

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i> by David Thomas	ix
<i>Editor's Preface</i> by Robert B. Strassler	lxvii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	lxxv
<i>Chronological Outline of Text</i> by Book/Chapter/Section in <i>Xenophon's Hellenika</i>	lxxix
<i>Key to Maps</i>	lxxxii
BOOK ONE	1
BOOK TWO	39
BOOK THREE	77
BOOK FOUR	117
BOOK FIVE	173
BOOK SIX	219
BOOK SEVEN	267
Appendix A <i>The Arginousai Affair</i> Peter Krentz, Davidson College	317
Appendix B <i>The Athenian Government and the Oligarchy of the Thirty</i> Peter Krentz, Davidson College	322
Appendix C <i>Chronological Problems in the Continuation</i> <i>(1.1.1–2.3.10) of Xenophon's Hellenika</i> David Thomas, Hertfordshire, UK	331
Appendix D <i>Persia in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Christopher Tuplin, University of Liverpool	340
Appendix E <i>Spartan Government and Society</i> Paul Cartledge, University of Cambridge	347
Appendix F <i>The Spartan Army (and the Battle of Leuctra)</i> Paul Cartledge, University of Cambridge	359

Appendix G	<i>Agesilaos</i> Paul Cartledge, University of Cambridge	364
Appendix H	<i>Political Leagues (Other Than Sparta's)</i> <i>in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> P. J. Rhodes, University of Durham, NC	369
Appendix I	<i>Units of Distance, Currency, and Capacity</i> <i>in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Thomas R. Martin, College of the Holy Cross	374
Appendix J	<i>Ancient Greek Religion in the Time of Xenophon</i> Christopher Blackwell, Furman University	379
Appendix K	<i>Trireme Warfare in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Nicole Hirschfeld, Trinity University	384
Appendix L	<i>Land Warfare in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> John W. I. Lee, University of California, Santa Barbara	391
Appendix M	<i>Brief Biographies of Important Characters</i> <i>in Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Skyler Balbus, Bard College at Simon's Rock, MA Paul Cartledge, University of Cambridge Robert B. Strassler, Brookline, MA David Thomas, Hertfordshire, UK	395
Appendix N	<i>Compositional Theories of Xenophon's Hellenika</i> David Thomas, Hertfordshire, UK	417
Appendix O	<i>Selections from the Histories of Diodorus Siculus</i> <i>Relevant to Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Translated by Peter Green, University of Iowa	420
Appendix P	<i>Selected Fragments of the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i> <i>Relevant to Xenophon's Hellenika</i> Translated by John Marincola, Florida State University	495
	<i>Translator's Notes</i> by John Marincola	507
	<i>Cross-Reference Table of Related Passages in Xenophon's Hellenika,</i> <i>Diodorus' Histories, and the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i>	511
	<i>Glossary</i>	515
	<i>Ancient Sources Cited in This Edition of Xenophon's Hellenika</i>	519
	<i>Bibliography for the General Reader</i>	521
	<i>Figure Credits</i>	524
	<i>Index</i>	525
	<i>Reference Maps and Directory</i>	577

INTRODUCTION

David Thomas

Introduction

§1.1. In his *Hellenika*, Xenophon of Athens gave his version of the events of the half century that had just passed when he wrote it, the years between 411 and 362.^a That was a dramatic period in the history of Greece, in which the fortunes of the leading Greek city-states rose and fell disconcertingly as they repeatedly fought one another in shifting combinations. It was also a period that was vital in the development of our own culture. The citizens of Athens overcame problems in reconciling law and popular government and so produced a stable democracy. Much of what was written then continues to inspire philosophers and historians today.

§1.2. *Hellenika* largely concentrates on the relations between the two leading Greek city-states, Athens and Sparta, which were at war with each other for about half this period but were allies at its end. Xenophon had been a young man in Athens in the 400s, served in the Spartan army in early middle age, and later lived as a dependent of Sparta, so he knew what he was writing about. He finished the work only about five years or so after 362, when his narrative ends, and had in mind an audience that also knew a great deal about his subject matter—a fact that can create difficulties for the modern reader. Xenophon intended to tell his readers some new things, but he mostly aimed to give them his own slant on what was for them a familiar story. He wanted to make clear the messages he thought he found in the recent past. At the same time, he was almost as much concerned to make the past live again for his audience.

What Happened Before

§2.1. The very first sentence presupposes knowledge that the first readers all had but that is not so familiar today. It starts disconcertingly with the words “And after these things. . . .”^a The reader is evidently expected to know what happened earlier.

Intro.1.1a All dates in this edition of Xenophon’s *Hellenika* and its supporting materials are B.C.E. (Before the Common Era), unless otherwise specified.

Intro.2.1a In the Introduction and appendices, the authors may have used their own or other translations.

BOOK ONE



And after this,^a not many days later, Thymocharēs came from Athens,^b in command of a few ships. And the Spartans^c and Athenians immediately fought a sea battle again,^d and the Spartans, with Agesandridas as their commander, were victorious.

[2] A little later, at the beginning of winter, Dorieus son of Diagoros sailed from Rhodos^a into the Hellespont^b at dawn with fourteen ships. They were spotted by the Athenian lookout, who informed the generals of their presence. The generals then sailed out against Dorieus with twenty ships, but he escaped from them, and as he got away he attempted to beach his triremes^c in the area around Rhoiteion.^d [3] When the Athenians drew near, they fought from the ships and the land, until the Athenians, having accomplished nothing, sailed away to Madytos^a to join the rest of their forces.

[4] Mindaros, watching the fight from Ilion,^a where he was sacrificing to Athena,^b set out to help by sea and, launching his own ships, sailed off so that he might pick up those of Dorieus. [5] But the Athenians, putting out to sea against him, engaged him along the shore near Abydos,^a fighting

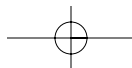
- 1.1.1a Xenophon envisions his work as a continuation of Thucydides' history, which breaks off in 411. Nonetheless, there is a gap between the last events in Thucydides and the beginning here: Thucydides (8.84) left Dorieus at Miletus, and he now arrives from Rhodos. Miletus and Rhodos: Map 1.1.22. The Peloponnesian fleet, which was last reported at Elaious (Thucydides 8.107), is now at Troy (Ilion), and the Athenians are at Madytos, although Thucydides (8.107) left them at Cyzicus; all locations: Map 1.1.22, inset.
- 1.1.1b Athens: Map 1.1.22. According to Thucydides 8.95, Thymocharēs had commanded some of the Athenian ships that were recently defeated off Eretria, Euboea: Map 1.1.22.
- 1.1.1c Sparta: Map 1.1.22.
- 1.1.1d Scholars are not certain where this battle took place. Agesandridas, who had commanded the Spartan flotilla that earlier

- defeated the Athenians off Eretria, is not known at this time to have commanded ships for Sparta in the Hellespont (Map 1.1.22), where Mindaros was in command.
- 1.1.2a Rhodos: Map 1.1.22. Dorieus and his ships were of course a Peloponnesian flotilla.
- 1.1.2b Hellespont: Map 1.1.22.
- 1.1.2c Triremes: see Appendix K, *Trireme Warfare* in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, §2.
- 1.1.2d Rhoiteion: Map 1.1.22, inset.
- 1.1.3a Madytos: Map 1.1.22, inset.
- 1.1.4a Mindaros had taken command of the Peloponnesian fleet earlier in the year (Thucydides 8.85) and successfully sailed it past the Athenian fleet at Lesbos (Map 1.1.22) to the Hellespont (Thucydides 8.101).
- 1.1.4b Sacrificing to Athena: see Appendix J, *Ancient Greek Religion in the Time of Xenophon*, §4, 5, 8.
- 1.1.5a Abydos: Map 1.1.22, inset.

1.1.1
411
?
Spartans defeat the Athenians in a sea battle.

1.1.2–3
411
HELLESPONT
Dorieus defends his ships from shore against Athenian attack.

1.1.4–7
411
HELLESPONT
Mindaros engages the Athenians in an attempt to help Dorieus, but after some battle, the Spartans flee when Alcibiades and his squadron arrive.





from morning until evening. The Athenians had been victorious in some places and defeated in others when Alcibiades^b sailed up to join in the attack with eighteen ships. [6] At this, the Peloponnesians^a fled to Abydos. Pharnabazos^b brought his forces up to help them and, driving his horse into the sea as far as he could, he took part in the battle and urged on the rest of his cavalry and infantry. [7] The Peloponnesians fought by forming their ships in close order and arranging them parallel to the shore. Finally, the Athenians sailed off to Sestos,^a taking with them thirty of the enemy ships without crews and recovering the ones that they themselves had lost.^b

1.1.8–10

411

HELLESPONT

Tissaphernes comes to the Hellespont and, when visited by Alcibiades, imprisons him at Sardis. Alcibiades escapes.

[8] From there all the ships, except for forty of them, sailed out from the Hellespont to different places, in order to collect money.^a Thrasyllus,^b who was one of the generals,^c sailed to Athens in order to announce what had taken place and to request that the Athenians send an army and more ships.

[9] And after this, when Tissaphernes^a came to the Hellespont, Alcibiades went to see him. And although Alcibiades had come in a single ship, bringing tokens of friendship and gifts, Tissaphernes seized and imprisoned him in Sardis,^b saying that the King^c had ordered him to make war on Athenians. [10] Thirty days later, Alcibiades, together with Mantitheos (who had been captured in Caria),^a procured horses and escaped by night from Sardis to Klazomenai.^b

1.1.11–15

410

HELLESPONT

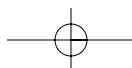
The Athenian fleet under Alcibiades concentrates at Sestos and, learning that the Peloponnesian navy is at Cyzicus, prepares for battle.

[11] The Athenians at Sestos, learning that Mindaros intended to sail against them with sixty ships, slipped away by night to Kardia.^a Alcibiades, too, went there from Klazomenai with five triremes and a skiff. Learning that the Peloponnesian ships had set sail from Abydos to Cyzicus,^b Alcibiades himself went on foot to Sestos and ordered the ships to sail around and rendezvous there. [12] When they had arrived and were just about to put out to sea to fight a naval engagement, Theramenes^a sailed in with

- 1.1.5b Alcibiades, Athenian general: see Appendix M, Brief Biographies of Important Characters in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, §3.
 1.1.6a Peloponnesians: Map 1.1.22.
 1.1.6b Pharnabazos, Persian satrap: see Appendix M, §21; and Appendix D, Persia in Xenophon's *Hellenika*, §3–5, 7–10.
 1.1.7a Sestos: Map 1.1.22, inset.
 1.1.7b Diodorus gives a parallel account of this battle (see Appendix O, Selections from the *Histories* of Diodorus Siculus Relevant to Xenophon's *Hellenika*, 13.45–47.2). Some scholars think the two historians strongly disagree. Others think they can be largely reconciled. See the Introduction, §8.4.
 1.1.8a Collecting money: see Appendix B, The Athenian Government and the Oligarchy of the Thirty, §14. The Athenian government extracted annual tribute (*phoros*) from subject states of its empire in the fifth century. While a few of the larger subject states paid in kind—contributing their own

military forces—the vast majority contributed money, which was used by Athens to support its own large standing military forces (mostly its fleet) and for other purposes the Athenian Assembly might approve.

- 1.1.8b See “Thrasyllus” in Appendix M, §27.
 1.1.8c Athenian generals: see Appendix A, The Arginousai Affair, §2, 3, 5, 6.
 1.1.9a Tissaphernes, Persian satrap: see Appendix M, §29.
 1.1.9b Sardis: Map 1.1.22.
 1.1.9c In this volume, when the word *King* is capitalized, it refers to the Great King of Persia. The King at this time was Darius II.
 1.1.10a Caria: Map 1.1.22.
 1.1.10b Klazomenai: Map 1.1.22.
 1.1.11a Kardia: Map 1.1.22.
 1.1.11b Cyzicus: Map 1.1.22, inset.
 1.1.12a Theramenes, Athenian general: see Appendix M, §24.



APPENDIX M

Brief Biographies of Important Characters
in Xenophon's *Hellenika*

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Agesilaos: see Appendix G | 10. Eteonikos | 20. Pelopidas |
| 1. Agesipolis | 11. Herippidas | 21. Pharnabazos |
| 2. Agis II | 12. Iphikrates | 22. Sphodrias |
| 3. Alcibiades | 13. Jason of Pherai | 23. Teleutias |
| 4. Antalkidas | 14. Kallistratos | 24. Theramenes |
| 5. Archidamos III | 15. Kleombrotos | 25. Thibron |
| 6. Chabrias | 16. Konon | 26. Thrasyboulos (of Steiria) |
| 7. Cyrus the Younger | 17. Kritias | 27. Thrasyillos |
| 8. Derkylidas | 18. Lysander | 28. Timotheos |
| 9. Epaminondas | 19. Pausanias | 29. Tissaphernes |

Agesipolis

§1. Agesipolis ruled as the Agiad^a king of Sparta from 394 to 380. He was the son of King Pausanias (§19), who outlived him but for many years resided in Tegea^b (3.5.25) as an exile after he was convicted for failure in the Corinthian War but also—and perhaps mainly—for being too soft on Athenian and possibly other democrats. Because Agesipolis was underage at the beginning of his reign, his relative (and guardian) Aristodemos initially ruled as regent for him (4.2.9). Agesipolis' first command was to lead an expedition against Argos.^c The Argives tried to turn religion against the Spartans by declaring a sacred truce, but Agesipolis brilliantly thwarted them. He had previously received the approval of Zeus' oracle at Olympia^d for an invasion of Argive territory and then had it confirmed by the oracle of Zeus' son Apollo at Delphi^e (4.7.2–6). The relationship of Agesipolis and his contemporary Eurypontid king Agesilaos constituted a shining exception to the rule that Spartan co-kings did not get on with each other; in the joint royal mess they reportedly enjoyed discussing their youth, hunting exploits, horsemanship, and love of boys (5.3.20). That need not mean that they agreed with each other about policy, and Diodorus (15.19.4) says that after the King's Peace in 386 Agesipolis was opposed to Agesilaos' hard-line imperialism against other Greek states; but scholars disagree

M.1a Two dynastic lines shared the hereditary dual Spartan kingship: the Eurypontids, descended from Eurypon, and the Agiads, descended from Agis. Both claimed descent from Herakles.

M.1b Tegea: Ref. Map 3, CX.

M.1c Argos: Ref. Map 2, CX.

M.1d Olympia: Ref. Map 2, CW.

M.1e Delphi: Ref. Map 2, CX.

APPENDIX O

Selections from the *Histories* of Diodorus Siculus
Relevant to Xenophon's *Hellenika*

Translated by Peter Green*

BOOK XIII SELECTIONS

The Aftermath of Kynossema
13.41–42

13.41. [1] After his defeat the Lacedaemonian admiral Mindaros retreated to Abydos, where he repaired those of his ships that had suffered damage. He also sent Epikles the Spartan to the triremes located in Euboea with orders to fetch them over posthaste. [2] When Epikles got there, he assembled the ships, fifty in all, and hurriedly put to sea. When they were off Mount Athos, so huge a storm arose that every ship went down, and of their crews only twelve men survived. [3] These facts are set out on a dedication that, as Ephoros tells us, stands in the temple at Coronea and carries the following inscription:

These from fifty vessels, escaping death,
Brought their bodies ashore by Athos' reefs—
Twelve only; all others the sea's great gulf destroyed
With their ships, hit by fearful gales.

[4] At about the same time Alcibiades, in command of thirteen triremes, reached the fleet stationed at Samos. Those there had already heard about his persuading Pharnabazos not to send the three hundred [Phoenician] triremes as reinforcements for the Lacedaemonians. [5] Since he got a friendly reception on Samos, he initiated discussions about the matter of his return home, with many promises about how he

NOTE: The sites mentioned in the texts of Appendices O and P are not referred to any maps of this volume as the maps were prepared to support Xenophon's text and not the texts of other historians.

O* These selections are drawn from Peter Green's new translation, *Diodorus Siculus, The Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens: Books 11–14.34 (480–401 B.C.E.)*. Green's translation is based chiefly on the Budé edi-

tion, as well as on the Teubner and Loeb editions. See the Bibliography for details on all these works. Certain place-name spellings have been changed here to conform with this volume, which adheres to those in the *Barrington Atlas*. In the appendices to this volume, certain spellings of proper names may vary from author to author.

APPENDIX P

Selected Fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*
Relevant to Xenophon's *Hellenika*

Translated by John Marincola*

Thrasylos' Attack on Ephesus,* 410 or 409
Fragment 1

[1] . . . to attack the walls . . . the majority of the triremes . . . the rest, a place in the territory of Ephesus. . . Having disembarked his entire force, he led them toward the city. . . But the Ephesians and those of the Spartans^a . . . did not see the Athenian forces commanded by Pasion,^b since they happened to be still far off and taking a longer way on their march than the others. They did see, however, those commanded by Thrasylos who were now nearly upon them. They met them at the harbor that is known as Koressos, and they had with them as allies those who had brought assistance . . . and . . . the most trustworthy . . . and those who live in the Kilbian [?]^c plain.

[2] After this, Thrasylos,^a the Athenian general, came to the city and left some of the soldiers to prosecute the siege, while he himself led others to the hill, which is high and difficult to climb. And some within the city and some outside were compelled to flee. Timarchos^b and Possikrates were in command of the Ephesians. . . .

Fragment 2

[1] . . . toward strong places . . . and fled toward them, and he led the army forward. And since the enemy were fleeing, the Athenians eagerly pursued, in order that they

P* These selected passages have been translated by John Marincola from the papyrus fragments published in M. Chambers, ed., *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1993). See the Introduction, §7.1–8. The many ellipses in the text reflect the torn and ragged condition of the two-thousand-year-old papyrus. Some words have to be extrapolated from a few letters, the context, and the size of the spaces between extant words. See Figure Intro. 7.2 for an example.

P.1* See 1.2.6–11 and Appendix O, Selections from the

Histories of Diodorus Siculus Relevant to Xenophon's *Hellenika*, 13.64.1.

P.1.1a Neither Xenophon nor Diodorus mentions the presence of Spartans at this battle.
P.1.1b Pasion is not otherwise known. It has been suggested that the text should read "Pasiphon," as a man by that name in 409 was general at Samos.
P.1.1c "Kilbian" is a proposed modern emendation.
P.1.2a See 1.1.33–34.
P.1.2b Diodorus mentions Timarchos as an Athenian commander; see Appendix O, 13.65.1.

CROSS-REFERENCE TABLE

of Related Passages in Xenophon's *Hellenika*,
Diodorus' *Histories*, and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*

Xenophon's <i>Hellenika</i> Bk./Chap./Sect.	Event Described	Date ^a	Diodorus' <i>Histories</i> ^b Bk./Chap./Sect.	<i>Hellenica</i> <i>Oxyrhynchia</i> ^c Frag./Sect.
1.1.1	Aftermath of Kynossema	411	13.41–42	
1.1.2–7	Battle of Abydos	411	13.45–47.2	
	Euboean revolt, Chalcis	411	13.47.3–8	
	Corcyra, Pydna	411	13.48	
1.1.11–22	Battle of Cyzicus	410	13.49.2–52.1	
	Peace offer	410	13.52.2–53	
1.1.32	Kratesippidas at Chios	409	13.65.3–4	
1.2.6–11	Thrasylos at Ephesus	409	13.64.1	Fr 1–2
	Spartans take Pylos	409	13.64.5–7	
	Battle at the Horns of Megara	409	13.65.1–2	Fr 4
1.3.14–22	Recapture of Byzantium	408	13.66–67	
1.4.8–9	Thrasyboulos at Thasos	407	13.72.1–2	
1.4.11–13	Alcibiades returns to Athens	407	13.68–69	
1.5.10–14	Battle of Notion	406	13.70–71.4	Fr 8
1.5.16–17	Alcibiades dismissed	406	13.73.3–74	
1.6.1–14	Kallikratidas takes command	406	13.76	
1.6.15–23	Kallikratidas and Konon at Mytilene	406	13.77–79.7	
1.6.24–38	Battle of Arginousai	406	13.97–100	
1.7.1–35	“Trial” of the generals	406	13.101–103.2	

CRT.a All dates given are according to *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 5, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), unless otherwise noted.

CRT.b See Peter Green's translation in Appendix O and n. O*
 CRT.c See John Marincola's translation in Appendix P and n. P*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

for the General Reader

INSCRIPTIONS AND FRAGMENTS

Inscriptiones Graecae. Berlin: Reimer, then De Gruyter, 1873–.

Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 15 vols. Berlin, 1923–30; Leipzig, 1940–58.

Meiggs, Russell, and David M. Lewis. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

Rhodes, P. J., and Robin Osborne, eds. *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 B.C.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

XENOPHON AND THE XENOPHONTIC PERIOD

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

Buckler, John. *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century B.C.* Leiden: Brill, 2003.

———. *The Theban Hegemony, 371–362 B.C.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Cambridge Ancient History, The. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Vol. 5: *The Fifth Century B.C.*, 1992. Vol. 6: *The Fourth Century B.C.*, 1994.

Cartledge, Paul. *Agasilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*. London: Duckworth, 1987.

Cawkwell, George. Introduction to *Xenophon: A History of My Times*, translated by Rex Warner. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

Dillery, John. *Xenophon and the History of His Times*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Gray, Vivienne. *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*. London: Duckworth, 1989.

———. “Xenophon and Isocrates.” In *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought*, edited by C. Rowe and M. Schofield. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hamilton, C. D. *Agasilaos and the Failure of Spartan Hegemony*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

———. *Sparta's Bitter Victories: Politics and Diplomacy in the Corinthian War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Higgins, W. E. *Xenophon the Athenian: The Problem of the Individual and the Society of the Polis*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977.

Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth, eds. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Kagan, Donald. *The Fall of the Athenian Empire*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Krentz, P. *The Thirty at Athens*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.

GLOSSARY

Agiads and Eurypontids: the two Spartan royal families, each of which contributed one of the two reigning kings. The Agiads descended from Agis, the Eurypontids from Eurypon, and both claimed descent from Herakles.

Agōgē: the harsh, military-oriented system of compulsory public education for Spartan boys ages seven through eighteen.

agora: an ancient Greek city's marketplace, its center for commercial, social, and political activity.

Amphiktyonic Council: representatives from twelve cities who set policy for the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. The council also maintained the temples, managed the shrine's finances, and punished states that committed sacrilege.

anabasis: a march up-country (into the interior). The name of a book by Xenophon describing the march from western Asia Minor to Cunaxa near Babylon in 401 by the army of Cyrus the Younger.

anakrisis: the power exercizable by the ephors to make a preliminary decision by majority agreement as to whether or not a king should be required to stand trial.

apotumpanismos: an Athenian form of execution, in use prior to hemlock poisoning, which involved fastening the condemned man to a wooden board with tight iron collars around his neck, wrists, and ankles and leaving him to die.

astu: the city center within the walls but not including the acropolis.

aulos: a flute of some kind to the music of which the Spartan troops kept time while advancing into battle.

Bouleuterion: the building in which meetings of the Council took place.

damiorgoi: a body of officials of the Arcadian League.

demos (damos in the Doric dialect): originally those Greeks who lived in the villages (demes) of the land. In Athens and other states the term came to mean the common people, the most numerous body of citizens in the state.

Deigma: an area on the quai at the Peiraieus where merchants displayed their goods.

dekarchies: new governments, ruled by ten men, that Lysander imposed on the Aegean cities that he and the Peloponnesian fleet liberated from Athenian rule in 405/4. These governments were made up of pro-oligarchic local citizens, usually selected by Lysander. They later proved unpopular, and Sparta abolished them.

dekateutērion: literally, "tithed at a tenth," a Greek term used when ten percent of someone's confiscated property is dedicated to the god. It is often translated into English as "decimate," but the Greek term has nothing to do with the Roman military punishment of executing one tenth of the men in a disgraced unit.

deme: originally just "district" but at Athens, after the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7, demes became formal political units of the state. Every citizen's name included the deme where he had been officially enrolled.

INDEX

- Abydos**, Athenians capture 30 Peloponnesian ships, 1.1.5–7; Alcibiades defeats Pharnabazos, 1.2.16; Derkylidas exhorts it to remain loyal to Sparta, 4.8.4; when Spartans and Athenians contest control of the city, Iphikrates ambushes Anaxibios, who dies fighting, 4.8.34–39; Athenians blockade Spartan force, 5.1.6–7; Antalkidas captures 8 Athenian triremes, 5.1.6–27;
- Acarnania/Acarnanians**, join allied forces at Nemea River, 4.2.17; attack Calydon, 4.6.1; Spartan force invades and captures their livestock, 4.6.3–7; peltasts harass Spartans from heights, 4.6.7; suffer heavy losses before Spartans withdraw, 4.6.7–12; make peace with Spartans to forestall another attack, 4.7.1
- Acarnanian League**, Agesilaos demands that it withdraw from its alliance with Athens and Boeotia, 4.6.4
- Achaea/Achaeans**, of Peloponnese, appeal to Sparta for help against Acarnanians and their allies, 4.6.1–2; Acarnanians make peace with them to forestall further Spartan attack, 4.7.1; help Eleians repel Arcadian invasion, 7.4.17–18; Epaminondas succeeds in establishing democracies in, but aristocratic factions regain power and ally Achaean cities with Sparta, 7.1.41–43
- Achaea/Achaeans**, of Phthiotis, betray colonists of Herakleia to Oetaeans, 1.2.18
- Acrocorinth**, younger men of Corinth escape Argive attack by running to, 4.4.4–5; Agesilaos withdraws toward, making Corinthians think the city has been betrayed to him, 4.5.3; Thebans and their forces fill hills bordering on, 7.1.20
- acropolis**
Athens, *see* **Athens/Athenians**
Elis, democratic faction seizes but is driven into exile, 7.4.15–18
Gergis, Derkylidas takes control of, 3.1.23
Oreos, sailors from grain ships imprisoned by Alketas seize, and the city revolts against the Spartans, 5.4.56–7
Pharsalus: Polydamas is entrusted with, during civil strife, as mark of citizens' respect, 6.1.2–3; he refuses to hand it over to Jason but gives him his children as hostages, 6.1.18
- Phleious: Spartans are allowed to occupy to help in defense against Athenians, 4.4.15, 5.3.15; exiles seize but are driven out by citizens, 7.2.6–9
- Sicyon: Aeneas the Stymphalian takes his army to and calls on aristocrats to overthrow Euphron, 7.3.1; Euphron cannot dislodge Theban harmost from, after winning control of the city, 7.3.4
- Skepsis, Derkylidas sacrifices to Athena at, 3.1.21
- Spartan occupation of Thebes' is unjust, 5.4.1
- Thebes: Spartan army commander occupies in plot with Leontiades, 5.2.29, 5.2.35; Xenophon describes occupation as unjust, 5.4.1; Spartans forced to withdraw from after overthrow of polemarchs, 5.4.10–12; Euphron of Sicyon is assassinated while magistrates and Council are in session on, 7.3.5–12; *see also* **Kadmeia**
- Adeimantos son of Leukolophides**, sent to Andros as general to help Alcibiades suppress revolt, 1.4.21; retains his command when other generals are deposed, 1.7.1; captured at Aigospotamoi, 2.1.30; Spartans spare because he had voted against decree to cut off captives' right hands, 2.1.32
- Aegina**, Lysander restores to Aeginetans, 2.2.9; Spartan fleet drives away Athenian naval squadron from, 5.1.1–2, 5.1.5; Athenian hoplites fortify a post on, 5.1.2; Chabrias leads Athenian force and ambushes Spartans on, 5.1.10–12; Teleutias resumes command of Spartan fleet at, 5.1.13–18; raiders from harass Athenians, 5.1.29, 6.2.14
- Aeolis/Aeolians**, Pharnabazos gives subsatrapy of to Mania wife of Zenis, 3.1.11–12; Derkylidas exhorts cities of to free themselves, 3.1.16
- Agamemnon**, Agesilaos invokes memory of before sailing to Asia, 3.4.3
- Agasandridas**, commands Spartans in naval victory over Athenians, 1.1.1
- Agesilaos king of Sparta**, disputes succession with Leotychidas and is chosen as king, 3.3.1–4; persuaded by Lysander to lead campaign in Asia against Persians, 3.4.2; attempts to sacrifice at Aulis but is interrupted by Thebans, 3.4.3–4, 7.1.34; agrees to a truce with Tissaphernes at Ephesus, knowing that the Persian is

REFERENCE MAPS

Directory

Sites that are listed in this directory but, due to inappropriate scale or crowding of map labels, could not be placed on the Reference Maps are identified as located on the text map on which they appear.

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Abai, Ref.3, AY | Anaphlystos (deme), Ref.3, CZ | Boeotia, Ref.2, CX | Council House (Prytaneion) (Athens), Ref.5 |
| Abydos, Ref.4, AX | Andros, Ref.2, CX | Bosporus, Ref.2, AZ | Council House (Olympia), 7.4.29, inset |
| Academy (Athens), Ref.5 | Antandros, Ref.4, AX | Byzantium, Ref.2, AZ | Crete, Ref.1 |
| Acarnania, Ref.3, AW | Aphytis, Ref.2, BX | Calydon, Ref.3, BX | Cunaxa, Ref.1 |
| Achaea, Ref.2, CW | Apollonia, Ref.2, AX | Camarina, 2.3.4, inset | Cyme, Ref.4, BX |
| Achaea Phthiotis, Ref.2, BX | Arcadia, Ref.3, CX | Caria, Ref.2, CZ | Cynoscephalae (Thessaly), 5.3.14 |
| Achilleion, Ref.4, AX | Arginousai Islands, Ref.4, BX | Carthage, Ref.1 | Cyprus, Ref.1 |
| Acrocorinth, 4.4.12, inset | Argos, Ref.2, CX | Caunus, Ref.2, DZ | Cyrene, Ref.1 |
| Acropolis (Athens), Ref.5 | Artemis, Temple of (Peiraieus), Ref.5 | Cephalonia, Ref.3, BW | Cythera, Ref.2, DX |
| Aegae, Ref.4, BY | Asea, Ref.3, CX | Cephisus River, Ref.3, AY | Cyzicus, Ref.4, AY |
| Aegean Sea, Ref.2, BX | Asia, Ref.1 | Chaeronea, Ref.3, AY | |
| Aegina, Ref.3, CY | Asine, Ref.2, DW | Chalcedon, Ref.2, AZ | Dardanos, 3.1.13, AX |
| Aeolis, Ref.4, BY | Asopos River, Ref.3, BY | Chalcidice, Ref.2, AX | Daskyleion, Ref.4, AY |
| Aetolia, Ref.3, AX | Aspendos, 4.8.27 | Chalcis, Ref.3, AY | Deigma (Peiraieus), Ref.5 |
| Agora (Athens), Ref.5 | Astyra?, Ref.4, AY | Chersonese, Ref.4, AX | Dekeleia, Ref.3, BZ |
| Agora (Peiraieus), Ref.5 | Atarneus, Ref.4, AX | Chios, Ref.4, BX | Delos, Ref.2, CY |
| Aigospotamoi (Aigospotamos), Ref.4, AX | Athens, Ref.2, CX | Chios (island), Ref.4, BX | Delphi, Ref.2, CX |
| Aigosthena, Ref.3, BY | Athos, Mount, Ref.2, AX | Chrysopolis, Ref.2, AZ | Delphinion, Ref.4, BX |
| Ainis (Ainiania), Ref.3, AX | Attica, Ref.2, CX | Cilicia, Ref.1 | Dionysus, Theater of (Peiraieus), Ref.5 |
| Aixone (deme), Ref.3, BZ | Aulis, Ref.3, AY | Cithaeron, Mount, Ref.3, BY | Dodona, Ref.2, BW |
| Akanthos, Ref.2, AX | Aulon, Ref.3, CX | Cnidus, Ref.2, DY | Dolopia, Ref.2, BW |
| Akragas, Ref.1 | | Colophon, Ref.4, BY | |
| Akroreia, Ref.3, CX | Babylon, Ref.1 | Corcyra, Ref.2, BW | Eetioneia (Peiraieus), Ref.5 |
| Alpheios River, Ref.3, CX | Bendis, Shrine of (Peiraieus), Ref.5 | Corcyra (island), Ref.2, BW | Egypt, Ref.1 |
| Altis (Olympia), 7.4.29, inset | Bithynia, Ref.2, AZ | Corinth, Ref.2, CX | Eion, Ref.2, AX |
| Alyz(e)ia, Ref.3, AW | Bithynian Thrace, Ref.2, AZ | Corinth, Isthmus of, Ref.3, BY | Elaious, Ref.4, AX |
| Ambracia, Ref.2, BW | Black Sea (Pontus), Ref.1 | Corinthian Gulf, Ref.3, BX | Eleusis, Ref.3, BY |
| Amphidolia, Ref.3, CX | | Coronea, Ref.3, BY | |
| Amphipolis, Ref.2, AX | | Cos, Ref.2, DY | |
| Amyklai, Ref.3, DX | | | |



REF. MAP 2