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XENOPHON  
HELLENICA

BOOKS 1-4



*Translated by*  
CARLETON L. BROWNSON

XENOPHON

HELLENICA

BOOKS I-IV

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

CARLETON L. BROCKENSON

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XENOPHON

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## INTRODUCTION

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

The Peloponnesian War, which was primarily a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta but which involved the entire Greek world, began in 431 and ended in 404 B.C. The historian of this war was Thucydides, himself at one time a general on the Athenian side. Thucydides died, however, without completing his task, and it is at the point where his history breaks off that Xenophon begins. The first part of the *Hellenica* accordingly brings the story of the Peloponnesian War to a conclusion (411-404 B.C.); Xenophon then goes on to describe the internal disorders which ensued in Athens (404-401 B.C.); the war undertaken by the Spartans, now the undisputed "leaders of all Hellas," against the Persian Empire (399-387 B.C.); the indecisive contest known as the Corinthian War (394-387 B.C.), in which various Greek states united in an attempt

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to curb the growing power of Sparta ; the inglorious Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), whereby the Persian king assumed to confirm Sparta's title as mistress of the Greek world ; the later years of Spartan leadership (387-371 B.C.), marked especially by sometimes harsh, sometimes treacherous, but ultimately futile, efforts to check the rise of Thebes ; the humiliation of Sparta and the triumph of Thebes in the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) ; and the following period of Theban supremacy (369-362 B.C.), brought to a close by the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), in which the Thebans were victorious but lost their great commander, Epaminondas. The *Hellenica*, then, is the story of Sparta's triumph over her old enemy, Athens, of her day of power, and of her overthrow by a new enemy, Thebes.

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

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

Nevertheless, the *Hellenica* is neither accurate nor impartial. Not that Xenophon is guilty of errors of commission, for from these the *Hellenica* is notably free; but his omissions are so frequent and so considerable that the reader is either sadly puzzled or in many cases is given an utterly wrong impression. Thus, while it is clear that the primary purpose of the *Hellenica* was to complete Thucydides' interrupted narrative, Xenophon is by no means careful to secure precise continuity between the closing chapters of Thucydides and his own opening chapters; and he is

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just as little solicitous about securing precise continuity between the different chapters of the *Hellenica* itself; instead, we find him alluding to events as though already described of which he has told us nothing or introducing us without explanation to a personage who is unknown to us. More serious is the fact that some important omissions appear to be intentional and dictated by the author's partiality. He is not prejudiced in favour of Athens because it was his native city, nor yet against Athens because it had banished him. It is between Sparta and Thebes that he cannot hold the scales true. In his ardent admiration for all things Spartan, he excuses Sparta's defeats and fails to mention her humiliations; while in his almost unconcealed hatred toward the Thebans, he puts wrong constructions upon their acts and abridges the record of their achievements.

It is necessary to dwell more upon Xenophon's imperfections as a historian than upon his excellences in order to correct the wrong impression which a reading of the *Hellenica* might otherwise produce. His excellences, however, are not few nor slight. He is clear-sighted, straightforward, and sound in his judgments of men and events; and if he sometimes, especially when his Spartan sympathies are involved, fails to tell the whole truth or opens the way to wrong inferences, he still is never guilty of direct misstatement. His narrative, often plain to the point of bareness, possesses the great merits of clearness, directness, and entire freedom from exaggeration or



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a striving after effect ; and his style is not only characterized at all times by grace and ease, but not infrequently by beauty and power. All in all, his history is much the best authority we have for the half century which it covers.<sup>1</sup>

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

## MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

### 1.—MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

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

### 2.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

#### (a) *Complete Works of Xenophon.*

- JUNTA: Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps.* By E. Boninus.
- JUNTA: Florence, 1527. Second edition, per Haeredes P. Juntae.
- ALDUS: Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
- STEPHANUS, H.: Geneva, 1561, 2 vols.
- STEPHANUS, H.: Geneva, 1581. Second edition.
- LEUNCLAVIUS, J.: Frankfort, 1594, 2 vols.

## MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

SAUPPE, G. : Leipzig (Tauchnitz), 1865-7 (new edition, 1867-70), 5 vols.

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

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DAKYNs, H. G. : London, 1890—, 4 vols., of which 3 have appeared. English Translation of Xenophon.

### (b) *Separate Editions of the Hellenica.*

ALDUS : Venice, 1502. *Editio Princeps* of the *Hellenica*.

DINDORF, L. : Oxford, 1853.

COBET, C. G. : Amsterdam, 1862 (second edition, Leyden, 1880).

BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, B. : Leipzig (Teubner), 1860-91, 2 vols.

KURZ, E. : Munich, 1873-4, 2 vols.

BREITENBACH, L. : Berlin (Weidmann), 1873-84, 3 vols.

GROSSER, R. : Gotha (Perthes), 1885-93, 3 vols.

KELLER, O. : Leipzig (Teubner), 1890. *Editio major*. The best critical edition.

KELLER, O. : *Editio minor* (Teubner text), 1890.

SOROF, F. G. : Leipzig, 1899-1901. *Selections*.

MANATT, I. J. : Boston, 1888. Books I-IV.

BENNETT, C. E. : Boston, 1892. Books V-VII.

BLAKE, R. W. : Boston, 1894-6. Books I-II.

UNDERHILL, G. E. : Oxford, 1900. A Commentary (to accompany the text of Marchant).

BROWNSON, C. L. : New York, 1908. *Selections*.

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

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ADDENDUM (1985)

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E. Delebecque (ed.): *Helléniques*, livre 1, Paris (Budé) 1964

### *Translation*

*Xenophon, A History of My Times*, translated by Rex Warner (1966), with an introduction and notes by George Cawkwell, Penguin 1979

### *General*

J. K. Anderson: *Xenophon*, London 1974

H. R. Breitenbach: *Historiographische Anschauungsform Xenophon*, Basel 1950

H. R. Breitenbach: *Xenophon von Athen*, Stuttgart 1966

E. Delebecque: *Essai sur la vie de Xénophon*, Études et Commentaires XXV, Paris 1957

W. P. Henry: *Greek Historical Writing: a historiographical essay based on Xenophon's Hellenica*, Chicago 1967

W. E. Higgings: *Xenophon the Athenian*, Albany 1977

A. H. M. Jones: *Sparta*, Oxford 1967

J. Luccioni: *Les idées politiques et sociales de Xénophon*, Paris 1947

E. M. Soulis: *Xenophon and Thucydides*, Athens 1972

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# **XENOPHON'S HELLENICA**

## **BOOK I**

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

### A

I. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθύς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐτῇς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου.

2 Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων<sup>1</sup> Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκοπὸς ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὥς ἤνοιγε,<sup>2</sup> περὶ τὸ

3 Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.

4 Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως

5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι

<sup>1</sup> τούτων MSS.: Keller brackets.

<sup>2</sup> ἤνοιγε MSS.: ἤνυτε Kel.

# XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

## BOOK I

I. AFTER this,<sup>1</sup> not many days later, Thymochares 411 B.C.  
came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon  
the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought  
another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were  
victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> i.e. after the last events described by Thucydides.  
The scene is the Hellespont.



- ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἀβυδον κατὰ  
τὴν ἥονα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν  
νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπείσ-  
6 πλεί δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν  
δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν  
Ἀβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ  
ἐπείσβαινων τῷ Ἰππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι  
δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
7 ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφρά-  
ξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παρα-  
ταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ  
ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λα-  
βόντες κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι,  
8 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν  
ἄλλαι ἄλλη ὥχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ  
Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν  
στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν  
καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.  
9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλή-  
σποντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει  
Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν  
εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα  
10 πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα  
ὑστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου  
τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες  
νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς.  
11 Οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίν-  
δαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἐξή-

<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.