 3. In Xenophon the best Manuscripts and editions differ. Veitch, Greek Verbs, p. 125.

ἐκατέρου] Thucydides (i. 107. 1) speaks of two walls, one to Phalerum, the other to the Piræus. Afterwards he speaks of two to the Piræus (ii. 13. 9). The Phaleric wall he there describes as thirty-five stadia in length; the two others (which he calls the long walls) he describes as forty stadia in length.


εἴδος ἡκει] "he would find out before he came back."

πίστεως ἕνεκα] "as a pledge for their (the Athenians') fidelity." Cp. Anab. iii. 3. 4 καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκεῖων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα (sc. to secure the fidelity of Mithridates). Thuc. iv. 66. 4 ἐν ἢ αὐτὸι μόνοι ἐφρούροι βεβαιότητος ἕνεκα.


§ 17. ἥκε] "had returned," in the Tragedians ἁγορρον, πάλιν ἥκειν.

αὐτὸν...κατέχοι] Αὐτὸν is emphatic (in direct narration ἐμὲ) and therefore commences the sentence: cp. i. 6. 2.

δέκατος αὐτὸς] "with nine others." Cp. Thuc. i. 116. 1 Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶντος. Αὐτὸς, joined with these ordinal numerals, is generally used of the chief of an expedition. Jelf, § 656. 3. f.

P. 53, § 19. ἔχωρεῖν] "wipe out," "blot out." Cp. Thuc. iv. 122. 6 ψήφισμά τε εὐδός ἐποίησαντο Κλέωνος γράμμη πεισθέντες Σκιώναλος ἐξελείν τε καὶ ἀποκεῖναι. Shilleto on Dem. F. L. 361 (τὸν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Ἡθαλος ψήφον ἔθεντο οὕτωι περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπέρ ἀνδραποδίσμου προτεθέσαι) states that "after the fatal defeat at Ἀγοςποταμί (the subsequent surrender of Athens, the revengeful malice of a Theban orator had proposed to utterly
rase Athens to the ground, to sell the inhabitants for bond-
slaves, and to convert Attica into a sheep-walk. It was on this
occasion probably that the memorable saying of one Leptines
(according to Aristot. Rhet. iii. 10. 7) was uttered, "that Greece
should not be permitted to be left one-eyed." In the discussion
between the Athenian and Melian negotiators on the submission
of Melos to the Athenian dominion, the Athenians themselves
say that it is not the vengeance of the Lacedaemonians which
they would dread in case of defeat, but rather the consequences
which might ensue from the victory of their subject allies: Thuc. v. 91 ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἣν καὶ παυθῇ, οὐκ ἀθυ-
μοίμεν τὴν τελευτήν' οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι, οὐτοί δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθείσιν' ἐστὶ δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
ἡμῖν ὁ ἄγων, ἀλλὰ ἢν οἱ υπῆκοι ποιῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι
κρατήσωσι.

§ 20. ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην] "were ready to make (were for
making) peace." Cp. Thuc. i. 134. 1 τὴν ἔξυλησιν ἐποιοῦντο,
"were purposing his arrest."

ἐφ' ἧ] In the principal clause ἐπὶ τούτῳ (ἐπὶ τούτῳ) is
either implied or expressed. We find it expressed, Hdt. iii.
83 ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ὑ' τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων
ἀρέσμαι. viii. 154 ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὖν τοῖς καταλάξαντες,
ἐπ' ἧ τε Πιποκράτει Καμάρναν Συρησσίοις παραδόσαν. Plat.
Ἀρ. Ἀρ. 29 οί αἱμίεμεν σὲ, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ὑ' τε μηκέτι ἐν
tαύτῃ τῇ ὑπηρείᾳ διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν. Jelf, § 867. 2.

καθένας] The Manuscript reading κατάξαντας (κατάγω) is
considered barbarous in classic Attic, although Thucydides (π.
Veitch, p. 13.

§ 22. προηγόρει αὐτῶν] "was their spokesman." Cp. the
imperfect use of ἐνίκα (i. 2. 1), κατηγόρει (i. 7. 31).

§ 23. κατέπλει] "sailed in (κατὰ, "down from the high
seas")." Cp. i. 4. 13, although κατὰ may have the force there
of "back from exile," as in κατάγειν, κάθοδος. Arnold says on
Thuc. i. 112. 4, "This manner of speaking is derived from the
apparent elevation of the horizon line of the sea above the
shore, so that vessels seem ascending as they go further away
from the land." So μετέωρος is used for "out at sea." Cp.
ἀνάγεσθαι, "put to sea."

Arist. Αχ. 1001 πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σαλπιγγος. Hdt. vii. 22 ὄρυσον
ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Ciae. Tusc. i. 2. 3 canere ad tibicinem de claro-
rum hominum virtutibus. Jelf, § 639. 1. 2. c.

ἀρχεῖν τῆς ἔλευθερίας] "was the beginning of liberty." Cp.
Thuc. ii. 12. 4 ἢδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἐλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἀρξεῖ.

P. 54. c. π. 2. οἱ τῶν πατρίως νόμων συγγράφοντα] Cp. Thuc. ν.π. 67. 1 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δῆμον ξυλλέξαντες ἔπον γνώμην δέκα ἀνδράς ἐλέσθαι συγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας (decemviros legibus scribendis). The future indicative is used to bring forward prominently the essence and especial aim of the decree. Jelf, § 886. 2. b.


P. 55. § 7. τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις] se. the four hundred, who had been ejected by the popular revolution at Samos: Thuc. ν.π. 21 τετρακοσίους δὲ φυγῷ ἦμισώσαντες, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκίας νειμάμενοι.

§ 8. ἀκρωτήρια] The extremities of the prow were usually taken from a conquered vessel as a mark of victory: cp. Hdt. ν.π. 121 ἐκ τῶν ἐγενέτοι ἀνδρῶν ἐχον ἐν τῇ χερὶ ἀκρωτηρίων νῆσος. The act of doing so was called ἀκρωτηρίασεως: cp. Hell. ν. 2. 36 ὁ μέντοι Ἰσμαήλιτες τὰς μὲν πριν ἄρησει ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἔλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραιῶν λιμένα.


Ἀλντέης] Thucydides (ν. 2. 1) also speaks of the war as properly commencing in the fifteenth year after the formation of the thirty years’ truce, i. e. in March or April, ν. c. 431, by the attack of the Thebans upon Platea: ἐκλ Χρυσίδος ἐν ‘Ἀργεῖ ἱερωμένης, καὶ Ἀλντέης ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἐτὶ δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντος ’Αθηναίοις.

§§ 9, 10. ἐς δὲ ἐξαμηνῶς... κατέπλευσεν] Clinton (Fast. Hellen.) says that this computation of Xenophon, with the exception of
twenty-seven years and a half in place of twenty-eight years and a half, is substantially correct, as the Lacedaemonians computed it. The Athenians, he says, reckoned the war to terminate at the surrender of their city; the Lacedaemonians extended it to the return of Lysander to Lacedaemon after the reduction of Samos, about six months after the surrender of Athens, and in the autumn of B.C. 404. Thucydides (v. 26) says ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ἔγινεν ὁ θάλαμος ἐπὶ καλέσαι.

§ 10. Πλειστόλας] mentioned as ephor B.C. 421, in the year that the treaty of peace for fifty years was concluded between Athens and Lacedaemon (Thuc. v. 19. 1).

'Αλεξιππίδας] mentioned as ephor in the year in which Tissaphernes concluded a new treaty with the Peloponnesians, B.C. 411.

P. 56. § 11. ἐπει τάχυστα] "as soon as ever."

§ 12. συνκοφαντίας] "laying vexatious information," "making calumnious accusations." Becker (Char. p. 65) borrows an interesting description of the sycophant from Demosthenes: "Cast your eyes to the right, on the haggard man in the fish-market, with black matted hair, who sidles about, not buying anything himself, but watching everybody else; he is a most dangerous sycophant, and glides about the market like a scorpion, with his venomous sting all ready, spying out whom he may surprise with misfortune and ruin, and from whom he can most easily extort money, by threatening him with an action dangerous in its consequences. You won't see him speak or associate with any one, but, as the painters encompass the shades of the wicked in Hades with the terrible phantoms of cursing and slander, of envy, discord, and strife, so are his attendants. It is the very bane of our city, that it cherishes and protects this poisonous brood, and uses them as informers, so that even the honest man must flatter and court them, in order to be safe from their machinations." Cp. Symp. 4. 30 ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦσ συνκοφάντας θεράπευνεν, εἰδὼς δι’ ἵππη ταθείν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἱκανὸς εἶπεν ἢ ποιήσαι ἐκεῖνος. Crito by Socrates' advice takes a sycophant into his pay to countermine another man's machinations. According to the Magarian's views (Arist. Ath. 829) the sycophant was the pest of Athens: οὖν τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς 'Ἀθηναίς τοῦτ' ἐν.

tοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοι[ sc. the oligarchy; Lat. "boni," "opti-mates."

συνήδεσαν ἐαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες] The participle may also agree with the personal pronoun following the verb, as in Plat. Apol. 22 D ἐμαντό γὰρ συνήδειν οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένη. Cp. 4. 17.
NOTES. 123


ἐὼς δὴ] “until forsooth.” By τοὺς πονηροὺς (“the evil-doers”) of course were meant those who did not favour the oligarchy.

§ 14. τῶν φρουρῶν] “some guards.” Cp. Thuc. iv. 80. 2 καὶ ἀμα τῶν Εἰλώτων βουλομένους ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψει, where Arnold compares the partitive article in French “des Hélotes.” Anab. i. 5. 7 λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ. Jelf, § 533.

δλγον ἀξίων] This seems to be a sort of conventional phrase for the “profumum vulgus:” cp. Hell. vii. 1. 13 δοῦλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἁξίων.

ἐνθμῷων...ἀνέχεσθαι] either, “actually did not,” or, “would not brook being set aside.” “Ἄν may be supplied from the second clause, as in § 27; but, where no condition is implied, it is not necessary. Cp. Thuc. iii. 24. 1 νομίζοντες ἡκιστα σφάς ταῦταν αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσωσκε ἡν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. Cobet inserts ἂν. But the present occurrence of their actually being set aside may distinguish the first clause as a positive fact from the second as a conditional probability.

§ 15. ὁ Κριτίας] Grote (viii. p. 23) tells us that this Critias son of Callaeschrus, had been one of the persons accused of the mutilation of the Hermæ; that he was the maternal uncle of Plato and had intimately frequented the society of Socrates. He had passed some time of his exile in Thessaly, where he engaged himself in arming the Penestæ or serfs against their masters (infr. § 36). He is introduced in four Platonic dialogues, and Cicero (de Orat. ii. 22. 93) notices his historical compositions: “consecuti sunt hos (Pericles, Alcibiades and Thucydides) Critias, Theramenes, Lysias.”

P. 57. φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] The Manuscripts read ἀπὸ τοῦ δ. (cp. note, 4. 31). But ὑπὸ is used of the agent with intransitive verbs: cp. Anab. iii. 4. 11 ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἁρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Ἰῆροι. v. 1. 15 ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικανδροῦ τοῦ Λάκωνος. vii. 7. 23 εὖ ἄκοψαν ὑπὸ ἐξακισχλίων ἀνθρώπων. Jelf, § 639. 2. a.

ὁ δὲ Ἐπαμένης ἀντέκυπτε] “then Theramenes began to oppose.” Ἀδε is placed in the apodosis of the sentence with the principal verb. Cp. Thuc. i. 11. 2 ἐπειδῆ δὲ ἀφικύμενου μάχη ἐκράτησαν, φαίνονται δ’ οὐδ’ ἐνταῦθα πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι. viii. 70. 1 ὡς δὲ τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ...οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι ἀπεκλήρωσαν. Jelf, § 770.
τολλὰ δή "very many things."

§ 16. ἐκποὺδων ποιεῖσθαι "make away with."

ὡσπερ τυπαννίδος] Jelf (§ 779. Obs. 2) states that the comparative adverb ὡς or ὡσπερ can stand after comparatives instead of ἦ, and compares Plat. Rep. 526 C ἀ γε μείζω πόνων παρέχει μανθάνοντι καὶ μελέτώντι, οὐκ ἀν ῥαδίως οὐδὲ τολλὰ ἄν εὐροῦ, ὡς τοῦτο. "Ὡσπερ seems equivalent rather to οὕτως ὡςπερ."


εἰ μη τε] Τις seems to be either indefinite (cp. ἅ. 1. 35; Thuc. v. 14. 3 οὐκ ἤθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μη τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνοφριαν γῆν ἀποδώσῃ), Fr. "on," or Theramenes may intend it to refer to Critias, and wish to avoid naming him. Cp. Soph. Aj. 1138 τοῦτ' εἷς ἀνίαν τούπος ἐρχεται τινὶ (i.e. for thee). Supr. 2. 16 διή τις λέγου, τις evidently refers to the Lacedæmonians: ὅ, 5. 15 εἰ τις βούλοιτο ναμαχεῖν, τις means Lysander. For the indefinite use, cp. Virg. Æn. vi. 568, 9 quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani, Distulit in serum commissa piacula mortem. Anab. i. 4. 12 οὐκ ἐφασαν λέναι, ἐὰν μη τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα δίδω, Cyrus is directly pointed at. Jelf, § 373. 7. Obs. 2.


οὐχ ἤκιστα] "more than anybody." Cp. Thuc. vii. 44. 6 μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἤκιστα έξβαλψε καὶ παιονισμός. So οὐχ ἤκισον usually has the positive meaning of "more" in Thucydides: cp. ἅ. 44. 1 οὐχ ἤκισον τῶν Κορυνίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετεγνώσαν... Cp. also Hell. vi. 4. 18 οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. Jelf, § 738. 2. Obs. 1.

τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων] So at Athens b.c. 411 five thousand were to "have a share in the government," i.e. have the name of ruling citizens whereas the real power would still be in the hands of the aristocracy: Thuc. viii. 65. 3 οὔτε μεθεκτεόν τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακασιχλιος.

§ 19. τρισχλίους] sc. κοινωνίας. Ἑνεκεῖθαί or a similar in- finitive may be easily supplied after βουλομένους.

ὡσπερ...ἐχοντα] Ὡσπερ here represents νομίζοντας or an equivalent participle. Cp. Thuc. vi. 24. 3 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς ἢ καταστρεψόμενοι ἐφ' ἄ ἐπλέον, ἢ οὐδὲν ἀν σφαλείσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν. Ἡδ. ix. 42 ὡστε ὑμένων ὅσοι τυγχάνοντες εὐδοκεῖ ἐντες Πέρσης, ἦδεσθε τούδε εἶνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ελλήνων.
Memor. i. 2. 20 ὦς τὴν μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ὀμιλίαν ἀσκησιν οὖσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἤδ. i. 3. 2 ὦς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὁ ποία ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ. ἤδ. ii. 3. 8 ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γιγαντέοισιν φίλοις, εἰ ἄδελφοιν δὲ οὐ γιγαντεύουσιν. Συμπ. i. 11 ὥσπερ τούτο ἐπιτεταγμένων αὐτῶν ὑπὸ κρείττων τινος; Jelf, § 551. 1. f. Obs.; § 703.

§ 20. τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων...ἀλλαχοῦ] So the aristocratical exiles (Thuc. iv. 74) having been readmitted into Megara εξέτασιν ὑπὸν ἐποιήσαντο, διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους, i.e. in different parts of the town, that the citizens might be more easily overpowered, and deprived of the means of cooperating with each other.

P. 58. κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα] “having ordered them to fetch their arms (cp. 3. 54 ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐνδεκα ἐπὶ τῶν Θηρα-μένης).” Arnold on Thuc. ii. 2. 5 remarks that so inveterate was the practice of piling the spear and shield on every possible occasion that in reviews the ordinary “stand at ease” of a Grecian soldier was to get rid of his long spear and shield; and whenever they were addressed by their general they always left their arms piled, and attended him unarmed (cp. Thuc. iv. 91 Παγώνιον προσκαλῶ ἐκάστος κατὰ λόχους ὅπως μὴ ἀθροῖ ἐκληπτοῖ τὰ ὄπλα. vi. 58. 2 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέκρυψαν ἀνερχόμενοι τι ἐρείν αὐτῶν). This practice, he says, was on one or two occasions made use of by tyrants to disarm the citizens, their foreign guards being instructed to carry off the spears and shields of the national infantry, while piled in the usual manner, during the time that the citizens in military order were attending unarmed in another quarter to a speech purposely addressed to them by the tyrant, that he might be enabled to effect this object. Cobet thinks the passage corrupt: and certainly it is very difficult to understand the sequence of events in the transaction.

ἐν φ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν] The variant reading ἀπεληλύθησαν might suggest ἀπελύθησαν “were disbanded (cp. Hell. vi. 21 τοὺς μὲν Ἡρακλῆτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε),” which would give an easier interpretation to this obscure passage. By ἐκείνοι appear to be meant οἱ τρισχιλιοί. Grote (viii. p. 37) states that “after the review was over, these scattered companies went home to their meal, leaving their arms piled at the various places of muster.” Ἀπεληλύθεσαν hardly seems to warrant this full interpretation, although such a rendering helps considerably to clear up the meaning of the passage.

τοὺς φυρωνὸς] sce. the Lacedaemonian garrison.

παρελθόντο] Cp. Dem. F. L. 366. fin. διωκισμένοι κατὰ κό-μας καὶ παρηγμένοι τὰ ὄπλα, where there is a variant reading
περιηγημένοι. Πάντων = "from all." cp. Eur. 1. T. 24, 25 καλ
μύ Όδυσσέως τέχναι Μητρός παρελλοντ’ ετ’ γάμοις’ Αχιλλέως.
§ 22. λαμβάνοιν[ Optative of indefinite frequency. Jelf,
§ 419. 1. § 831. 3.
§ 23. λυμαώμενον τὴν πολείταν] Infr. § 26, we find the
dative τῇ καταστάσει after λυμαώμεναι.
34 προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες.
ἀποθνησκεῖν] Cp. note, 1. 4.
μεθιστανται] "are being changed."

note, 1. 4. 16.
§ 27. ταύτα ἐγγυνώσκει] "had been of this opinion," "had
held these views." Cp. 1. 5. 3 καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ᾧλλ' ἐγγυκέναι.
§ 28. νῦν δὲ] "but as it is." Cp. 4. 16. Thuc. 1. 122. 3.
iv. 126. 1.

αὐτὸς μὲν ἀρέσα...ἀρέσκει] Theramenes is grammatically the
object, but really the subject of the verbal notion. Cp. Cyr. iv.
3 ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἶα τε πάσχονσι...ταύτα ἐνθυμομένοις ἔδοξεν.
vii. 5. 37 ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κύρος ἥδη κατασκευάσσαθαι...ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ.
Jelf, § 707. a. For ἀρέσα, cp. note, 1. 32.

οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ...ὅπως] sc. "he shows himself no longer satis-
fied with what is going on, with the object that..."

P. 60. § 29. αὕθις πιστοὶ γιγνονται] either, "become friends
instead of foes," or "return to friendship with them."

δν λαμβάνοσι] "the man that they catch," implying that
there are such men in the world (as, for instance, Theramenes
himself). The supposition, more or less definite, justifies the
omission of ἄν (following the two best Manuscripts). Jelf,
§ 831. 4. γ.Obs. 1. § 830. 3.

τούτω] Cp. note, § 43.

τοῦ λοιποῦ] "in any future case." Cp. Anab. v. 7. 34 τοῦ
δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἔξειναι ἀνομιάς ἀρξαί. vi. 4. 11 καὶ δόγμα ἐποιή-
σαντο, ἐὰν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μησωθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ
αὐτῶν ἕμιούσθαι. Τὸ λοιπὸν would signify continuity of future
time.

§ 20. οὐ κανὰ ταύτα οὐτός ποιεί] "these are no new prac-
tices of his."
§ 31. κόδορος ἐπικαλεῖται “he has the nickname of the Buskin,” Cp. Mem. i. 4. 2 Αριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλομένον. Although the general intention of the explanation which follows of the Buskin is tolerably clear, yet the words as they stand appear to be hardly translateable. Cobet omits them as spurious. If they are to be retained, the particles μὲν and δὲ will connect the two clauses without containing any opposition. The κόδορος appears to have fitted closely round the leg, and to have been laced in front. Possibly therefore ἀτ’ ἀμφοτέρων may signify “behind” (backwards), and “before” (forwards). Will Theocr. xiv. 66 help us with the variant reading ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων? The usual meaning of ἀποβλέπειν is to “look at as a model, pattern, authority, &c.”

εἰς πράγματα] “into action.” To connect the expression with πράγματα παρέχειν appears to weaken, if not destroy, the force of ἣν τι ἀντικόπτῃ.

εἰ δὲ μὴ] “otherwise.”

§ 32. ὅπου] “it is true,” “we all know,” of a recognized fact. Lat. “scilicet,” “nimium.” Cp. Anab. v. 7. 6 ὡστε ὅπου ὅθεν Ἡλισ ἀνισχει καὶ ὅποιν ὅχειαν. The word often conveys with it a notion of irony (§ 34).

πᾶσα μεταβολα] Cobet reads πᾶσα αἱ μεταβολα. Tr. “there are no changes of constitutions which do not bring bloodshed.”

P. 61. καταδύντας] Cp. note, i. 6. 25.


τῶν ἔξω] “the exile.”

§ 35. προσταχθὲν] accusative absolute.

P. 62. οὔδὲ...μὴ δτ] “not even...much less.”

§ 36. παρανενομηκέναι] “acted illegally.” Παρανενομηκέναι, παρακρηκθέναι have all been suggested instead of this obscure expression.

§ 39. Αέωντος τοῦ Σαλαμινοῦ] Socrates tells us (Plat. Apol. 32 C) that he was sent with four others to Salamis to fetch Leon, who had gone into exile there in order to escape the violence of the Thirty: ἐπειδή δὲ ὀλγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τρίακοντα
XENOPHON.

αὐς μεταπεμψάμενοι μὲ πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον (τοτινα) προσέταξαν ἀγαλεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Λέωντα τὸν Σαλαμίνον ὑ' ἀποθάνοι. οία δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκείνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέτατον, βουλόμενοι ὁπὶ πλείστον ἀναπλήσσαι αἰτίων.

Νικηφάτου τοῦ Νικίου] This was the Nicias who had been butchered with Demosthenes by the decree of the Syracuseans in spite of Gylippus' wish to save them: Thuc. vii. 86 Νικίαν δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένην ἀκόντος τοῦ Γυλίππου ἀπέσφαξαν.

P. 63. § 40. ἀλλὰ μὴν] "then further," "nay more."

'Ἀντιφῶντος] not the son of Sophilus, mentioned Thuc. viii. 68. 1, but son of Lysonides.

§ 41. ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς] "In expressions of necessity, duty, propriety, possibility, inclination, &c. αὐ is commonly omitted, as it accorded with the genius of the Greeks as well as Latin (cp. decebat, aequum erat, &c.) to represent that which was necessary or viewed as such &c., as unconditionally true, it being kept out of sight, that it sometimes did not happen, or only partially." Jelf, § 858. 3. Cp. Anab. vii. 7. 40 ἀλχρόν γὰρ ἄν τὰ μὲν ἐμά διαπεράξθαι. Hence instead of ei τοῦτο γ' ἐδέοντο, Xenophon writes ei τοῦτο γ' δέοντο, although the Lacedaemonians did not wish to starve out the Athenians. Cobet alters the Manuscript reading to ei τοῦτο γ' ἐδέοντο.

§ 42. τὸ ἀντίπαλον] "the opposition."

§ 43. οὖτοι] "such men as these." Οὔτος often approaches the sense of τοιοῦτος. Cp. Thuc. v. 91 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὡσπερ καὶ Δακεδαμίνων, οὐτοὶ δεινοὶ τῶν νικηθέον. Dem. F. L. 345 ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην (such a peace as this) οὐδέποτε' αὖ σαμβουλεύσαιμι ποιῆσαι τῇ πόλει, εἰρήνην μὲν τούτῳ φημὶ δεῖν ποιῆσαι. Cp. supr. § 29.

P. 64. § 45. ὁ δὲ αὖ εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.] The relative is here explained by the sentence, which repeats as it were, but in a more definite way than to which the relative refers: cp. Hier. vi. 12 δ' ἐξῆλθοσα ἡμᾶς, ως τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εἰ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἔχρον τῶν μᾶλλον μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθι οὖτος ἔχει. Thuc. v. 6. 3 ὁπερ προσεδέχετο ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμβετῶλα, ύπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσασθαι. Eur. Orest. 564, 5 ἐφ' ὦς δ' ἀπελείη, ὡς πετρωθῆναι μὲ χρῆ, "Ακούσον. Cic. Off. iii. 31 quod cum audivisset adolescens filius, negotium exhiberi patri, accurrisse Romam dicitur. Cp. also Thuc. iv. 125. 1. vii. 80. 3. Jelf, § 835. 2.

§ 46. ἐκεῖνοι] see the Four Hundred.

ἐρμα] Cp. Thuc. viii. 90. 3 φκοδόμουν δὲ ἐτὶ προθυμότερον τὸ
EN τῇ Ἑτειονίᾳ τείχως...χηλή γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἑτειονία, καὶ παρ’ αὐτήν εὐθὺς ὁ ἔσπευς ἐστίν.

τῶν ἐταῖρων] “partisans.” Ἑταίρια at Athens denoted a political club or union for party purposes. Cp. 4. 21. “These societies were formed between persons of the same age, and especially of the richer classes, who had more leisure to pass their time in each other’s company (συνημερεύεν, or συνδιάγεσαν, ὁπερ ἡ ἐταιρικὴ δοκεὶ ἔχειν. Aris. Nic. Eth. viii. 5. 3). The tie thus formed was binding both in peace and war: the members of one of these brotherhoods fought by each other’s side in battle; and we hear of Cimon’s ἐταιρεία to the number of 100, fighting round his armour, and dying where they stood, in order to vindicate his and their loyalty to their country, which had been impeached on account of their political opinions (Plutarch, Cim. 17). But in spite of this instance of heroic patriotism, the loyalty of the ἐταιρεῖαι to a democratic constitution was generally more than questionable. The members were closely attached to one another, and imbibed a strong aristocratical antipathy to the commons. And like all political clubs or unions, whether aristocratical or popular, they were little scrupulous as to the means by which their objects were to be effected: assassination being practised frequently by them, as by the patricians at Rome in their early contests with the plebs, and by the nobility of Florence in the middle ages.” Arnold on Thuc. viii. 54. 4.


μοσχρηστότατος] “greatest hater of the good,” with a play on οἱ χρῆστοι (“those of good family”).


καὶ μεθ’ ἐπτων καὶ μετ’ ἀσπίδων] Theramenes means to say that, condemning both extreme democracy and oligarchy, he
estees that form of government the best where the leading men would be able to render service in person on horseback and on foot.


§ 50. τούτῳ οὐ βιωτῶν ἡγησάμενοι] "thinking this utterly unendurable." Cp. Hell. iv. 4. 6 ἐγένετο τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ ενόμισαν οὔτω μὲν ἄβλωτον εἶναι.

τοῖς δρυφάκτοις] "bar," "cancelli."

§ 51. οἶον δεῖ] "competent."

δὲ ἄν...μὴ ἐπιτρέπη] sc. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. Cp. Thuc. ii. 44. 2 ὅδ' εὐτυχεῖ, οὐ ἄν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν. 62. 4 κατάφρονισις ὃς ἄν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχει. Jelf, § 829. 2.

P. 66. θανατοῦμεν] "condemn to death." Cp. Anab. ii. 6. 4 (where Clearchus is condemned to death in his absence) ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. The word also means "put to death."

§ 52. ἐπὶ τὴν 'Εστιάν] Cp. Æschin. 34. 10 τὴν 'Εστιάν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν (the altar and statue of Vesta placed in the senate-house).


§ 53. καὶ ταῦτα γιννυσκοντες] "and that too knowing as you do." Jelf, § 697. d.

§ 54. οὐ δεῖ] Cobet reads οἴ; the Manuscripts οὐ. Shilleto on Thuc. i. 134. 6, where we should expect ὠλπερ for ὠλπερ, states that there are certainly passages in Greek which show that the distinction of "where" and "whither" is not always maintained (cp. i. 1. 23; ii. 4. 6)""The conceptions of going into and being in are so nearly coincident, that we do not marvel at στησαὶ παρὰ τινα as well as παρὰ τινι, ἐς τινα τόπον as well as ἐν τινι τόπῳ." Cp. Thuc. ii. 86. 1 οὐτερ (ὠλπερ) ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατός τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσβεβοθήκει. Xenophon himself gives us, Anab. ii. 1. 6, προοίμετο οὖ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο. ii. 4. 19 ἐξαιμεν ἄν οὖν ὠποίνε οὕς συσώμεν. vi. 3. 23 ἐσθεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Ἑλληνας ἐφάσαν ὄψεσθαι ὡς οὖν ὅτι, οὖν εἰδέναι. Compare our use of "where" for "whither," as in "where are you going?" Cp. also Soph. Trach. 40, 1 κείνοι δ' ὡς Βέβηκεν οὐδες οἴδε. Hell. vii. 1. 25 οὖν δὲ βουληθείεν ἐξελθεῖν. So in Latin, "ubi." Jelf, § 646. 6. a.
NOTES.

τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε] i. e. give him the draught of hemlock.

P. 67. § 55. οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες] sc. ἡ βουλή (a noun of multitude). Cp. i. 4. 13 ὁ ὥραος...θαυμάζοντες. Anab. ii. 1. 6 τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ βοῦς.


ἀποκοπταβλαντα] “having jerked out the last drops.” Cp. Cic. Tusc. i. 40 reliquum sic e poculo ejecit ut id resonaret; quo sonitu reddito, arridens propino inquit hoc pulchro Critiæ. The game of κότταβος evidently served as a kind of love-oracle. Originally the player spurted from his mouth the wine or water which descended upon the πλάστιγγες or metal scale-plates: it is stated that at a later date the wine was not taken into the mouth but jerked out of a cup.

ταῦτα ἀφοθεύγατα οὐκ ἄξιόλογα] “these matters are not sayings worthy of mention.” Cp. Anab. i. 4. 4 ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη.

τὸν θανάτου παρεστηκότος] Cicero, “quam jam præcordii conceptam mortem contineret.”

τὸ φρόνιμον] Cicero, “hanc animi maximi æquitatem.”

τὸ παργυνώδες] “sense of humour,” “pleasantry.” Cic. Tusc. i. 40 lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu.

c. iv. § 1. Θραμβένης] Cicero thought very highly of Theramenes: Tusc. D. i. 40 quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est! He ranks him with Themistocles and Pericles: de Orat. iii. 16. 59 qui propter ancipitem faciendi dicendique sapientiam floremant ut Themistocles ut Pericles ut Theramenes.

ἀστυ] “the upper town.” Cp. note, i. 4. 13.

ὕγον] “proceeded to expel, or, bring to trial.”

τῶν χωρίων] “farms,” “estates.”

§ 2. Φυλήν] termed by Corn. Nep. (Thrasyb. ii. 1) “castellum in Attica munitissimum.” Aristophanes (Plut. 1146) makes an amusing allusion to this occupation of Phyle: μὴ μνησικακήσῃς εί σὺ Φυλήν κατέλαβες (infr. § 43).

P. 68. § 4. τὰς ἑσχατίας] the Boeotian frontiers.

πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια] nearly two miles.
XENOPHON.

λασίω] "rough (with bush, &c.)," opposed to μαλακός. Cp. Hell. iv. 2. 19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαμώνοι οὐκ ἰθανόντο προσ- λόντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ γάρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρόν.

§ 5. θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα] "having grounded arms," i.e. having piled spear and shield.

§ 6. πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγένετο] "it was drawing towards day-break." Cp. Anab. iv. 5. 21 ἐπελ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἴν. Jell., § 638. 3. 2. a. Cp., for a similar surprise of the Lacedaemonians by the Thebans, Hell. vii. 1. 16 ἐπιτίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαμωνίσι καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεδοισ ἤνικα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναί φυλακαί ἤδη ἐληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στὶβαδῶν ἀνίσταντο ὅπως ἐδείτο ἐκαστὸς.

ἀνίσταντο] sc. οἱ τριάκοντα.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπλων] "from the camp." Cp. Thuc. i. 3. 2 ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὄπλων (the place where the spears and shields were piled).

οἱ περὶ Ἐρασιζουλοὺν] "Thrasybulus and his men." Thrasybulus is included in the expression, as supr. 3. 18 Critias makes up one of the Thirty in the expression Κριτιας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα (infra. § 8).


§ 7. ἀνέλλοντο] "had taken up." Cp. note, i. 7. 4.

P. 69. § 8. ἐν τοῖς ἰππεύσι] These words, if not corrupt, must be equivalent to τῶν ἰπποῦ (sc. τῶν Ἑλευσινίων).


τὸν δ' ἀπογραψόμενον ἀεὶ] Cp. note, 1. 4.

ἀναγαγόντα] sc. from the sea into the city. Cp. i. 3. 8.

§ 9. τῷ Ὀδείον] "An Odeum or music-hall resembled a theatre in its semi-circular form, but differed from it in being usually roofed for the sake of sound. Athens had three such buildings: (1) the Odeum of Pericles which is probably the one meant here; built about 440 B.C. at the S. E. corner of the acropolis. It had a pointed roof, said to be in imitation of the tent of Xerxes; in the interior 'many seats and columns' (Plut. Per. 13). (2) The Odeum near the fountain Callirhoe by the Ilissus; older, according to Hesychius, than the theatre of Dionysus, i.e. than 500 B.C. On one occasion 3000 hoplites were called together in it: Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 9. (3) The Odeum built about 150 A.D. at the south-west corner of the acropolis by Herodes Atticus, and called after his wife, the 'Odeum of Regilla.' It was the largest in Greece, the interior diameter being about 240 feet (Paus. vii. 20. 3)." Jebb, Theophr. p. 236.
NOTES. 133

kal toús ἀλλοις [ἐπεῖας] “and the cavalry besides.” Cp. Anab. i. 5. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δεῦρον. 7. 11 ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐξακισχίλιοι ἐπεῖ. So in Latin, “alius.”

قانون ψέφων] Similarly the aristocratical exiles at Megara on returning to their native city held a review in different parts of the town, and compelled the democrats to vote openly upon the lives of those whom they knew to be most ill-affected towards them (Thuc. iv. 74. 4). Cp. Lys. c. Agorat. 467 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τρίακοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βαθρών· δόο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τρίακοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψήφων οὐκ εἰς καδίσκου, ἀλλὰ ψαντικαν ἐπὶ τὰς τράπεζας ταύτας ἐδε τίθεσθαι· τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, τὴν δὲ σώζουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν.

P. 70. § 11. ἐτὶ μὲν] “for some time.” Cp. τέως μὲν, i. 4. 6.


ἐπὶ πεντηκόντα ἀσπίδων] “fifty deep.” Cp. ἐπὶ μᾶς, i. 6. 29. The Thebans also formed their column at Leuctra fifty deep: Hell. vi. 4. 12 οἱ δὲ Ὀθησαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἦ ἐπὶ πεντηκόντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν. The ordinary depth of the Macedonian phalanx was sixteen. Cp. Thuc. iv. 93. 4 ἐπ' ἀσπίδας δὲ πέντε μὲν καὶ ἐκκοι Ὀθησαῖοι ἑτάξαντο.

§ 12. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτος] “behind these.” Cp. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, i. 1. 34.

αὐτὸθεν] Cp. 2. 13. Sc. they had additional reinforcements from the inhabitants of the place. Cp. Thuc. v. 52. 2 καὶ τῶν αὐτοθεν ἐξεμᾶχως παραλαβὼν. vi. 71. 2. vii. 71. 1.

§ 13. ἡμέραν πέμπτην] “four days ago.” Cp. Cyr. vi. 3. 11 καὶ χθές δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν (day before yesterday) τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπραττὼν.

οὖτοι δὴ] “illi vero,” “illi ipsi.”

ἀπεστέρων] “defrauded.” Cp. 3. 49.
τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων] "those nearest and dearest to us." The Tragedians, and sometimes Plato, would have said τα φιλτάτα.

ἀπεσημαλνοντο] "Aposthasmaloveb was the meaning of "confiscate (mark out for public sale)," "proscriptione publicare," 3. 21. Here it probably means "marked out for death," "marked out so as to get rid of." The expression however is not quite clear. Cp. ἐπισημαλνεθαι, "mark with approbation."


P. 71. § 14. οὖχ ὅπως] "not only not." Cp. Anab. vii. 7. 8 καὶ οὖχ ὅπως δόρα δοῦσ καὶ εὐ ποιῆσας ἀνθ᾽ ὦν εἰ ἔπαθες ἀξίοις ἠμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπορευομένους ἠμᾶς οὐδὲ καταιλισθήναι, ὄσον δύνασα, ἐπιτρέπεις. Hell. v. 4. 34 ὅσ οἷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὖχ ὅπως τιμωρῆσαιτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειν τὸν Σφοδρλαν. Jelf, § 762. 3.

§ 15. καταφρώσομεν] "wound mortally." Κατὰ here strengthens the notion of the simple verb, as in κατακόπτειν, κατακτεῖν, καταφαγεῖν, καταδακρέειν.


ὁγν] "quippe quorum."


μνημελοῦν...τεῦξεται] For the position of οὕτω (referring to καλὸν, cp. Sympr. 4. 40 οὕτων οὕτως ὦρῳ φαιλου ἀγγον ὤποιον οὐκ ἀκρούσαν ἀν τροφήν ἐμοὶ παρέχοι. Hdt. vii. 46 ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί τίμιο υοίδεις οὕτως ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαιμόνις πέφυκε. Possibly οὕτω qualifies both πλούσιος and καλὸν.

τὸν 'Ενυάλιον] 'Ενυάλιος (from 'Ενύω, "Bellona") appears in Homer sometimes as an epithet of the War-god, sometimes as his name. In later authors he becomes a distinct deity: Arist. Pac. 457 "Αρει δὲ μή; ... μῆς' 'Ενυάλιος γε; cp. Anab. i. 8. 13 καὶ ἄμα ἑρθέγεισαι πάντες οἵων περ τῷ 'Ενυάλιος ἐλελίουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον.
§ 18. καὶ γὰρ] “et enim.”


προσακούων] “hearing also (as well as having been witnesses of the battle).” Cp. Ηell. iii. 4. 1 καὶ ἵδων...προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο.

§ 23. τοῖς ἐν Πιεραιεῖ] Cp. note, i. 4. 13.


P. 74. ἄφ’ ἐστέρασ] “at eventide (directly evening had set in).” Cp. ἐωθεν. Jelf, 620. 2. d.


ἔλευκοντο] “were whitening them over (with chalk).” Hell. vii. 5. 20, we find ἔλευκοντο τὰ κράνη, “began to polish their helmets.” The Carions are spoken of as λευκάσπιδες, πρ. 2. 15. In the Tragedians the Argives only are λευκάσπιδες: cp. Eur. Phoön. 1099 λευκασπιν έλισυριμω Άργειων στρατόν. Soph, Antig. 106 τῶν λευκάσπιν Άργεδεν ἐκ φῶτα βάντα πανσαγία. Athsch. Theob. 90 λευκοτρεπής λέως δρυνται ἐπὶ πόλιν. Hom. Il. xxii. 294 Δηθόβου δ’ ἐκάλει λευκάσπιδα μακρὸν ἀνύσας. Virg. Æn. ix. 548 parmaque inglorius alba. The term λεύκωμα is ap-
plied to tablets of larch whitened over with chalk or white plaster for ornamental panels.

γενέθαι] “had gone by.” Cp. note, i. 4. 7.

§ 26. τῶν Ἀξιώνων] members of one of the Attic demes. The Manuscripts read έξω νέων.

§ 27. ἀνταπέκτειναν] “killed in retaliation.”


ei δὲ καλ...δι} a confusion between two constructions. Cp. Anab. vi. 4. 18 ὦς γὰρ ἐγὼ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομίστου χθές ἦκοντο πλοῦν, ἦκονσά τινος δι᾽ Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστὴς μέλλει ἥξειν πλοία ἔχων καὶ τρίήρεις.

τούτο] referring to what follows. Cp. 3. 56.

ξύνη] “teams.”

ἀμαξίαλους λιθοὺς] “stones large enough to fill a waggon.”


P. 75. § 28. ἐκατὸν τάλαντα] Demosthenes tells us (c. Lept. 460) that the money borrowed on this occasion was on the restoration of order refunded to the Lacedæmonians by general payment: φασὶ τὸν δήμον ἐλέουσαι συνεισενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μετασχεῖν τὴς δαπάνης, ὡστε μὴ λύσαι τῶν ὑμολογημένων μηδὲν.

αὐτοῖς] sc. τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεως.

ἀρμοστήρ] Xenophon also uses the form ἀρμοστήρ: Hell. iv. 8. 39 καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληνυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀρμοστῆρων ὡς δῶθεκα μαχῆμεν συναπέθανον.

§ 29. τῷ Ἀυσάνδρῳ] almost equivalent to “this Lysander.” Supr. § 28, we have simply Ἀυσάνδρος, as being the first mention of the name. Jelf, § 450. 1.


φρούραν] Cp. the concrete use of φυλακῇ for φύλακες. This word is applied specially to the Spartan soldiery: Hell. iii. 2. 23 φρουράν ἔφηναν οἱ ἐφοροὶ. vi. 4. 17 φρούραν μὲν ἔφανον οἱ ἐφοροὶ ταῦτ ὑπολοίποιν μόραν μέχρι τῶν τεταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης.

§ 30. ἐπαρτοῦν τὰ πάντα] “and they took up this attitude.”

ἐν τῷ Ἀττικῆ δαλαμένῳ] sc. the low-lying region between the Piræus and Mount Hymettus.

P. 76. § 31. ἀπεῖναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν] “go to their respective homes.” Cp. § 38.
NOTES.

δον ἀπό βοῆς ἐνεκεν] "as far as noise went." Cp. Thuc. viii. 92. 9 ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ δον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκα ὑργίζετο τοὺς ὀπλίταις, where Arnold says that one or other of these two prepositions is superfluous. Jelf, § 621. 3. 1. Obs. 3.

ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς] Ἀπὸ is here used as indicating a less direct agency than ὑπὸ, and combining the senses of "result" and "means." There seems no necessity for an alteration of reading. Thucydides gives us a good instance (amongst others), vii. 29. 1: καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἦν τι δύνηται, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν βλάψαι. Cp. id. i. 17. 1 ἐπράχθη τε οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον. Jelf, § 620. 3. d.

tὸν κωφὸν λιμένα] "the mute harbour," of Munychia as opposed to the noisy Piraeus. These words have been proposed as an emendation for τὸν Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, Thuc. v. 2. 2, where, as Arnold says, there is no information to explain why one of the harbours of the Toronaeans should have been named from the Colophonians. Cp. the "Smugglers’ harbour," τὸν φῶρων λιμένα, a little westward of the Piraeus.

§ 32. τὰ δέκα ἅφε ἡμέρας] "those who had passed the age of maturity ten years," i.e. those who were 28 years old. The age of ἡμέρα at Sparta was 18 years, at Athens 14 or 16. For the expression, cp. Hell. pi. 4. 23; vi. 4. 17.

Πειραιῶν] Locative case.

§ 33. ἀποθνῄσκει] Cp. 4. 19.

πολεμάρχω] There were six polemarchs in Sparta, one at the head of each mora; they were next in military rank to the king: cp. Thuc. v. 66. 3 βασιλέως γὰρ ἄγοντος ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον πάντα ἀρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πεινηκοῦτηροι, αὐθίς οἱ οὗτοι τοῖς ἐνυμοτάρχαι καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἐνυμοτίᾳ.

ἐν Κεραμεικῷ] Those who had fallen in battle were buried in the outer Ceramicus on the road leading to the Academy. Cp. Thuc. π. 34. 6 τιβέαν ὁν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σήμα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλιστὸν προστειοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἑπτανόει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθώνι. Cp. also Arist. Λυ. 395, sqq. ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῦ, Δημόδεν γὰρ ὡς ταφώμεν, Φήσωμεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς Μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμοίσιν Ἀποβανεῖν ἐν Ὁρνεῖς. Dem. de Cor. 297 (208) τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἁγαθοὺς ἀνδρας. Cio. de Leg. π. 26. amplitudines sepulchrorum quas in Ceramicum videmus.

P. 77. § 34. εἰς χεῖρας] Cp. Thuc. v. 72. 4 οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομελναντας. Herodotus expresses hand-to-hand
conflict by ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπίκεσθαι, ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι (ix. 48; viii. 89).

§ 35. ὁφας] the Spartan officers.

§ 36. ἔσπερ γὰρ...συστρατεύεσθαι] Besides the ephors, the king would be closely accompanied by the polemarchs: cp. Ἱππ. Λακ. xiii. 1 συσκευαστεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅτες ἀεὶ συνόντες μάλλον καὶ κουσουμένων, ἣν τὸ δεόντω: and by three of the peers, ib. xiii. 1 συσκευαστεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀλλοι τρεῖς ἀνδρεῖς τῶν ὁμολογοῦντος τὸν τούτος ἐπιμελεύοντα πάντως τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμιᾶ ἀσχολία ἦ αυτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεύσθαι. He would also have a body-guard of one hundred picked warriors. Cp. Hdt. vi. 57, and Arnold on Thuc. v. 60. 1 τῶν εὐτελεῖν ἐντστρατευμένων.

§ 37. οἵ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ] sc. οὶ δέκα.

λέγοντας] Cp. Ἡλλ. iii. 5. 7 πρόσεβει ἐπεμψάν Ἀθηναῖες λέγοντας τάδε. 4. 25 ὁ Τιθαράστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησιλαον πρόσεβεις λέγοντας. Ἀπαβ. iv. 5. 8 διέπεμπε διδύνατς. Θuc. vii. 25. 9 ἐπεμψάν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρόσεβεις ἀγγέλλωντας. Cobet reads λέγοντες. So ἀπαγγέλλωνα, 1. 29, is the reading of all the best Manuscripts. Although the action is incomplete, yet it is conceived of as having already commenced, and is therefore expressed by the present. Jelf, § 398. 2. Cp. Soph. Ἀγ. 826, 7 πέμψον τῷ ἡμῖν ἀγγελον, κακῶν φάτων Τεύκρω φέροντα.

P. 78. § 38. οἱ ἐκκλησιοὶ] Cp. Eur. Ὀρ. 612 ἐκκλησίων ἄχλων. The assembly of the ἐκκλησία seems to have been the same as the so-called lesser assembly (Ἡλλ. iii. 3. 8 τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν).

ἀρξάντων] "who had had rule."

§ 39. διήκες] "disbanded." We find ἄφικε, v. 3. 25: διαφίκε, iii. 2. 24; iv. 4. 13.

§ 41. παρελώθητε] "were disabled, overthrown." The proposed emendation περελάθητε, "were harassed," seems preferable to Dindorf's substitute for the corrupt Manuscript reading περελήθησθεν. Cp. Arist. Ἑq. 290 περελὼ ἵ ἀλαζωλαί. 887 οὗς πλῆθοςκοὸς με περελαύνεις. Ἡδτ. 1. 60 περελαύνομενος τῇ στάσει. Demosth. 1049. 10 περελαδέθην ἤτο τούτον.

ὡςπερ τοὺς δάκροντας κύους κ.τ.λ.] probably a verbal reference to Solon's law, which would be familiar to an Athenian audience, ἐν ὃ καὶ κύου δακρόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλούῳ τετραπηχεὶς δεδεμένον. Plut. Solon 24.

P. 79. § 42. Διέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] "restored the assembly." "The Assembly had been practically abolished by
the election of the Thirty. Restoring the Assembly is equivalent to restoring the democracy," J. S. Philpotts. The interpretation usually given to this bold phrase is "broke up the assembly ("adjourned the assembly," Liddell and Scott)." But no previous mention has been made of summoning an assembly, which has led Cobet and others to introduce ἐκκλησίαν ἐπολήσαν, συνέλεξαν after the word κατέβησαν (§ 40): and Xenophon would in all likelihood have used the constitutional phrase, λύειν, διαλύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (cp. Arist. Ἀξία 173 ὃι γὰρ πρυτάνεις λύοντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Thuc. vii. 69. 1 ἡ ἐκκλησία κυρώσασα ταύτα διελόθη). Hom. II. i. 191 we find a somewhat similar phrase (τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀτρείδην ἐναρίζοι) in connection with "breaking up" an assembly: but the idea of force, which is there strictly prominent, hardly seems to find a place in the present passage. In addition to this we may notice that after having reestablished the proper assembly, the citizens proceed to the constitutional election of magistrates (§ 43).

§ 43. ὁμοσαντες ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν] Ἡ μὴν "verily" is used of strong assurance, and accompanies oaths, declarations, &c. Homer uses ἢ μὲν to express the same meaning. Jelf, § 728. 3. a. § 729. 3. a. The Present, Future, or Aorist Infinitive is used after verbs of swearing, ordering, praying and the like, according as the speaker regards the action either as simply continuing, or continuing in Future time, or has no regard either to its continuance or its time, but only to its taking place. Jelf, § 405. 7.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

BOOK I.

ἄγγελος (legatus), 4. 1.
ἀδικοῦτες (ἀδίκως?), 7. 24.
ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σῶτος, 2. 4.
ἀλισκεσθαι εἰς, c. acc., 1. 23.
ἀλλά (in quick transition), 6. 11.
ἀναβάλλεσθαι (adjourn), 7. 7.
ἀνάγειν (in interiorem partem Asiae ducere), 3. 8.
ἀναδείσθαι, 6. 21.
ἀναξιοῦσθαι (ἀνακοινοῦσθαι), 1. 30.
ἀναψάλεψαί, 5. 10.
ἀνδράποδα δοῦλα, 6. 15.
ἀνεπιστήδεως (inaustus), 4. 12.
ἀνέχει (ὁ θεός), 6. 28.
ἀνοίγειν (de navibus), 1. 2; 5. 13; 6. 21.
ἀποτέμπεσθαι (dimittere), 1. 29.
ἀριστον, 1. 13; 6. 21.
ἀστυ (upper town), 4. 13.
ἀφανίζεσθαι, 6. 33.
Accessory dative, 2. 12; 5. 19.
Aorist infin. without αὐ after φιλέ, &c., 6. 14; 7. 29.
Aorist in pluperf. sense, 7. 4.
Article with adjec. of number, 1. 18.
Article with proper names, 4. 13.

βάραθρον, 7. 19.
βασιλεύ (sine ὁ), 1. 9.
βοηθεῖν πρὸς c. acc., 2. 9.

γεραλρευ (poet. dict.), 7. 33.
Gen. absol., 1. 29; 3. 32.

dé (after a parenthesis), 3. 20; 6. 4.
dελη, 1. 5.
dεκάτη, 1. 22.
dιαθροεῖν, 6. 4.
dιδάσκειν (affirmare), 5. 4.
dιέκπλουσ, 6. 31.
dιωβελία, 7. 1.
dιώκειν (sequei), 1. 13.
dραχμῆ ('Αττική), 5. 4.
Double participle, 2. 2.

eίναι (of time), 4. 7.
ἐκ (statim post), 2. 17.
ἐκείνου (ἐάντος), 1. 27.
ἐκτός (except), 2. 3.
ἐμπροσ, 6. 37.
ἐν οἴκῳ (οἶκοι), 7. 1.
ἐν τῷ χρόνω ὁ (ἐν ὃ), 6. 11.
ἐν χρῷ κείσθαι, 7. 8.
ἐνεκα (quod attinet ad), 1. 21.
ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ, 1. 5.
ἐξω (ἐξ), 5. 11.
ἐτὶ κέρως, 7. 29.
ἐπιβάτης (vector), 3. 17.
ἐπιβολήν ἐπιβάλλειν, 7. 1.
ἐπιστολεύς, 1. 23.
ἐνεργεσία, 1. 26.
ἐυριποσ, 6. 22.
ἐχεῖν with adv., 5. 8.
ἐχον (with), 1. 1.
Ellipse of οἱ μὲν, 2. 14.

ἡ βασιλέως (χώρα), 1. 24.
ἡγεμόν (auctor), 4. 17.
ἡλικία, 6. 24.
ἡμεροσκόπος, 1. 2.
INDEX TO THE NOTES. 141

ηπείρος (Asiae continens), 2. 17.
ηῶς (poet. dict.), 1. 5.
θαυμάζεων (adulari), 6. 11.
θέρος, 2. 1.
θνεὶν (c. cogn. acc.), 6. 36.

Infinitive of object, 1. 22.
Inverse attraction, 4. 2.

κατὰ κράτος, 6. 13.
cataleukyia nēs, 6. 35.
catakōptεων, 5. 3.
catakαθηδανθαι c. part., 6. 4.
catastρωμα, 4. 18.
κελεύειν (urge), 5. 4.
κέλης ὑπηρετικός, 6. 36.
κολῆ ναιδ, 6. 19.
κοινότης, 1. 30.
Calcedon (not Chalcedon), 3. 2.

Λεία, 2. 4.
Λιβοῦμαι, 2. 14.
Laconic dialect, 1. 23.

μεγάλα ἱστία, 1. 13.
μέν μάλιστα (μάλιστα μέν), 4. 4.
μετὰ ταῦτα, 1. 1.
μετ’ ὀλγον τούτων, 1. 2.
μη ἐπιτρέπειν, 4. 19.
μη...πω, 4. 5.
μνστηρία, 4. 20.
Mourning (signs of), 7. 8.

ναναγός, 7. 4.
ναύαρχος, 6. 4.
νεσταμόδεις, 3. 15.
νικᾶν (imperf. use of), 2. 1.
νικᾶν (c. cogn. acc.), 2. 1.
Number of verb follows particulars, 7. 5.

ξένια, 1. 9.

ὁ θεὸς (weather), 7. 33.

οἱ ἐνδεκα, 7. 10.
οἱ ἐπὶ πάνω, 1. 34.
οἱ πάντες, &c. (in all), 6. 34.
οἱ περὶ c. acc., 7. 8.
oi τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες, 6. 13.
oyx̄εσθαι (aorist use of imperf.), 1. 8.
οὖμάσθαι ἐκείθεν, 4. 23.
οὐμεῖσθαι, 1. 15.
δι (pleonast.?), 5. 6.

πᾶν, πάντα ποιεῖν, 5. 3.
παρά c. acc. (juxta-position), 6. 30.
παρανομων γραφῆ, 7. 12.
παραπλεῖν (orum legere), 3. 3.
παραρρύματα, 6. 19.
παρατάσσεσθαι (nais), 1. 7.
πεθεῖν (meaning of imperf.), 7. 7.
πεθεῖν (μεταπεθεῖν?), 7. 17.
πελτασταί, 2. 1.
περιοῦκα, 3. 15.
περιπλοὺς, 6. 31.
πλοῖα (longae naves), 2. 1.
ποθεῖν, (desiderare), 1. 30.
ποιεῖν (efficere?), 4. 20.
πολυπραγμονεῖν, 6. 3.
πόρος χρημάτων, 6. 12.
προβολαί, 7. 35.
προπίνευς, 5. 6.
πρός (with numbers), 2. 18.
προοφελεῖν (προοφελεῖν?), 5. 7.
Plural verb with neut. plur. Subject, 1. 23.
Present for Future?, 6. 32.

σὺν θεοῖς (cum diis), 6. 11.
σφράγισμα, 4. 3.
Sailors' pay (rate of), 5. 4.
Subject of abbrev. adjectival sentence in nomin., 4. 16.

ταξιαρχοί, 6. 29.
τείχη (castella Chersonesi), 5. 17.
τὸ κατ’ ἐμε, 6. 5.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

τότε δή (tum demum), 5. 13.
τρέφειν (vaús), 5. 5.
Transition from indirect to direct narration, 1. 27.

υδωρ (rain), 6. 28.
υεί (ὁ θεός), 1. 16.
υπάρχειν, 4. 16.
υπόμνησθαι, 7. 34.
ή υστεράλα (ἡμέρα), 1. 14.

Use of ordinary optative, 3. 19.
Voting (methods of), 7. 7.

φάσκειν, 4. 6.
φέρεσθαι πονηρῶς, 5. 17.
φοιτῶν, 1. 35.

χειμῶν, 1. 2.

BOOK II.

ἀγευ (rapere in jus?), 4. 1.
ἀέλ ὁ ἀκούων, 1. 4.
ἀκρωτηρία νεῶς, 3. 8.
ἀμαξιοὺς λίθος, 4. 27.
ἀνιστάναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, 4. 42.
ἀνίσχες (de sole), 1. 23.
ἀπαγγελλούσα (ἀπαγγελλούσα?), 1. 29.
ἀπὸ (of indirect agency), 4. 31.
ἀπὸ βοής ἑνεκεν, 4. 31.
ἀποθέσκευν (interfici), 1. 4 ; 3. 24.
ἀποκαλεῖν, 3. 47.
ἀποκοταβίζειν, 3. 56.
ἀποσαιμαίεσθαι, 3. 21 ; 4. 13.
ἀρμοστής, 4. 28.
ἀρχεσθαι and ἀρχεῖν, 1. 32.
ἀστύ (upper town), 4. 1.
ἀτιμοί, 2. 11.
ἀυτὸθεν (illinc), 4. 12.
ἀυτοῖ (αὐτοῦς ?), 1. 26.
ἀφ’ ἐσπέρας, 4. 24.
Abolition of democracies by Sparta, 2. 5.
Absence of connecting particle, 1. 3.
Aorist in pluperf. sense, 2. 3.
Article with proper names, 4. 29.

γυμνός (nudus), 1. 1.

δέ (in apodosis), 3. 15.
δέκατος αὐτός, 2. 17.

δήσου, 3. 32.
διέχει (δεῖχε?), 1. 21.
δραχμῆς μετέχευν (senatorem esse), 3. 48.

Double participle, 1. 28.

ἐβούλετο and ἠβούλετο, 2. 15.
εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι, 4. 34.
ἐκκαθέουσιν (excubare), 4. 24.
ἐνεκεν (quod attinet ad), 1. 14.
ἐξῆν et similia sine āv, 3. 41.
ἐπὶ Θράκης, 2. 5.
ἐπὶ c. dat. (penes), 3. 52.
ἐπὶ c. dat. (post), 4. 12.
ἐπὶ περτήκοντα ἀπιδών, 4. 11.
ἐπιδεῖν, 4. 17.
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, 3. 31.
ἐπιστολεὺς, 1. 7.
ἐπίτημοι, 2. 11.
ἐπιστείρα, 3. 46.
ἐφ’ ὧ, 2. 20.
ἐχεῖν with adv., 1. 2.
ἐχών (sc. τις), 1. 8.
Explanatory clause of relative, 3. 45.
Explanatory nomin. absolute, 2. 3.

ἡ βασιλέως (χώρα) 1. 16.
ἡ μήν, 4. 43.
ἡμέραν πέμπτην, 4. 13.

Historic Present, 4. 19.

Infin. of object, 3. 13.
INDEX TO THE NOTES.

Interchange of Aorist and Historic Present, 1. 15.

kal with interrogatives, 3. 47.
kal tauta, 3. 53.
kata in composition, 2. 23; 4. 15.
kata kратos, 1. 15.
kαλεδιευν etp tα ὄπλα, 3. 20.
kόθορνος, 3. 31.
kωφός λιμήν, 4. 31.

λέγουντας (λέγουντες?), 4. 37.
λευκούσθαι, 4. 25.
λυγαίνεσθαι c. dat. and acc., 3. 23.

Length of Peloponnesian War, 3. 9, 10.
Locative case, 4. 32.
Long Walls, 2. 15.

μεγάλα ἵστα, 1. 29.
μεξοβαρβαρος, 1. 15.

νομίζων c. infin, sine āv, 3. 14.

οἱ γνώριμοι, 2. 6.
oi ἐκκλητος, 4. 38.
oi περι c. acc., 4. 6.
oi πονηρος, 3. 13.
oιμώζων, 3. 56.
oίχεσθαι (aorist use of imperfect.), 1. 26.
oμνυναι c. pres. fut. aor. infin., 4. 43.

ὁνυμα (ὁνύματι), 1. 15.
ὁπλα (scuta), 4. 25.
ὁπώρα (fructus auctumn.), 4. 25.
ὁρμᾶσθαι εκ c. gen., 1. 16.
oτι followed by infin., 2. 2.
oῦ (ol?), 3. 54; 4. 13.
oὖτος (τοὐτος), 3. 43.
oὔτω (position of), 4. 17.
oὐχ ἥκιστα, 3. 18.
oὐχ δυνας, 4. 14.

Omission of āv with relative and subjunct., 3. 29.
Open voting, 4. 9.

παραβλήματα, 1. 22.
παρελύθητε (περιγλαθῆτε), 4. 41.
πελάγιος, 1. 17.
πίστεις ἑνεκα, 2. 16.
πλοία (naves operaria), 1. 17.
πολεμαρχος, 4. 33.
πρὶν with optative, 3. 48.
προσακόνειν, 4. 22.

Partitive genitive, 3. 14.
Partitive genitive of place, 1. 20.
Plural participle with noun of multitude, 3. 55.
Plural verb with plural noun of number, 3. 8.

Retinue of Spartan king, 4. 36.

σημαλνε (ὁ σαλπιγκτης?), 1. 5.
συγγραφεῖν νόμους, 3. 2.
συκοπαντια, 3. 12.
συμφορητα, 4. 20.
συνήδεσαν εαυτοις μη δυνες or μη οὕσιν, 3. 12.
σύνθεμα (συνθήκη), 1. 2.

τα δέκα αφ ηβης, 4. 32.
τα ὄπλα (castra), 4. 6.
tauτa predicate, 3. 56.
tes indefinite and definite, 3. 17.
tου λοιπον, 3. 29.
tουμπαλων (ēis τουμπαλων?), 1. 27.
τρέφεσθαι ἄπό c. gen., 1. 1.
Triremes, 1. 28.

ὑπό (ad) c. gen., 2. 23.
φέρεσθαι εὗ, 1. 6.
φρουρά (de Laced. exercitu), 4. 29.

χειρς, 1. 8.

ὡρα (τα ὥραια), 1. 1.
ὡσπερ after comparatives = ἦ, 3. 16.
ὡσπερ with participles, 3. 19.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

LIB. I.

'Αβυδος, 1. 5; 1. 6; 1. 11; 2. 16.

'Αγησάνδριδας, 1. 1; 3. 17.

'Αγις, 1. 33; 1. 34; 1. 35.

'Αδελμαντος, 4. 21; 7. 1.

'Αθηνα, 1. 4; 3. 1; 4. 12; 6. 1.

'Αθήναι, 1. 1; 1. 8; 1. 23; 1. 33; 2. 1; 2. 13; 3. 22; 4. 10; 5. 19; 6. 1; 6. 22; 7. 1; 7. 2.

'Αθηναίος, 1. 1; 1. 2; 1. 3; 1. 5; 1. 7; 1. 9; 1. 11; 1. 17; 1. 18; 1. 19; 1. 33; 1. 34; 1. 35; 2. 1; 2. 2; 2. 5; 2. 9; 2. 11; 3. 1; 3. 2; 3. 5; 3. 8; 3. 9; 3. 13; 3. 14; 3. 16; 3. 17; 4. 4; 4. 5; 4. 10; 4. 12; 4. 20; 4. 21; 5. 4; 5. 8; 5. 13; 5. 14; 5. 16; 5. 18; 5. 19; 6. 2; 6. 7; 6. 13; 6. 15; 6. 19; 6. 24; 6. 27; 6. 28; 6. 29; 6. 32; 6. 33; 6. 34; 6. 35; 6. 36; 6. 38; 7. 9; 7. 16; 7. 20; 7. 23; 7. 24; 7. 29; 7. 33; 7. 35.

'Αθηναίος, 2. 13.

'Ακράγας, 5. 21.

'Αλκιβίαδης, 1. 5; 1. 9; 1. 10; 1. 11; 1. 13; 1. 14; 1. 18; 1. 20; 2. 15; 2. 16; 3. 3; 3. 4; 3. 6; 3. 8; 3. 10; 3. 12; 3. 20; 4. 8; 4. 10; 4. 11; 4. 13; 4. 18; 4. 22; 4. 23; 5. 9; 5. 11; 5. 15; 5. 16; 5. 17.

'Αλκιβιάδης (imperatoris consobrinus), 2. 13.

'Αμαξικράτης, 3. 18.

'Αμαξίλαος, 3. 18.

'Αναξ, 4. 21; 5. 18. 'Ανδριαχώρα, 4. 22. 'Ανδριος, 4. 22.

'Ανδριώτας, 1. 37.

'Αντανόδος, 1. 25; 1. 26; 3. 17. 'Αντάνδροι, 1. 26.

'Αντιγένης, 3. 1.

'Αντίοχος, 5. 11; 5. 12; 5. 13.

'Απατούρια, 7. 8.

'Αργείος, 3. 13.

'Αργανθοία, 6. 27; 6. 28; 6. 33; 6. 38.

'Αρισταρχάνης, 4. 7.

'Αρισταρχος, 7. 28.

'Αριστογένης (Siculus), 2. 8.

'Αριστογένης (Athen.), 5. 16; 6. 30; 7. 1.

'Αριστοκράτης, 4. 21; 5. 16; 5. 18; 7. 2.

'Αριστών, 3. 18.

'Αράπης, 3. 12.

'Αρτέμις, 2. 6.

'Αρχέδημος, 7. 2.

'Αρχέστρατος, 5. 16.

'Αστυοχος, 1. 31.

'Αττίκη, 7. 22. 'Αττική δραχμή, 5. 4. 'Αττικα νήσος, 1. 36.

'Αχαιος, 2. 18.

Βιθυνος Θράκες, 3. 2; 3. 3.

Βοιώτιος, 4. 2.

Βοιωτος, 3. 15.

Βυζάντιος, 1. 35; 3. 36; 3. 2; 3. 10; 3. 11; 3. 14; 3. 15; 3. 17; 7. 1; 7. 2; 7. 22. 'Βυζάντιος, 1. 35; 3. 16; 3. 18. 'Βυζάντιος, 3. 19.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM. 145

Γαύρειον, 4. 22.
Γνώσεις, 1. 29.
Γορδίειον, 4. 1.
Γύθειον, 4. 11.

Δαρείος, 2. 19.
Δεκέλεια, 1. 33; 1. 35; 2. 14; 3. 22.
Δεξιόνος, 5. 15.
Δήμαρχος, 1. 29.
Διαγόρας, 1. 2.
Διομήδων, 5. 16; 6. 22; 6. 23; 6. 29; 7. 2; 7. 16; 7. 29.
Διότιμος, 3. 12.
Δωρείες, 1. 2; 1. 4; 5. 19.
Δωρόθεος, 3. 13.

Εἰλωτες, 2. 18.
Έλεξος, 3. 15; 3. 17; 3. 21.
Έλληνες, 5. 9; 6. 7; 6. 14.
Έλληνιδές πόλεις, 1. 37.
Έλλήσποντος, 1. 2; 1. 8; 1. 9; 1. 22; 1. 36; 2. 11; 3. 8; 3. 17; 5. 11; 6. 20; 6. 22; 7. 2.

Έπιδόκος, 1. 29.
Έρασινίδης, 5. 16; 6. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2; 7. 29.
Έρμοκράτης, 1. 27; 1. 30; 1. 31; 3. 13.

Έρμων, 6. 32.
Έτεονικος, 1. 32; 6. 26; 6. 35; 6. 36; 6. 38.

Εὐαγγέλιος, 2. 1.
Εὐαρχιππος, 2. 1.
Εὐβωτας, 2. 1.
Εὐκλής, 2. 8.
Εὐκτήμων, 2. 1.
Εὐμάχος, 1. 22.

Εὐφρατόλεμος, 3. 12; 3. 13; 4. 19; 7. 12; 7. 16; 7. 34.

Εὐφρέσος, 2. 6; 2. 7; 2. 12; 5. 1; 5. 10; 5. 14; 6. 2.

Ηελιός, 2. 1.
Ηράκλεια Τραχύλα, 2. 18.
Ηρακλείδης, 2. 8.
Ηράκλειων, 3. 7.

Θάσος, 1. 12; 1. 32; 4. 9.
Θεσσαλία, 3. 13.
Θηβαίος, 7. 28.
Θηραμένης, 1. 12; 1. 22; 6. 35; 7. 4; 7. 5; 7. 8; 7. 17; 7. 31.

Θορίκος, 2. 1.
Θράκης, 3. 10; 3. 17; 4. 9; Θράκες, 3. 2.
Θράκιος, 3. 20.
Θρασύβουλος, 1. 12; 4. 9; 4. 10; 5. 11; 6. 35; 7. 5; 7. 17; 7. 31.

Θρασύλος, 1. 8; 1. 33; 1. 34; 2. 1; 2. 6; 2. 7; 2. 13; 2. 17; 3. 6; 4. 10; 5. 16; 6. 30; 7. 2; 7. 29.

Θυμοχάρης, 1. 1.

Τίθη, 1. 25.
Τιλον, 1. 4.
Τιμέρα, 1. 37.
Τιπενος, 6. 29.

Τιποκράτης, 1. 23; 3. 5; 3. 6; 3. 7.

Τιπων, 2. 8.

Καλλίας, 6. 1.
Καλλικρατίδας, 6. 1; 6. 2; 6. 3; 6. 4; 6. 7; 6. 14; 6. 16; 6. 18; 6. 23; 6. 26; 6. 31; 6. 32; 6. 33; 6. 36.

Καλλιξένος, 7. 8; 7. 9; 7. 12; 7. 14; 7. 26; 7. 35.

Καλχηδόν, 1. 26; 1. 35; 3. 2; 3. 4; 3. 8; 3. 11; 3. 12.

Καλχηδώνια, 1. 22.

Καλχηδόνιοι, 3. 2; 3. 3; 3. 7; 3. 9.

Καννανώς, 7. 20; 7. 34.

Καρδία, 1. 11.
Καρια, 1. 10; 4. 8.
Καρχηδόνιοι, 1. 37; 5. 21.
Καστολός, 4. 3.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

Κεραμικὸς κόλπος, 4. 8.
Κίος, 4. 7.
Κλαζωμεναί, 1. 10; 1. 11.
Κλέαρχος, 1. 35; 3. 15; 3. 17; 3. 18; 3. 19.
Κλεόστρατος, 3. 13.
Κλεοφών, 7. 35.
Κορινθός, 3. 15; 3. 17; 3. 21; 3. 22.
Κολοφῶν, 2. 4.
Κόνων, 4. 10; 5. 16; 5. 18; 5. 20; 6. 15; 6. 16; 6. 17; 6. 19; 6. 22; 6. 38; 7. 1.
Κορησσός, 2. 7; 2. 9; 2. 10.
Κορυφάσιον, 2. 18.
Κρατησιμόπολις, 1. 32; 5. 1.
Κύδων, 3. 18.
Κύθηκος, 1. 11; 1. 14; 1. 16; 1. 19; 3. 13. Κυζίκηρος, 1. 19; 1. 20.
Κυρηναῖος, 2. 1.
Κύρος, 4. 2; 4. 3; 4. 4; 4. 5; 4. 7; 5. 1; 5. 2; 5. 3; 5. 6; 5. 8; 6. 6; 6. 10; 6. 18.
Κός, 5. 1.

Λαβώνας, 2. 18.
Λακεδαιμωνί, 1. 23; 1. 31; 2. 18; 3. 19; 5. 2; 6. 8; 6. 9.
Λακεδαιμώνιοι, 1. 1; 2. 18; 3. 13; 3. 19; 4. 2; 4. 3; 4. 9; 4. 11; 5. 1; 5. 2; 5. 3; 5. 15; 6. 1; 6. 4; 6. 7; 6. 31; 7. 25.
Λακεδαιμωνίοις, 3. 5; 3. 15; 3. 19. Λάκων, 1. 32.
Λάκωνες, 4. 22. Λακωνικὰ
νήσες, 6. 34.
Λαμψάκως, 2. 13; 2. 15.
Λεόβος, 2. 11; 2. 12; 6. 12; 6. 16; 6. 26; 6. 27.
Λευκολόφιδης, 4. 21.
Λέων, 5. 16; 6. 16.
Λυδία, 2. 4.
Λύκειον, 1. 33.
Λύκισκος, 7. 13.
Λυκοφόρος, 3. 18.
Λύσανδρος, 5. 1; 5. 6; 5. 10; 5. 11; 5. 12; 5. 13; 5. 14; 5. 15; 6. 1; 6. 2; 6. 3; 6. 4; 6. 5; 6. 10.
Λυσίας, 6. 30; 7. 2.

Μάδιντος, 1. 3.
Μακεδονία, 1. 12.
Μάλεα, 2. 18.
Μαλέα ἄκρα, 6. 26.
Μαντῖθεος, 1. 10; 5. 13.
Μέγαρα, 1. 36; 2. 14. Μεγαρεῖς, 3. 15. Μεγαρεύς, 3. 15; 6. 32.
Μένανδρος, 2. 16.
Μενεκλῆς, 7. 34.
Μενεκράτης, 1. 29.
Μήδας, 2. 19.
Μήδουμα, 2. 12; 6. 12; 6. 38.
Μηθυμναῖος, 6. 13; 6. 14; 6. 18.
Μέλητος, 1. 31; 2. 2; 2. 3; 5. 1; 6. 2; 6. 7. Μιλῆσιος, 6. 8.
Μίνδαρος, 1. 4; 1. 11; 1. 14; 1. 16; 1. 18; 1. 23; 3. 17.
Μιθροβάτης, 3. 12.
Μυσία, 4. 7.
Μύσκων, 1. 29.
Μυτιλήνη, 6. 16; 6. 26; 6. 35; 6. 38; 7. 29. Μυτιληναῖος, 6. 22.
Νότος, 2. 4; 2. 11; 5. 12; 5. 13; 5. 14.

Οἰνός, 7. 28.
Οἰσταῖος, 2. 18.
Ολυμπιάς, 2. 1.

Παντακλῆς, 3. 1.
Πάρμον, 1. 13.
Πάρος, 4. 11.
Πασιπτίδας, 1. 32; 3. 13; 3. 17.
Πειραίεις, 1. 35; 2. 14; 3. 22; 4. 12; 4. 13; 7. 35.
Πειστάναξ, 4. 19; 7. 12.
Πελοποννήσιος, 1. 6; 1. 7; 1.
LIB. II.

'Αβαρνίς, 1. 29.
'Αββάς, 1. 18. 'Αββάς, 1. 18.
'Αγγελίδας, 3. 10.
'Αγγελιστατας, 3. 10.
'Αγησ, 2. 7; 2. 11; 2. 13; 3. 3.
'Αγγελον, 3. 30.
'Αδελφαντος, 1. 30; 1. 32.
'Αθηνά, 4. 39.
'Αθηναίος, 1. 12; 1. 14; 1. 15; 1. 16; 1. 17; 1. 18; 1. 20; 1. 23; 1. 24; 1. 25; 1. 27; 1. 29; 1. 31; 1. 32; 2. 1; 2. 2; 2. 6; 2. 10; 2. 12; 2. 16; 2. 19; 3. 1; 3. 32; 4. 21; 4. 30; 4. 31; 4. 34.
'Αθηναίος, 2. 2; 2. 18.
'Αγνώνα, 2. 9. 'Αγνώναι, 2. 3; 2. 9.
'Αγώνος ποταμον, 1. 21; 1. 23.
'Αγώνια, 3. 9.
'Αγώνιδης, 4. 26.
'Αγώνινης, 3. 2; 3. 13.
'Ακαδημεια, 2. 8.
'Ακράγας, 2. 24.
'Αλαί, 4. 34.
'Αλεξία, 1. 10.
'Αλεξίπτερας, 3. 10.
'Αλεπτέον, 4. 30.
'Αλευδάδης, 1. 25; 2. 1; 3. 42.
'Αναλίτος, 3. 2.
'Ανάρτων, 1. 32. 'Ανάρτιο ναῦς, 1. 31.
'Αντανάθρος, 1. 10.
'Αντιφών, 3. 40.
'Αντωνος, 3. 42; 3. 44.
'Αρακός, 1. 7; 3. 10.
'Αργείος, 2. 7.
'Αρειός, 3. 2.
'Αρίσταρχος, 3. 46.
'Αριστοτέλης, 2. 18; 3. 2; 3. 13; 3. 46.
'Αρτεμις, 4. 11.
'Αρχάρατος, 2. 15.
'Αρχήνας, 1. 10; 3. 10.
'Ασία, 1. 18.
'Αυτοβουλάκης, 1. 8.
'Βενίδεον, 4. 11.
'Βουλταλ, 4. 30.
'Βρασίδας, 3. 10.
'Βυζαντινον, 2. 1; 2. 2.
'Γέλα, 3. 5.
'Γλασκός, 4. 19.
'Δαρείασ, 1. 8; 1. 9.
'Δαρείας, 1. 8.
'Δεκέλεα, 2. 7; 3. 3.
'Δεκαλής, 3. 2.
'Διονύσιος, 2. 24; 3. 5.
'Δραγοντίδης, 3. 2.
'Ελαμούς, 1. 20.
'Ελευσίς, 4. 8; 4. 28; 4. 38; 4. 43.
'Ελευσίνιον, 4. 9.
'Ελευσινάδας, 4. 24; 4. 29.
'Ελλάς, 2. 6; 2. 20; 2. 23.
'Ελληνες, 1. 2; 1. 32; 2. 3; 2. 19. 'Ελληνικά πόλεις, 2. 20.
'Ελληνιδές πόλεις, 3. 24.
'Ελληνσποντς, 1. 17; 1. 21; 2. 5.
'Ενδός, 3. 1; 3. 10.
'Ενωάλιος, 4. 17.
'Εκαρχος, 3. 10.
'Επιγράτος, 3. 10.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM. 149

'Ερασιστράτος, 3. 2.
'Ερατοσθένης, 3. 2.
'Ερμοκράτης, 2. 24.
'Εστία, 3. 52.
'Ετεόνικος, 1. 1; 1. 2; 1. 4; 1. 5; 1. 10; 2. 5.
Ευαγόρας, 1. 29.
Ευάρχιππος, 3. 10.
Ευθύδη, 3. 9.
Ευκλείδης, 3. 2.
Ευμάθης, 3. 2.
'Εφέσος, 1. 6; 1. 10; 1. 16.

Ζεύξιππος, 3. 10.

Θαμυρία, 1. 13.
Θεογένης, 3. 2.
Θέουγος, 3. 2.
Θέσσαλος, 1. 30.
Θεσπαλία, 3. 4; 3. 36. Θεσπα-λόλ, 3. 4. Θεσπαλός, 3. 1.
Θήβαι, 4. 1; 4. 2. Θηβαίοι, 2. 19.

Θεραμένης, 2. 16; 2. 18; 2. 19; 2. 21; 2. 22; 3. 2; 3. 15; 3. 16; 3. 17; 3. 18; 3. 19; 3. 22; 3. 24; 3. 27; 3. 31; 3. 35; 3. 54; 3. 55; 4. 1.

Θηβαί, 4. 33.
Θάρκη, 2. 5.
Θρασύβουλος, 3. 42; 3. 44; 4. 2; 4. 5; 4. 6; 4. 10; 4. 12; 4. 34; 4. 40.

Θώραξ, 1. 18; 1. 28.

'Ιεραμένης, 1. 9.
'Ιέρων, 3. 2.
'Ιλάρχος, 3. 10.
'Ιπποδάμειος ἀγορά, 4. 11.
'Ιππολόχος, 3. 2.
'Ιππόμαχος, 3. 2; 4. 19.
'Ισάνωρ, 3. 10.
'Ισίας, 3. 10.
'Ιστιαίες, 2. 3.
'Ιωνία, 1. 17.

Καδούσιος, 1. 13.
Κάλλιβις, 3. 14.

Καλλιστράτος, 4. 27.
Καλχηδών, 2. 1; 2. 2.
Καμάρινα, 3. 5.
Καρία, 1. 15.
Καρχηδόνιον, 2. 24; 3. 5.
Κατάνη, 3. 5.
Κεδρεῖα, 1. 15.
Κεραμεῖκος, 4. 33.
Κεράμειος κόλπος, 1. 15.
Κηφισόδοτος, 1. 16.
Κηφισός, 4. 19.
Κηφισοφόν, 4. 36.
Κλεωνόμαχος, 3. 10.
Κλεόκριτος, 4. 20.
Κλεομήδης, 3. 2.
Κλεοσθένης, 3. 10.
Κόλων, 1. 28; 1. 29.
Κορίνθιοι, 1. 32; 2. 19; 4. 30.
Κορυφία ναῦς, 1. 31.
Κριταί, 3. 2; 3. 15; 3. 18; 3. 24; 3. 36; 3. 43; 3. 48; 3. 49; 3. 50; 3. 52; 3. 54; 3. 56; 4. 8; 4. 9; 4. 19.
Κροκίνας, 3. 1.
Κύρος, 1. 7; 1. 8; 1. 11; 1. 13; 1. 15; 3. 8.

Λακεδαίμων, 1. 6; 1. 30; 2. 7; 2. 12; 2. 17; 3. 8; 3. 13; 4. 28; 4. 36; 4. 37. Λακε-

δαιμώνιον, 1. 7; 1. 14; 2. 3; 2. 5; 2. 7; 2. 11; 2. 15; 2. 16; 2. 18; 2. 20; 2. 22; 3.
9; 3. 25; 3. 28; 3. 34; 3. 41; 3. 45; 4. 28; 4. 30; 4.
31; 4. 33; 4. 34; 4. 35; 4.
36; 4. 37; 4. 41. Λακεδαι-

mώνιος, 1. 18. Λάκων, 2. 2.
Λακωνική, 2. 13. Λακωνικά

νῆς, 3. 8; Λακωνικόλ, 4. 4;
4. 10.

Λακράτης, 4. 33.

Λάμμακας, 1. 18; 1. 20; 1. 21;
1. 29; 1. 30; 2. 1; 2. 2.
Λαρισαίος, 3. 4.
Λεοντίνος, 3. 5.
Λεοντίς φυλή, 4. 27.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

Αδσθος, 2. 5; 3. 32; 3. 35.
Αδων (Luc.), 3. 10.
Αδων (Salamin.), 3. 39.
Λίβυθα, 4. 28.
Λυκάριος, 3. 10.
Λύκειον, 4. 27.
Λυκόφρων, 3. 4.
Λύσανθος, 1. 6; 1. 7; 1. 10;
1. 12; 1. 13; 1. 14; 1. 15;
1. 17; 1. 18; 1. 19; 1. 22;
1. 23; 1. 24; 1. 27; 1. 28;
1. 29; 1. 30; 1. 31; 1. 32;
2. 2; 2. 5; 2. 7; 2. 9; 2. 16;
2. 17; 2. 18; 2. 23;
3. 3; 3. 6; 3. 7; 3. 10; 3. 13;
4. 28; 4. 29; 4. 30; 4. 36.
Λυσίμαχος, 4. 8; 4. 26.

Μέγαρα, 4. 1.
Μελάνθιος, 3. 46.
Μέλητος, 4. 36.
Μένανδρος, 1. 16; 1. 26.
Μηδία, 1. 13.
Μῆλιος, 2. 3; 2. 9.
Μηλόβιος, 3. 2.
Μηλήσιος, 1. 30.
Μεσογαλάθας, 3. 10.
Μετραῖος, 1. 8.
Μηνισθείδης, 3. 2.
Μηνισθλοχος, 3. 2.
Μουννικία, 4. 11; 4. 37.
Μυτιλήνη, 2. 5.

Ναυκλείδας, 4. 36.
Νικήρατος, 3. 39.
Νίκλας, 3. 39.
Νικόστρατος, 4. 6.
Νισίον, 1. 6.

Ξέρζης, 1. 8.

'Ολυμπίας, 3. 1.
'Ονομακλης (Athen.), 3. 2.
'Ονομακλης (Laced.), 3. 10.
'Ονομαντίος, 3. 10.

Παντακλης, 3. 10.

Πάραλος, 1. 28; 1. 29; 2. 3.
Πατρογίδιας, 3. 10.
Πανωραίας, 2. 7; 4. 29; 4. 30;
4. 31; 4. 34; 4. 35; 4. 36;
4. 38; 4. 39.
Πειρατέως, 2. 2; 2. 3; 2. 9; 2. 11;
2. 20; 2. 23; 3. 8; 3. 11;
4. 1; 4. 10; 4. 19; 4. 23;
4. 24; 4. 25; 4. 26; 4. 27;
4. 28; 4. 29; 4. 30; 4. 31;
4. 32; 4. 33; 4. 35; 4. 36;
4. 37; 4. 38; 4. 39.
Πεισών, 3. 2.
Πελαιστηνιος, 2. 7; 4. 21; 4. 29; 4. 41.
Πειτύς, 3. 10.
Πλειστίδας, 3. 10.
Πολυχάρης, 3. 2.
Πόντος, 2. 1.
Προμηθεύς, 3. 36.
Πυθώνερος, 3. 1.

Ρόδος, 1. 15; 1. 17.

Σαλαμίς, 2. 9. Σαλαμίνιος, 3. 39.

Σάμιος, 1. 12; 1. 16; 3. 3.
Σάμιοι, 2. 6; 3. 6.
Σάτυρος, 3. 54; 3. 55; 3. 56.
Σελλασία, 2. 13; 2. 19.
Σηστός, 1. 20; 1. 25.
Σθενελαος, 2. 2.
Σκελετωται, 2. 24.
Σκιωναῖος, 2. 3.
Σοφοκλῆς, 3. 2.
Στάρτης, 3. 1.
Συρακόσιοι, 2. 24; 3. 5. Συ-
ρακόσιοι, 2. 24; 3. 5.
Σωστρατίδας, 3. 10.

Τορπυαῖος, 2. 3.
Τύδεύς, 1. 16; 1. 26.

Φαίδρας, 3. 2.
Φεῖδων, 3. 2.
Φεραῖος, 3. 4.
Φιλοκλῆς, 1. 30; 1. 31; 1. 32.
INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM. 151

Φυλή, 4. 2; 4. 3; 4. 4; 4. 5; 4. 10; 4. 11; 4. 12.

Χατρέλεως, 3. 2.
Χατρίλας, 3. 10.
Χαιρων, 4. 33.
Χαρικλῆς, 3. 2.

Χαρμίδης, 4. 19.
Χερρονησσος, 1. 20; 1. 27.
Χίος, 1. 1; 1. 10; 1. 16; 1. 17;
Χίοι, 1. 5; 1. 6.
Χρέμων, 3. 2.

'Οιδείων, 4. 9; 4. 10; 4. 24.
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## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Classics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical Series</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classical Library—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Texts; (2) Commentaries and Translations</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar, Composition, and Philology</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antiquities, Ancient History, and Philosophy</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Testament</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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