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XENOPHON'S ° AGESILAUS

WITH SYNTAX RULES AND REFERENCES NOTES AND INDICES

ВY

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Oxford and Cambridge

MDCCCLXXX



PA4495 A5 1880 MAIN

CONTENTS.

Техт, .			. 7			page 5
Syntax Rules,			. •			41
Notes, .						57
CHRONOLOGICAL	TABLE,			•		90
INDICES, .						92

75)z a 1880



ΈΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ.

*** The numbers above the line refer to the Rules of Syntax which follow the text, and apply to the words that precede them.

CHAPTER I.

AGESILAUS IN ASIA.

Noble descent of Agesilaus, the noblest of the noblest city in Greece.

 Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι ^{43b} τῆς ᾿Αγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ῥάδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινου γράψαι,^{29a} ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέου.
 οὐ γùρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι^{53b} εἰ, ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο,⁵¹ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων ἂν τυγχάνοι^{54b} ἐπαίνων.²³
 περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἄν τις μείζον καὶ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις^{194,60} ἀπομνημονεύεται, ὑπώστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο,⁴⁵ καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἰδιῶταις ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῦσιν;
 αἰλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτῃ γ' ἄν τις ἔχοι^{54b}
 καταμέμψασθαι^{29*} αὐτοὺς ὡς βασιλεύουσι μέν,^{43b} πόλεως²⁵
 δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμότατον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων²⁵ πρωτεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι.

The worth of the kingly race is shown by the permanence of the monarchy in Sparta.

4. τήδέ γε μην και κοινή άξιον ἐπαινέσαι τήν τε πατρίδα και το γένος αὐτοῦ ή τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα τοῦ²³ προτετιμησθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρησε καταλῦσαι²⁹ την ἀρχην αὐτῶν, οί τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων²³ ἀρέχθησαν ἡ ἐφ' οἶσπερ ἐξ ἀρχης την βασι-

AGESILAUS CROSSES INTO ASIA.

λείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερά ἐστι διαγεγενημένη⁵⁹ ἀδιάσπαστος οὖτε δημοκρατία οὖτε ὀλιγαρχία οὖτε τυραννὶς οὖτε βασιλεία· αὖτη δὲ μόνη διαμένει συνεχὴς βασιλεία.

The personal merit which gained him the kingdom.

5. "Ως γε μην και πριν ἄρξαι⁵² ἄξιος της βασιλείας εδόκει είναι 'Αγησίλαος τάδε τα⁵ σημεία. επεί γαρ 'Αγις βασιλεύς ὣν ετελεύτησεν, ερισάντων³¹ περι της άρχης Λεωτυχίδα³ μεν ώς 'Αγιδος ὄντος υίοῦ, 'Αγησιλάου δε ώς 'Αρχιδάμου, κρίνασα ή πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον είναι⁴³ 'Αγησίλαον και τῷ γένει¹⁹ και τῃ ἀρετῃ τοῦτον ε΄στήσατο βασιλέα.⁵ καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῃ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων κριθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρως²⁵ ἀξιωθηναι³⁰ ποίων ἔτι τεκμηρίων²⁶ προσδείται τῆς γε πριν ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ;⁸

Soon after his accession he volunteers to cross over into Asia, and to assume the offensive against the Persian forces, so as to secure Greece from invasion.

6. "Οσα γε μην έν τη βασιλεία διεπράξατο⁴⁸ νυν ήδη διηγήσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐργων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι. 'Αγησίλαος τοίνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ῶν⁶⁸ ἔτυχε της βασιλείας²³ ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τη ἀρχη, ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων⁴³° καὶ ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας· 7. βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, 'Αγησίλαος ὑπέστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν^{53,41} αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβήσεσθαι⁴³* εἰς την 'Ασίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην ποιησαι³⁹° ἢ ἂν πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν²³⁴ ἐπὶ τοὺς ⁴ Ελληνας. 8. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἠγάσθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντιδιαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τό τε αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα^{23 b} μὰλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τἀκείνου δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ᾿Ασίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.^{23 b}

Tissaphernes' treachery and Agesilaus' good faith.

9. Έπει γε μην λαβών 53 το στράτευμα έξεπλευσε, πως άν τις σαφέστερον επιδείξειεν 53° ως εστρατήγησεν η εί αυτά διηγήσαιτο α έπραξεν ; 10. έν τοίνυν τη 'Ασία ήδε πρώτη πράξις έγενετο Τισσαφέρνης μεν ώμοσεν Άγησιλάω,¹⁶ εί σπείσαιτο έως έλθοιεν⁵² ούς πεμψειε⁴⁸ προς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθηναι^{29 b} αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας, ᾿Αγησίλαος δε αντώμοσε σπονδας άξειν 43 α άδόλως, όρισάμενος της πράξεως τρείς μήνας. 11. ό μεν δη Τισσαφέρνης ἁ ὤμοσεν εύθὺς ἐψεύσατο. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν³⁰ στράτευμα πολύ παρά βασιλέως προς 🖓 ** πρόσθεν είχε μετεπέμπετο. Άγησίλαος δε καίπερ αισθόμενος 58 ταῦτα όμως ένέμεινε ταις σπονδαις.¹⁵ 12. έμοι ούν τουτο πρώτον καλον δοκεί διαπράξασθαι^{29°} ότι Τισσαφέρνην μεν έμφανίσας ἐπίορκον ἀπιστον πασιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτον δ' άντεπιδείξας πρώτον μεν όρκους έμπεδούντα, 43° έπειτα συνθήκας μη ψευδόμενον, πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ "Ελληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρρούντας συντίθεσθαι έαυτώ, εί τι βούλοιτο.

Tissaphernes declares war.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας^{58a,t} ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι προείπεν ᾿Αγησιλάῷ¹⁶ πόλεμον,

TISSAPHERNES OUTWITTED.

εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι⁵³ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες⁵⁸ φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες⁵⁸ μείονα τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν⁵ ᾿Αγησιλάφ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς εἶναι· ᾿Αγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ⁵ ἀπαγγείλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι^{43b} ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας⁵⁸¹ αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο.⁴¹ τοῦς δ΄ Έλλησι¹⁶ συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.

Tissaphernes is put on a false scent and outwitted.

14. έκ δε τούτου εύθυς τοις μεν στρατιώταις 16 παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι⁴⁴ ώς είς στρατείαν ταις δε πόλεσιν είς ας ανάγκη ην άφικνείσθαι στρατευομένω 58 επί Καρίαν προείπεν άγοραν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δε και "Ιωσι και Αιολεύσι και Έλλησποντίοις πέμπειν προς αύτον είς "Εφεσον τους συστρατευσομένους.⁵⁰² 15. ό μεν ουν Τισσαφέρνης, και ότι ίππικον ούκ είχεν⁵¹ ό 'Αγησίλαος, ή δε Καρία ἄφιππος ην, καὶ ὅτι ήγεῖτο αὐτον ὀργίζεσθαι⁴³* αὐτῶ¹⁶ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τον αὐτοῦ οίκον είς Καρίαν όρμήσειν αυτόν, το μεν πεζον άπαν διεβίβασεν έκεισε, το δε ιππικον εις το Μαιάνδρου πεδίον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ίκανος είναι καταπατήσαι τη ίππω τους Έλληνας πρίν είς τα δύσιππα άφικέσθαι. 16. ό δε Αγησίλαος αντί του έπι Καρίαν ιέναι³⁰ εύθυς αντιστρέψας έπι Φρυγίας²³ έπορεύετο και τάς τε έν τη πορεία άπαντώσας δυνάμεις⁸ άναλαμβάνων ηγε και τας πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλῶν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθή χρήματα έλαβε. 17. στρατηγικον ουν και τουτο έδόκει διαπράξασθαι ότι έπει πόλεμος προερρήθη⁵² και το έξαπατάν όσιόν τε και δίκαιον έξ έκείνου έγένετο, παίδα απέδειξε τον Τισσαφέρνην τη απάτη,192 φρονίμως δε και τους φίλους ένταῦθα ἔδοξε πλουτίσαι.

Agesilaus looks to his friends' interest in the sale of the spoil.

18. Έπει γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰλῆφθαι⁸⁰ ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο,¹⁸ τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προεῖπεν ἀνεῖσθαι,⁴⁴ εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο^{43b} ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατάγων⁶⁸¹ τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους ὁπόσου^{25a} τι πρίαιντο προίεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες⁶⁸¹ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον βλάψαντες πάντες παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἕλαβον.⁴⁹⁸ 19. ἔτι δὲ ὁπότε αὐτόμολοι ὡς εἰκὸς πρὸς βασιλέα ἰόντες χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν^{52,49b} ὑφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν φίλων ἀλίσκοιτο,⁵⁰⁶ ὅπως ἅμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίγνοιντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς τῆς αῦτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο.

His clemency towards his enemies, and dislike of harsh measures.

20. Γιγνώσκων δ' ότι ή μεν πορθουμένη^{32, 68°} καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο^{53°} πολὺν χρόνον¹⁴» στράτευμα φέρειν, ή δ' οἰκουμένη μεν σπειρομένη δε ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν⁵ παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βία χειροῦσθαι²³ τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πραότητι¹⁹» προσάγεσθαι. 21. καὶ πολλάκις μεν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις¹⁶ τοὺς ἀλισκομένους μη⁶²» ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρείσθαι, ἀλλ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὅντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἴσθοιτο⁶⁰ καταλελειμμένα παιδάρια παρὰ ἐμπόρων, ἂ πολλοὶ ἐπώλουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγκομίζοιντο^{50°} ποι. 22. τοῖς δ' αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλειπομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις⁸ προσέταττεν ἐπιμελείσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οῦ⁸* πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα,

ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο.⁴⁹ ὁποσας δὲ πόλεις προσάγοιτο,⁴⁸ ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα¹³ δοῦλοι δεσπόταις¹⁶ ὑπηρετοῦσι προσέταττεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται· καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων²¹⁵ τῆ φιλανθρωπία ὑπὸ χεῖρα⁶⁶ ἐποιεῖτο.

How Agesilaus provided himself with cavalry.

23. Έπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ. ἐν τῆ Φρυγία ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον³¹ εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι⁵⁰ αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων³ ἱπποτροφεῖν²⁹⁴ κατέλεξε. 24. προεῖπε δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο⁴³ ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἀνδρα δόκιμον, ὡς ἐξέσοιτο⁴³⁵ αὐτῷ μῆ⁵² στρατεύεσθαι[·] καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν²⁹³α ὥσπερ ἀν τις τὸν ὑπερ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύοι,⁵⁴⁵ ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐξ ῶν δέοι⁴³ τοὺς ἱππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων πόλεων εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῆ ἱππικῆ γενέσθαι.⁵⁵ καὶ τοῦτ οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι ὅτι κατεσκεύαστο τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν.

Gathering and training of the army at Ephesus. How Agesilaus stirred the enthusiasm of his soldiers.

25. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε,⁵² συνήγαγε πῶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἐφεσον ἀσκῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προὖθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύοι,⁴⁰⁵ καὶ ταῖς ὅπλιτικαῖς, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἆθλα προὖθηκεν, οἵτινες κράτιστοι τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα¹³ φαίνοιντο. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὅρῶν²⁹ τὰ μὲν γυμνώσια⁵ μεστὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δὲ ἱππόδρομον ἱππέων ἱππαζο-

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ADVANCE.

μένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ στόχον ἱέντας. 26. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν η ἦν θέας²⁵» ἐποίησεν. ἡ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ μεστὴ ἦν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὅπλων²⁶* καὶ ἵππων ὠνίων, οἵ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς καὶ σκυτεῖς καὶ γραφεῖς πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατεσκεύαζον ὡστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως ἂν ἡγήσω^{99,95} πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. 27. ἐπερρώσθη ὅ ἄν τις κἀκεῖνο ἰδών,⁵⁵ ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους τε ὅπου ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἴοιεν,⁶⁰ καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῆ ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιεν, πολεμικὰ δὲ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχίαν δὲ μελετῷεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων²⁶ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ; μ

He makes them feel contempt for their foes by a strange device. Under

28. 'Ηγούμενος δε και το καταφρονείν των πολεμίων²⁵ ρώμην τινα έμβαλείν προς το μάχεσθαι, προείπε τοίς κήρυζι τους ύπο των ληστών άλισκομένους βαρβάρους⁸ γυμνους⁵ πωλείν. όρωντες ούν οί στρατιωται λευκους μεν δια το μηδέποτε εκδύεσθαι,³⁰ πίονας δε και άπόνους δια το άει επ' όχημάτων είναι, ενόμισαν μηδεν διοίσειν τον πόλεμον η εί γυναιζί δεοι^{55,378} μάχεσθαι. προείπε δε και τουτο τοςς στρατιώταις ώς εύθυς ήγήσοιτο την συντομωτάτην¹⁰ επι τα κράτιστα της χώρας²⁵ όπως αυτόθεν αυτώ τα σώματα και την γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ώς άγωνιούμενοι.⁵⁰⁴

The advance upon Sardis.

29. Ο μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν⁴³ πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δε νῦν τῷ ὅντι ἐμβαλεῖν. τό τε οὖν πεζὸν⁸ καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε, καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ

THE BATTLE OF SARDIS.

ώσπερ προείπευ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαρδιαυὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας¹⁴ δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων²⁶ πορευόμενος πολλὰ⁵ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῆ στρατιậ παρεῖχε· τῆ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρậ¹⁹ ἦκου οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. 30. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμῶν διαβάντι¹⁸ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους καθ' ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.

Finding the enemy unprepared, he gives them battle, and takes their camp. He then marches on Sardis.

Αισθόμενος δε ό Άγησίλαος βοηθείν * εκέλευσε τους ίππέας. οί δ' αὐ Πέρσαι ώς είδον την βοήθειαν, ήθροίσθησαν και άντιπαρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι των ίππέων τάξεσιν. 192 31. ένθα δη ό Άγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ότι τοίς μεν πολεμίοις ούπω παρείη³³ το πεζόν, αυτώ¹⁷ δε ουδεν άπείη των παρεσκευασμένων,²¹ καιρον ήγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι,294 εἰ δύναιτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν την μεν φάλαγγα εύθυς ήγεν έπι τους άντιτεταγμένους ίππέας, έκ δε των όπλιτων εκέλευσε τα δέκα άφ' ήβης θείν όμόσε αυτοίς,¹⁶ τοίς δε πελτασταίς είπε δρόμω ύφηγείσθαι. παρήγγειλε δε και τοις ιππευσιν εμβάλλειν, ώς αυτού τε και παυτός του στρατεύματος έπομένου.21 32. τους μεν δη ίππέας έδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν ἐπειδη δε άμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρήν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μέν αυτών²¹ εύθυς έν τώ ποταμώ έπεσον, οι δε άλλοι έφευγον. οι δε Έλληνες επόμενοι αίροῦσι και το στρατόπεδον αυτών. και οι μεν πελτασται ώσπερ είκος έφ' άρπαγην έτρέποντο.³² ό δε 'Αγησίλαος έχων κύκλω πάντα και φίλια και πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. 33. ώς δε ήκουσε τους πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι δια το αιτιασθαι άλλήλους του γεγενημένου, 26 b, εύθυς ηγεν έπι Σάρδεις.

He gives liberty to the Asiatic Greeks.

Κάκεί ἅμα μεν ἕκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ,⁸ ἅμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι¹⁹ ἐδήλου τοὺς μεν ἐλευθερίας²⁶ δεομένους ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι⁴⁴ εἰ δέ τινες τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἑαυτῶν²¹ ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας διακρινουμένους ἐν ὅπλοις παρεῖναι. 34. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐδεἰς ἀντεξήει, ἀ<u>δεῶς</u> δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου¹⁴ ἐστρατεύετο, τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν ἕ Ελληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δ' ἀξιοῦντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι,²⁹ τούτους ποιήσας μηδ' ἀντιβλέπειν²⁹⁴ τοῖς ἕ Ελλησι δύνασθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδήωτον¹² παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οῦτω καρπούμενος ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων²⁵ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῦσαι.

Execution of Tissaphernes. Effect of Agesilaus' conciliatory policy. His patriotism.

35. ⁶Ο μέντοι Περσών βασιλεύς, νομίσας Τισσαφέρνην αίτιον είναι τοῦ κακώς φέρεσθαι²¹ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τών βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο,^{1*} τὰ δὲ ᾿Αγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας,²³ ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἐλλήνων²⁵ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἦν^{49*} ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος.

36. "Αξιόν γε μην και έντευθεν ύπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ,²³ ὅστις ἄρχων μεν παμπόλλων²⁵ ἐν τη ήπείρω πόλεων, ἄρχων δε και νήσων, ἐπει και το ναυτικον προσήψεν αὐτῷ¹⁶ ή πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δε και εὐκλεία και δυνάμει, παρον⁶¹ δ΄ αὐτῷ πολλοῖς και ἀγαθοῖς¹⁹* χρησθαι ὅ,τι¹³ ἐβούλετο, προς δε τούτοις το μέγιστον,

AGESILAUS IS RECALLED.

έπινοών και έλπίζων καταλύσειν 432 την έπι την Έλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχήν, ὅμως ὑπ'412 οὐδενος τούτων έκρατήθη, άλλ' έπειδη ήλθεν αύτω άπο των οίκοι τελών βοηθείν τη πατρίδι, επείθετο τη πόλει ουδεν διαφερόντως η ει έν τω εφορείω ετυχεν 54 δεστηκώς μόνος παρα τους πέντε, μάλα ένδηλον ποιών ώς ούτε αν πάσαν την γην δέξαιτο " άντι της πατρίδος ούτε τους επικτήτους άντι των άρχαίων φίλων ούτε αισχρά και άκινδυνα κέρδη μάλλον η μετά κινδύνων τά καλά και δίκαια. 37. όσον γε μην χρόνον 14 επι τη άρχη έμεινε πως ουκ άξιεπαίνου βασιλέως και τουτ' έργον επεδείξατο, όστις ταραλαβών πάσας πόλεις έφ' ας άρξων έξεπλευσε στασιαζούσας δια το τας πολιτείας κινηθήναι,³⁰ έπει 'Αθηναίοι τής άρχής²⁴ έληξαν, εποίησεν ώστ' άνευ φυγής και θανάτων έως αύτος παρην⁵² όμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς⁵ πόλεις διατελέσαι; 38. τοιγαρούν οἱ ἐν τη ᾿Ασία Έλληνες ούχ ώς άρχοντος μόνον άλλα και ώς πατρος και έταίρου απιόντος αύτου²¹ έλυπούντο. και τέλος εδήλωσαν ότι ου πλαστην⁵ την φιλίαν παρείχοντο. έθελούσιοι γούν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τη Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες έτι ου χείροσιν¹⁶ έαυτων δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. των μεν δη έν τη 'Ασία πράξεων⁸ τουτο τέλος έγένετο.

CHAPTER II.

AGESILAUS IN EUROPE.

The homeward march; he is attacked by the Thessalians.

 Διαβάς⁶⁶⁶ δε του Έλλήσπουτον ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ῶνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλῷ καὶ ἡν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μεῖον ἡ

HE BEATS THE THESSALIAN CAVALRY.

έν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσειε τῆς πατρίδος²⁵ προεθυμεῖτο. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο,⁵² Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὅντες Βοιωτοῖς,¹⁶ καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ψυγάδες τότε ὅντες⁵⁹ ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν οὖτοι ἐφεπόμενοι· ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίω τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ' οὐρὰν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας²⁴ αὐτὸν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς ὅπισθεν,¹⁵ παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου στρατεύματος ἱππικον⁸ πλὴν τῶν⁶¹⁸ περὶ αὐτόν. 3. ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις,¹⁵ οἱ μὲν Θετταλοί, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν,²⁹ε στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο.

Agestilaus sees his advantage, and by a brisk charge puts them to flight. His delight at beating the best cavalry in Greece.

Γνοὺς δὲ ό 'Αγησίλαος ἁ¹³ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάλ' εὐρώστους ἱππέας,⁸ καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν⁴⁴ καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι⁶² δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφήν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας,⁵³° οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναστρέφειν^{29°} πειρώμενοι πλαγίους⁵ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡλίσκοντο. 4. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν^{8°} ἀποθνήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ψυγὴ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον^{49°} αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὅρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.^{52°} 5. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ 'Αγησίλαος τρόπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο μεταξυ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε,

PREPARING FOR BATTLE.

μάλα ήδόμενος τῷ ἔργφ,¹⁹δ ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρουοῦντας ἐφ' ἱππικῆ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ῷ⁴ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἱππικῷ. τῆ δ' ὑστεραίą¹⁹ε ὑπερβάλλων τὰ 'Αχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὅρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἤδη πασαν¹³ διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.

How he prepared for the battle of Coronea.

6. Ἐνταῦθα δη ἀντιτεταγμένους εύρων Θηβαίους, 'Αθηναίους, 'Αργείους, Κορινθίους, Αινιάνας, Εύβοέας και Λοκρούς αμφοτέρους, οὐδεν ἐμέλλησεν, αλλ' έκ τοῦ φανερού⁸ αντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μεν έχων μόραν καὶ ήμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμάχων Φωκέας καὶ Όρχομενίους μόνους, τό τ' άλλο στράτευμα όπερ ήγάγετο αὐτός. 7. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λέξων 50 τρχομαι ὡς πολύ μεν ἐλάττους πολύ δε χείρονας έχων όμως συνέβαλεν εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοιμι,⁵³ε 'Αγησίλαόν τ' ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα ἀποφαίνειν⁵⁵ και έμαυτον μωρόν, ει έπαινοίην τον περι των μεγίστων εἰκῆ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τάδ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι ὅτι πλήθός τε ούδεν μείον η το των πολεμίων⁸ παρεσκευάσατο, ώπλισέ τε ούτως ώς άπαντα μεν χαλκόν, άπαντα δε φοινικά φαίνεσθαι 8. επεμελήθη δ' όπως οι στρατιώται τούς πόνους δυνήσοιντο⁵⁰ ύποφέρειν ένέπλησε δε καί φρονήματος^{26 a} τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὡς ἱκανοὶ εἶεν⁵⁰ πρὸς ούστινας δέοι μάχεσθαι έτι δε φιλονεικίαν ενέβαλε προς άλλήλους τοις 16 μετ' αυτού όπως έκαστοι αυτών άριστοι φαίνοιντο. έλπίδων γε μην πάντας ένέπλησεν ώς πασι πολλά κάγαθά έσοιτο,^{43 b} εἰ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοιντο, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους προθυμότατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάγεσθαι. 9. και μέντοι ούκ έψεύσθη.

Battle of Coronea; the first engagement.

Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο οἵαπερ⁴⁸ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ήμῶν. συνήεσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ

THE BATTLE OF CORONEA.

Κορώνειαν πεδίον⁸ οἱ μὲν σὺν 'Αγησιλάφ⁸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. ἑώρων δὲ τάς τε φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε δὲ ὁ 'Αγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιον τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, Όρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ¹¹ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν. 'Αργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. 10. συνιώντων²¹ δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἡνίκα δὲ ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων²⁴ ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμφ¹⁹ ὑμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσφ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αγησιλάου φάλαγγος ῶν⁵ Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει. 11. ἦσαν δ' οῦτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων⁸ καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές, καὶ Ἰωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι. καὶ πάντες οῦτοι τῶν συνεκδραμώντων²¹ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς.⁸ 'Αργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς ἀμφ' 'Αγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα.

The battle renewed. Bravery of Agesilaus.

Κάνταῦθα οἱ μεν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν³² ἤδη τὸν ᾿Αγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι Θηβαίοι τοὺς ᾿Ορχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσί.³³ καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας⁵⁸ τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαίοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἐλικῶνι πεφευγότας,³³ διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως· 12. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ᾿Αγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἐξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι είλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα·⁸⁴ ἐξὸν⁶¹ γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι¹³ τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἑπομένῷ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὅπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέβραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις.¹⁵ καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον,

DEFEAT OF THE THEBANS.

ἀπέθνησκου.³² καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγή, φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη οἴαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν.^{54b} τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων²¹ οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες^{58b} ἀπέθανον.

His respect for the rights of sanctuary.

13. ἐπειδη δε ή μεν νίκη συν Άγησιλάφ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς την φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ὑππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὀγδοήκοντα συν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι,^{43 b} καὶ ἠρώτων τί χρη ποιεῖν.^{45,41} ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων⁵⁸⁴ πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου,²³ ἀλλ' ἐἂν⁴⁴ τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα,⁵⁸ καὶ προπέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑππεῖς ἔστε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῦ ἐγένοντο.⁵²

The battle-field. Defeat of the Thebans.

14. Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἕληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν^{29a} δὴ θεάσασθαι ἐνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις¹⁶ τὴν μὲν γῆν αἴματι πεφυρμένην,^{43e} νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κολεῶν,²⁴ τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώμασι, τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χείρας. 15. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἦδη ὀψέ, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἶσω φάλαγγος²⁵ ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν πρωΐ δε Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ¹⁷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. 16. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους⁵ τοὺς νεκροὺς

CAPTURE OF PEIRAEUM.

αἰτοῦντες θώψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αί τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ ὁ ᾿Αγησίλαος οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρει, ἐλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος⁹ εἶναι ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίą οἴκοι τὰ νόμιμα¹³ μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.

The Corinthian campaign. He takes the Long Walls, and by stratagem obtains possession of Peiraeum.

17. Έκ δε τούτου κατανοήσας τους Άργείους τα μεν οίκοι καρπουμένους, 43° Κόρινθον δε προσειληφότας, ήδομένους δε τῷ πολέμω¹⁶ στρατεύει ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ δηώσας πάσαν αυτών την χώραν εύθυς εκείθεν υπερβαλών κατά τα στενά είς Κόρινθον αίρει τα έπι το Λέχαιον τείνοντα⁸ τείχη και άναπετάσας της Πελοποννήσου τας πύλας ούτως οικαδε απελθών είς τα Υακίνθια όπου ετάχθη ύπο τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τον παιανα τῷ θεῷ¹⁶ συνεπετέλει. 18. ἐκ τούτου δε αισθανόμενος τους Κορινθίους πάντα μεν τα κτήνη έν τῷ Πειραίφ σωζομένους,⁴³° παν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπείροντας και καρπουμένους, μέγιστον δε ήγησάμενος, ότι Βοιωτοί ταύτη έκ Κρεύσιος δρμώμενοι ευπετώς τοις Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο,⁵¹ στρατεύει έπι το Πείραιον. ίδων δε ύπο πολλών φυλαττόμενον, ώς ενδιδομένης τής πόλεως²⁷ έξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο προς το ἀστυ· 19. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας⁴³ς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραίου είς την πόλιν πασσυδία, υποστρέψας άμα τή ήμέρα αίρει το Πείραιον, έρημον εύρων φυλακής,24 και τά τε άλλα τὰ ένόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη ἁ ένετετείχιστο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας 58 b οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε.

Agesilaus as defender of the friends of Sparta. The Theban campaigns.

20. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν²⁷ εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν⁴⁴ αὐτοῖς

EXPEDITION INTO ACARNANIA.

είς 'Ακαρνανίαν, και έπιθεμένων έν στενοις των 'Ακαρνάνων, καταλαβών τοις ψιλοις¹⁹ τὰ ὑπερ κεφαλής αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει και πολλούς αποκτείνας αυτών τρόπαιον έστήσατο, και ου πρότερον έληξε πριν Αχαιοίς μεν φίλους έποίησεν 52 2 'Ακαρνάνας και Αιτωλούς και 'Αργείους, έαυτω δε και συμμάχους. 21. επειδή δε ειρήνης²³ επιθυμήσαντες οι πολέμιοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Άγησίλαος ἀντείπε τη εἰρήνη, 8ª έως τους διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας 16 Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων²¹ ήνάγκασε⁵² τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέξασθαι ύστερον δ' αὐ καὶ Φλιασίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας κατήγαγεν, αυτός στρατευσάμενος 581 ἐπὶ Φλιοῦντα. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη πη ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ'
 οὖν φιλεταιρία γε πραχθέντα⁵⁹ φανερά ἐστι. 22. καὶ
 γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοῦς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον οι έναντίοι, βοηθών αυ τούτοις 15 στρατεύει έπι τας Θήβας. εύρων δε άποτεταφρευμένα και άπεσταυρωμένα άπαντα, ύπερβάς τὰς Κυνος κεφαλάς ἐδήου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ άστεος, 51 παρέχων και έν πεδίω και άνα τα όρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εί βούλοιντο. έστράτευσε δε και τώ επιόντι έτει¹⁹° πάλιν έπι Θήβας και ύπερβας τα κατά Σκώλον σταυρώματα και τάφρους έδήωσε τα λοιπα της Βοιω-Tias. 201

His services to his country in her extremity. He avenges her friends, and makes the most of her remaining resources.

23. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῆ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ πόλις εὐτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἄν εἶποι^{64b} ὡς ᾿Αγησιλάου ἡγουμένου²¹ ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Γεγέα φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἦδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων^{21,68b} καὶ ᾿Αρκάδων καὶ ἘΗλείων, στρατεύει σύν μόνη τη Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει, πολλών νομιζόντων ούδ αν έξελθειν δ Λακεδαιμονίους πολλού χρόνου έκ της αύτων. δηώσας δε την χώραν των κατακανόντων τους φίλους ούτως αὐ οίκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν. 24. ἀπό γε μην τούτου έπι την Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων " Αρκάδων τε πάντων και 'Αργείων και 'Ηλείων και Βοιωτών, και συν αυτοίς Φωκέων και Λοκρών αμφοτέρων και Θετταλών και Αινιάνων και 'Ακαρνάνων και Εύβοέων, προς δε τούτοις άφεστηκότων μέν των δούλων, πολλών δε περιοικίδων πόλεων, και αυτών Σπαρτιατών ου μειόνων απολωλότων έν τη έν Λεύκτροις μάχη η λειπομένων, όμως διεφύλαξε την πόλιν, και ταυτα ατείχιστον ουσαν,⁵⁸ όπου μεν τώ παντί πλείον αν είχον 54 οι πολέμιοι, ουκ έξάγων ένταυθα, όπου δε οί πολίται πλέον έξειν έμελλον, ευρώστως παρατεταγμένος, νομίζων είς μεν το πλατύ έξιων^{9,58}° πάντοθεν αν περιέχεσθαι, έν δε τοις στενοίς και ύπερδεξίοις τόποις ύπομένων τῷ παντί^{19b} κρατείν άν.

When past military service, he serves his country in other ways.

25. Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οἰκ αν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ; ὡς γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι²⁴ αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῆ καὶ ἐφ' ὅππων ἀπεῖργεν ἦδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων²⁶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι³¹ σύμμαχόν τινα ἕξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν ἔταξε. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἶκοι μένων ἐμηχανῶτο, α̂ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὥκνει μετιέναι, οὐδ' ἦσχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὡφελήσειν, πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπορευόμενος⁵⁹ ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ.

His achievements in diplomacy.

26. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῆ πρεσβεία μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ²¹ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν

AGESILAUS IN EGYPT.

⁷Ασσφ 'Αριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχου όντα δείσας⁵⁸ 'Αγησίλαου φεύγων ²⁴ έτι ουσαν,⁵⁵ λύσας και ουτος την πολιορκών 'Αριοβαρζάνου²¹ έτι ουσαν,⁵⁵ λύσας και ουτος την πολιορκίαν άπηλλάγη ⁶ ώστ' ουκ άλόγως και άπο της πρεσβείας τρόπαιου των πολεμίων έστήκει αυτῷ.¹⁷ Μαύσωλός γε μην κατα θάλατταν έκατον ναυσι πολιορκών ἀμφότερα τα χωρία ταυτα ουκέτι δείσας ἀλλα πεισθεις⁵⁵ ἀπέπλευσεν οικαδε. 27. κάνταυθα ουν άζια θαύματος⁵⁵ διεπράξατο⁵ οι τε γαρ ευ πεπονθέναι νομίζοντες ύπ' αυτού και οι φεύγοντες αυτον χρήματα, ἀμφότεροι ἕδοσαν. Ταχώς γε μην και Μαύσωλος, δια την πρόσθεν 'Αγησιλάου ξενίαν συμβαλόμενος⁴¹⁵ και ουτος χρήματα τη Δακεδαίμονι, ἀπέπεμψαν αυτον οικαδε προπομπην δόντες μεγαλοπρεπή.

His last campaign in Egypt. The Egyptians throw off their king, and the monarchy is divided. Agesilaus' choice between them.

28. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἐγεγόνει ἔτη¹⁴ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἀγδοήκοντα κατανενοηκῶς δὲ τον Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα⁴³° τῷ Πέρση πολεμεῖν,²⁹° καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζούς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα, ἄσμενος ἤκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἤγεμονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος. 29. ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῆ αὐτῦ ὁρμῆ¹⁹ τῷ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῷ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ ῶν⁴ εὐεργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίą ¨Ελληνας⁸ πάλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρση¹⁵ δίκην ἐπιθήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν³⁵ καὶ ὅτι νῦν σύμμαχος⁹ εἶναι φάσκων ἐπέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιέναι. 30. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μεταπεμψάμενος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν ᾿Αγησίλαος ὡς τὸ μέγιστον ἐξηπατημένος ἐφρόντιζε τί δεῖ⁴⁷ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως,²⁴ ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ άλλοι πάντες ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δείσας ἀπεχώρησε ψυγŷ¹⁹ εἰς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης,²¹ οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι στασιάζοντες διττοὺς βασιλέας αἱροῦνται.^{21b} 31. ἐνταῦθα δὴ 'Αγησίλαος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ μὲν μηδετέρω¹⁵ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει τοῖς Έλλησιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερός τ' ἂν κρατήση,³⁸ οὕτος ἐχθρὸς ἔσται· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῷ συλλήψοιτο, οῦτός γε εὖ παθὰν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο,^{43b} οὕτω δὴ κρίνας, ὁπότερος φιλέλλην μαλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἔτερον συγκαθίστησι· καὶ φίλον ποιήσας τῃ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ προσλαβῶν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε καίπερ μέσου χειμῶνος ὅντος,^{584,21} σπεύδων ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς ἡ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.^{506,31}

CHAPTER III.

Agesilaus' religious observance of good faith.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δῆ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων²¹ μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων²⁶ προσδεῖται, ἀλλ ἀναμνῆσαι²⁹ μόνον ἀρκεῦ καὶ εὐθὺς πιστεύεται. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι ῆν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν²³ ἤρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.
 ᾿Αγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο ὡς⁴⁹⁰⁶ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνου ὅρκους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου σπονδὰς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φιλίαν οἱ μὲν ὥκνουν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἰέναι, ᾿Αγησιλάφ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον. ὅπως δὲ μή τις ἀπιστῆ,⁵⁰ καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν.²¹

HOW HE WAS TRUSTED.

Examples of the confidence that it won for him. Instances of its success.

3. Σπιθριδάτης μέν γε ό Πέρσης είδως ότι Φαρνάβαζος γήμαι μεν την βασιλέως έπραττε^{43b} θυγατέρα, την δ' αύτοῦ άνευ γάμου λαβειν έβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας τοῦτο 'Αγησιλάφ έαυτον και την γυναικα και τα τέκνα και την δύναμιν ένεχείρισε. 4. Κότυς δε ό των Παφλαγόνων²⁵ άρχων βασιλεί μεν ούχ υπήκουσε¹⁶ δεξιαν πέμποντι,^{58d} φοβούμενος μη ληφθεις η χρήματα πολλά αποτίσειεν 43 α ή και αποθάνοι, Άγησιλάου δε και ούτος ταις σπονδαίς πιστεύσας είς το στρατόπεδόν τε ηλθε και συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος 416 είλετο συν Άγησιλάω στρατεύεσθαι, 29 a χιλίους μεν ίππέας, δισχιλίους δε πελτοφόρους έχων. 5. ἀφίκετο δε καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ᾿Αγησιλάφ¹⁵ εἰς λόγους και διωμολόγησεν, εί μη αυτός πάσης της στρατιάς στρατηγός κατασταθείη, αποστήσεσθαι 55 βασιλέως ήν μέντοι έγω γένωμαι στρατηγός, έφη, πολεμήσω^{53 b} σοι, 🕹 'Αγησίλαε, ώς αν έγω δύνωμαι κράτιστα." και ταῦτα λέγων επίστευε μηδεν⁶² αν παράσπονδον παθείν. ούτω μέγα και καλον κτήμα τοις τε άλλοις άπασι και άνδρι δή στρατηγώ το όσιόν τε και πιστον είναι τε και όντα^{43°} έγνωσθαι. και περί μεν ευσεβείας ταυτα.

CHAPTER IV.

His uprightness and strict honesty, (1) in private relations;

 Περί γε μην της εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης⁸ ποῖα ἄν τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι⁵⁴ τῶνδε; ὑπὸ γὰρ ᾿Αγησιλάου στέρεσθαι²⁹⁸ μεν οὐδεἰς οὐδεν πώποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεπονθέναι πολλοι πολλα¹³ ὡμολόγουν. ὅτῷ δὲ ἡδὺ τὰ

 $\mathbf{24}$

αύτοῦ διδόναι ἐπ' ἀφελεία ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἂν ουτος ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ' ῷ κακόδοξος[®] εἶναι; εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων²³ ἐπιθυμοίη, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ αυτοῦ φυλάττειν ἡ τὰ μη⁶²^b προσήκοντα λαμβάνειν. 2. δς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι,^{40b} ῶν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς ἅ γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; ᾿Αγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μη^{62b} ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἐκρινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν μείζω δυνάμενον.

(2) in the administration of public funds.

3. Τά γε μην της πόλεως⁸ κλέπτειν²⁹⁴ πη αν τις αυτον εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, ος καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας ὀφειλομένας τη πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι παρεδίδου; το δ' ὁπότε βούλοιτο εὖ ποιεῖν η πόλαν η φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ' ἐτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὡφελεῖν, οὐ κὰὶ τοῦτο μεγα τεκμήριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; 4. εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας η μισθοῦ^{25*} εὐεργέτει, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδεν ὀφείλειν αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν.^{53 d, 54*} ἀλλ' οἱ προῖκα εὖ πεπονθότες,^{8*} οῦτοι ἀεἰ ἡδέως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῷ εὐεργέτη, καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προεπιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάρυτος φυλάττειν.

He was not only just, but liberal. OF

UNIVERSITY

5. Όστις δ ¹/₁ρείτο καὶ σὺν τῷ γεναίο μειονεκτείη η σὺν τῷ ἀδίκῷ πλέον ἔχειν, πῶς οὖτος οὐκ ἀν πολύ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι ;^{64b}/ ἐκείνος τοίνυν κριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως^{41b} ἅπαντα ἔχειν τὰ ᾿Αγιδος τὰ ἡμίσεα⁵ τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῷ ὅμογόνοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι πενομένους αὐτοὺς ἑώρα. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθη πῶσα μάρτυς ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις. 6. διδόντος δ' αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δώρα Τιθραύστου,²¹ εἰ ἀπέλθοι⁵³ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο ό ἀΑγησίλαος, ³Ω Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ' ἡμιν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τῆν στρατιὰν ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζειν./ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι |ἦ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

CHAPTER V.

His temperance, and readiness to bear hardships. He gave up his privileges as a commander, to share the labour and the fare of the private soldier.

1. 'Αλλά μην και όσαι γε ήδοναι πολλών²⁵ κρατούσιν άνθρώπων, ποίας οίδέ τις 'Αγησίλαον ήττηθέντα; 43° ος μέθης24 μεν αποσχέσθαι όμοίως ὤετο χρηναι και μανίας, σίτων δ ύπερ καιρον όμοίως και άργίας. διμοιρίαν γε μην λαμβάνων 58 έν ταις θοίναις ούχ όπως άμφοτέραις 192 έχρητο, άλλα διαπέμπων ούδετέραν αύτω κατέλειπε, νομίζων βασιλεί τουτο διπλασιασθήναι ουχί πλησμονής ένεκα, 3 άλλ' όπως έχοι 50 και τούτω τιμάν εί τινα βούλοιτο. 2. ου μην ύπνω γε δεσπότη άλλ' άρχομένω ύπο των πράξεων έχρητο, και ευνήν γε εί μη των συνόντων²¹² φαυλοτάτην έχοι, αίδούμενος 9 ούκ άδηλος ην ήγειτο γαρ άρχοντι προσήκειν ου μαλακία¹⁹ άλλα καρτερία των ίδιωτων περιείναι. 3. τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτών ούκ ήσχύνετο, έν μεν τῷ θέρει τοῦ ήλίου,21 ἐν δε τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους. και μην εί ποτε μοχθήσαι στρατιά συμβαίη, 40b έκων έπόνει παρά τους άλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν είναι τοις στρατιώταις. ώς δε συνελόντι είπειν,²⁹ 'Αγησίλαος πονών⁵⁹ μεν ήγάλλετο, ραστώνην δε πάμπαν ου προσίετο.

CHAPTER VI.

His bravery. His victories were not stolen by chance, but fairly won in hard-fought fight.

 'Ανδρείας γε μην οὐκ ἀφανη τεκμήριά μοι δοκεῦ παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος⁵⁸ μεν ἀεὶ πολεμεῖν προς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν²¹ τῆ τε πόλει καὶ τῆ Ἑλλάδι, ἐν δε τοῦς προς τούτους ἀγῶσι⁹ πρῶτον ἑαυτον τάττων.
 ένθα γε μην ἠθέλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῷ τρεψάμενος νίκης²³ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχη ἀντιτύπῷ¹⁹ κρατήσας τρόπαιου ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπών, σαφη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος⁴¹⁵ τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι.²⁰ ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας ἀλλ' ὁρῶντας ἐξῆν⁴⁹ αὐτοῦ την ψυχην δοκιμάζειν.
 τρόπαια μην 'Αγησιλάου οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο ἀλλ' ὅσα¹³ ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν. μεῖον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεν ἐκράτει ὅτε οὐκ ἤθελον αὐτῷ¹⁶ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ καὶ συμφορώτερον τῆ τε πόλει καὶ τοῦς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῦς ἀγῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον τοὺς ἀκουτὶ ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας⁸

He won the obedience of his men by winning their love.

4. Τήν γε μην σοφίαν αὐτοῦ ποῖαι τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν; ὅς τῆ μεν πατρίδι οὕτως ἐχρητο ὥστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος [αὐτῆ ποιεῖν ὅ βούλοιτο], ἑταίροις¹⁶ δὲ πρόθυμος ῶν ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο· τοὺς δέ γε στρατιώτας ἅμα πειθομένους καὶ φιλοῦντας αὐτὸν παρεῖχε. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἰσχυροτέρα γένοιτο φάλαγξ η διὰ τὸ μὲν πείθεσθαι εὖτακτος οὖσα,⁵⁸ διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα πιστῶς παροῦσα;

HE WAS SKILFUL AND CAUTIOUS.

His bravery was combined with skilful strategy,

5. Τούς γε μην πολεμίους είχε ψέγειν μεν οὐ δυναμένους,⁵ μισείν δε ἀναγκαζομένους. τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους ἀεὶ πλέον ἔχειν αὐτῶν²⁵ ἐμηχανῶτο, ἐξαπατῶν μεν ὅπου καιρὸς εἰη,⁶⁰ φθάνων δε ὅπου τάχους δέοι, λήθων δε ὅπου τοῦτο συμφέροι, πάντα δε τἀναντία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτηδεύων. 6. καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ μεν ὅσαπερ¹³ ἡμέρα ἐχρῆτο, ἡμέρα δε ὅσαπερ νυκτί, πολλάκις ἄδηλος γιγνόμενος ὅπου τε εἰη⁵⁶ καὶ ὅποι ἰοι καὶ ὅ,τι ποιήσοι. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἐχυρα⁸⁸ ἀνώχυρα¹³ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μεν παριών, τὰ δε ὑπερβαίνων, τὰ δε κλέπτων.

and with remarkable caution.

7. Όπότε γε μην πορεύοιτο είδως ότι έξείη^{43b} τοίς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, συντεταγμένον μεν ούτως ήγε το στράτευμα ως αν έπικουρείν μάλιστα έαυτφ δύναιτο,^{54b} ήσύχως δε ώσπερ αν παρθένος ή σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι, νομίζων έν τῷ τοιούτῷ τό τε ἀτρεμες^{6,8a} καὶ ἀνεκπληκτότατον καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον καὶ ἀναμαρτητότατον καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτότατον εἶναι. 8. τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν⁵⁸¹ τοῦς μεν πολεμίοις δεινος ήν, τοῖς δε φίλοις¹⁶ θάρσος καὶ ῥώμην ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μεν ὑπο τῶν ἐχθρῶν διετέλεσεν,^{49a} ἀζήμιος δ΄ ὑπο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄμεμπτος δ΄ ὑπο τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δε καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὑπο πάντων ἀνθρώπων. HIS EXAMPLE AS A PATRIOT.

CHAPTER VII.

His patriotism. He shrank from no toil, or hardship, or sacrifice, where the interests of his country were at stake.

1. ⁹ Ως γε μην φιλόπολις ην καθ εν μεν εκαστον μακρον αν είη^{54b} γράφειν· οίομαι γαρ ούδεν είναι των πεπραγμένων αυτω¹¹ ö,τι ουκ είς τουτο συντείνει. ως δ' εν βραχεί είπειν,³⁹ απαντες επιστάμεθα ότι 'Αγησίλαος, όπου ѽετο⁴³ την πατρίδα τι ώφελήσειν, ου πόνων²⁴ ύφίετο, ου κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, ου χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, ου σωμα, ου γήρας προυφασίζετο, ἀλλα και βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε το τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγαθα¹³ ποιείν.

He set to all an example of submission to law, and was as a father to his people.

2. Έν τοις μεγίστοις δε ώφελήμασι της πατρίδος καί τόδε έγω τίθημι αυτού, ότι δυνατώτατος ων^{58d} έν τη πόλει φανερός ην μάλιστα τοις νόμοις λατρεύων.59 τίς γαρ αν ήθέλησεν 53ª απειθείν όρων 58° τον βασιλέα πειθόμενον τίς δ' αν ήγούμενος μειονεκτείν νεώτερόν τι επεχείρησε ποιείν είδως τον βασιλέα νομίμως και το κρατείσθαι φέροντα; 3. δς και προς τους διαφόρους έν τη πόλει ώσπερ πατήρ πρός παίδας προσεφέρετο. ελοιδορείτο μεν γαρ έπι τοις άμαρτήμασιν, έτίμα δ' εί τι καλον πράττοιεν,⁴⁰ παρίστατο δ' εί τις συμφορά συμβαίνοι, έχθρον¹² μέν ουδένα ήγούμενος πολίτην, επαινείν δε πάντας εθέλων, σώζεσθαι δε πάντας κέρδος νομίζων, ζημίαν δε τιθεις εί και ό μικρού άξιος 25 α απόλοιτο εί δ' έν τοις νόμοις ήρεμούντες διαμένοιεν, δήλος ην εύδαίμονα μεν άει έσεσθαι την πατρίδα λογιζόμενος,5 ισχυράν δε τότε όταν οί Έλληνες σωφρονώσιν.47

HIS DEVOTION TO THE INTERESTS OF GREECE.

But more than this, he was a true Greek. He would not allow Greeks to be enslaved by Greeks, and did all that he could to protect and deliver them from the Persian power.

4. Εί γε μην αὐ καλον Έλληνα ὄντα φιλέλληνα είναι, τίνα τις είδεν άλλον στρατηγον η πόλιν ούκ έθέλοντα 43° αίρειν, όταν οίηται³⁹ πορθήσειν, η συμφοράν νομίζοντα το νικάν έν τώ προς Έλληνας πολέμω; 5. έκείνος τοίνυν, άγγελίας μεν έλθούσης²¹ αυτώ ώς έν τη έν Κορίνθω μάχη ὀκτώ μεν Λακεδαιμονίων, έγγνος δε μύριοι τών πολεμίων τεθναίευ,⁴³ οὐκ ἐφησθεὶς⁵⁹ φανερος ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' είπεν άρα, Φεῦ, ὦ Ἐλλάς, ὁπότε οἱ νῦν τεθνηκότες ἱκανοὶ ησαν ζώντες 58° νικάν μαχόμενοι 581 πάντας τους βαρβάρους. 6. Κορινθίων γε μην των φευγόντων λεγόντων ότι έν-διδοιτο^{43b} αυτοις ή πόλις, και μηχανάς επιδεικνύντων αίς πάντως ήλπιζον έλειν τὰ τείχη, οὐκ ἤθελε προσβάλλειν, λέγων ότι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ελληνίδας πόλεις άλλα σωφρονίζειν. εί δε τους άμαρτάνοντας, έφη, ήμων αυτων άφανιουμεν, όραν χρη μη ουδ έξομεν⁴³⁴ μεθ' ότου⁵⁰ των βαρβάρων κρατήσομεν. 7. εί δ' αὐ καλον καὶ μισοπέρσην είναι, ότι και ό πάλαι έξεστράτευσεν ώς δουλωσόμενος 50 α την Ελλάδα και ό νυν συμμαχεί μεν τούτοις 16 μεθ' όποτέρων αν οίηται³⁹ μείζω¹³ βλάψειν, δωρείται δ' έκείνοις ούς αν νομίζη λαβόντας πλείστα κακά τους Έλληνας ποιήσειν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει έξ ἧς ầν ήγηται μάλιστα ήμας αλλήλοις¹⁶ πολεμήσειν δρώσι μεν ουν άπαντες ταυτα· έπεμελήθη δέ τις άλλος πώποτε πλην 'Αγησίλαος η όπως φυλόν τι αποστήσεται⁵⁰ του Πέρσου ή όπως το αποσταν μη απόληται ή το παράπαν ώς και βασιλεύς κακά έχων μη δυνήσεται τοις Ελλησι πράγματα παρέχειν; δς και πολεμούσης της πατρίδος προς Έλληνας όμως του κοινου άγαθου²³ τη Έλλάδι ουκ ημέλησεν, άλλ' έξέπλευσεν ό, τι δύναιτο κακον ποιήσων τον βάρβαρον.13

CHAPTER VIII.

His modesty and affable demeanour won him many friends.

1. 'Αλλά μην ἄξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὕχαρι⁸ μη σιωπᾶσθαι· ῷ γε ὑπαρχούσης μεν τιμῆς,²¹ παρούσης δε δυνάμεως, πρὸς δε τούτοις βασιλείας, καὶ ταύτης οἰκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπωμένης, τὸ μεν μεγάλαυχον οὐκ ἂν εἶδέ⁵⁴ τις, τὸ δε φιλόστοργον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων²² καὶ μη⁶² ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. 2. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὖελπις⁹ καὶ εὖθυμος καὶ ἀεὶ ἱλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μη τοῦ⁵¹ διαπράξασθαί τι μόνον ἕνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ήδιον διημερεύειν. ήκιστα δ' ὣν οἶος μεγαληγορεῖν⁴⁹ ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων²³ αὐτοὺς οὐ βαρέως ἤκουεν, ἡγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι.

His high principle. He was inaccessible to bribes or to personal offers, and judged men not by what they could give, but by what they could do.

3. 'Αλλά μην καὶ τῆ μεγαλογνωμοσύνη γε ώς εὐκαίρως ἐχρῆτο οὐ παραλειπτέου.³¹ ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὅτ' ηλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολη παρὰ βασιλέως, ην ὁ μετὰ Καλλέα τοῦ Λακεδαιμουίου Πέρσης⁸ ηνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μεν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέρουτι εἶπεν ἀπαγγείλαι⁴⁴ βασιλεῖ ὡς ἰδία μεν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδεν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ην δὲ φίλος τῆ Λακεδαίμουι καὶ τῆ Ἑλλάδι εὖνους ῶν φαίνηται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔσοιτο⁴³⁵ ην μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύων ἀλίσκηται, μηδ ἂν πάνυ πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον ἕξειν^{55, 835} με οἰέσθω. 4. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ 'Αγησιλάου τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῦς Ἐλλησιν

SIMPLICITY AND ABSENCE OF DISPLAY.

ύπεριδείν την βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι δε κάκείνο ότι ούχ όπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα έχοι και πλειόνων ἄρχοι, τούτφ³¹ ήγήσατο μείζον φρονητέον είναι, άλλ όπότερος αὐτός τε ἀμείνων είη και ἀμεινόνων ήγοιτο. 5. ἐπαινῶ δε κἀκείνο τῆς προνοίας²¹ αὐτοῦ ὅτι νομίζων ἀγαθον τῆ Ἐλλάδι ἀφίστασθαι²⁹ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πλείστους σατράπας, οὐκ ἐκρατήθη οὖθ' ὑπο δώρων οὖθ' ὑπο τῆς βασιλέως ῥώμης ἐθελῆσαι ξενωθῆναι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο μη⁶⁵ ἄπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις.

His carelessness of personal aggrandisement and absence of display —shown by his modest style of living.

6. Ἐκείνό γε μην αυτοῦ τίς οὐκ αν ἀγασθείη; 54 δ μεν γὰρ Πέρσης, νομίζων, ἢν χρήματα πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι,^{535,55} διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν μὲν τὸ ἐν άνθρώποις χρυσίον, παν δε το άργύριον, πάντα δε τα πολυτελέστατα έπειρατο πρός έαυτον άθροίζειν. ό δε ούτως αντεσκευάσατο τον οίκον ώστε τούτων μηδενος 26 2 προσδείσθαι. 7. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ἰδέτω μεν οία οικία ήρκει αυτώ, θεασάσθω δε τας θύρας αυτού εικάσειε γαρ άν τις έτι ταύτας έκείνας είναι άσπερ Αριστόδημος ό Ηρακλέους ότε κατήλθε⁵² λαβών ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω δε θεάσασθαι την ένδον κατασκευήν, εννοησάτω δε ώς έθοίναζεν έν ταις θυσίαις, άκουσάτω δε ώς επί πολιτικού κανάθρου κατήει είς 'Αμύκλας ή θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ. 8. τοιγαρούν ούτως έφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταις προσόδοις 16 ούδεν ήναγκάζετο χρημάτων ένεκα άδικον πράττειν. καίτοι καλον μεν δοκεί είναι τείχη ανάλωτα κτάσθαι ύπο πολεμίων πολύ μέντοι έγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω το την αύτου ψυχην ανάλωτον κατασκευάσαι και ύπο χρημάτων και ύπο ήδονων και ύπο φόβου.

32

SPARTAN SIMPLICITY AND PERSIAN LUXURY.

CHAPTER IX.

This last feature becomes more marked, if his Spartan simplicity is contrasted with the luxury of the Persian Court.

1. 'Αλλά μην έρω γε ώς και τον τρόπον υπεστήσατο τη τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονεία.¹⁶ πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσεμνύνετο, ᾿Αγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανης εἶναι ἠγάλλετο, νομίζων αἰσχρουργία μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν, τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίω¹⁶ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον παρέχειν. 2. έπειτα δε ό μεν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος είναι¹⁹ έσεμνύνετο, ό δε τώ πασιν ευπρόσοδος είναι έχαιρε. και ό μεν ήβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως διαπράττειν,³⁰ ό δε τότε μάλιστα έχαιρεν όπότε τάχιστα τυχόντας ών δέοιντο άποπέμποι. 3. άλλα μην και την ευπάθειαν όσω ράονα καὶ εὖπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν ἄξιον κατακαι ευπορωτεραν πητοικαίς στοτη τη πάσαν γήν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες τί ἂν ήδέως πίοι,⁵⁴⁵ μυρίοι δε τεχνώνται τί αν ήδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μην καταδάρθοι™ οὖδ΄ αν είποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται. 'Αγησίλαος δε δια το φιλόπονος είναι παν μέν το παρον ήδέως έπινε, παν δε το συντυχον ήδέως ήσθιεν είς δε το ασμένως κοιμηθήναι πας τόπος ίκανος ην αυτώ. 4. και ταυτα ου μόνον πράττων 59 έχαιρεν, άλλα και ένθυμούμενος ήγάλλετο ότι αυτός μεν έν μέσαις ταις ευφροσύναις αναστρέφοιτο τον δε βάρβαρον εώρα, ει μέλλοι αλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον αὐτῶ³¹ ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα. 5. ευφραινε δε αυτον και τάδε ότι αυτος μεν ήδει τη των θεων κατασκευή δυνάμενος 43 b άλύπως χρήσθαι, τον δε έώρα φεύγοντα μεν θάλπη, φεύγοντα δε ψύχη, δι' ασθένειαν ψυχής, ούκ ανδρών αγαθών αλλά θηρίων τών ασθενεστάτων βίον μιμούμενον. 33

The distinctions in games and the like, that most of the Greeks coveted, he set no store upon, preferring to be honoured for his deeds and his life.

6. 'Εκείνό γε μην πως ου καλον και μεγαλόγνωμον, το αυτον μεν αυδρος έργοις και κτήμασι¹⁹ κοσμείν τον έαυτου οίκον, κύνας τε πολλους θηρευτας και ίππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν δε αδελφην ουσαν πείσαι άρματοτροφείν και έπιδείξαι νικώσης αυτής²¹ ότι το θρέμμα τουτο ούκ αυδραγαθίας αλλα πλούτου επίδειγμά έστι. 7. τόδε γε μην πως ου σαφως προς το γενναίον έγνω ότι άρματι μεν νικήσας τους ίδιώτας ούδεν όνομαστότερος αν γένοιτο, εί δε φίλην μεν πάντων μάλιστα την πόλιν έχοι, πλείστους δε φίλους και αρίστους ανα πασαν την γην κεκτήτο, νικώη δε την μεν πατρίδα και τους έταίρους ευεργετών, τους δε αντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ότι ὄντως αν είη νικηφόρος των καλλίστων και μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων άγωνισμάτων και όνομαστότατος και ζών και τελευτήσας⁵⁸ γένοιτ αν ;

CHAPTER X.

Value of such an example, as inciting others to the same life of justice, and temperance and self-control.

1. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα¹³ ἐπαινῶ ᾿Αγησίλαον. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησαυρῷ¹⁶ τις ἐντύχοι, πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἂν εἶη, οἰκονομικώτερος δ' οὐδὲν ἄν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολεμίοις ἐμπεσούσης⁵⁸ κρατήσειεν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, στρατηγικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν' ὁ δὲ καρτερία μὲν πρωτεύων ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῆ δὲ ὅπου ἀνδρείας ³⁴σών, γνώμη δὲ ὅπου βουλῆς ἔργον, οῦτος

VALUE OF SUCH AN EXAMPLE.

έμοιγε δοκεί δικαίως άνηρ άγαθος παντελώς αν νομίζεσθαι. 55 2. εί δε καλον εύρημα άνθρώποις στάθμη και κανών προς το άγαθα έργάζεσθαι, καλον άν μοι δοκεί ή 'Αγησιλάου άρετη παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοις άνδραγαθίαν άσκειν βουλομένοις. τίς γαρ αν η θεοσεβή μιμούμενος 581 άνόσιος γένοιτο η δίκαιον άδικος η σώφρονα ύβριστης η έγκρατή άκρατής; και γαρ δη ούχ ούτως έπι τω άλλων βασιλεύειν ώς έπι τῷ έαυτοῦ²⁵ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο, οὐδ' έπι τω προς τους πολεμίους άλλ' έπι τω προς πάσαν άρετην ήγεισθαι τοις πολίταις." 3. άλλα γαρ μη ότι τετελευτηκώς 58 έπαινείται τούτου ένεκα θρηνόν τις τούτον τον λόγον νομισάτω, άλλα πολύ μαλλον έγκώμιον. πρώτον μέν γαρ άπερ ζών ήκουε, ταυτα και νυν λέγεται περί αυτού. έπειτα δε τί και πλέον θρήνου²⁴ άπεστιν ή βίος τε εὐκλεὴς καὶ θάνατος ώραῖος; ἐγκωμίων²⁵» δὲ τί άξιώτερον η νικαί τε αι κάλλισται και έργα τα πλείστου άξια; 4. δικαίως δ' αν έκεινός γε μακαρίζοιτο 54 b δς εύθυς μεν έκ παιδός έρασθεις του εύκλεής γενέσθαι έτυχε τούτου μάλιστα των καθ' έαυτόν.21.84 φιλοτιμότατος δε πεφυκώς ἀήττητος διετέλεσεν, ἐπεί⁵² βασιλεύς ἐγένετο. ἀφικόμενος δε έπι το μήκιστον άνθρωπίνου αιώνος άναμάρτητος έτελεύτησε και περί τούτους ών²⁵ ήγειτο και προς έκεινους οίς επολεμει.

CHAPTER XI.

General recapitulation. Agesilaus' regard for holy places and things.

 Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ὁ ἔπαινος εὐμνημονεστέρως ἔχῃ.[∞] ᾿Αγησίλαος ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβετο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἦττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίą χρῆναι⁴³

HIS HATRED OF MEANNESS AND SLANDER.

ή έν τη φιλία συμμάχους ποιείσθαι. ίκέτας δε θεών²² ούδε έχθρους έβιάζετο, νομίζων άλογον είναι τους μεν έξ ίερῶν κλέπτοντας ίεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν²⁴ ίκέτας ἀποσπώντας εὐσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι. 2. ἐκεῖνός γε μην ύμνων⁵⁹ ούποτ' έληγεν ώς τους θεους οίοιτο ούδεν ηττον όσίοις έργοις¹⁶ η άγνοις ίεροις ήδεσθαι. άλλα μην και όπότε εύτυχοίη,⁴⁰⁵ ούκ άνθρώπων ύπερεφρόνει, άλλα θεοις χάριν ήδει. και θαρρών πλείονα έθυεν η όκνων ηύχετο. είθιστο δε φοβούμενος 580 μεν ίλαρος φαίνεσθαι, ευτυχών δε πράος είναι.

His love for all that is noble and upright, and detestation of ingratitude and meanness.

3. των γε μην φίλων²¹ ου τους δυνατωτάτους άλλα τούς προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ήσπάζετο. εμίσει δε ουκ εί τις κακώς πάσχων ήμύνετο, άλλ' εί τις ευεργετούμενος άχάριστος φαίνοιτο.36 έχαιρε δε τους μεν αισχροκερδείς πένητας όρων, τους δε δικαίους πλουσίους ποιών, βουλόforre μενος την δικαιοσύνην της άδικίας²⁵ κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι. 4. ήσκει δε έξομιλείν μεν παντοδαποίς, χρησθαι δε τοις άγαθοις. όπότε δε ψεγόντων η επαινούντων 23 τινας ακούοι, ουχ ήττον ώετο καταμανθάνειν τους των λεγόντων τρόπους η περί ων λέγοιεν. και τους μεν ύπο φίλων έξαπατωμένους 82 ούκ έψεγε, τους δε ύπο πολεμίων πάμπαν κατεμέμφετο, και το μεν άπιστουντας έξαπαταν σοφον έκρινε, το δε πιστεύοντας ανόσιον.

Idea

His love of open criticism, and hatred of slander, and stern view of the responsibilities of men in power.

5. επαινούμενος δε έχαιρεν ύπο των και ψεγειν εθελόντων τα μη 620 άρεστά, και των παρρησιαζομένων ούδένα ήχθραινε, τους δε κρυψίνους ώσπερ ενέδρας εφυλάττετο.

HIS NOTIONS OF DUTY.

τούς γε μὴν διαβόλους μάλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει, μείζω ζημίαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ἢ χρημάτων²⁴ στερίσκεσθαι. 6. καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμαρτίας πράως ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἦγε κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι. τῆ δὲ βασιλεία προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ ῥαδιουργίαν ἀλλὰ καλοκάγαθίαν.

His modesty, liberality, and religiousness.

7. και του μέν σώματος εικόνα στήσασθαι απέσχετο, πολλών αύτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελόντων, της δὲ ψυχης ούδέποτε έπαύετο μνημεία διαπονούμενος, 59 ήγούμενος το μέν ανδριαντοποιών, το δε αύτου έργον είναι, και το μεν πλουσίων, το δε των άγαθων. 8. χρήμασί γε μην ου μόνον δικτίως άλλα και ελευθερίως εχρήτο, τώ μεν δικαίω ἀρκεῖν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐâν³⁰ τὰ ἀλλότρια, τῷ δὲ έλευθερίω και των έαυτοῦ²¹ προσωφελητέον³¹ είναι. ἀει δε δεισιδαίμων ην, νομίζων τους μεν καλώς ζώντας ούπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ήδη μακαρίους. 9. μείζω δε συμφοράν έκρινε το γιγνώσκοντα ή άγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν· δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἤρα ής ούκ έξεπόνει τὰ ίδια. μετ' ολίγων δέ μοι έδόκει άνθρώπων ού καρτερίαν την άρετην άλλ' εύπάθειαν νομίζειν έπαινούμενος 59 γουν έχαιρε μάλλον ή χρήματα κτώμενος. άλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε το πλέον μετ' εὐβουλίας ἡ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ σοφίαν ἐργῷ μαλλον ἡ λόγοις^{19a} ήσκει.

He was a kindly friend, and a formidable foe, though ever lenient in victory; a helper to the needy, affectionate to his kinsmen, grateful for service.

10. Πραότατός γε μην φίλοις ων έχθροις¹¹ φοβερώτατος ην και πόνοις μάλιστα άντέχων εταίροις ήδιστα υπεικε,

A SPECIMEN OF VIGOROUS OLD AGE.

καλών έργων²³ μάλλον ή τών καλών σωμάτων έπιθυμών. έν γε μην ταις ευπραξίαις σωφρονείν επιστάμενος έν τοις δεινοίς εύθαρσης έδύνατο είναι. 11. και το εύχαρι ου σκώμμασιν άλλα τρόπω επετήδευε, και τω μεγαλόφρονι ού σύν ύβρει άλλα σύν γνώμη έχρητο των γούν ύπεραύχων²³ καταφρονών τών μετρίων ταπεινότερος ην. και γαρ έκαλλωπίζετο τη μεν αμφι το σώμα φαυλότητι, τώ δ' άμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῷ· τῷ δ' αὐτὸς' μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δείσθαι, τους δε φίλους ώς πλείστα ώφελείν. 12. προς δε τούτοις βαρύτατος μεν άνταγωνιστής ην, κουφότατος δε κρατήσας έχθροις μεν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις δε ευπαραπειστότατος. άει δε τιθείς τα των φίλων ασφαλώς άει άμαυρούν τα των πολεμίων έργον είχεν. 13. έκεινον οί μεν συγγενείς φιλοκηδεμόνα εκάλουν, οί δε χρώμενοι άπροφάσιστον, οί δ' ύπουργήσαντές τι μνήμονα, οί δ' άδικούμενοι επίκουρον, οί γε μην συγκινδυνεύοντες μετά θεούς σωτήρα.

He was a noble specimen of a vigorous old age, for even when past military service, his activity in other ways made him respected and feared.

14. Δοκεί δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι ἡ μεν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς ℽηράσκει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκείνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπεῦπε μεγάλην καὶ καλην ἐφιέμενος⁵⁹ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἠδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμην. 15. τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος²⁶ κρείττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη ; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερὸς ἦν ὡς Άγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔχων ; τίνος ὅ ἐκποδῶν γενομένου²⁷ μᾶλλον ήσθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ ᾿Αγησιλάου καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος ; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρσος παρέσχεν ὅσον ᾿Αγησίλαος, καίπερ ἦδη

HIS DEATH.

προς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὤν;⁵⁸ τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἡ ᾿Αγησίλαον γηραιον ἀποθανόντα; 16. οὕτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὣν⁵⁹ διεγένετο ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἦδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὠφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν ἀΐδιον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο,^{50,055.} μνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς²³ ἐν τῆ πατρίδι τυχών.



RULES OF GREEK SYNTAX.

Observation.—The rules that follow are written, as far as differences of idiom will allow, on the lines of the First Memorial Syntax in the Public School Latin Primer, which it is supposed that the pupil will have learnt. Some few rules, such as those on the Composite Subject, have consequently been omitted.

On Agreement.

- 1. A Finite Verb agrees with its Subject in Number and Person.
 - *Exceptions.*—(a) A Plural Subject of the neuter gender is followed by a verb in the singular; $\delta\beta\alpha\tau\delta\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\delta\ \delta\rho\eta$, 'the mountains are impassable.'
 - (b) A Dual Subject of the masculine or feminine gender may be followed by a verb in the plural, ώs εἰδέτην ἀλλήλουs ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὑ ᾿Αβραδάτης, ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλουs.—XEN.
 - (c) A Singular Subject, implying multitude, may be followed by a plural verb, when the act is done by the individuals and not by the body as a whole, τδ πλήθος σζονται (THUC. i. 20), 'the multitude think.' The following is a good example of the two constructions :-- τδ στράτευμα έπορίζετο σΐτον, κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς (XEN. Anab. ii. I. 6), where the army provided itself with meat, but individual soldiers were the butchers.

(d) The verb is sometimes attracted to the number of the complement.

2. An Adjective or Participle agrees with that to which it is in attribution in number, gender, and case.

- Exc.—(a) A neuter adjective may be added as predicate to a masculine or feminine noun, when it denotes an essential quality, e.g. ἀσθενέστερον γυνή ἀνδρόs, 'a woman is a weaker (creature) than a man.'
- (b) The adjective belonging to the subject is sometimes attracted to the gender of the complement, as ησαν δε ταῦτα δύο τείχη (XEN. Anab. i. 4. 4), where ταῦτα = aἰ πύλαι.

3. A Substantive agrees in case with that to which it is in apposition.

D

4. A Relative agrees with its antecedent in number, gender, and person, but in case follows its own clause.

- (a) When a Relative would naturally be in the Accusative case, and the Antecedent in the Genitive or Dative, the Relative frequently takes the case of the Antecedent. This is called the Relative Attraction. It is only used when the Relative Sentence is purely adjectival, *i.e.* when it simply defines its Antecedent. If the Antecedent is a demonstrative pronoum or adjective, it is in this case often omitted; σύν ols (= σύν έκείνοιs ols) μάλιστα φιλείς.—XEN. Anab. i. 9. 25.
- (δ) A Neuter Relative frequently refers to a sentence as its Antecedent.
- (c) The Antecedent is often drawn into the Relative Clause, and takes the case of the Relative ; κατασκευάζοντα ής ἄρχοι χώρας, 'developing the resources of the province which he governed' (=τήν χώραν ής ἅρχοι).—XEN. Anab. i. 9. 19.

The Use of the Article.

5. The Article, δ , $\dot{\eta}$, $\tau \delta$, marks the Substantive to which it is prefixed as a definite or known object.

(a) Hence, if an adjective be attached as an attributive *epithet* to define a noun with the Article, it must immediately follow the article, or have the article repeated with it; otherwise it becomes an attributive *complement*; δ μέγαs βασιλεύs or δ βασιλεύs δ μέγαs, 'the great king;' μέγαs δ βασιλεύs, 'the king is great.'

So the Article distinguishes the Subject from the Predicate ; $\kappa a \lambda \delta s \, \epsilon \sigma \tau w$ $\delta \pi a \hat{s}$, 'the lad is handsome,' $\kappa a \lambda \delta s \, \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \pi a \hat{s}$, 'he is a handsome lad.'

- (b) By this use of the Article a simple sentence may be made to contain two predications, one concerning the subject, the other concerning the object, or some other noun in an oblique case. Such a sentence may often best be translated by the use of a relative clause, e.g. τοσούτον είχε τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Kôpos, 'so great was the army which Cyrus had.' A predicate which thus refers to an oblique case is called a *tertiary predicate*.
- (c) The Adjectives μέσος, ἄκρος, ήμισυς, and others, are thus used predicatively, where we should use a substantive,—e.g. ἄκρα ή χείρ, 'the tip of the hand.' Compare the Latin use of summus, medius, etc., L. P. p. 139.

6. The Article distinguishes *individuals*, as different from others of the same class, or as having been before mentioned, or by their qualities or belongings; hence it may frequently be translated by the Possessive Pronoun, as $\tau ds \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \rho as dv \ell \tau \epsilon \iota v \epsilon$, 'he held up his hands.'

(a) Hence it is always added to οῦτος, ὅδε, and ἐκεῖνος.

42

[4-6

8. All words which come between the Article and the noun to which it belongs are epithets, and describe the noun.

(a.) Hence the Article is put with adjectives, participles, adverbs, and oblique cases of nouns with or without prepositions, to denote persons and things whose qualities or relations they express, the noun to be supplied being easily understood : e.g. ol σοφοί, 'the 'wise (class of men),' τ∂ alσχρδν, 'meanness,' ol πολιτευδμενοι, 'statesmen,' ol νῦν, 'the present generation,' ol ἀμφl τ∂ν Κῦρον, 'Cyrus' company.'

A Participle with the Article is generally best translated by a Relative Clause, as $\delta \lambda \delta \omega \nu$, 'the man who is loosing,' $\tau \delta \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \omega \sigma \tau a \lambda \rho \tau a \xi \epsilon \rho \xi \eta \nu$, 'Artaxerxes, who was king.'

The Cases.

9. The Subject and the Complement of a Finite Verb are put in the Nominative case; the Subject and the Complement to an Infinitive are generally put in the Accusative (cf. § 18).

But where the infinitive and the principal verb have the same subject, the Nominative is retained throughout; as oùk $\xi\phi\eta$ aùrds àllà Nikian $\sigma\tau\rho a\tau\eta\gamma\epsilon\hat{\nu}$, 'he said that not he, but Nicias was general.'

The Accusative.

10. The Accusative denotes the limit towards which, or the space over which, a thing moves, or an action is directed, or describes the action that is done. It is the case of the nearer object.

11. Transitive Verbs govern an Accusative of the object.

12. Factitive Verbs, as of making, calling, thinking, have a second Accusative of the Complement. See § 5 (b). $\Delta \alpha \rho \epsilon \hat{o} os \ K \hat{v} \rho \rho \nu \sigma \alpha \tau \rho \dot{\alpha} \pi \eta \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi o \ell \eta \sigma \epsilon$, 'Darius made Cyrus satrap.'—XEN. Anab. i. I. 2.

13. In Greek any Verb, transitive or intransitive, with the exception of Substantive verbs, can take an Accusative of its own contents, which is sometimes called an Accusative of kindred meaning, or an Accusative of the action of the verb. In the case of transitive verbs, this Accusative is retained in the passive, e.g. $\tau a \tilde{v} \tau a \sigma \epsilon \eta \delta i \kappa \eta \kappa a$, 'I have done you this wrong;' passive, $\tau a \tilde{v} \tau a \sigma \tau \eta \delta i \kappa \eta \sigma a$. With intransitive verbs, it sometimes becomes the subject to a passive form, $\pi o \lambda \lambda a \sigma v \eta \eta a \sigma \sigma \eta$.

(a) Hence many verbs of asking, teaching, concealing, clothing, depriving, etc., take two Accusatives, one of the person, the other of the thing; dφαιρείσθαι του's οἰκοῦνταs Ἐλληναs τὴν γῆν, 'to take away the land from the Greeks who were inhabiting it.' —XEN. Anab. i. 3, 4.

14. The Accusative of Extent is used after verbs, participles, and adjectives, to express—

- (a) Measure of space and time, answering to the questions, How far? How long? διείχον ἀλλήλων ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια.—XEN. Anab. i. 2. 4. ἕμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε, i. 2. 6.
- (b) The object in respect of which what is stated about the subject is true, *i.e.* how far it extends (Accusative of Respect), άλγῶ τὴν κεφαλήν, 'I have an aching in the head, a headache.'

The Dative.

15. The fundamental notion of the Dative case is that of nearness and contact. It is the case of the Recipient, and also expresses some relations which are expressed by the Latin Ablative.

16. The Dative of the Recipient follows all words which imply actual nearness, or the bringing of a thing near to body or mind. Such are words which express likeness or unlikeness, agreement and disagreement, friend-liness and hostility, advantage and disadvantage, pleasing and displeasing; and verbs of giving, showing, telling, and obeying, and their contraries.

17. The Dative may be added anywhere to mark the person concerned in the doing of an action, or the existence of a quality, or for whose interest the action takes place or the quality exists, e.g. $\Sigma \delta \lambda \omega \nu \tau \sigma \hat{s} \cdot A \partial \eta \nu a los \nu \delta \mu \omega \nu s \ \delta \theta \eta \kappa \epsilon$, 'Solon made laws for the Athenians;' $\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \eta \kappa a \ \delta \mu \hat{\mu} \nu$, 'I am dead as far as your interest in me goes.' To this head belong—

- (a) The Dative of the Personal Pronoun, which refers to the whole sentence rather than to any particular word in it, and is called the Ethic Dative; τί σοι μαθήσομαι, 'what would you have me learn?'
- (b) The Dative with έστι, γίγνεται, which implies possession or gain.
- (c) The Dative, used for the case of the Agent after Verbal Adjectives in -τεος and -τος, and after Passive verbs, especially in the Perfect and Pluperfect; the doer of the action being most concerned in the action necessary or possible to be done, and in the fruit of it when completed. ώφελητέα σοι ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, 'you must help your country,' XEN.; τί πέπρακται τοῦς ἄλλοις; 'what has been done, as far as the others are concerned?'

18. A Dative is sometimes used by Attraction as Complement to an Infinitive which is referred to a word in the sentence, that is in the Dative, $\frac{44}{44}$

as its subject; as $\epsilon \delta \delta a \mu \sigma \sigma \nu \delta \mu \tilde{\nu} \epsilon \xi \epsilon \sigma \tau \gamma l \gamma \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$, 'it is open to you to become prosperous.'

- 19. The Dative takes the place of the Latin Ablative in expressing-
 - (a) The instrument, cause, or manner of an action : τοῦς μήκεσι τῶν δδῶν ἀσθενής, 'weak because of the great distances.'
 - (b) The measure of excess or defect : $\pi o \lambda \hat{\psi} \mu \hat{\epsilon} i \langle o \nu, \cdot much greater ;'$
 - (c) The place where (rarely in prose), or the time when, an action occurs : Μαραθῶνι, 'at Marathon' (really Locative), τετάρτφ ἔτει, 'in the fourth year.

The Genitive.

20. The idea that underlies the Genitive case is that of detachment or separation. It is the classifying case, or the case of predication, and is in many instances equivalent to an adjective, or to the first member of an English compound noun, as $\lambda \delta \gamma \omega \nu d \gamma \omega \nu$, 'a word-contest ;' $\kappa \rho \hat{a} \nu os \chi a \lambda \kappa o \hat{\nu}$, 'a brazen helmet.'

21. The Subjective Genitive denotes the Author or Possessor, or that to which an action or quality belongs, or is natural.

- (a) A Genitive of Partition, or of the thing measured or distributed, is added to numerals and superlatives, and to words of quantity, and also to words which imply sharing. πάντων ἅριστος, 'bravest of all.' μετεδίδοσαν ῶν εἶχον ἕκαστοι.—XEN. Anab. iv. 5. 6.
- (b) A Partitive Genitive is not unfrequently used in Greek without any governing word (compare the French use of du, des).

22. The Objective Genitive is added to Substantives and Adjectives, derived from transitive verbs, or containing a transitive idea, and corresponds to the object which the verb itself would govern; $\tau o \dot{\tau} \sigma \nu t \delta \rho \iota s$, 'acquainted with these things.'

23. The same Genitive is added to all words which imply a physical or mental aim, and to express the object of a sensation or a desire; $\#\mu\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\sigma\vartheta \sigma\kappa\delta\pi\sigma\nu$, 'he missed the mark;' $\epsilon\pi\lambda$ K $\rho\eta\tau\eta$ s, 'in the direction of Crete.'

Obs.—Verbs of hearing and learning often take a genitive of the person and an accusative of the thing heard; $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a \sigma ov \tilde{\eta} \kappa o v \sigma a$, 'I heard this from you.'

24. The Genitive of Ablation is joined to words which imply origin, separation, hindering, depriving, and differing : $\delta\iota\epsilon\chi_{OV} \, \lambda\lambda\eta\lambda_{WV}$, 'they were distant from each other;' $\Delta\alpha\rho\epsilon\ell_{OV} \, \kappa al \, \Pi \alpha\rho_{VO}\sigma \pi a \, \pi\alpha \delta\epsilon_{S}$ $\delta\ell\sigma_{O}$, 'of Darius and Parysatis two sons were born.'—XEN. Anab. i. I. I.

25. The Genitive of Relation or Reference is added to comparatives and to words implying superiority or inferiority, dominion and submission: $\dot{a}\mu\epsilon l\nu\omega\nu \tau\sigma\hat{v} \pi a\tau\rho\delta s$, 'better than his father;' $\tau\hat{\eta}s \chi\omega\rho as \dot{a}\rho\chi\epsilon\omega$, 'to rule over the province.' Also to some adverbs of relative position, as $\epsilon l\sigma\omega \tau\hat{\eta}s \tau\dot{a}\phi\rho\sigma v$, 'within the trench.'

45

(a) To this head belong the Genitives of Price and Measure : πολλοῦ ἄξιος, 'of great value;' ποταμός εὖρος πλέθρου, 'a river one hundred feet wide.'

26. The same Genitive is added to many adjectives and adverbs and interjections, to point out the person or thing to which they refer. It may often be translated by 'in' or 'in respect of,' e.g. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iotaos \tau\hat{\eta}s \dot{a}\rho\epsilon\tau\hat{\eta}s$, 'perfect in virtue,' $oluou \tau\hat{\eta}s \tau b\chi\eta s$, 'woe is me for my fortune.'

- (a) It is also added to verbs and adjectives which imply fulness and plenty or their opposites (sometimes called the Genitive of Material): πληρής lχθύων, 'full of fish.'
- (b) And to words of accusing, condemning, and acquitting, and of praise and blame, to denote the matter of the charge or commendation : φόνου διώκευ, 'to prosecute for murder.'

27. The Genitive case with the participle (the Genitive Absolute) is used to indicate the circumstances under which an action takes place, or which limit it, and may therefore be classed under this head.

28. Time, and sometimes space, within which, is put in the Genitive case, as τη̂s ἐπιούσης νυκτός, 'at some point in the following night;' την ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα, 'for the whole of the following night.'

The Verb Infinite.

29. The Infinitive is the noun-form of the verb, and is inflected by prefixing to it the different cases of the neuter article $\tau \delta$. Its oblique cases, when thus inflected, may be governed by prepositions, and may follow most of the constructions which belong to the case. It governs the same cases as the verb finite.

It is used-

- (a) As Subject or Object to another verb, or as Predicate with a copulative verb: ἐξῆν μένειν, 'it was in their power to stay;' alροῦνται πολεμεῖν, 'they choose war.'
- (b) Obliquely, with an accusative of its subject (§ 43).
- (c) Prolatively, in order to define more completely the words to which it is joined. In this sense it corresponds to the use of the Accusative (§ 13): δεινδς λέγειν, 'skilled in speaking.'
- (d) Explanatorily, as ἐπέτρεψε τὴν χώραν διαρπάσαι, 'he gave up the country to them to plunder.' This is really consecutive (§ 49).
- (e) In a limiting sense in a few idiomatic expressions, as $\dot{\omega}s \ \epsilon t \pi \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$, 'so to speak;' $\dot{\epsilon} \kappa \dot{\omega} \nu \ \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu \alpha \iota$, 'if one can help it.'

46

31. The place of the Latin Gerundive is supplied by the verbal adjective in $-\tau \epsilon os$, which is followed by a Dative of the agent.

- (a) The Gerundive of intransitive verbs is only used impersonally, and is followed by the genitive or dative, when the verb requires those cases : ἐπιχειρητέον τῷ ἔργῳ, 'one must attempt the task.'
- (b) Similarly the Gerundive of transitive verbs is used impersonally and followed by the accusative : οἰστέον τὴν τύχην, 'one must bear one's lot.'

The Tenses.

32. The Present Tense-Stem denotes continuous or repeated action.

Hence the Present and Imperfect tenses of the Indicative are used when an action is or was going on, or incomplete, or habitual : $\gamma\rho d\phi\epsilon_i$, 'he is writing ;' ἕκτεινόν με, 'they were killing me,' or 'they tried to kill me.'

In the other moods it denotes that the action is continued and not momentary.

(a) In the Indicative, the Present is used as in Latin, as a graphic historic tense, and has historic sequences (37 a).

33. The Aorist-Stem denotes the simple action of the verb. In the Indicative mood it is only used of definite actions in *past* time; in the other moods it denotes the action as a single whole, without reference to its continuance. So $\nu \sigma \sigma \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$ is 'to be sick,' $\nu \sigma \sigma \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota$ 'to fall sick;' $\theta \nu \eta \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota \nu$ 'to be on one's deathbed,' $\theta a \nu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu$ 'to die.'

But where the Optative or Infinitive, or the Participle of the Aorist, in indirect discourse, or the Participle as the equivalent of a Causal or Temporal Clause (§ 58), represents an original Indicative, it denotes the simple occurrence of an action which is past relatively to the leading verb, as $d\pi \eta \partial \theta \epsilon v d\pi \mu a\sigma \theta \epsilon ls$, 'he went away after being disgraced.'

- (a) A single instance of a repeated action is taken as a specimen of what has happened and may happen again, and so the Aorist is used to express that which past experience shows to happen frequently (the Frequentative Aorist). In this case it may be translated by the English present or by 'is wont to be.'
- (b) The Imperative of the Aorist is not used in prohibitions in the second person, its place being supplied by the Subjunctive.

34. The Perfect-stem denotes the completed action, or, more strictly, the state resulting from the completed action, e.g. $\kappa \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \alpha_i$, 'I earn ;' $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha_i$, 'I possess ;' $\beta \rho \nu \lambda \epsilon \dot{\nu} \rho \mu \alpha_i$, 'I deliberate ;' $\beta \epsilon \beta \rho \dot{\nu} \lambda \epsilon \nu \mu \alpha_i$, 'I have made up my mind.'

35. The Future implies not only future time, but also purpose and intention. There is no Future tense in the Subjunctive Mood, which itself implies a reference to the future, and the Future Optative is only used to represent the Future Indicative in sentences actually or virtually oblique.

31-35]

- (a) There are in the passive voice two Futures.
 - The Future of the single act formed from the Aorist stem (λυθήσομαι).
 - (2) The Future of the completed act, formed from the Perfect stem (λελόσομαι); which is used sometimes to denote a sudden or immediate result. *Of. XEN. Anab.* i. 5. 16, νομίζετε έν τŷδε τŷ ἡμέρα ἐμέ κατακεκόψεσθαι, 'I shall be cut down, my fate will be settled, that very day.' This Future is formed in the active voice by the perfect participle with ἕσομαι.

The Moods.

36. There are in Greek four moods, the Indicative, the Imperative, the Subjunctive, and the Optative.

The Indicative states a thing as plain fact; the Imperative expresses direct commands; the Subjunctive and Optative are mostly used in Subordinate Clauses to express a state or action which is contingent or dependent upon some other state or action.

• 37. The Subjunctive refers to present or future time; the Optative is based upon circumstances either past or merely imagined as possible.

 (a) Hence the Subjunctive follows those tenses which refer to present time (called principal or *primary* tenses). The Optative follows those which refer to the past time, or *historic* tenses. (Note that the Subjunctive has *primary*, the Optative *historic* endings, and that the Imperative always implies primary time. What is sequence of *tenses* in Latin is sequence of *moods* in Greek.)

38. Hence also, in suppositions the Subjunctive denotes that which is practical, and will soon be settled one way or another : $\epsilon \lambda \nu \, \epsilon \chi \omega$, 'if I have, which I shall soon know;' the Optative that which is merely possible or conceivable : $\epsilon l \, \epsilon \chi \omega \mu \mu$, 'were I to have, as I may possibly.'

39. The Subjunctive is used-

- (a) Independently in simple questions to express doubt or deliberation, ποῦ στῶ; 'where am I to stand?' and in the first person in exhortations and commands. This Subjunctive is retained in a dependent clause in primary sequence, but is changed into the Optative when the question becomes dependent upon a past tense, as οὐκ ἢδειν ποῦ σταίην, 'I did not know where to stand.'
- (b) Dependently, with relative and conditional particles, generally followed by åν, to put a general case, after primary time : δs åν ταῦτα ποιῆ, 'whoever does this ;' ἐὰν ταῦτα γένηται, 'if ever this happens.'
- **40.** The Optative is used—
 - (a) Independently, to express a wish that may be realised. $\frac{48}{48}$

(b) Dependently, to express frequency, and to generalise after past time, and so especially after the imperfect: εἰ μἐν ἐντύχοιἐν τισι κρείσσους ὅντες τῶν πολεμίων διέφευγον αὐτούς, 'if (= whenever) they met any of the enemy, though they were stronger than they, they constantly fled from them.'—THUC. vii. 44.

The Voices.

41. There are three Voices in Greek, the Active, the Middle, and the Passive.

- (a) The Active and Passive are used much as in Latin, the Greek equivalent of a or ab with the ablative of the agent being $b\pi b$ with the genitive.
- (b) The Middle Voice, which was probably the earliest form of the Passive, is used of *reflexive* action; *i.e.* of action which comes back to the agent, either (1) as interested in the action, *i.e.* as recipient, or (2) as getting the action done, or (3) as having it reciprocated by another.
- Exx.—(I) μεταπέμπεσθαί τινα, 'to send for a person' (to come to one); (2) διδάσκεσθαι τδν νίδν, 'to have one's son taught;'
 (3) διαλύεσθαι πόλεμον, 'to put an end to a war by mutual treaty;' διαλέγεσθαι (which consequently is only used in the middle) 'to converse.'
- Obs.—The same remark applies to those words which take a middle form for the future, the agent's will being more involved in the future than in the other tenses; as ἀκούσομαι, '1 will hear.'

The Compound Sentence.

42. A Compound Sentence consists of two or more Simple Sentences connected together, of which one is the principal, the others are subordinate.

Subordinate Sentences are of three kinds, corresponding to the parts of speech whose place they fill in the principal sentence, viz., Substantival, Adjectival, and Adverbial.

Substantival Clauses (L. P. p. 141).

43. Oblique enuntiation is expressed-

(a) By the Infinitive, with the accusative of the subject, when it is different from the subject of the principal sentence, but with the nominative when it is the same (see Rule 9), the Future being used after words of promising: ἕφη Νικίαν στρατηγεῖν,
 ^e he said that Nicias was general.'

By this construction it is possible at any moment to show that the words or thoughts are not the writer's own, without the use of any introductory phrases such as 'he said,' 'he replied.'

- Obs.—But with words like λέγεται, δοκεΐ, etc., the personal construction is preferred, e.g. λέγεται 'Απόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, 'it is said that Apollo flayed Marsyas.'
- (b) By ω_s or $\delta \tau_i$, with the Indicative after primary tenses, and with the Optative after historic tenses, after verbs of saying and knowing. $\delta \tau_i$ generally introduces an actual fact, ω_s the speaker's impression or representation δf it. *N.B.* Note that the Subjunctive is never used in oblique narration or interrogation unless it represents in primary sequence a Subjunctive in the direct.
- (c) By a Participle agreeing with the object, after verbs of knowledge and perception. The nominative is preserved if the participle is predicated of the subject of the principal verb. of "Ελληνες οὐκ ἤδεσαν Κῦρον τεθνηκότα, 'the Greeks did not know that Cyrus was dead;' "Ισθι ἀνόητος ὥν, ' be sure that you lack common sense.'
- (d) By the Indicative of past or present time, or the Subjunctive or Optative, according to the tense of the principal verb, of future time, with μή, after verbs of fearing : φοβοῦμαι μή τοῦτο γέγονε, 'I fear that this has happened ;'—μή γένηται, 'that it may happen;' ἐφοβούμην μή γένοιτο. (This is partly final.)
- 44. Oblique Petition is expressed by the Accusative and Infinitive, or the Infinitive alone.

45. Oblique Interrogation is expressed by the Indicative after primary, and the Optative after historic tenses, following an interrogative pronoun or particle, direct or oblique (e.g. τis or $\delta \sigma \tau us$) or the conjunction ϵl , dependent on a verb of asking, doubting, telling, etc.

46. The Indicative, and the Subjunctive, with or without $d\nu$, of Subordinate clauses, are preserved in oratio obliqua after primary tenses, but are changed into the Optative without $d\nu$ after historic tenses.

47. In oblique enuntiation and interrogation the moods and tenses of the original direct sentence are often retained, in order to approach more closely to the words of the speaker. (Graphic Sequence.)

Adjectival Clauses.

48. Adjectival Clauses are introduced by the Relative δs or one of its particles, which is followed by the Indicative when it defines an individual by definite actions or qualities; by the Subjunctive with δr after Primary, or by the Optative without δr after Historic tenses, when it defines a class, or implies a condition.

The relative δs , like the Latin *qui* (L. P. § 150), but more rarely, expresses purpose, consequence, or cause. See §§ 49, 50 c, 51.

[44-48

Adverbial Clauses. (L. P., p. 143.)

49. Consecutive Clauses denote the result of an action, and are introduced-

(a) By ώστε, which is followed by the Accusative and Infinitive, or the simple Infinitive if the subject is unchanged, when the result is indicated as natural, whether it really follows or not; by the Indicative when attention is called to the fact that it does actually follow; as, ηλαυνον ἐπὶ τοὐs Μένωνος, ὥστε ἐκείνουs ἐκπεπληχθαι (XEN. Anab. i. 5. 13), 'they charged Menon's soldiers, so that they were thrown into a panic,' where the result follows, but no special attention is called to the fact; the charge was sufficient to scare them: οὐχ ῆκεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, ὥστε ἐφρώντιζον (Ibid. ii. 3. 25), where Tissaphernes' absence was not only enough to make them think, but did make them think, etc.

In the same way olos, doos, are followed by the Infinitive, as our écriv olos raura moleur, 'he is not the man to do this.'

ώστε is also used (as well as $\dot{\epsilon}\phi'$, $\ddot{\psi}, \dot{\epsilon}\phi'$, $\ddot{\psi}\tau\epsilon$) with the Infinitive, to denote the condition or understanding on which a thing is done, as συμμαχίαν $\dot{\epsilon}\pi o u \dot{\eta} \sigma a \tau \tau \sigma$, $\ddot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \mu \dot{\eta} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon \dot{\omega} \epsilon \omega$, 'on condition that they should not be required to serve.' (See § 30.)

- (b) by the Relative δs, or δστιs, or one of its particles, as τίs οὕτωs εὐηθὴs ὄστιs ἀγνοεῖ, 'who is so simple as not to know?'
- Obs.—In the former case Xenophon often uses the simple $\dot{\omega}s$ for $\ddot{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$. The negatives are $o\dot{v}$ with the Indicative, $\mu\dot{\eta}$ with the Infinitive.

50. Final Clauses denote purpose, and are introduced by $i\nu a$, ωs , $\delta \pi \omega s$, $\mu \eta$, $i\nu a \mu \eta$, $\delta s \mu \eta$, $\delta \pi \omega s \mu \eta$, followed by the Subjunctive or the Optative, according as the verb on which they depend is in primary or historic time.

- (a) Purpose is also expressed as in Latin by the Future Participle, and by the Accusative of the Gerund with the preposition.
- (b) Also by the simple Infinitive after verbs of giving, going, and the like, as οἶνον ἕδωκα πιεῖν, 'I gave him wine to drink.'
- (c) The Relative ös or öστις, when it expresses purpose, is followed by the Future Indicative, never by the Subjunctive : ηγεμόνα αιτεῖν, ὅστις ἀπάξει, 'to lead them back.'—XEN. Anab. i. 3. 14.
- (d) A purpose which is beyond attainment because some necessary condition is unfulfilled (Eng. 'that I might have been'), is expressed by a past tense of the Indicative with *lva*, *bs*, or *öπωs*.
- (e) Verbs of precaution and consideration are followed by ὅπως or ὅπως μή with the Future Indicative after primary, or the Optative after historic tenses; ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως μή τοιοῦτοι ἐσονται.—XEN. Cyr. i. 2. 3.

By the omission of $\delta\rho a$ or $\sigma\kappa\delta\pi\epsilon\iota$ this becomes hortative : $\delta\pi\omega s\,\delta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ $\delta\nu\delta\rho\epsilons$, 'see ye be men.'—XEN. Anab. i. 7. 3.

52. Temporal Clauses are introduced by $\delta \tau \epsilon$, $\delta \pi \delta \tau \epsilon$, $\dot{\eta}\nu i\kappa a$, $\dot{\omega}s$ (when), $\xi \omega_s$, $\xi \sigma \tau \epsilon$, $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tilde{\psi}$ (whilst, as long as), $\pi \rho i\nu$ (before), $\xi \omega_s$, $\xi \sigma \tau \epsilon$, $\mu \epsilon \chi \rho_{15}$ ov (until), $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \ell$, $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \eta$ (after), followed by the Indicative to express a certain known and definite time, past, present, or future; by $\delta \nu$ with the Subjunctive, after Primary tenses to express present or future time of uncertain or repeated acts (whenever); and by the Optative after Historic tenses of uncertain or repeated acts.

- (a) $\pi \rho i \nu$, $\pi \rho i \nu$, $\pi \rho i \nu$, $\pi \rho i \nu \pi \rho \delta \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \nu$, π are generally followed by the Infinitive after affirmations, unless it is wished to denote that the fact took place, when the Indicative is used.
- (b) πρίν åν and sometimes πρίν with the Subjunctive, and πρίν with the Optative, are used only in sentences actually or virtually negative. οὐ χρή με ἀπελθεῦν, πρίν ἂν δῶ δίκην, 'you must not let me go, till I have suffered for it' (XEN. Anab. v. 7. 5); οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν, πρίν παραθεῖεν ἄριστον, 'they would not let them go, till they had served them with breakfast' (iv. 5. 30).

(c) $\xi \omega s$ with the Aorist = until, with the Present = as long as.

53. Conditional Clauses (L. P., p. 144), are introduced by ϵl , $\epsilon \dot{\alpha}\nu$, $\epsilon \ell \pi \epsilon \rho$, followed by $\mu \dot{\eta}$ if the sentence be negative. Four classes are distinguished :---

- (a) Pure condition: where the question is one of fact and the consequence follows if the fact be granted (sumptio Dati); the Indicative is used in both Protasis and Apodosis; ε^t τι άμαρτάνεις άλγεῖs, si quid peccas, doles.
- (b) Practical supposition: where the condition is a supposition, but one which has a speedy prospect of decision, and the consequence is certain to follow on the fulfilment of the condition (sumptio Dandi); by έἀν or ην with the Subjunctive in the Protasis, with the Future of the Indicative in the Apodosis, ἐἀν τι ἀμάρτῃs ἀλγήσει, si quid peccaveris, dolebis. ἐἀν is often used in a frequentative sense = if ever.
- (c) Possible Supposition : where the condition and consequence are both hypothetical without any suggestion of their being more than possible and conceivable (sumptio Ficti); the Optative is used with εl in the Protasis, and the Optative with år (which connects it with its conditions) in the Apodosis, as εl τι ἀμαρτάνοις, ἀλγοίης ἅν, si quid pecces, doleas.

52

Note.—In (b) and (c) the place of the Protasis is often filled by a relative clause where δs or $\delta \sigma \tau \iota s = \epsilon \ell \tau \iota s$.

- (d) Impossible Supposition: where the condition, being a supposition contrary to actual fact, can no longer be fulfilled, and the consequence is therefore impossible; a past tense of the Indicative in the Protasis followed by a past tense of the Indicative with av, the imperfect denoting continuance, the aorist the single act, εt τι ήμάρτανες ήλγεις äv, si quid peccares, doleres.
- (e) Conditional sentences of various shades of meaning are formed by combining the Protasis of one of these principal forms with the Apodosis of another; e.g. εl γàρ οὖτοι ὀρθῶs ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖs ἂν οὖ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε. The real condition is contained in ὀρθῶs, 'if it should turn out that they were right in their revolt, then you will be holding an unjustifiable rule.' The particular case carries a principle which proves a general conclusion.
- Obs.—In particular, an indefinite case in past time (el with Optative= if ever) is followed by a past tense of the Indicative with $a\nu$ to denote what actually followed in each case ($a\nu$, where the condition is fulfilled).

54. From classes (c) (d) of Conditional sentences arise some abbreviated forms :—

- (a) The Apodosis being suppressed, the Protasis alone expresses a strong wish, like our 'if only,' or the Latin O si; εἰ ἔχοιμι, 'if only I might have' (a wish possible to be realised); εἰ ηδυνήθην, 'I wish I had been able' (impossible).
- (b) The suppression of the Protasis in (c) leaves the Apodosis to express a contingent futurity; ποιοίην ἂν, 'I will do —— if the necessary circumstances ever arise.' In the second person it is used to express a courteous request, δέχοιο ἂν, 'please accept it,' —i.e. 'you will accept it if you wish to oblige.'

55. In oratio obliqua, the Indicative or Optative of the Apodosis is represented by the Infinitive or the Participle (§ 43 c), the $a\nu$ being retained.

(a) The Apodosis can also be put, if necessary, into a participial form, generally with ώs.

56. Concessive or Limitative Clauses are formed by $\epsilon l \ \kappa a l \ or \ \kappa a l \ \epsilon l$ with the indicative or optative, or by $\epsilon a \nu \ \kappa a l$ with the subjunctive, after Primary tenses (negative $\mu \eta$), but more generally by participles with the particle $\kappa a l \ \pi e p$ prefixed (negative o v).

57. Comparative Clauses, comparing with actual fact, are expressed by $\dot{\omega}s$ with the indicative, except in the oblique; comparing with a supposition (Latin quasi), by $\dot{\omega}\sigma\epsilon l$ with the construction of the Conditional Scntence. A noticeable form of the first is $\dot{\omega}s \, \dot{\eta}\delta\dot{\nu}\mu\alpha\tau\sigma$, 'to his power;' with the superlative $\dot{\eta}\delta\dot{\nu}\mu\alpha\tau\sigma$ is often omitted: as, $\dot{\omega}s \, \pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\tau\sigma\iota$, 'the greatest number possible.'

The Participle.

- 58. Several of the above clauses may be represented by participles, as :--
 - (a) Causal, sometimes with äτε or ώs, as, νομίζων ἀμείνοναs εἶναι ὑμâs προσέλαβον, 'I took you with me, because I thought you to be Detter than they were.'
 - (b) Temporal, the present participle expressing simultaneous time, the aorist prior time, and the future future, as compared with the leading verb, as ήδύ σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων where σωθέντα = έπειδὰν σωθŷ τις.
 - (c) Conditional, as ἀμαρτάνων ἀλγεῖs, ἀλγήσει, ἀλγοίηs ἀν, ἤλγειs ἄν; in negative sentences the use of μη marks the participle as conditional.
 - (d) Concessive, with or without και or καιπερ, δμωs being often added in the Apodosis; καιπερ είδότες, 'although they know.'
 - (e) Comparative, with ws.
 - (f) The Participle is also used instead of another verb to express the means or the circumstances which lead up to or attend the verb, ταῦτα ποιήσαs ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχήν, 'by doing this he lost his empire.' This is called the Modal use. (Cp. § 27.)

59. The Participle is used in Greek with several verbs expressing existence, as, $\tau v \gamma \chi \dot{\alpha} \nu \epsilon v$, $\ddot{\alpha} \rho \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ (to begin), $\lambda \alpha \nu \theta \dot{\alpha} \nu \epsilon v$, $\phi \alpha \dot{\nu} \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$, or joy or sorrow, as $\chi \alpha l \rho \epsilon v$, $\lambda \nu \pi \epsilon \hat{\iota} \sigma \theta a \iota$, and with $\phi \theta \dot{\alpha} \nu \epsilon v$, to be beforehand, $\pi \alpha \dot{\nu} \epsilon v$, to stop, and with the adjectives $\delta \hat{\eta} \lambda \sigma s$ and $\phi \alpha \nu \epsilon \rho \delta s$.

Note.— $\phi a i v \phi a i v = I$ plainly am; $\phi a i v \phi a i \epsilon i v a i = I$ appear to be.

60. The Participle is used predicatively with the definite noun (§ 5), where we use a verbal substantive, as $\ddot{a}\mu a \tau \hat{\varphi} \sigma l \tau \varphi \dot{a}\kappa \mu \dot{a} \dot{\zeta} \sigma \nu \tau \iota$, 'with the ripening of the corn.'

61. The Accusative of the Participle of impersonal verbs, or verbs used impersonally, is used absolutely, as $\delta \epsilon_{o\nu}$, since it is necessary, $\delta \delta \xi_{a\nu}$, when it had been resolved.

The Negatives.

62. There are two Negatives, où and $\mu \eta$; où appears in negative statements, $\mu \eta$ in negative conceptions, such as purpose, condition, consequence.

- (a) $\mu\eta$ is consequently used in prohibitions, direct and oblique, in oblique sentences after verbs of swearing and pledging, in conditions, and in deliberative, final, and consecutive clauses where the result is not represented as actually achieved.
- (δ) μη is used with the relative and also with adjectives and participles with the article, when the relative or article denotes a class, as δ μη δδικῶν, or ös μη δδικεί, 'whoever is not dishonest.' â âν μη δράσηs, 'whatever you do not do.' 54

63. The Negative in oblique enuntiation is often attached to the introductory verb, as of $\phi\eta\mu\mu$:='nego;' où $\kappa \, \hat{e}\hat{\omega}$, 'I forbid;' so où $\kappa \, d\xi_i\hat{\omega} \, \tau o\hat{v}\tau o \pi \sigma i\hat{e}\hat{v}$, 'I think I ought not to do this.'

64. The Negative in Greek is repeated with each thing denied, as $o\forall \pi \sigma \tau \epsilon$ $ov\delta\delta\epsilon$ is $ov\delta a\mu ov$ $\pi a \partial \tau a d\pi oly \sigma \epsilon$, 'no one ever did this under any circumstances.' If the verb comes at the beginning it has its own negative, as $ov\kappa d\pi oly \sigma \epsilon$ $\tau a \partial \tau a ov\delta\epsilon$, 'no one did this.' Otherwise, two negatives make an affirmative, as $ov\delta\epsilon$ ov $\tau a \partial \tau a d\pi o ly \sigma \epsilon = ' every body did this.'$

65. The Negative $\mu \dot{\eta}$ is inserted before the infinitive after verbs of denying, hindering, forbidding, to make the subordinate clause carry its own full meaning : $\kappa\omega\lambda\dot{\omega}\,\sigma\epsilon\,\mu\dot{\eta}\,\tau\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\taua\,\delta\rho\dot{a}\nu$, 'I prevent you from doing this.'

(a) An infinitive which for any reason has μή, takes the double negative μή οὐ, when it follows an actual or virtual negative, as, οὐ κωλύω σε μή οὐ ταῦτα δρῶν. So ἀδύνατα ἦν μὴ οὐ μεγάλα βλάπτειν, THUC.; ὥστε αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάζειν, XEN. Anab. ii. 3.11.

The Prepositions.

66. The meaning of Prepositions in Greek is modified by the use of the cases to which they are attached, the Genitive implying separation, or motion from, or aim; the Dative, attachment to, or rest at; the Accusative, motion along or towards; e.g. $\pi a \rho \dot{a}$ (== alongside) with the Genitive means 'from (the side of),' with the Dative 'at the side of,' with the Accusative 'along' or 'to the side of;' $\mu \epsilon \tau \dot{a}$ (our 'mid') with the Genitive is 'from the middle of' and so in company 'with;' with the Dative, 'among,' and with the Accusative, 'along the middle of,' or 'to the midst of,' and so, as one who goes to join a party follows it, 'after,' 'in pursuit of.'

67. The following prepositions take one case only :--

- (a) The Genitive, πρό, ἀπό, ἐκ οr ἐξ, ἀντί, πλήν, ἄνευ, πέραν, μεταξύ, ἕνεκα (which is sometimes put after its case).
- (b) The Dative, $\epsilon \nu$ and $\sigma \nu \nu$.

(c) The Accusative, els, is (with persons only), and ava.

68. The following take two cases, the Genitive and Accusative : $\delta\iota d$, $\kappa \alpha \tau d$, and $\dot{\upsilon} \pi \epsilon \rho$.

69. The following take the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative :-- $d\mu\phi i$, $\pi\epsilon\rho i$, $\pi \alpha\rho a$, $\pi\rho \delta s$, $\epsilon\pi i$, $i\pi\delta$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\delta$.

55

THE USES OF THE

SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

I.

In Principal Clauses.

1. WISH or COMMAND.

- (a) First person plural, ^lωμεν,'let us go.'
- (b) Aorist with μη in prohibitions, τοῦτο μη δράσης, 'do not do this.'

2. DELIBERATIVE, in direct questions (or indirect in *primary* sequence).

ποι iωμεν; 'Whither are we to go?' (οὐκ έχουσι ποι iωσι.)

3. With $o\dot{v} \mu \dot{\eta}$ (with the aorist) a strong DENIAL (probably an elliptical case of II. 1).

où $\mu \dot{\eta} \, \check{\epsilon} \lambda \theta \eta$, 'there is no chance of his coming.'

 WISH.—The pure Optative to express a wish of possible fulfilment. εὐτυχοίης, 'may you prosper.' (Negative μη).

2. POTENTIAL or CONDITIONAL. With $d\nu$, especially in the apodosis of conditional sentences, with ϵi and the optative in the protasis.

(Negative ov.)

II.

In Governed Clauses.

1. FINAL, in *primary* sequence, to express purpose, or after verbs of precaution and fear.

(Negative $\mu \dot{\eta}$.)

2. INDEFINITE, after relative pronouns and particles, and hypothetical conjunctions, generally with $\delta \nu$, to express indefiniteness in *primary* time. (Negative $\mu \eta$.)

Note.—The subjunctive is never used to make a statement, except in I. 3.; and never represents any other mood than its own in oblique statements or questions. 1. FINAL, in *historic* sequence. (Negative μη.)

2. INDEFINITE, after relative pronouns, and in *historic* time, without $\delta \nu$. (Negative $\mu \dot{\eta}$.)

3. INDIRECT QUESTIONS, in *historic* sequence. (Negative ov.)

4. INDIRECT STATEMENT, after ώs and ὅτι in *historic* sequence. (Negative oὐ.)

5. CONDITIONAL,—With ϵl to express possible but unpractical hypotheses. (Negative $\mu \dot{\eta}$.)

6. INDIRECT DELIBERATIVE (οὐκ εἶχον ποῖ ἴοιεν). (Negative μὴ.)

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

- ότι... διὰ τοῦτο.] This inversion makes the reason more emphatic.
 οἰδὲ μειόνων ἀν τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων] It were unjust that a man should not receive any praise, even though it came short of his deserts. The ἄν, which some editors omit, seems necessary to explain οὐδὲ, after εί. The protasis to οὐκ ἂν καλῶs ἔχοι itself contains another condition.
- 2. τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις] When his ancestors are enumerated, or, in the recounting of his pedigree; a kind of instrumental or modal dative. Compare XENOPHON'S Anabasis, vi. I. 10: Ξενοφώντι δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένω(=during Xenophon's progress) οι ἰππεῖς προκαταθέοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβευταῖς πορευομένοις ποι.
 - δποστος κ.τ.λ.] How many generations he was removed from Herakles. The Spartan kings traced their pedigree up to Aristodemus, one of the great-grandsons of Hyllus, the son of Herakles, who with his brothers Temenus and Kresphontes led the migration of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus, known in legendary history as the 'return of the Heracleidae.' Aristodemus was killed before the expedition started, and left twin sons Eurysthenes and Prokles, who in the final distribution of the conquered land received by lot their father's portion, Sparta. In this way the legend accounts for the fact that there were always two kings at Sparta.

τούτοις] In apposition with τοις προγόνοις.

3. ταύτη] On this count.

βασιλεύουσι μεν κ.τ.λ] Although they are kings, it is only of an ordinary city, ἐπιτυχούσης, such as you come across every day, and so, unimportant.

δευτέρων] Second-rate.

ήγεμόνων] At the time when Xenophon wrote (about 360 B.C.) the death of Epaminondas had practically left the supremacy ($\dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\mu\sigma\nu\ell a$) to Sparta once more. In the early times and during the Persian wars, and again for a time after the downfall of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian war, it had been the leading state in Greece.

4. It was their great merit that they never used their power so as to stir the jealousy of the people, and never grasped at greater power than the terms of their original investiture allowed them.

άλλη μέν—αύτη δέ] Whereas . . . this.

τυραννίs] Absolute monarchy won by force; βασιλεία, in the later times, constitutional monarchy. The kings of Sparta were kept under considerable checks, and their political power had before this become insignificant, save where, as in Agesilaus, personal strength of character asserted it. They had, however, many important privileges, and were always looked up to with great respect, as the representatives of the founder's house, and the religious heads of the nation. (Compare the βρχων βασιλεὐs at Athens, and the 'rex sacrificulus' at Rome.)

συνεχής βασιλεία] An uninterrupted monarchy.

5. ώs ὄντοs] Claiming to be.

άνεπικλητότερον] More unimpeachable.

κριθέντα] Translate 'when a man has been judged . . . what further proof is needed?' Mark the literal construction : το . . . άξιωθῆναι is the subject.

King Agis died in 399 B.C. Lysander, who had been commander of the fleet, and conqueror of Athens, puffed up by his success, and urged on by the flatteries of his friends, had intrigued to get himself made king, and to make the royal office not hereditary, but elective. Having failed in his attempt, he thought to advance himself in another way by getting his friend Agesilaus, who was a younger half-brother of the late king, put on the throne in the place of Agis' son. At his prompting Agesilaus contested the legitimacy of Leotychides and claimed the sceptre for himself. Some doubts had been expressed as to Leotychides' birth, but, doubtless, what decided the question in his uncle's favour was that he was but a lad of fifteen, while Agesilaus was a mature man of forty. Objection was taken to him because he was lame, but Lysander, by an ingenious interpretation of an oracle, managed to carry the day in his favour. [XEN. Hellen. iii. 3. 3 : ws ouk olouro, τόν θεόν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύση (physical lameness), άλλα μαλλον μη ούκ ων του γένους βασιλεύση.]

ξτι νέος ὤν] He was over forty, so the expression seems hardly suitable.

58

[I. 4-6

- ἐξηγγέλθη κ.τ.λ.] The Persians had not forgiven the Spartans for the help they had given to the younger Cyrus. At the beginning of 398 B.C. Derkyllidas, being appointed commander of the Greeks, had made a truce with Tissaphernes in order to attack Pharnabazus. In the following year he was commanded by the Ephors to attack Tissaphernes in Caria, and the fleet under Pharax was ordered to co-operate with him. The two satraps joined their forces, so that Derkyllidas could effect but little, and an armistice was concluded (397 B.C.). Pharnabazus availed himself of it to make extensive preparations for a fresh war. He got down Persian troops, and began to raise a fleet of 300 sail in Phoenicia and Cilicia to be placed under the command of the Athenian admiral Conon.
- ζάν δώσιν] The graphic sequence, the original mood being preserved. Syntax, § 47.
 - τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατών] As a sort of council of officers ($\dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\mu b\nu$ as καl συμβούλουs, PLUTARCH, c. vi.). Spartan citizens did not, as a rule, go as soldiers on foreign service.
 - νεοδαμώδεις] Enfranchised Helots, who had received their freedom as a reward for their bravery in war. σύνταγμα, a corps.

βούληται] Is bent upon.

άσχολίαν παρέξειν] He would keep him too busy to invade Greece.

αὐτὸ τοῦτο] The mere fact of desiring. The accusative of the thing alone with ἄγαμαι is rare, but is used by Xenophon, Cyrop. ii. 3. 19.

πρόσθεν] Under Darius and Xerxes.

- ἐπιόντα κ.τ.λ.] To carry on an offensive rather than a defensive warfare. Some word like τινà is understood as the subject of the infinitive. Similarly with δαπανῶντα (acc. sing.), and πολεμεῖν.
- δαπανώντα] By obtaining his supplies from the people among whom he was. Trans. 'at his expense, and not at that of the Greeks.'
- μὴ περὶ τῆs Ἐλλάδοs] To let the stake be the possession, not of Greece, but of Asia.
- 9. is is trathynger] What sort of a general he was.
- 10. ήδε πρώτη πρâξις] This was his first performance. πρώτη πρâξις is predicate, or it would have the article.
 - **Τισσαφέρνης ώμοσεν**] The armistice was renewed for three months, in order to allow time for communication with the Persian court. Derkyllidas had demanded the independence of the Greek cities in Asia, and envoys had been sent to negotiate these terms. 59

I. 6-10

Tissaphernes told Agesilaus that he hoped that they would be granted, and with this understanding swore to the armistice, *Hellen*. iii. 4. 5, 6.

ous ménuel Whom he had sent.

- πόλεις 'Ελληνίδαs] Treated apparently as one word : generally τàs 'Ελληνίδαs πόλεις, or, τàs πόλεις τàs 'Ελληνίδας.
- όρισάμενος τρεῖς μῆνας] Having limited the time allowed for the negotiations to three months.
- 11. εἰρήνην πράττειν] Promoting a peace: so Hellen. iv. 4. 7. ἕπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον, he was trying to get an entrance.
- 12. ἐπίορκον belongs to ἐμφανίσας, ἄπιστον to ἐποίησεν.
 - μή ψευδόμενον] μή, with the participle, represents it as depending on the mind of the subject of the leading verb. Translate 'not one to break compacts.'
 - έποίησε συντίθεσθαι] Often explained as a consecutive infinitive without ώστε, but it seems better to take πάντας συντίθεσθαι as object to $\epsilon \pi olη \sigma \epsilon$. 'He made them enter into compacts with him without hesitation.'
 - μέγα φρονήσας έπι] Presuming upon. The whole of this passage is repeated in the *Hellen*. iii. 4. 11.
- 13. καταβάντι] It had come down from the inland provinces. So compounds of ἀνὰ are used of persons going inland (cf. ἀνάβασιs), and both ἀνὰ and κατὰ are similarly used of motion from or to the coast line from the sea-side; καταπλεῖν, to sail into harbour, ἀνάγεσθαι, to put out to sea.
 - προείπεν πόλεμον] This was before the three months of the armistice had expired.

την παρούσαν δύναμιν 'Αγησιλάφ] Agesilaus' existing force. φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπφ] With cheerfulness in his face. ἐπιορκήσαs] By his perjury.

14. στρατευομένω] On his march.

άγορλν παρασκευάζειν] To provide a market, *i.e.* he would pay for the provisions that they brought.

πρός αύτον είς "Εφεσον] We should say, 'to him at Ephesus.'

15. ἄφιππος] Impracticable for cavalry. It was rough and mountainous. Agesilaus' message to the Carians was simply meant to put Tissaphernes off the scent, and it was successful. He thought that Agesilaus had a personal grudge against him for his deceit, and so prepared to meet the attack by stationing his cavalry in the great plain of Lydia, through which the Greek troops would have to pass to reach the Carian hills.

60

AGESILAUS.

τῷ ὄντι] sc. δρμήσειν. His real destination was

olkov] NEPOS, Agesil. 3: Quod ipsius erant plurima dominitia in Caria. Caria had been his satrapy when Cyrus had Lydia.

- Mataνδροῦ] A river that rises near Celaenae in Phrygia (Xey, Anab. i. 2. 7). It flows in a S.W. direction towards Carla, and empties itself into the sea opposite to Miletus. In the plain its course is very winding, and its name has thus become proverbial.
- 16. ἐπὶ Φρυγίας] Phrygia was the province of Pharnabazus. He had made no preparation for the attack, and Tissaphernes brought him no help, so that Agesilaus met with little or no resistance, and took abundance of plunder and of slaves. So PLUTARCH, ch. 9.
 - τὰς ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις] Probably small bands that roamed the country. They were too small to offer resistance. This will account for the number of captives mentioned later.
 - κλαβε] Note the change of tense; this is a summary of the fruits of the whole expedition.
- 17. δσιόν τε και δίκαιον] Right and fair.
 έξ ἐκείνου] From that time forward, all being fair in war. παίδα] A mere child.
- άντίπροικα] For a mere song ; all but given away. προειπεν] Gave a hint.

έπι θάλατταν] Where there would be a better market for them.

γραφομένους] They were to make an entry of the price of each thing purchased, and let them have the goods; not requiring them to pay, that is, till they had sold them again, which they were able to do in the seaports at a considerable profit. The original sale was held on the spot by the $\lambda a \phi v \rho \delta \pi \omega \lambda a \iota$, whose business it was to receive the proceeds, and to account for them to the public treasury.

ούδεν προτελέσαντες] Without advancing anything.

- βλάψαντες] The rule was that the spoil should be sold on the spot, so the treasury would not suffer.
- 19. προ's βασιλέα] i.e. directly to the king, with whom they would most wish to gain favour; so ώs εἰκόs.

ύφηγεῖσθαι] To give information ; put him in the way of treasure. ταῦτα] Join this with ἀλίσκοιτο.

χρηματίζοιντο] They might be the gainers.

 πορθουμένη κ.τ.λ.] Note the present participles used of that which is going on.

dévaov] Never-failing.

έπεμέλετο κ.τ.λ.] If they joined him willingly the land would be

οίκουμένη, but if he conquered them by force it would be πορθουμένη.

- 21. τουs άλισκομένουs] The captives taken from time to time.
 - $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \nu =$ to carry, transport. The children had been sold by their captors to slave-merchants, who abandoned them in their haste to get away from the enemy.
 - συγκομίζοιντο] Plural, because παιδάρια, though neuter in form, is masculine in sense.
- 22. τοῖς δ' αῦ κατὰ yῆpas] Some of the prisoners were left behind, as being less vigorous than the others, and so not likely to fetch a great price, and the children were put under their care.
 - oi άλισκόμενοι] The old men and the children, who were grateful for their release.
 - adaipav] Relieving them from the services which are only due from a slave to his master, he enjoined upon them the obedience which free men pay to their rulers.
 - καl των κατά κράτος] And fortresses that were impregnable to assault he brought into his power by kindness. The genitive is partitive-some fortresses.
- 23. ούδε έν τη Φρυγία] Not even in Phrygia. He had nearly reached Daskylium, the residence of Pharnabazus, when his small force of cavalry encountered an equal detachment of Persian horse, and was defeated by them. After this defeat, the omens showed themselves unfavourable for any further advance, and he turned off to the sea .- Hellen. iii. 4. 13-15.
 - $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \xi \epsilon$] He put on the list. It is followed by the infinitive, because it implies a command.
- 24. 80718] The class mentioned is brought into prominence by this transposing of the relative clause and its grammatical antecedent.
 - παρέχοιτο] PLUT. Ages. ix. : 'Αναχωρήσας είς Εφεσον ίππικον συνήγε, τοις εύπόροις προειπών, εί μη βούλονται στρατεύεσθαι, παρασχείν ἕκαστον $i\pi\pi$ ον $d\nu\theta$ έαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα. The middle here implies that he does it for his own relief.
 - δόκιμον] One who could pass the inspection (δοκιμασία).
 - ταῦτα] plur. because several things are to be provided.
 - ώσπερ άν τις κ.τ.λ.] As a man would naturally seek out with eagerness some one to die in his stead. μαστεύω is a poetical word.
 - $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon_{15}$ viz. those that were specially known for the breeding of horses.
 - $i\pi\pi\epsilon$ [Those who were to be accepted as substitutes, the $d\nu\delta\rho\epsilon$ s δόκιμοι of the last clause. 62

- εύθὺς κ.τ.λ.] Would as a matter of course be on their mettle on the score of horsemanship.
- κατεσκεύαστο] The tense denotes the rapidity with which an effective force was got together.

čap] The spring of 395 B.C.

- ήτις] A condensed sentence. For the cavalry squadrons—for the one that showed the best horsemanship. $η_{\tau is}$ with optative represents the $η_{\tau is}$ a_{ν} of the subjunctive of the proclamation.
- **σωμάτων**] Genitive of reference after ἄριστα έχοι; cf. *Hellen*. iv. 5. 15, ώς τάχους έκαστος είχε, according to each man's achievements in speed. Translate, 'the one that was most in condition.'
- τὰ προσήκοντα] Explained by ἐπὶ στόχον ἰένταs below, as marksmanship.
- 26. Order-έποίησεν δέ όλην την πόλιν έν ή ήν άξιαν θέας.
 - σκυτεΐs, γραφεΐs] The former to cover the shields with leather, the latter to ornament them. They were present in smaller numbers than the smiths and braziers; hence the absence of the article. πολέμου έργαστήριου] A workshop of war, an arsenal-yard.
- 27. ἐπεβρώσθη ἀν] Would have felt in good spirits,—would have been confident of success. The work was so serious and earnest.
 A setu Sil The transit Dime of the Enhancement.

'Αρτέμιδι] The 'great' Diana of the Ephesians.

- 28. ληστών] Plundering parties. The captives were brought to Ephesus to be sold as slaves; and Agesilaus directed that when they were put up to auction, they should be exhibited in a state of nudity.
 - λευκούς] The Greeks in their gymnastic exercises were always naked, and so by exposure to the sun were brown and tanned; and in the same way their constant hard training made them tough and muscular; so they looked on these white-skinned and fleshy barbarians as little better than women for their effeminacy. So Plato contrasts τὸν ἐν ἡλίψ καθαρῷ τεθραμμένον with him that is reared ὑπὸ συμμιγεῖ σκιῷ, unversed in manly toils and the sweat of labour. —*Phaedr.* p. 239.

μηδέν διοίσειν ή] Would be just the same as.

κράτιστα] According to PLUT. Ages. x., Lydia is meant.

δπως αὐτόθεν κ.τ.λ.] In order that they might at once begin training themselves in body and mind for the conflict. ὅπως refers to προεῖπε, not to ἡγήσοιτο.

αὐτόθεν] Lit. from the spot, and so, immediately, at once.

29. τώ όντι] Really.

δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων] Through a country where he met no opposition. 30. σκευοφόρων] The baggage-train. ό ήγεμών] The leader of the Persian horse.

airol] The cavalry themselves.

- 31. ούπω παρείη το πεζόν] It was still in Caria, § 29.
 - τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ήβης = τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ήβης ἔτη γεγονότας, i.e. the younger hoplites, the men first called out on service, from twenty to thirty years of age. The article τὰ refers to this classification. They from their youth could reach the enemy sooner.
 - Note the change of tense in $\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \epsilon$. $\hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \nu$ covers the whole operation; the aorists mark the details.

ώς αύτοῦ τε κ.τ.λ.] As he was following with the whole army.

- 32. πάντα τὰ δεινὰ] viz., cavalry and light-armed and hoplites.
 - ξπεσον . . ξφευγον] Note again the changed tense : the fall was instantaneous, the flight continuous.
 - δ δὲ 'Αγησίλαος κ.τ.λ.] While Agesilaus put all his stores together, both what belonged to his friends and what had been taken from the enemy, and enclosed them within his lines.
- 33. ώs δε ήκουσε] In thus fortifying his camp, he had anticipated a fresh attack, but now that he finds the enemy disunited, he presses on for the capital.

παρείναι] Infinitive of oblique command, implied in κηρόγματι ἐδήλου. ώς πρός σύμμαχον αὐτόν] Condensed for πρός αὐτόν ὡς πρός σύμμαχον.

εί δέ τυνες κ.τ.λ.] And if any claim Asia for their own, they should come to decide the matter by an appeal to arms with those who are ready to set it free.

34. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου] From that time forward.

τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν κ.τ.λ.] Seeing that those who, although they were Greeks, were compelled to do homage, were now honoured by those who had once treated them constantly with insult and outrage. Note the position of Ἐλληνας, the article not belonging to it, but to ἀναγκαζομένους. Note also the tense of ὑβοίζοντο.

καl τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμάς] προσκυνεῖν implies an abject prostration on the ground, such as is paid to the gods only. The claim to this form of homage has been in modern times, in such countries as China and Burmah, a bar to all diplomatic intercourse with Western nations.

τούτουs heightens the contrast.

άδήωτον παρέχων] Guaranteeing it from ravage.

- τψ θεψ έν Δελφοῖς] Delphi was not only the habitation that defined the god, but was also the place of the offering : hence no second article.
- έν δυοίν έτοίν] Within two years.

 $[\]mathbf{v} \mathbf{\phi}' \, \mathbf{\hat{\omega}} \mathbf{v} = \mathbf{\hat{v}} \pi' \, \mathbf{\hat{\epsilon}} \kappa \epsilon \mathbf{\hat{\nu}} \omega \mathbf{v} \, \mathbf{\hat{v}} \phi' \, \mathbf{\hat{\omega}} \mathbf{v}.$

⁶⁴

35. κακώς φέρεσθαι] Prospered ill.

1. 35-36]

καταπέμψαs] Down from Susa.

 $d\pi \acute{e}re\mu ev]$ *i.e.* had it cut off—on the legal principle, 'qui facit per alium facit per se.' The people in Sardis complained that Tissaphernes had made no provision for their defence, in his anxiety to protect his own estate in Caria, and the king now knew that he had achieved nothing with the large reinforcements that had been sent to him. But there was another and a stronger reason for his fall. Parysatis, the queen-mother, had never forgiven nor forgotten the part that he had taken against her favourite son Cyrus. This was her opportunity. Making the most of these disasters, she induced Artaxerxes to order his death. He was seized in a bath at Colossae, and beheaded.

 τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κ.τ.λ.] The position of the Asiatics became much more hopeless, and that of Agesilaus more secure. ἐρρωμενέστερα is an irregular comparative of the participle ἐρρωμένοs.
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο] There came ambassadors.

ήγεμών ήν] Was at the head of.

36. τὸ ναντικὸν] Pharax, the Lacedaemonian admiral, with 120 ships, had blockaded Conon, the Athenian, with the Persian fleet, forty in number, in the harbour of Caunus, on the borders of Caria and Lycia. But the Persians sent a relief of forty more sail, and Pharax retired to Rhodes. The Rhodians, however, revolted from Sparta and drove Pharax out of their harbour, which became Conon's main station. Pharax was recalled, and Agesilaus was appointed commander on sea as well as land, so as to secure the co-operation of the two forces. These two functions had hitherto been kept separate : that they were now joined together shows the Spartans' sense of the danger.

τὸ μέγιστον] What is chiefest of all. In apposition with the participial clause that follows.

στρατεύουσαν] Present, with the idea of still existing hostility.

- $\mathring{\eta}\lambda$ θεν αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν] When the orders, or the message, came to him to go to his country's aid. Infinitive of oblique command.
- ούδὲν διαφερόντως] Just as if he had been standing in the ephor's court by himself.
- ἐπικτήτους] Newly acquired, adscititious. After the events last mentioned, Agesilaus had again invaded the territory of Pharnabazus, and laid waste his residence. This led to an interview in which the two became personal friends, and Agesilaus promised not to war against Pharnabazus as long as there were other

NOTES TO XENOPHON'S

[1. 37, 38

Persians to attack. He had laid his plans accordingly for a great expedition into the interior during the summer of 394 B.C., when he suddenly received a summons home. Tithraustes, the successor of Tissaphernes, after concluding an armistice with Agesilaus, set to work to foment a quarrel in Greece which should lead to the Spartan king's recall. The revolt of Rhodes and the admission of Conon, who was in command of the Persian fleet. was the first spark. Judicious bribes made through a Rhodian named Timocrates brought to a flame the long smouldering jealousy of Sparta which existed already in Thebes and Corinth and Argos. The first consequence was a war between Sparta and Thebes that arose from a border feud of the Phocians and Locrians. The Thebans, being hard pressed by Lysander from the north and Pausanias from the south, appealed to Athens for help. Lysander was slain in a battle before Haliartus, and Pausanias, on receiving for burial the dead bodies of Lysander and the others, evacuated Boeotia. At this the Spartans were very angry, and Pausanias, to escape their anger, went into voluntary exile. Encouraged by their success, the enemies of Sparta formed a league against her. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, Euboea, joined the alliance, and Sparta was in danger of losing all her empire outside the Peloponnesus. Under these circumstances the Ephors decided to recall Agesilaus.

37. πω̂ς οὐκ ;] Surely.

(τοῦτ' ἔργον) ὅστις] Namely, that he . . .

Join $\pi a \rho a \lambda a \beta \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\sigma \tau a \sigma \iota a \hat{\delta} o \hat{\nu} \sigma a \hat{s}$: having found them distracted by factions, because of the changes of constitution which had taken place, after the Athenians were deposed from their supremacy.

έως αὐτὸς παρῆν] While he was on the spot.

διατελέσαι] With participle, = they continued to be.

- 38. οὐχ ὡς κ.τ.λ.] A condensed sentence: were grieved at his departure, feeling that it was not a governor only that they were losing, but a father and a friend.
 - πλαστήν] Predicate. They showed that it was no feigned friendship that they showed; at any rate they came with him of their own free will to the help of Sparta. Of the two datives, $a\dot{v}\tau\hat{\varphi}$ belongs to the preposition, Λακεδαίμονι to the verb, in συνεβοήθησαν.
 - ού χείροσιν έαυτών] Men as brave as themselves.

AGESILAUS.

CHAPTER II.

1. While Agesilaus was on his homeward march, the battle of Corinth was fought, July 394. The Lacedaemonians were victorious in their part of the battle, but as their allies were worsted with considerable loss, the victory could hardly be called decisive. At the same time it secured for the time their ascendancy in the Peloponnesus. The allies went home in disgust, and so the confederates on the other side were free to go against Agesilaus.

δνπερ] i.e. δι' ωνπερ. ό Πέρσης, Xerxes.

τῷ παμπληθεῦ στόλῷ] The immense army, for there had been none like it. The army is a kind of instrument, so σύν is omitted.

ένιαύσιον] With έποιήσατο, predicate : spent a year over.

- μείον ή έν μηνί = έν μείονι ή έν μηνί. So in Oeconomic. xxi. 3: πλείον ή έν διπλασίω χρόνω.
- ού γὰρ ὡς] Apparently οἰ προεθυμεῖτο is used much as οῦ φημι, οἰκ ἐάω. He was anxious not to incur the blame of coming too late for his country's needs. The thought in Xenophon's mind implied some charge or statement, and so he uses the form of oblique statement.

2. ¿ [auci/us] Having quitted Macedonia for Thessaly.

δσοι φυγάδες δντες ἐτύγχανον] Probably the result of the attempt of Lycophron of Pherae to establish himself as ruler of all Thessaly. XEN. Hellen. ii. 3. 4.

ἐκακούργουν] Note the tense : kept constantly harassing them.

έν πλαισίω] In a marching square. The baggage, etc., was put in the centre, and the troops were arranged on the four sides, so that by simply facing round they could meet an attack from any direction.

Join τούς ήμίσεις των ίππέων.

- τοῦ προηγουμένου στρατεύματος] The van of the army. The tactics here adopted had done good service in the Retreat of the 10,000, and may possibly have been suggested by Xenophon.
- πρός τοὺς ὅπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν] To fight a cavalry fight in face of the hoplites. That is, they declined the challenge of Agesilaus' cavalry, because the hoplites were there to support them; and they had no hoplites on their own side.

βάδην] At a walk, slowly.

ἀ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον] The blunders that both were making, the Thessalians in not getting away, and his own men in not giving chase.

NOTES TO XENOPHON'S

παραγγέλλειν] sc. διώκειν. To tell the rest to give chase, and themselves to join in it.

άναστροφήν] Time to wheel round.

πλαγίουs] Taken in flank.

- έξαίσια] Headlong.
 Ναρθακίω] Just south of Pharsalus.
- 5. Ilpavtós] A town close to Narthacium, position doubtful.
 - $\mu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha \dot{\eta} \delta \dot{\delta} \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$] Much gratified by his success in that, with the cavalry force which he himself had organised, he had beaten men who took a national pride in their horsemanship.
 - τὰ 'Axaïkà τῆς Φθίας ὄρη] The mountains of Achaean Phthiotis.
 - την λοιπήν] i.e. όδόν. So Plutarch, Ages. c., 17, διοδεύσας την Φωκίδα φίλην ουσαν.
- 6. Λοκρούς ἀμφοτέρους] i.e. (1.) The Locri Opuntii, or Epicnemidii, who occupied the narrow slip on the eastern coast of Greece from the pass of Thermopylae to the mouth of the Cephissus. Their territory was broken by a narrow strip of Phocian land that stretched down to the Euboean Sea, and contained a seaport, Daphnus. The Locrians north of this were called Epicnemidii, those south of it Opuntii. (2.) The Locri Ozolae, who occupied a district on the Corinthian gulf between Phocis and Aetolia. The two are mentioned separately in the account given in *Hellen*. iv. 2. 17.
 - μόραν] The citizen army of Sparta was divided into six morae. This mora had come across from Corinth, and the half-mora was from Orchomenus. Plutarch speaks of two morae having joined Agesilaus from Corinth, c. 17.
 - **αὐτόθεν**] From the neighbourhood, on the spot. A fuller account of these forces is given in *Hellen*. iv. 3. 15. They consisted of the enfranchised Helots, who had been with him in Asia, Herippidas' band of mercenaries, troops from the Greek cities in Asia, and along his route in Europe.
- λέξων ἔρχομαι] I am going to say,==λέξειν μέλλω. So in Anab. vii.
 7. 17, and Hellen. iii. 2. 6.
 - ἐλάττους] Cf. Hellen. iv. 3. 15: πελτασταί γε μήν πολύ πλέονες οί μετ' 'Αγησιλάου' ίππεῖς δὲ αῦ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος.
 - εί γὰρ ταῦτα] For if I were to say this, I should feel that I was making out Agesilaus to be wanting in common sense, and myself to be a fool for praising a man who with such great interests at stake could make such a rash venture.

AGESILAUS.

- ούδèν μεῖον] This is hardly consistent with the passage from the *Hellenica*, quoted above.
- ús] Xenophon frequently uses this word for $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$.
- δυνήσοιντο] The past sequence for the future indicative with verbs of caution. Syntax, 50, ε.
 - δέοι] sc. μάχεσθαι, which is repeated from iκavol μάχεσθαι.
 - φιλονεικίαν] Emulation, rivalry.
 - έσοιτο] The direct form would be πολλά κάγαθὰ ὑμῦν ἔσται, ἐἀν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνησθε.
 - ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων] With such inducements.
- 9. καl μέντοι] And, to be sure.

Agesilaus, on reaching the Boeotian frontier, had heard of the defeat of the Lacedaemonian fleet at Cnidus (end of July 394 B.C.) and of the death of Pisander, his brother-in-law. (GROTE, ch. 73 end.) Feeling that it was necessary to make the best of the time before his soldiers heard the full details of this disaster, and knowing that, if they believed that Sparta was no longer in the ascendant, they would fall away from him, he determined to hasten the engagement. The enemy were only a day's march from him, so he pushed on with vigour.

- **Κορωνείαν**] Coroneia is situated to the west of Lake Copais in a plain bounded by the river Cephissus on the north, by Mount Helicon on the south, and by Mount Nysaion on the west.
- έώρων] Xenophon himself was present at this battle. Anab. v. 3. 6: öτε ἀπήεε σὐν ᾿Αγησιλάφ ἐκ τῆς Ασίας τὴν εἰς Βοιώτους ὀδόν. PLUTARCH, Ages. 18: και παρῆν αὐτδς (Ξενοφῶν) τῷ ᾿Αγησιλάφ συναγωνιζόμενος ἐξ ᾿Ασίας διαβεβηκώς. It was probably in consequence of this that he was banished from Athens.
- έσχατοι ήσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου] Were on his (aὐτῷ) extreme left.
- οί δ' αῦ Θηβαῖοι] They were the leaders, and took the right, the most honourable position, themselves (aὐrol).
- συνιόντων] gen. absol. On their coming together.
 δρόμω όμόσε ἐφέροντο] Charged at the double.

τριών πλέθρων] *i.e.* half the distance. The πλέθρον was 100, the στάδιον 600, Greek feet.

 τῶν Κυρείων τινες] The Greek forces which had returned from Cyrus' expedition. Some of them appear to have taken service under Herippidas, but we may fairly suppose that Xenophon was in command of most of them.

II. 7-11]

έχόμενοι] Next to them.

είς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι] Having crossed spears.

ούκ έδέξαντο] Gave way before.

τῶν ξένων] i.e. of Herippidas' force.

- **ἐστεφάνουν**] Were preparing to crown Agesilaus. Their congratulations were premature, for the Thebans had proved superior to the troops opposed to them. Agesilaus had as yet had no experience of the Thebans' bravery, and wishing to prevent the army from rallying, and uniting with those who had already fled, turned to attack them directly.
- έξελίξαs] Having extended his line by bringing up the rear-rank men.
- πρός τῷ Ἐλικῶνι] The dative implies that they had fled thither, and halted there.

διαπεσείν] To force their way through.

- 12. ἀναμφιλόγωs] Past gainsaying.
 - où μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] But, brave as he was, he did not choose the safest course : he might have let them pass, and then, keeping up the pursuit, have overpowered their rear ; but instead of doing this, he charged them front to front.
 - Xenophon fails to see that he could not have pursued them far, with their comrades posted on Helicon.
 - ¿ωθοῦντο] They had thought that their weight would carry back the Thebans, but at first it was themselves that were thrust back by the deep phalanx of the Thebans, and they had a hard hand-tohand fight. Longinus justly praises this passage, which occurs verbatim in Hellen. iv. 3. 19, as a piece of sublime description. The verbs piled on each other are very expressive.
 - κραυγή] There was no regular war-cry, but such exclamations as the fury of battle naturally gave rise to.
- 13. ή μèν νίκη] It could hardly be called a decisive victory, seeing that the Thebans had made good their retreat, though with considerable loss from attacks on their rear.
 - τῷ ναῷ] The shrine of the Itonian Athena which was close to Coronea. PLUTARCH, Ages. 19. ὑπὸ denotes that they were seeking the protection of the sanctuary.
 - oùk ela] Forbade.

έγένοντο] Note the mood : till they actually were in safety.

14. A ghastly picture of the closeness of the fight.

πεφυρμένην] Soaked; cf. HOM. Odyss. ix. 396,

αύτὰρ ὁ μοχλὸν

έξέρυσ' όφθαλμοῖο πεφυρμένον αἴματι πολλῷ.

AGESILAUS.

- τὰ μὲν χαμαὶ κ.τ.λ.] Some lying on the ground, some plunged in an enemy's body, some still in the owner's hands. Cf. THUC. i. 138. ἄμετὰ χείραs ἔχοι, whatever he had in hand.
- 15. τῶν πολεμίων] Rejected by Schneider and Dindorf, and hardly necessary to the sense. Plutarch (c. 19) says that though Agesilaus was severely wounded, he did not return to his tent, till he had seen the dead collected within the lines. This would seem to imply that they were his own dead. The Thebans asked on the following day for a truce to bury their dead, but that would be accounted for by the fact that the Spartans were masters of the battle-field. Mr. Grote, however, thinks that the words are to be retained, and that Agesilaus, feeling that the victory was far from decisive, brought the enemy's dead into his own camp, in order to extort from the Thebans what was ordinarily looked upon as a confession of defeat. This he considers to be borne out by the somewhat ostentatious assertion of victory that was made on the following day : $πρωt \delta \epsilon κ.τ. \lambda$.
 - τ ψ̂ θεψ̂] To Apollo, to whom the song of victory was addressed. The temple of Delphi was not far off, and Plutarch tells us that immediately after the confirmation of his victory, Agesilaus went to Delphi, at the time of the Pythian games, and consecrated there the tithe of his Asiatic spoils, to the amount of IOO talents. So also XENOPHON, *Hellen.* iv. 3. 21.
- ύποσπόνδουs] Syntax, 5 d. This was equivalent to a confession of defeat.
 - οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρει] He went home, but the issue of the battle had shown him that he was not equal to forcing his way through Boeotia. The army turned aside into Phocis, and then into Locris, but the Locrians attacked them, and, though beaten back, kept up a hill warfare against them, in which Gylis, who was in command, was slain. When they joined Agesilaus, he dismissed them to their homes, and himself crossed the Corinthian gulf into the Peloponnesus. Meanwhile Sparta, while reaping no fruit from the two victories of Corinth and Coroneia, had felt fully the consequences of the defeat at Cnidus. Their fleet was gone, and Pharnabazus and Conon sailed from one island to another, and from one seaport to another, in the Aegean, to put down the Spartan power. The Spartans had not won for themselves any popularity, and in the time of their reverses, their allies readily fell away from them, and seized the offers of Pharnabazus, guaranteeing to each city its independence under Persian protec-

NOTES TO XENOPHON'S

[11. 16-17

tion. Abydos alone held firm, under the judicious government of Derkyllidas, who from it held for Sparta the Chersonesus opposite, in spite of all the efforts of Pharnabazus. In the next spring (393 B.C.) the latter, with Conon, sailed across to the Peloponnesus, and ravaged the coasts of Laconia and Messenia, and captured the island of Cythera. Thence they sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth, where they found the old allies still carrying on the war, from Corinth as their base, against the Lacedaemonians at Sicyon. They held the lines across the Isthmus connecting the two ports of Corinth, Lechaeum and Cenchreae, and were thus able to keep the Spartans within Peloponnesus. The common feeling of hostility to Sparta overpowered the old dislike of Persian influence, and Pharnabazus, at his departure, left with them a considerable sum of money to aid them in their defence. Pharnabazus returned home, but Conon remained, and with him the Persian fleet. With the consent of Pharnabazus, to whom he had pointed out that there could be no severer blow to Sparta than the restoration of Athens, he set to work to rebuild the Long Walls that connected that city with the Piraeus, and the very enemies who had danced with joy eleven years before, when the former walls were destroyed, volunteered their aid. If the Spartans had been able to force the lines at the Isthmus, or if Conon had not been there to repel any attack by sea, such a restoration would have been impossible; but it was not till the following year that they ventured to attempt the former of these operations. In the meantime a desultory warfare was going on in the Corinthian territory, and the farmers were anxious to renew the old alliance with Sparta. The government, suspecting this, introduced a body of Argives into the city, and with great cruelty massacred most of their opponents. After this they formed a close alliance with Argos, and removed even the boundary marks between the two States. The aristocratic party at Corinth, dissatisfied with this, admitted the Lacedaemonians inside the long walls that led from Corinth to Lechaeum. A battle took place within these walls, in which the Lacedaemonian force was victorious, and Praxitas, their commander, destroyed a great part of the wall (392 B.C.). Later the Athenians came to their help, and the walls were rebuilt ; but the step was rendered useless by Agesilaus taking the field (391).

- τὰ νόμιμα δὲ ἀρχεσθαι] In his submission to public discipline, and to the commands of the Ephors.
- 17. τὰ μέν οἴκοι] They were unmolested at home, and had added

Corinth to their empire. Xenophon implies that Corinth had become a dependency of Argos (*Hellen*. iv. 4. 6, "Αργος άντι Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι).

αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν ᾿Αργείων.

τά στενά] Hellen. iv. 4. 19, κατά Τενέαν. Pausanias calls the pass πύλην Τενεατικήν.

άναπετάσαs] Having thrown open.

- "Yakívíðia] The Hyacinthia was a great national festival, celebrated every year at Amyclae, by the Amyclaeans and Spartans jointly. It was held in honour of the Amyclaean Apollo, and of the hero Hyacinthus, on the longest day of the month Hecatombeus, when the sun was hottest. On the first and third days sacrifices were offered to the dead, accompanied by dirges and funereal laments. On the second day, however, the chief day of the feast, there was nothing but rejoicing and amusements. There was a horse-race, followed by a singing of the paean and of national songs, and by a procession of maidens riding in chariots of wicker-work.
- δπου ἐτάχθη] Another instance of his submission to discipline.
- 18. Πειραίω] A fortified town on the peninsula, which juts out between Lechaeum and the Alcyonian gulf, N.E. of Corinth. Opposite it was the Boeotian port of Creusis, so that the Boeotians could easily cross the gulf to come to the help of Corinth. The peninsula itself is sometimes called by the same name.
 - iπò πολλών] Including Iphicrates the Athenian, and his peltasts. Finding the place thus strongly defended, Agesilaus returned suddenly to Corinth in the hope of surprising it, while the defenders were so few, and the citizens were keeping the Isthmian games. The Corinthians, in their alarm, sent for Iphicrates from Peiraeum; and Agesilaus, learning that these troops had passed, marched back again thither secretly ($\dot{\nu}\pi o$ $\sigma\tau\rho t \psi as$), and, attacking the place on two sides, got possession of it (B.C. 390).
 - ώs ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως] sc. Κορίνθου, 'as if Corinth was on the point of surrendering, after the morning meal he moved his camp up to the city.'
- 19. ἔρημον φυλακῆs] The garrison and the people had fied to the Heraeum, or sacred enclosure of Hera, near the west end of the peninsula.
- 20. μετά δὲ ταῦτα] This was at the end of the same summer, or at the beginning of 389. Agesilaus had left Corinth in humiliation. When the Amyclaeans went home to keep the Hyacinthia, a mora of 600 Lacedaemonian hoplites and a small detachment of cavalry

were sent with them as an escort. The hoplites returned, leaving the Amyclaeans near Sicyon, and without any suspicion of danger to themselves on the way back. But when Iphicrates saw that they were unsupported by any cavalry, he sallied out from Corinth with his peltasts to waylay them, and was so successful in repeated attacks, that all but a very few were slain ; and their commander sued for a truce to bury the dead. That a regiment of heavy-armed Spartan troops should thus be beaten by a lightarmed force was a blow to Spartan prestige which was very keenly felt, and Agesilaus retired to Sparta, hurrying his march to the uttermost, and not halting at any city for fear of insult.

- προθύμων ὄντων] So eager were they for it, that they threatened to desert it altogether if the Lacedaemonians did not assist them to secure Kalydon, a dependency of theirs in Aetolia, against the neighbouring Acarnanians.
- $i\pi i \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \omega \nu$] This was in the return march. The Acarnanians gathered in their cities, and sent off their cattle and their goods to the hill-country far inland. Agesilaus by a forced march surprised the place where they had been stored. On his return he met with constant opposition in the narrow passes of the hillcountry, which he was able to defeat; but he could not conquer their cities, and gave up a war which was but of little profit. Still, as the event proved, it was not fruitless, for the Acarnanians sent to Sparta to ask for peace, and agreed to cease from hostilities against the Achaeans. The tactics that he pursued in this mountain warfare recall the account that Xenophon gives in the fourth book of the *Anabasis* of the march of the Ten Thousand through Kurdistan.
- 'Aργείους] The people of Argos Amphilochicum, to the north of Actolia. The words that follow cannot refer to Argos in the Peloponnesus.
- **21.** $\tau_{\hat{\Pi}}$ εἰρήνη] The (well-known) peace of Antalkidas—or possibly the article may only refer back to εἰρήνης.

In the three last years that followed this last named exploit of Agesilaus, a change had come over the position of affairs in the east. The Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus had become masters of the Hellespont, and had re-established the old tolls in favour of Athens. The Spartans in their annoyance at this sent out Anaxibius to take the place of Derkyllidas, who, they thought, might have checked the progress of Thrasybulus. Anaxibius failed however, and Antalkidas was sent out (B.C. 388) as Lace- $\frac{74}{74}$

H. 21-22]

daemonian admiral to Asia to enter into negotiation with Tiribazus the Persian satrap. In the following year he went up to the Persian Court at Susa, and, aided by Tiribazus' influence, won over the king Artaxerxes to his side. He returned bearing the king's proclamation of the terms of peace, which claimed for himself all the cities in Asia and in Cyprus, all other Hellenic cities to remain independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, restored to Athens. The Spartans were to be responsible for the execution of this treaty. The Thebans tried to override the independence clause by claiming to take the oath on behalf of the Boeotian cities. It was this that Agesilaus so strongly opposed, and he appears to have added also a compulsory clause, restoring those exiles who had been fighting with him on the side of the Lacedaemonians against their own people.

- Φλιασίων] These exiles had been recalled at the bidding of Sparta, but on their return the promises that had been made of the restitution of their property were not kept, and the exiles appealed to Sparta. This only aggravated the feeling against them as unpatriotic, and they were fined for the act. Agesilaus took up their cause, and, refusing all overtures on the way, blockaded the town. The people held out for more than a year, but famine at last compelled them to yield. A new government was imposed on them, taken equally from the exiles and from those in the city, and a garrison left for six months, to secure the execution of these terms. Phlius is in Argolis, south-west of Corinth.
- άλλ' οῦν φιλεταιρία γε] Xenophon, fond as he is of praising Agesilaus, feels that these harsh measures can hardly be justified—'but at any rate it follows (οῦν) that they were due to his attachment to his partisans.'
- 22. rods is $\Theta \eta \beta \alpha s_{3}$ About the year 392 B.C. the Chalkidian city of Olynthus became the head of a confederacy of the neighbouring Greek towns for mutual defence against the Illyrians. The people of Acanthus and Apollonia refused to join this confederacy, and on the Olynthians threatening them with war, they sent envoys to Sparta to ask for help (B.C. 383). The Spartans voted an army of 10,000 men, but, as they could not all be got ready at once, Phoebidas, the brother of Eudamidas the general, waited behind to collect the rest of the troops, and marched north through Boeotia. He halted not far from Thebes, and was met, probably by previous arrangement, by the leaders of the Laconian party in Thebes. With their aid he treacherously seized the Cadmea, the

NOTES TO XENOPHON'S

II. 22-23

acropolis of Thebes (382 B.C.). The Spartans censured and dismissed him for the act, but did not remove their garrison from the Cadmea. For three years Thebes was a dependency of Sparta. Three hundred of the leaders of the patriotic party fled to Athens. Among these was Pelopidas, and he opened a secret correspondence with his friends in Thebes, which ended in a plot for the assassination of the two polemarchs and for the restoration of liberty to Thebes. The plot was successful : Epaminondas and the other exiles returned. The Lacedaemonian garrison was allowed to withdraw, but some of the citizens of the Laconian party were put to death. An army was sent out against the city from Sparta under king Cleombrotus in the winter, but it did nothing. Again in 379 Agesilaus invaded Boeotia with the full force of the Spartan confederacy, but after a month spent in rayaging the country round Thebes he withdrew to Thespiae, not venturing upon an open battle. In the following year he made a second expedition, but it was equally indecisive, and indeed its only effect was to train the Thebans in military practice and to give them confidence in facing the Spartans. An accident in this campaign incapacitated him for active service for some time.

Kuvds κεφαλάs] A range of hills between Thebes and Thespiae.

Σκῶλον] A small town on the river Asopus under Mount Cithaeron. The palisade probably extended from the mountain to the river.

- 23. έγένοντο] The plural marks the number; cp. XEN. Anab. i. 7. 17, ήσαν ίχνη πολλά.
 - ήγουμένου] Under Agesilaus' leadership. He was laid aside by the accident above named, which had become serious from bad medical treatment.
 - της έν Λεύκτροις συμφοράς] In the year 371 a peace was made between Sparta and Athens and their allies, called the peace of Callias, but Agesilaus excluded the Thebans from it because they once more claimed the headship of Boeotia. In consequence of this Cleombrotus, who was in Phocis with a Lacedaemonian army, invaded Boeotia. Epaminondas and Pelopidas stirred up the Thebans to a vigorous resistance. A battle was fought on the plain of Leuctra three weeks after the exclusion of the Thebans from the peace, and the Thebans were victors. The battle was made memorable by the introduction of the manœuvre, so much used in our own day by Napoleon, of concentrating his troops on one point of the enemy's line, and carrying one part of the position by sheer weight. This 76

11. 23-24

defeat was truly a 'disaster' for Sparta. Its prestige was gone, and Thebes became for a time supreme. The Peloponnesian cities at once threw off their old mistress, and a new Peloponnesian confederacy was formed, with Athens for its head. The Arcadians were especially affected by the change. Mantinea had been dismantled by the Spartans, and now decided to rebuild its walls. The other cities aimed at an Arcadian confederacy, but Tegea. and Orchomenus opposed it, the former being ruled by an oligarchy in the Spartan interest. A good many, however, of the Tegean people were keen for the Pan-Arcadian league, and appealed to an armed public assembly. The oligarchical party got the better of it, till assistance came to the other side from Mantinea, which made them the stronger party. The leaders of the Spartan faction were obliged to surrender, and being put on their trial were condemned and put to death. The Spartans resolved, in spite of their weakness, to make an effort to stay the revolutionary movement, and Agesilaus went out with a Lacedaemonian force, hoping to be joined by a mercenary force from Orchomenus (370 B.C.). The latter, however, had been attacked and defeated by the Mantineans, and he had to advance alone. He encamped within two miles from Mantinea, where his allies from Orchomenus joined him, but where he also found the whole Arcadian force united. He remained there for three days, being at one time in a somewhat critical position, but as the enemy did not leave their walls he fell back to Tegea, and then to Sparta. And Xenophon thinks this a matter to boast of.

24. Epaminondas had resolved to support the Arcadian union, and to restore the exiled Messenians, and accordingly marched into Arcadia late in the autumn of 370, shortly after Agesilaus had left it. There he was joined by the Argives and the Eleans, who urged him to invade Laconia, backing up their entreaty by an invitation from some of the Perioeci.

τῶν δούλων] The Helots.

- περιοικίδων] The Perioeci were the descendants of the original Achaean inhabitants of the land, who formed the Spartan heavyarmed force. They were politically subject to the Spartans, but personally free. They were distributed into 100 townships, and had all the trade and commerce of Laconia in their hands.
- καl ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν] And that, though it had no walls. The passes leading into the valley of the Eurotas were so easily defensible, that Sparta was always an open town.

- όπου μèν κ.τ.λ.] Wherever the enemy would have had the best of it in every way, he refused to lead out his men, but wherever his own people were likely to have the advantage, he confidently offered battle, thinking that if he went out into the open he would be surrounded on all sides, whereas, if he awaited their attack in the more confined and rugged ground, he would have every advantage over them.
- τῷ παντί] Dative of measure. Syntax, 19 b.
- 25. ἀπεχώρησε] Agesilaus' efforts were successful. Epaminondas' cavalry were repulsed, and he abandoned all further attempt on the city, and returned to Arcadia, after devastating the whole valley of the Eurotas down to the sea.
 - εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἐαντῷ] He behaved with good judgment. Pres. infin. relatively to φαίη.
 - χρημάτων δε κ.τ.λ.] And saw that the city must have money, if it was to have any allies.

καιρός ήν] sc. μετιέναι.

άντι στρατηγοῦ] Instead of as a general.

26. Autophradates was satrap of Lydia, who, acting upon the king's instructions, was trying to subdue those who had revolted (about 366 B.C.). Ariobarzanes was satrap of Phrygia, Cotys of Paphlagonia, Mausolus of Caria. Little is known of the particulars.

CORN. NEPOS (*Timotheus*, c. 1.) confirms Agesilaus' help to Ariobarzanes; saying of Timotheus, 'Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est.'

- τρόπαιον τών πολεμίων] A trophy of victory over enemies. $\tau \rho \epsilon \pi \omega$, to rout; a memorial of the rout of the enemy.
- οὐκέτι δείσας, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς] Not in his case through fear, but through persuasion.
- 27. εῦ πεπονθέναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] That they had received good services from him. ol φεύγοντεs, they who fled from him.
 - προπομπήν] Escorting, escort.
- 28. τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλία] The Tachos just mentioned. He had intended to help the other princes, but their combination had been broken by the Persian court.
- 29. ἀνθ' ὡν εὐεργετήκει] They had applied to a former Egyptian king for help in the naval war, and had received 100 triremes and 600,000 bushels of corn.
 - ἐλευθερώσειν] The same peace of Antalkidas which placed the Greek cities in Asia in the Persian power, by its other clause freed Messene from its allegiance to Sparta. 78

- 30. où $\kappa \, d\pi \epsilon \delta(\delta ov]$ The Egyptians were disgusted when they found that the hero whom they had invited was a mean-looking, lame, old man, who kept up no apparent dignity. So Agesilaus, instead of being commander-in-chief, as had been promised, was only made commander of the mercenary troops.
 - oi δίχα στρατευόμενοι] Nectanebis, the cousin of Tachos, had been left in charge at home, when the latter, with Agesilaus, started on an expedition against the Persians in Phoenicia. He proclaimed himself king, and the rest of the Egyptians also who were with him abandoned. Tachos. He applied to Agesilaus, through Chabrias the Athenian, for help, but he refused to change till he had consulted the government at home. The two rival kings applied to the Lacedaemonians, who left the matter in Agesilaus' hands, directing him secretly to do what should appear most advantageous for Sparta.—PLUT. Ages. 37.
 - διττούs] Another competitor for the attacked throne appeared in the Mendesian division of Egypt.
- 31. ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει] And so his troops would not only lose their pay, but be in danger of starving.
- 32. el δè τῷ ἐτερῷ κ.τ.λ.] But that if he should side with one of the two, he at any rate, in return for his help, would naturally be his friend; so having made up his mind which of the two seemed more likely to favour the Greeks, he vanquished and subdued the Greek-hater, and helped to set the other on the throne. τὸν ἔτερον, Nectanebis.
 - άργδs] Idle, for lack of supplies.

CHAPTER III.

 μετά πλείστων μαρτύρων] In the company, or in the sight, of very many witnesses. For such things require no confirmatory evidence; the mere recalling of them is sufficient to secure their immediate acceptance.

apern = Lat. virtus, manly character.

- δι' ήν ταῦτα ἐπραττε] Which led him habitually to act (imperfect) thus, and to love all that is noble, and to scout all that is mean and degrading.
- 2. ω_s means more than $\omega_{\sigma\tau\epsilon}$. The proof or the measure of his piety is seen in the trust reposed in him by his enemies.

την έαυτῶν φιλίαν] Their friendship among themselves.

οί μεν ώκνουν] There seems to be something missing here. Schneider inserts συντιθέμενοι άλλήλοιs τὰ πολλὰ μέν ὥκνουν. Still the words

make sense. For they shrank in the one case from a personal meeting (fearing, that is, that they might be made prisoners or hostages, as the Greek officers with Cyrus were by Tissaphernes), but they fearlessly put themselves in the hands of Agesilaus.

- 3. Yiphan Emparte] Was negotiating a marriage with.
 - την δε αύτοῦ] By Agesilaus' advice, she was married to the Cotys of sect. 4, who is in the *Hellen*. (iv. I. 3) called Otys.
- δεξιάν πέμποντι] Though he sent him a pledge of friendship. Cp. Anab. ii. 4. I, δεξιάς παρά βασιλέως φέροντες. ΤΑCITUS, Hist. ii. 8, Dextras, concordiae insignia, exercitus nomine ferre.

πελτοφόρους = πελταστάς.

5. καl Φαρνάβαζος] The story is told in *Hellen*. iv. I. 29 foll. After Agesilaus had overrun Pharnabazus' territory and his residences (see ch. I.) a man of Cyzicus, named Apollophanes, brought them together, and after a conference they parted as friends.

δη] In particular.

είναί τε και όντα έγνωσθαι] To be, and to be recognised as being.

CHAPTER' IV.

1. στέρεσθαι] Being kept out of his own.

ένεκάλεσεν] Laid a claim, made it the ground of a claim at law.

άποστερείν] Technically used of keeping back from a man what you hold in trust for him. 'When a man finds pleasure in giving away what is his own to benefit others, how could he at the same time bring himself to defraud others, with infamy for his only reward? if he were ruled by lust of gold, it were a far easier plan to keep what he had, than to take what does not belong to him.'

- έφ' ὦ κακόδοξος είναι=ita ut infamis esset. Syntax, 49, a.
- ών ούκ είσι δίκαι] For which no action can lie. This keeps up the allusion to the legal sense of ἀποστερεῖν, for which a man could be sued in the law-courts, as Demosthenes sued his guardian Aphobus. κωλύει] sc. ἀποστερεῖν.
 - τὸ μὴ πολῦ μέζους κ.τ.λ.] That a man who had greater resources should not repay the favours done to him with considerable interest; *lit.* should not repay much greater favours.
- ταs όφειλομέναs] What was due as a debt of personal gratitude to himself. The general expression is attracted into the gender of χάριταs.

ἐγκρατείαs χρημάτων] Of self-control in the matter of money. The expression is closely condensed. The fact that he was able to get 80

money from others proves that he must have been very liberal, and that they must have been making a return for previous gifts from him.

- 4. εἰ γàp ἐπώλει] For if he had been in the habit of selling.
 - παρακαταθήκην] To guard a kindness, as a deposit, to be returned when required. The word is used of a deposit in a bank, of which an account has to be rendered. It is one of the things to which the word $\dot{a}\pi o\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\hat{i}\nu$ applies.
- 5. σύν τώ γενναίω μειονεκτείν] To preserve his honour, though at some sacrifice ; lit. to lose with honour.
 - TO(VUV] In proof of it.
- 6. Tidpaúgrou] The man who was sent down to put Tissaphernes out of the way. He called on Agesilaus, promising him large sums (χρήματα διδούs, PLUTARCH, Ages. 10) to quit Asia Minor, since his great foe Tissaphernes was dead. When Agesilaus replied that he must wait for instructions from home, he got him to cross over into Pharnabazus' satrapy, and gave him thirty talents for his commissariat (Hell. iii. 4. 26. There is no mention there of any personal bribe to Agesilaus).

CHAPTER V.

- 1. σίτων δ' ύπερ καιρόν κ.τ.λ.] And of excessive eating or too long continued idleness.
 - ούχ ὅπωs] So far from using both, he sent them about, and did not leave himself either share. oux one is a condensed expression with épô omitted, like the Latin non dicam, ne dicam.

 $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\mu\sigma\nu\etas$ [vera] For his own satisfaction.

- δπως έχοι] That he might have the means of honouring therewith any one that he would.
- 2. ἀρχομένω ὑπὸ πραξέων] Regulated by business.

τῶν συνόντων φαυλοτάτην] Meaner than his suite had. The construction is the same as the Latin.

3. $\tau \alpha \delta \epsilon$] The neut. accusative is often used as an accusative of the contents of the verb (Syntax 13) where the expression is general, though in a particular reference another case is used, as here the genitive.

παρά τούς άλλους] In excess of the rest.

προσίετο] As we say-did not affect ease.

CHAPTER VI.

- **1.** $\tau \eta$ πόλει] In the interests of his country.
- οὐ φόβφ τρεψάμενος] Not routing them by mere fear, *i.e.* by superiority of numbers, or overwhelming force.
 - ἀντυτύπφ μάχη] Fair, equally matched, fight. For a victory of this kind he could erect a trophy; the former was merely gaining a chance victory (νίκηs ἔτυχεν).
 - μνημεΐα] In the trophies erected, and in the fruits of his victory; $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}a$, in the honourable scars which he himself had won, which spoke to men's eyes (δρῶνταs) more plainly than any narrative of his exploits (ἀκούονταs).
- 3. τρόπαια μην] And yet not merely his actual victories, but all his campaigns may be counted as his trophies. Many a bloodless victory he gained by the enemy's unwillingness to face him.
 - καὶ ἐν τοῖs ἀγῶσι δέ] Just as in the public games.
 - **ἀκονιτι**] Without raising the dust, without competition ; as we should say, 'he who walks over the course receives the prize.'
- 4. [αὐτῆ ποιεῖν δ βούλοιτο] It is evident that some words have dropt out after πειθόμενος. I have supplied the words in brackets from a passage in Plutarch which appears to refer to this passage, (Ages. iv.) δ δέ φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι πάντα τῆ πατρίδι πειθόμενος ἴσχυε πλεῖστον, ὥστε ποιεῖν ὁ βούλοιτο, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι.

άπροφασίστουs] Hearty, never making excuses to shirk duty.

- $\pi \hat{\omega} s \, \check{\omega} v \, \kappa.\tau.\lambda.$] The two elements of success for an army are good discipline, which respect for their leader enforces, and the hearty confidence which affection for him inspires.
- 5. ψέγειν] Depreciate.
 - τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους] The subject to $\pi\lambda \acute{\epsilon} o\nu \acute{\epsilon} \chi \epsilon_i \nu$, the whole clause being the object to $\acute{\epsilon} \mu \eta \chi a \nu \hat{a} \tau o$.

λήθων] Poetic form of $\lambda a \nu \theta a \nu \omega$,—doing things unobserved.

- 6. άδηλος γιγνόμενος] Keeping secret, not betraying.
 - τὰ μὲν παριών] Passing some by, *i.e.* boldly leaving them in his rear : $i \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a l \nu \omega r$, passing over them; of mountain passes or barriers of that kind; $\kappa \lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \omega r$, occupying by stealth, as Xenophon did the pass of the Kiretschli Dagh, *Anabasis*, iv. 6. II.
- 7. έξείη τοιs πολεμίοιs] It was in the enemy's power.
 - τό τε ἀτρεμές] The τε is a difficulty. It seems better to adopt s_2

VI. 7-8; VII. 1-6.]

Weiske's suggestion $-\tau \delta \tau \epsilon \, \dot{\alpha} \tau \rho \epsilon \mu \dot{\epsilon} s \kappa \alpha l \tau \delta \, \dot{\alpha} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \lambda \eta \kappa \tau \sigma \nu$. Thinking that in such a case calmness and freedom from panic causes least confusion, and least blundering, and least liability to secret attack.

θάρσος και ρώμην ἐνεποίει] Inspired them with boldness and vigour.
 ώστε κ.τ.λ.] And so his enemies could not despise him, his countrymen could not inflict any penalties upon him.

διετέλεσεν] sc. ών. He continued to be.

CHAPTER VII.

 καθ' ἕν μἐν ἕκαστον] If one were to write every single detail, it would be a tedious task.

είs τοῦτο συντείνει] Has this for its ultimate aim, lit. converges to this end.

ού πόνων ύφίετο] Did not shirk any labour.

- σῶμα] He was lame, but never alleged that as a reason for evading duty.
- δυνατώτατος ών κ.τ.λ.] Though he was the most powerful man in the state, he was conspicuously the most submissive to law.

τὶς δ' ἀν κ.τ.λ.] 'Or who would have attempted any revolution, from the idea that his position was below his merits, when he saw that even his king was content to submit to a legal superior?' The ephors at Sparta were able in many cases to control the king.

προσεφέρετο] He bore himself as a father to his children.

3. ἐλοιδορεῖτο] Used to chide them, take them to task. παρίστατο] Used to stand by them.

(ημίαν δè τιθεls] Putting it to the account of loss.

- δταν of "Ελληνες σωφρονώσιν] 'When the Greeks are in their senses,' and cast aside their long-continued dissensions. The graphic sequence implies that such a thing is possible.
- 4. ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα αἰρεῖν] Either unwilling to capture a town when he thinks he shall have to give it up to pillage, or thinking a victory in a war with Greeks to be a dire calamity.
- 5. τη έν Κορίνθω μάχη] See Note on Chapter ii. § I.
- ενδιδοῖτο] Was ready to surrender. See Chapter ii. 18.
 σωφρονιζειν] To bring to reason.

όρῶν χρη κ.τ.λ.] We must consider whether we shall not be depriving ourselves of all means of overcoming the foreigner.

7. δ πάλαι] sc. Πέρσης, understood from μισοπέρσης, Xerxes; δ νῦν, Artaxerxes II.

 $\lambda \alpha \beta \delta \nu \tau \alpha s$] When they have received his presents.

εἰρήνην] The peace of Antalkidas. See Note on Chapter ii. § 21.

μὴ ἀπόληται] The contingency, as dependent upon their first revolting, is more remote than that of the revolt : hence the subjunctive.

κακά έχων] Being occupied with troubles of his own.

έξέπλευσεν] When he went to Egypt.

CHAPTER VIII.

- 1. τὸ εὖχαρι] His urbanity.
 - $\hat{\boldsymbol{\psi}}$ γε] Strictly dependent on $\hat{\boldsymbol{\upsilon}}\pi \alpha \rho \chi o \hat{\boldsymbol{\upsilon}} \sigma \eta s$, but may be taken also with είδεν $\boldsymbol{\omega}\nu$, 'in whom.'
 - τών $\phi(\lambda \omega v)$ Objective genitive, after the transitive idea of $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon v$ τικόν.

καl μή ζητών] Even without looking for it.

 μη] Because πλησιάζειν is consecutive. To consort with him, seek his presence, not only for the sake of getting something out of him, but to add pleasure to their daily life.

olos μεγαληγορείν] Given to boasting.

ύπισχνείσθαι] Their self-commendation was a pledge that their actions should not belie it.

3. μεγαλογνωμοσύνη] Loftiness of sentiment, high principle.

Kallia] Elsewhere called Kallas.

isia µev] To him in his personal capacity.

δτι καl αὐτός] The ὅτι, like our 'he said,' reminds us that it is a quotation.

άνὰ κράτοs] To the utmost of his power.

- πρόs] In comparison with.
 τούτφ κ.τ.λ.] That he should be more proud.
- τής προνοίας] Gen. after ἐκεῖνο. That feature of foresight in him: that quality of his foresight.

ξενωθήναι αὐτῷ] To enter into the tie of a guest-friend with him. έθελήσαι is consecutive. He was not induced to consent.

ἐκεῖνο] That other point, explained by what follows.
 ἀντεσκευάσατο] Furnished in contrast (to the Persian king).
 84

- τὰs θύραs] Here, of the actual door. The Lacedaemonians ascribed the origin of their monarchy to Aristodemus himself, not to his sons.— HEROD. vi. 52.
 - ¿θοίναζε] Cf. v. I.
 - πολιτικοῦ κανάθρου] Public conveyance. The κάναθρον was apparently a carriage made of wicker-work. In Homer it is called $\pi\epsilon l \rho \nu s$.

els 'Αμύκλαs] To celebrate the Hyacinthia.

8. ταῖς προσόδοις] His income.

καλόν μèν κ.τ.λ.] Translate: If it is thought a noble thing to win positions that are impregnable by an enemy, I, for my part, think it a far nobler thing to make one's soul impregnable by any force of bribery, or pleasure, or fear.

CHAPTER IX.

- τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο] Made his manner of living a contrast to the haughty pomp of the Persian king.
 - τῷ σπανίως ὁρῶσθαι ἐσεμνύνετο] Piqued himself on being rarely seen; or; possibly, won for himself awe by rarely showing himself. The former rendering makes the best contrast to ἡγάλλετο.
 - alσχρουργία] Men 'love darkness better than light, because their deeds are evil.'

τυχόντας ών δέοιντο] With their requests granted.

3. eumaleiav] Comfort.

μαστεύοντες] Seeking out-a poetical word.

δσα πραγματεύονται] How many devices they invent.

 $\pi \hat{\alpha} \nu \tau \hat{\sigma} \pi \alpha \rho \hat{\sigma} \nu$] All that came to hand.

- έν μέσαις ταῖς εὐφροσύναις] In the midst of his delights; they were on the spot, because he could take contentedly just what came to hand.
 - τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον] After a common Greek idiom, the word, which belongs to the subordinate clause, becomes the object of the principal, as οἶδά σε, τίs εἶ, I know who thou art.
- 5. τῆ τῶν θεῶν κατασκεύη] 'The gods' arrangement' of the seasons, as appears from what follows, and from PLUT. Ages. 14, ὥσπερ μόνος ἀεἰ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ κεκραμέναις ὥραις πεφυκώς.

6. ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς] And showed by her victory.

τό θρέμμα τοῦτο] As opposed to the war-horse. If women could train them for the race, it was merely a sign of wealth.

7. πρός τὸ γενναῖον] Nobly, by the standard of nobleness.

κεκτήτο] A recognised form of the opt. of κέκτημαι; cf. SOPH. Phil. 119.

νικώη εὐεργετῶν] Surpass every one in his good deeds to his country. νικηφόρος ἀγωνισμάτων] As compared with victors in the races.

δνομαστότατος] This was the chief reward of the conquerors in the games: it won for them great consideration at home.

CHAPTER X.

1. $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a \gamma \dot{a} \rho$] sc. $\dot{\epsilon} \sigma \tau i \nu$. For this is not a case like that of a man finding a chance treasure, which makes him richer, but not necessarily a better manager; nor like that of a commander who gains an advantage over an enemy smitten by some epidemic, who may claim the credit of good fortune, but not that of improved generalship; on the contrary ($\delta \dot{\epsilon}$), the man who shows the most endurance where toil is required, and the most valour in a struggle of bravery, and the most judgment where counsel is needed, he, methinks, may fairly be called a perfect man.

καλὸν εὕρημα] A good find, a godsend.
 σταθμη] A standard and rule to measure brave deeds.
 δ(καιον] sc. μιμούμενοs. So σώφρονα.
 γὰρ] He was ἐγκρατής, for, etc.

- ἀλλὰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.] But let not any one think that because he is praised now that he is dead, therefore this is a mere funeral elegy, but rather that it is a eulogy. The former would merely recount the virtues of the deceased without any reference to the survivors.
 ὡραῖος] (from ὥρα) Timely, ripe, in good old age.
- έρασθείς τοῦ εὐκλεὴς γενέσθαι] Having set his affection on winning distinction.

τό μήκιστον] The longest span allowed to human life.

ἀναμάρτητος] The commentators are much exercised by this expression. Xenophon in his *Hellenica* criticises Agesilaus' mistakes but here, holding him up as an example for imitation, he naturally dwells upon the general perfection rather than the individual flaws.

 $[\]pi p \delta s$ is used in slightly different senses : up to the enemy, *i.e.* against them ; up to a perfect ideal, *i.e.* to a goal.

AGESILAUS.

XI. 1-8]

CHAPTER X1.

- 1. $\dot{\omega}s \, d\nu$] That so. The $\dot{a}\nu$ implies that 'in that case' the desired result will follow.
 - ίκετὰς δὲ κ.τ.λ.] And he would use no force even to foes when they had taken sanctuary.
 - άλογον] It is the inconsistency between the two $(\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dots \delta \dot{\epsilon})$ which is unreasonable. Translate, whilst you call ... to think.

2. uµvŵv] Saying over and over again. Lat. decantare.

- ούκ άνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει] He did not look down upon other men (as if it were by his own superiority that he had succeeded), but gave thanks to the gods.
 - θαφέρῶν κ.τ.λ.] He offered more sacrifices (as thank-offerings) in time of success than vows in time of fear.
- 3. aloxpokepSeis] Greedy of base gain.

4. \mathcal{E}_{σ} [To associate with ; $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta \alpha i$, to make friends of.

- περλ δν λέγοιεν] The character of those about whom they were speaking.
 - σοφόν] Good policy. His idea was that if a man plainly mistrusted him, it was quite fair to take him in.
- ξπαινούμενος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] He delighted in the praise of those who are willing to find fault with what is unlovely, and never showed dislike for any one who spoke out his mind—but reserved people he watched against, as he would an ambuscade.

τούς γε μήν διαβόλους]

- 'Who steals my purse steals trash ; . . . But he who filches from me my good name Robs me of that which not enriches him, And makes me poor indeed.'—*Othello*, Act. iii. Sc. 3, l. 157.
- οὐ ῥαδιουργίαν] Not facility (which implies recklessness), but nobleness and high principle.
- εἰκόνα στήσασθαι] To let any statue of himself be erected (note the middle). PLUTARCH, Ages. 2, τῆς δὲ μορφῆς εἰκόνα οὐκ ἔχομεν. He goes on to say that he was a little man, with no commanding aspect.
- τψ μèν δικαίψ] Thinking that while it might be sufficient for a just man to let his neighbour's goods alone, the liberal man was bound to help him from what he had himself.

NOTES TO XENOPHON'S

- τούς μέν καλώς ζώντας] Cp. SOPH. Oed. Tyr. 1528 :--ώστε θνητόν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ίδεῖν ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν πρίν ἅν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάση μηδὲν ἀλγεινόν παθών.
- 9. ής οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια] Of which he did not work out the details. He did not care for any reputation which he had not properly won.

μετ' εὐβουλίαs] With soberness, rather than with rashness.

- 10. καl τὸ ϵὕχαρι] And his urbanity he did not show in jests and jokes, but in the whole character of his life.
 - τη μέν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα φαυλότητι] At the poverty—or the meanness of his own appearance : *i.e.* his dress and surroundings were poor and mean.
- βαρύτατος μέν κ.τ.λ.] He was a formidable opponent, but always used his victory leniently.

εύπαραπειστότατος] Easily influenced.

άμαυροῦν κ.τ.λ.] He made it his business to impair the interests of his enemy. ἀμαυρόω, lit. to blind, obscure.

- άπροφάσιστον] Ready. (ἀ, προφασίζομαι, making no excuses.) μετὰ θεούς] Next to the gods.
- 13. των άγαθων άνδρων] In brave men.

μεγάλην—δόξαν] As ἐφιέμενος generally takes the genitive, and there are lacunae in the MSS., it would be better to read with Breitenbach, οὐκ ἀπεῖπε μεγάλων καl καλῶν ἐφιέμενος, ἔως τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ. He never gave up the pursuit of high and noble things as long as his physical constitution was equal to the strain of his mental vigour.

- 14. το μήκιστον] At his most advanced age.
 - **στόματι**] The river's mouth is the river's end. Man's life is compared to a river. We imply the same figure when we speak of the ocean of eternity.
- μεγαλείως ἀφελῶν] By the treasure he was bringing when he died. Cp. ii. 31. Nectanebis had given him 230 talents for the expenses of the war in Greece.—PLUTARCH, Ages. 40.
- 16. εἰs τὴν ἀίδιον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο] He returned (κατάγεσθαι, to put into port) to his last home. The expression seems to have been an Egyptian one. His body was embalmed in wax and brought home for burial, CORN. NEPOS, Ages. c. 8, and PLUTARCH, Ages. 40. He died at the age of more than eighty, on the coast of Africa, at a place called Menelaus' Haven. 88

The picture that Xenophon gives in this memoir must be accepted with some reservation. He is biassed here, as in the *Hellenica*, by his admira-tion for the Lacedaemonian system, as well as by strong personal friendship for their king, with whom, as we have seen, he served in one at least of his Grecian campaigns. There is much to admire in Agesilaus' character. He was a brave soldier, and an able commander; one who by his strong will and personal tact was able to maintain an influence over those with whom he was brought in contact, and that too in spite of his insignificant appearance, heightened by personal deformity. He had all the good qualities of the Spartan—courage, endurance, simple unluxurious habits. He was true to his word, inaccessible to bribes, winning and hearty in manner,-virtues which were not Spartan. He was ambitious, but rather as king of Sparta than as an individual. But on the other hand he was not a statesman. He let himself be carried away by prejudices, and by likes and dislikes, which the true statesman keeps under control. The time of his Asiatic campaigns is the most satisfactory part of his career. A genuine dislike to Persian government and a genuine Greek patriotism were its inspiring motives. But even here he could not rise above the Spartan model, and where the Persian government was abolished, he would set up in its place the harmosts of Sparta, who seldom failed in a few years to make themselves as much hated as the Persian governors had been. When he returned to Europe, the hatred of Persia was succeeded by a still bitterer hatred of Thebes. Plutarch implies that the treacherous seizure of the Cadmea by Phoebidas was of his designing. At any rate, when it had succeeded, he was foremost in persuading the Lacedaemonians to keep what they had thus won, and in endeavouring to screen Phoebidas from punishment. So far was the old feeling forgotten during this period, that he did not hesitate to sacrifice the Asiatic Greeks, and to make Persia the ally of Sparta in order to secure her empire in Greece. Till the return of the exiles to Thebes, Sparta regained her power, but her absoluteness and injustice paved the way for her speedy fall. In the days of her depression, which followed the battle of Leuctra, he stands out again as an energetic and yet cautious leader. Later, when obliged to seek help from abroad, he did good service once more against the Persians, and by establishing Nectanebis as king of Egypt, he freed it for the time being from the Persian sway.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(Chiefly from GROTE, History of Greece.)

- 440? Agesilaus born. He died about 360 B.C., and is said to have then been above eighty years of age.
- 404. Athens taken by the Lacedaemonians under Lysander.
- 401. Expedition of Cyrus the younger. The Greek mercenaries that accompanied him returned in the following year.
- 399. Derkyllidas sent out in command of the Lacedaemonian forces to assist the Greek cities in Asia against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. Agesilaus made king of Sparta.
- 396. Agesilaus supersedes Derkyllidas. His first campaign in Asia. Winters at Ephesus.
- 395. Second campaign in Asia. He defeats Tissaphernes (battle of Sardis), who is superseded and put to death by Tithraustes. The latter stirs up the Greek States in Europe to make war upon Lacedaemon.
- 394. Agesilaus is recalled. Battles of Corinth and of Coronea. Defeat of the Spartans by sea at Cnidus.
- 393. Conon restores the Long Walls of Athens and the fortifications of the Peiraeus.
- 392. The Lacedaemonians pull down the Long Walls between Corinth and Lechaeum.
- 391. The Athenians restore these walls, which are retaken, and Lechaeum captured by Agesilaus.
- 390. Agesilaus captures Peiraeum. The Spartan mora cut to pieces by Iphicrates and his peltastes.
- 390-389. Expedition against Acarnania.
- 387. Peace of Antalkidas.

B.C.

- 386. The Spartans restore Plataea.
- 385. The Lacedaemonians under Agesipolis destroy Mantinea. 90

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- 383. Sparta declares war upon Olynthus.
- 382. Phoebidas seizes the Cadmea, and sets up a Lacedaemonian government in Thebes. Agesilaus defends him when impeached for the act.
- 380. Agesilaus subdues Phlius.

B. C.

- 379. Pelopidas and his companions retake the Cadmea and drive out all / the Lacedaemonians from Boeotia.
- 378. Agesilaus marches against Thebes with the full force of the confederacy, but retires after devastating the land.
- 377. Second expedition of Agesilaus into Boeotia.
- 371. Peace of Callias, from which Thebes is excluded because it will not acknowledge the independence of the Boeotian towns. Hence a war arises between the Lacedaemonians and the Thebans, in which the latter obtain a decisive victory under Epaminondas at Leuctra.
- 370. Mantinea restored. Agesilaus marches against it. The Arcadians apply to Thebes for help, and Epaminondas invades the Peloponnesus and founds Megalopolis and Messene. Vigilant defence of Laconia by Agesilaus.
- 362. Night march of Epaminondas to surprise Sparta. Agesilaus, who had been sent from Sparta to join the forces gathered against the Thebans at Mantinea, by his prompt return saves the city. After this was fought the battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was killed.
- 362-361. Revolt of Persian satraps in Asia Minor. Tachos, king of Egypt, joins it. Agesilaus goes to Egypt as commander.

360? Death of Agesilaus.

INDICES.

I.—GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL.

- Acarnania, Agesilaus' campaign in, ii. 20.
- Achaei, in possession of Calydon, ii. 20.
- Achaean Mountains (Phthiotis), ii. 5.
- Aenianes, a Thessalian tribe on the northern slope of Mount Oeta, ii. 6.
- Aeolia, a tract of land along the Aegean from the Troad to the river Hermus, i. 14.
- Agesilaus, son of Archidamus, i. 5, and *passim*.
- Agis, son of Archidamus, and halfbrother of Agesilaus, i. 5.
- Amyclae, a town of Laconia, on the right bank of the Eurotas and two and a half miles south of Sparta, where the Hyacinthian festival was held, ii. 7, viii. 7.
- Antalkidas, the agent in a peace between Sparta and Persia, called by his name (B.C. 387), ii. 4. 19; vii. 7.
- Arcadia, the central district of the Peloponnesus.
- Archidāmus, father of Agis and Agesilaus, king of Sparta, 469-427 B.C., i. 5. Argos, an old city in Argolis, on
- Argos, an old city in Argolis, on the east of Peloponnesus.
- Ariobarzānes, Satrap of Phrygia, ii. 26.
- Aristodēmus, one of the Heraclidae, father of Eurysthenes and 92

Procles, and founder of the royal house of Sparta, viii. 7.

- Artěmis, the goddess of the Ephesians, a representation of the fruitfulness of nature, and so quite distinct from the Greek goddess of the same name, v. 27.
- Assus, a town of Mysia, on the bay of Adramyttium (Acts xx. 13), ii. 26.
- Autophradātes, Satrap of Lydia, ii. 26.
- **Boeotia**, a district of northern Greece, between Attica and the Opuntian mountains (south and north) and between Helicon and Parnassus and the Euboic Sea (west and east).

Calleas, a Lacedaemonian, viii. 3.

- Caria, the south-west corner of Asia Minor, i. 14.
- Cephisus, a river of Boeotia, that rises in Phocis, and, fed by numerous streams, falls into Lake Copais. Thence it passes by a subterranean outlet of four miles to Larymna, and thence in one and a half miles to the sea, ii. 9.
- **Corinth**, on the isthmus that joins the Peloponnesus to the mainland, the scene of a war between Sparta and the Theban confederation, ii. 17.
- Coronēa, a town in Boeotia, on a

hill at the entrance of one of the valleys leading up to Mt. Helicon. The plain below was the scene of a battle between the Athenians and Boeotians in 447 B.C., of the battle between Thebes and the Spartans under Agesilaus, 394 B.C., and of one of the engagements of the Sacred War under Philip of Macedon, ii. 9.

- Cŏtys, Satrap of Paphlagonia, ii. 26.
- Crannon, a town of Pelasgiotis in Thessaly, not far from Larissa, ii. 2.
- **Creusis**, the harbour of Thespiae, at the east end of the Corinthian gulf, ii. 8.

Cynisca, a sister of Agesilaus, ix. 6.

- **Cynoscephalae** (the Dog's heads), a mountain ridge between Thebes and Thespiae, ii. 22.
- Cyrei (Kupeîau), the Greek soldiers who had accompanied Cyrus the younger, and after their return had remained with their officers as condottieri, ii. 11.
- **Delphi**, a small town of Phocis, on the south slope of Mount Parnassus, the seat of the oracle of Apollo, i. 34.
- Elis, the western district of Peloponnesus north of Messenia.
- **Ephesus**, the chief of Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor, south of the Cayster river.
- Helicon, a range of mountains in Boeotia between the lake Copais and the Corinthian gulf.
- Helots, the serf class of Laconia. They cultivated the lands of the Spartan citizens, paying a large percentage of the produce as a rent. They had no political privileges, and went out as lightarmed troops with their masters, ii. 24.

- Herippĭdas, a captain of mercenary troops who served with Agesilaus. ii. 10.
- **Hyacinthia**, a festival held at Amyclae by the Spartans and Amyclaeans jointly. See note on ii. 17.
- Larissa, an important town in Thessaly, on the Peneus, ii. 2.
- Lechaeum, the port of Corinth on the Corinthian gulf, as Cenchreae was on the Saronic gulf, ii. 17.
- Leotychides, the reputed son of Agis, who, being a minor, was rejected as king, owing to suspicions of his legitimacy, i. 5.
- Leuctra, a small town of Boeotia, on the road from Plataea to Thespiae, the scene of the battle that transferred the supremacy from Sparta to Thebes (371 B.C.), ii. 24.
- Löcri, the inhabitants of two districts in continental Greece. Those who dwelt on the east coast opposite Euboea from Thermopylae to the frontiers of Boeotia were called *Locri Opuntii*, and those who dwelt in Western Locris, along the north side of the Corinthian gulf, between Aetolia and Phocis, were known as *Locri Ozolae*, ii. 6. 24.
- Maeander, a river that formed the boundary between Lydia and Caria, i. 15.

Mausolus, Satrap of Caria, ii. 26.

Messēnē, the capital of Messenia, founded by Epaminondas in 369 B.C., after the battle of Leuctra, to be a counterpoise to Sparta, ii. 29. It lay at the foot of Mount Ithomē, which was its acropolis.

Narthacius, Narthacium, a mountain and a town in Thessaly, south-west of Pharsalus, ii. 4. 5. 93

- Nectanēbis, a king of Egypt, who supplanted Tachos, and threw off the Persian yoke (361 в.С.). He was the last native sovereign that reigned over Egypt, ii. 30.
- Orchoměnus, an ancient and powerful city in Boeotia, on the Cephisus, north-west of lake Copais; taken and destroyed by the Thebans, 367 B.C.
- **Pactōlus**, a river of Lydia, that flowed past Sardis. It was famed for its golden sands, which were a great source of wealth.
- Pharnabazus, son of Pharnaces, was satrap of the Persian provinces near the Hellespont. In B.C. 411 and after, he helped the Spartans against the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war; but when, later, Derkyllidas and Agesilaus went over to deliver the Asiatic Greeks from the Persian yoke, he sought the help of Conon, the Athenian admiral, against the Lacedaemonians, i. 23; iii. 5.
- **Pharsālus**, a town in the southern half of Thessaly, at the foot of Mount Narthacius, famous later as the scene of the battle between Caesar and Pompey, 48 B.C.
- Phlius, the chief town of a small mountainous district between Sicyon and Argolis in the Peloponnesus, ii. 21.
- **Peiraeum**, a strong fortress of the quadrangular peninsula, which runs out into the Corinthian gulf, north of the isthmus. It was fortified as a protection against the Megarians and the Athenians.

To the east of Peiraeum was the fortress of *Oenoe*, and at the west extremity of the peninsula was that of *Heraeum*, ii. 18.

- Polycharmus, a Pharsalian officer, ii. 4.
- **Pras**, a town of Thessaly on the north-east slope of Mount Narthacius, ii. 5.
- Sardes, the chief town of Lydia, and afterwards the seat of a Persian satrap, at the foot of Mount Tmolus,
- Scolus, a small town in Boeotia, on the north slope of Cithaeron, ii. 23.
- Scotussa, an ancient town of Thessaly, in the district Pelasgiotis, near the sources of the river Onchestus, ii. I.
- Sestus, a town in Thrace, on the narrowest part of the Hellespont. It remained faithful to Sparta when the other States revolted, ii. 25.
- Tachos, an Egyptian king, who threw off his allegiance to Persia. He was helped by Agesilaus, but so offended him as to lose his support, and had to give way to his nephew Nectanebis, ii. 27, 28.
- **Těgěa**, one of the chief towns of Arcadia.
- **Tissaphernes**, a Persian satrap, the rival of the younger Cyrus, who succeeded to his satrapy after his death, i. 10, 11.
- Tithraustes, Tissaphernes' executioner and successor, i. 35; iv. 6.
- Xenophon, present at the battle of Coronea, ii. 9.

INDICES.

II.-GREEK WORDS.

άγοραν παρέχειν, παρασκευάζειν. i. 14. αίσχροκερδής, ii. 3. άκονιτί, vi. 3. άμαυρόω, xi. I2. avà koátos, vii. 3. άναμφιλόγως, ii. 12. άναστροφή, ii. 3. άντιπροϊκα, i. 18. άντίτυπος, vi. 2. άποστερείν, iv. I. άπροφάσιστος, vi. 4, xi. 13. άρετή, iii. Ι. άσχολία, i. 7. αὐτόθεν, i. 28. άφιππος, i. 15.

γράφεσθαι, i. 18. γραφεύς, i. 26.

δέκα ἀφ' ήβης, τἀ, i. 31. δεξιὰν πέμπειν, iii. 4. δόκιμος, i. 24.

έγκαλέω, iv. 1. έξελίσσω, ii. 11. έπίκτητος, i. 36. έρημία, i. 29. εύχαρις, xi. 11.

κάναθρον, viii. 7. κατάγομαι, xi. 16. καταλέγω, i. 23. κλέπτω, vi. 5. κραυγή, ii. 12. μαστεύω, i. 24. μεγαλογνωμοσύνη, viii. 3. μειονεκτεΐν, iv. 5. μνημεΐα and σημεΐα, vi. 2. μόρα, ii. 6.

Νεοδαμώδεις, i. 7.

παρακαταθήκη, iv. 4. πελτοφόρος, iii. 3. περίοικοι, ii. 24. πλάγιος, ii. 3. πλαίσιον, ii. 2. πλάθρον, ii. 10. πράστω, iii. 13. προσπμη, ii. 27. προσκυνέω, i. 34.

ραδιουργία, xi. 6.

σκυτεύς, i. 26. στόμα, xi. 15. συντείνω, vii. 1.

τροπαίον, ii. 26. τυραννίς and βασιλεία, i. 3.

Υακίνθια, ii. 17. ύμνέω, xi. 2. ύφηγεῖσθαι, i. 19.

φιλεταιρία, ii. 21. φιλονεικία, ii. 8. φύρω, ii. 14.

ώραĵos, x. 3.

III.-GRAMMATICAL.

Accusatīve of kindred meaning (Syntax, § 13), μάχην μάχεσθαι, v. 5. τὰ νόμιμα ἄρχεσθαι, ii. 16; with pronouns, i. 22, 36; ii. 23; v. 3; vi. 3, 6; viii. 7; x. 1. Accusative, of road over which (extent), τήν λοιπήν ἐπορεύθη, ii. 5. τήν συντομωτάτην ἡγήσοιτο, i. 28. Accusative absolute, παρόν, ἐξόν, i. 36; ii. 12.

INDICES.

- Accusative in principal clause for construction in subordinate, ix. 4. τδν βάρβαρον ἐώρα συνελκυστέον αὐτῷ, for ἐώρα τῷ βαρβάρψ κ.τ.λ.
- Adjective following the noun without repetition of the article, $\tau \dot{\alpha}s$ $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota s \Xi \lambda \lambda \eta \nu l \delta a s$, i. 10.
- Aorist and Imperfect, i. 16, 31, 32; ii. 3; iv. 4.
- Aorist with $d\nu$ (incomplete, conditional, Syntax, 54 b), i. 26; viii. I.
- Aorist infin. after verbs of hoping, etc., i. 10; vii. 6.
- Aorist participle in modal sense, ii. 30.
- Apposition to sentence, i. 36.
- Article with noun, and not with adjective (predicative use, Syntax, 5 b), φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, i. 13. ἀέναον τὴν τροφήν, i. 20.
- Article with numerals, i. 31, 34; ii. 28.
- Article omitted, i. 10; ii. 5; i. 34. See Notes.
- Attraction of the Relative, πρόs φ̂, i. 11; σύν φ̂, ii. 5; άνθ' ῶν, ii. 29; περί ῶν, xi. 4; ἕωs ἕλθοιεν οὐs πέμψειεν ἀγγέλουs, i. 10.
- Attraction of complement to the Infinitive (*Syntax*, § 9), ii. 16; iv. 6; viii. 2; ix. 1; x. 4; xi. 11; (*Syntax*, § 18) i. 30.
- Attraction of gender, iv. 3, τàs αὐτῷ χάριτας ὀφειλομένας.
- Dative of manner, i. 13; ethical, i. 28; ii. 9 (ἕσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου); without σύν (τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλψ), ii. 1.
- Dative absolute (so-called : better modal dative), i. 2. τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις.
- Forms, ίππεῖς, Accus. plur. ii. 13; κεκτῆτο, ix. 7; ἐρρωμενέστερος, i. 35.
- Future, with $\delta\pi\omega s$, after past tense, vii. 7.

- Future optative in historic sequence, ii. 8.
- Genitive, of price, iv. 4: partitive (as object), i. 22; xi. 8: of time, $\tau o \hat{v} \lambda o t \pi o \hat{v}$, v. 5; $\pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{v} \chi o b v o v$, ii. 23: objective (Synt. § 22), ii. 26; viii. 1; of reference, $\sigma \omega \mu \dot{a} \tau \omega v$ $\dot{a} \rho \omega \tau a \dot{\xi} \xi c v$, i. 25.
- Graphic sequence, i. 7, 33, 38; ii. 13: vii. 3.
- Imperfect, i. 31, 34; ii. 3; iv. 4; v. i.
- Infinitive of consequence, without $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon$, i. 12; viii. 5; explanatory, ii. 16; of oblique command $\kappa a\tau\dot{a}$ $\sigma\dot{v}\nu\epsilon\sigma v$, i. 23; of purpose after verbs of giving, ii. 22; iv. 3; understood, ii. 3.
- Participle after γιγνώσκειν and είδέναι, iii. 5; ix. 5; after alσχύνομαι, ii. 25; concessive without καίπερ, ii. 7; absolute, παρόν, έξόν, i. 36; ii. 12; transposed, τούς πρόσθεν προσκυνείν "Ελληνας άναγκαζομένους, i. 34 (see note), τὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας ὀφειλομένας, iv. 3, note.
- Participle omitted, with $\delta\iota a \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \omega$, vi. 8.
- Plural verb with neuter plural subject, i. 21, $(\pi \alpha \iota \delta \alpha \rho l \alpha)$; ii. 23, $(\sigma \phi \dot{\alpha} \lambda \mu \alpha \tau \alpha)$.

Preposition not repeated with relative : $\delta \iota \dot{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ a \dot{\upsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \ \dot{\epsilon} \theta \nu \hat{\omega} \nu \ \dot{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho = \delta \iota' \ \dot{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho$, ii. I.

πρός, x. 2; ix. 7; ix. 4.

κατà in composition, i. 13.

Transposition, ώς πρός σύμμαχον αὐτὸν for πρός αὐτὸν ώς πρός σύμμαχον, i. 33;

of relative, σύν $\ddot{\psi}$ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο $l\pi\piικ\hat{\psi}$, ii. 5 ;

of the demonstrative, the relative, or relative particle preceding it, i. 2; ii. 31; ii. 24; vii. 7;

of the adverb, $\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ ov η $\epsilon\nu$ $\mu\eta\nu\hat{\iota}$, ii. 1.

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