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DIODORUS OF SICILY

VII
CENTRAL MERCANTILE

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ΒΙΒΛΙΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

20. Ἐν' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἑυάνδρου 1 Ῥωμαίοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ἔξ, Κόιντον Σολπίκιον, Γάιον Φάβιον, Κόιντον Σερουίλιον, Πόπλιουν Κορνῆλιον. 2 ἔτι δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατελάβοντο τὴν Καδμείαν ἐν ταῖς Θῆβαις διὰ τινας τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὁρῶντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤχουσαν πόλεων τε πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς κατουκοδυρτας αὐτὴν ἄνδρας ὑπάρχουσας ἄνδρεις διαφόρους, ἔτι δὲ τὰς Θῆβας ἤχουσας παλαιόν ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ σύνολον ὀστερ ἀκρόπολιν τινα τῆς Βοιωτίας οδον, εὐλαβοῦντο μῆποτε καρπαφανέντος οικείου τῆς ἠγεμονίας ἀντιποιόησεται· διότερ τοῖς ἠγεμόσιν οἱ Σπαρτιάται παρῆγγελλον

1 Ἀθήνησιν Ἑυάνδρου Meursius (Demosthenes, Contra Tim. 138): Ἀθήνησι μὴν Ἑυάνδρου Ῥ, Ἀθήνησι Μενάνδρου Vulgate.
2 Κόιντον σερουίλιον πόπλιουν κορνῆλιον Ῥ, Σερουίλιον Κορνῆλιον Α., Σερουίλιον Κορνῆλιον Πόπλιουν Οδγωνα Σέξτον Ἀννον καὶ Γάιον Μάρκον σετ. Corrected in part from Book 14. 110. 1 and Livy, 5. 36.

1 Only four mentioned by name—a frequent inconsistency.
2 Sparta had been successful in stripping Thebes of much of her strength in Boeotia by dissolving the Boeotian League.
THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY
OF
DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XV

20. When Evander was archon at Athens, the 382/1 B.C. Romans elected six military tribunes with consular power, Quintus Sulpicius, Gaius Fabius, Quintus Servilius, Publius Cornelius. During their term of office, the Lacedaemonians took possession of the Cadmeia in Thebes for the following reasons. Seeing that Boeotia had a large number of cities and that her inhabitants were men of outstanding valour, while Thebes, still retaining her renown of ancient times, was, generally speaking, the citadel of Boeotia, they were mindful of the danger that Thebes, if a suitable occasion arose, might claim the leadership of Greece. Accordingly the Spartans gave secret instructions at the time of the King’s Peace. Thebes was beginning to assert her strength again by withholding the help due Sparta in her action against Olynthus (see Xenophon, Hell. 5. 2. 27).

Diodorus alone speaks of these secret instructions which have no existence in Xenophon’s fuller account. In fact Xenophon expressly says (5. 2. 32) διτι οὗ προσαχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει. But then we must remember Xenophon’s pro-Spartan bias. Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 23, 24, virtually admits the complicity of Agesilaüs, and Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, 5. 298, accepts the notion of a secret commission, as does Laistner, The Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C., p. 190.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐν ἀπορρήτως, ὥς ἐὰν ποτὲ καὶρὸν λάβωσι καταλάβωντα τὴν Καδμείαν. τουαύτης δὲ γενομένης παραγγελίας, Φουβίδας δὲ Σπαρτιάτης, τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τινος ἡγεμονίας καὶ δύναμιν ἁγων ἐπὶ Ὀλυνθίους, καταλάβετο τὴν Καδμείαν. ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ μεθ' ὀπλῶν συνδραμόντων, συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ νυκτός τριακοσίους μὲν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δὲ λουποὺς καταπληξάμενοι καὶ φρουρὰν ἱσχυρὰν ἐγκαταστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἱδίας πράξεις ἀγηλλάγη. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι διὰ τὴν πράξιν ταύτην ἀδοξοῦντες παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνιστικοῖς, τὸν μὲν Φουβίδαν ἐξημίωσαν χρήματι, τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐκ ἐξήγουν ἐκ τῶν Θηβαίων· οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαίοι τούτων τὸν τρόπον τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἀποβαλόντης ἡναγκάσθη σφάζειν ὑποταγήματι τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοι τῶν Ὀλυνθίων διαπολεμοῦντων πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, Λακεδαίμονιοι τὸν μὲν Φουβίδαν ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Εὐδαμίδαν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Φουβίδα κατέστησαν στρατηγόν. δόντες δὲ αὐτῷ τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας ἐξαιτίας ἐξαιτήσαν διαπολεμήσοντα τὸν πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πόλεμον.

21. Οὕτως δ' ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων κοινῆς μετ' Ἀμύνταν διεπολέμησε πρὸς

1 διαπολεμήσοντα] πολεμήσοντα Vogel (ap. chap. 19. 3).

2 τὸν πρὸς Ὀλ. πόλεμον (see chap. 23. 2): τοὺς Ὀλ. πόλεμον Ῥ, τοὺς Ὀλ. πόλεμους Λ, τοὺς πρὸς Ὀλ. πόλεμως Κ, τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ὀλ. πολέμους Λ.

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 2. 25-31.

2 The reaction of the Greek world and the punishment of Phoebidas are recounted in Isocrates, Panegyricus, 126;
to their commanders, if ever they found an opportunity, to take possession of the Cadmeia. Acting under these instructions, Phoebidas the Spartan, who had been assigned to a command and was leading an expeditionary force against Olynthus, seized the Cadmeia.\(^1\) When the Thebans, resenting this act, gathered under arms, he joined battle with them and after defeating them exiled three hundred of the most eminent Thebans. Then after he had terrorized the rest and had stationed a strong garrison in the Cadmeia, he went off on his own business. For this act the Lacedaemonians, being now discredited in the eyes of the Greeks,\(^2\) punished Phoebidas with a fine but would not remove the garrison from Thebcs. So the Thebans in this way lost their independence and were compelled to take orders from the Lacedaemonians. As the Olynthians continued the war against Amyntas,\(^3\) king of the Macedonians, the Lacedaemonians relieved Phoebidas of his command, and installed Phoebidas' brother Eudamidas as general. Giving him three thousand hoplites, they dispatched him to carry on the war against the Olynthians.

21. Eudamidas\(^4\) struck into the territory of the Olynthians and, in conjunction with Amyntas, continued to wage war upon the Olynthians. Thereupon

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\(^1\) Xenophon, *Hell. 5. 4. 1*; Plutarch, *Pelopidas, 6* and *De Genio Socratis, 576 a*; Nepos, *Pelopidas, 1*; and Polybius, *4. 27. 4*.

\(^2\) This was Amyntas III, king of Macedonia 393–369. Through the opposition of a pretender Argeaës and the Illyrians, Amyntas had been confined to a small portion of his realm. By the aid of the Thessalians he had succeeded in ousting Argeaës. Amyntas now looked for help from Sparta to recover the lost portion of his kingdom. (See Xenophon, *Hell. 5. 2. 11-19* and chap. 19.)

\(^3\) According to Xenophon (*Hell. 5. 2. 24*), Eudamidas was sent against the Olynthians before the occupation of the Cadmeia.
'Ολυνθίους. εἰδ' οἱ μὲν 'Ολυνθιοὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ήθροικότες ἐπλεονέκτουν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, στρατιώτας πλείους ἔχοντες τῶν πολεμίων οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον προχειρισάμενοι κατέστησαν στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Τελευτίαν. οὕτως δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς μὲν 'Αγησιάλου τοῦ βασιλέως, θαυμαζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ ἀρετῆ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

2 ἀναζεύξας οὖν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ καταντήσας πλησίον τῆς 'Ολυνθίων παρέλαβε τοὺς μετὰ Εὐδαμίδου στρατιῶτας. γενόμενος δὲ ἄξιόμαχος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν τῶν 'Ολυνθίων χώραν ἐδήσσε, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος λείας ἐμέρισε τοῖς στρατιώταις τῶν δὲ 'Ολυνθίων μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων πανημοῦντα παραταξαμένους συνῆψε μάχην. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱσόρροπον τοῦ κυδώνου γενομένου διεχωρίσθησαν μετὰ δὲ ταύτα γενομένης μάχης ἱσχυρᾶς, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Τελευτίας ἐπεσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἀνηρέθησαν πλείους τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων.

3 τηλικάυτης δ' εὐθερμίας γενομένης τοῖς 'Ολυνθίοις, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμονιοι, βουλόμενοι διορθώσασθαι τὸ γεγονός ἑλάττωμα, δυνάμεις ἀδροτέρας ἐκπέμπους παρασκευάζοντο, οἱ δὲ 'Ολυνθιοὶ, νομίζοντες μείζονι δυνάμεως ἤξειν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἐσεθαί πολυχρόνων, 1 σιτοῦ τε παρασκευᾶς ἀξιολόγους ἐποιοῦντο καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιῶτας προσελμαβάνοντο.

22. Ἐπὶ άρχοντος δ' 'Αθήνης Δημοφίλου 'Ρωμαίοι ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν Πόπλιον Κορήλιον, Δεύκιον Οὐεργίνιον, Δεύκιον Παπίριον, Μάρκιον Φούριον, Οὐαλερίον, Λύλον

1 πολυχρόνων Wesseling: πολύν χρόνων.
the Olynthians, who had collected a considerable force, had the better in the field because they had more soldiers than the enemy; but the Lacedaemonians, having made ready a considerable force, appointed Teleutias general in charge of it. Teleutias was brother of King Agesilaus and was greatly admired for his valour by his fellow citizens. He accordingly set out from the Peloponnese with an army and on arriving near the territory of the Olynthians took over the soldiers commanded by Eudamidas. Being now a match for the enemy, he began by plundering the Olynthian territory and dividing among his troops the booty that he had collected; but when the Olynthians and their allies in full force took the field, he gave battle. At first they drew apart after an even contest, but later a stubborn battle was fought in which Teleutias himself fell after a splendid fight and the Lacedaemonians lost more than twelve hundred men.\(^1\) After the Olynthians had met with so remarkable a success, the Lacedaemonians, wishing to repair the loss they had sustained, prepared to send out more numerous forces, while the Olynthians, judging that the Spartans would come with larger forces and that the war would last for a long time, prepared large supplies of grain and procured additional soldiers from their allies.

22. When Demophilus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as military tribunes with consular power Publius Cornelius, Lucius Verginius, Lucius Papirius, Marcus Furius, Valerius, Aulus Manlius,

\(^1\) See Xenophon, *Hell. 5*. 2. 37–3. 6.
2 Μάλλων, Λεύκιον καὶ Ποστούμιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαίμονιν μὲν στρατηγὸν προχειρισάμενοι Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ δύναμιν ἰκανὴν παραδόντες, ἐπηφήσαντο πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πολέμεων. οὗτος δὲ καταντήσας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων χώραν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς προύπαρχοντας ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ στρατιώτας διεπολέμησε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. οἱ δὲ Ὀλυνθίοι μεγάλην μὲν μάχην οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τούτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνεστήσαντο, ἀκροβολισμοὺς δὲ καὶ βραχείας συμπλοκὰς ποιοῦμενοι διετέλεσαν, καταπεπληγμένοι τὴν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν.

23. Συνδέεσθαι μὲν ἡν ἀρχὼν 3 Πυθέας, ἐν 'Ρώμῃ δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ύπάτων χιλιάρχων εἰς κατεστάθησαν, Τίτος Κοῦκτιος, Λεύκιος Σερούλιος, Λεύκιος 'Ιουλίος, Ἀκύλλιος, Λεύκιος Δοκρήτιος, Σερούλιος Σουλπίκιος, παρά δὲ Ἡλείους ὄλυμπιάς ἤχθη ἐκατοστη, καθ' ἦν ἐνίκη 2 στάδιον Διονυσόδωρος Ταραντίνος. ἔπι δὲ τούτων Ἀγησίπολις δ' τῶν Λακεδαίμονιν βασιλεὺς ἐπελεύθησε νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἐτῇ δεκατέσσαρα τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Κλεόμμροτος δ' ἀδελφὸς ἐβασιλεύσεν ἐτῇ ἐννέα. Λακεδαίμονιν δὲ Πολυβιάδαν 3 στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πόλεμον. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνεργῶς ἀμα καὶ στρατηγικῶς διοικῶν, ἐποίει πολλὰ πρωτερήματα. αἰεὶ δὲ μάλλον εὐημερῶν καὶ πλείονες μάχαις.

1 Οὐαλέριον ... Ποστούμιον Vogel: οὐαλλέριον ... ποστούμιον Ρ, Μάρκον ... Οὐαλέριον and Λεύκιον ... Ποστούμιον omitted by A, the other MSS. add Κώντων (see Livy, 6. 1).
2 πολέμεων Unger, Vogel: πόλεμον.
3 ἦν ἀρχῶν Vogel: ἤρχετο I.I.
4 Κοῦκτος for MSS. Κώντιος, Ἀκύλλιος for Ἀκύλλιος Vogel.
Lucius and Postumius. During their term of office 391/0 B.C. the Lacedaemonians appointed as general Agesipolis their king, gave him an adequate army, and voted to make war on the Olynthians.¹ On his arrival in Olynthian territory, he took under his command the soldiers previously encamped there and continued the war against the inhabitants. The Olynthians, however, engaged in no important battle this year, but to the end fought only by exchanges of missiles and short engagements, being in awe of the strength of the king’s army.

23. At the close of the year Pythias was archon 280/79 B.C. at Athens, and at Rome six military tribunes with consular power were elected, Titus Quinctius, Lucius Servilius, Lucius Julius, Aquilius, Lucius Lucretius, and Servius Sulpicius; and in this year the Eleians celebrated the hundredth Olympiad, at which Dionysodorus of Tarentum won the stadium race. During their term of office Agesipolis, king of the Lacedaemonians, died of illness ² after a reign of fourteen years; Cleombrotus his brother succeeded to the throne and reigned for nine years.³ The Lacedaemonians appointed Polybiadas general and sent him to the war against the Olynthians. He took over the forces, and, prosecuting the war vigorously and with able generalship, was often superior. With ever-increasing success, after several victories, he reduced

¹ See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 3. 8, 9.
² See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 3. 18-20,
³ Cp. infra, chap. 55. 5.

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¹ Δεύκιος Ρ| Δέκιος σετ. ⁶ Δοκρήτιος Vogel: Δουκρήτιος.
⁷ Ερούλιος Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 4): Σερουλίος Ρ, omitted by Αντ, "Αγγος και Σερουλίος σετ.
⁸ Πολυβίδαν Wesseling (cp. Xenophon, Hell. 5. 3. 20): Πολυκίταν Α, Πολυβίδαν σετ.
νικήσας συνέκλεισε τοὺς Ὀλυμβίους εἰς πολυρκίαν·
tέλος δὲ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς πολέμους προσέταξεν ὑποταγῆσαι Λακεδαίμονιοι. ἐγγραφέντων δὲ
tῶν Ὀλυμβίων εἰς τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν συμμαχίαν,
pολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἔσπευσαν εἰς τὴν
tῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ἡγεμονίαν καταλεχθῆναι. διὸ
cαὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καυροὺς πλείστον ἦχυσαν
Λακεδαίμονιοι, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμο-
nίαν κατὰ γῆν ἁμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὁσιβαίοι
μὲν γὰρ ὕπηρχον ἐμφρουροί, Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ
Ἀργείοι διὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πολέμους ὕπηρχον
tεταπευνωμένοι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς τῶν κατα-
pολεμουμένων 2 κληρουχίας ῥόδοξον εἴν τοῖς �uations
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι τῆς τε πολυανθρωπίας
καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μελέτης πολλὴν πρόνοιαν
ἐπεποίησαν, καὶ φοβεροὶ πᾶσιν ὕπηρχον διὰ τῆν
δύναμιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας. διόπερ οἱ μέγιστοί τῶν
tὸτε δυναστῶν, λέγω δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ
τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην Διονύσιον, ἑθέραπευον τὴν
Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἔσπευδον
συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

24. Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντὸς δ' Ἀθήνησος Νίκωνος ᾿Ρω-
μαῖοι χιλιάρχους ἐξ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν,
Λεύκιον Παπίριον, Γάιον Σερουῖλιον, 3 Λεύκιον
Κοῖνκτιον, Λεύκιον Κορνῆλιον, Λεύκιον Ὀδαλέριον,
1 τὰς Wesselin: τῆς. 2 So Reiske: πολεμουμένων.
3 Σερουῖλιον P] Κορνῆλιον.

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 3. 26.
2 See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 3. 27.
3 The sending of κληροδοχοὶ or settlers from Athens to the
territory of her subjects to serve as garrison and owners of the
soil was one of the grievances against Athens in the eyes of
her subjects during her fifth-century empire.
the Olynthians to a state of siege. In the end he thoroughly cowed his enemies and forced them to become subjects of the Lacedaemonians. With the enrolment of the Olynthians in the Spartan alliance many other states likewise were eager to enlist under the Lacedaemonian standard. As a result the Lacedaemonians at this particular juncture reached their greatest power and won the overlordship of Greece on both land and sea. For the Thebans were secured by a garrison; the Corinthians and the Argives were safely humbled as a result of the previous wars; the Athenians, because of their policy of occupying with colonists the lands of those whom they subdued, had a bad reputation with the Greeks; the Lacedaemonians, however, had given their constant attention to securing a large population and practice in the use of arms, and so were become an object of terror to all because of the strength of their following. Consequently the greatest rulers of that time, the Persian King and Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, paid court to the Spartan overlordship and sought alliance with them.

24. When Nicon was archon at Athens, the Romans elected six military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Papirius, Gaius Servilius, Lucius Quinctius, Lucius Cornelius, Lucius Valerius, and Aulus Manlius.

4 This must refer to the "perioeci," free inhabitants of Laconia, not Spartans, and to the Helots, Spartan serfs, who tilled the land for their masters. The population of true Spartiates was constantly on the wane owing to the accumulation of land in a few hands and the resulting inability of ever greater numbers of citizens to contribute their share of products from the soil to the general mess or syssitia. Those who failed to make their contributions were degraded, i.e. became "hypo-meliones," though they still served as soldiers.

Αὖθι τούτων Καρχηδόνιοι οστρα-
τεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μὲν Ἱππωνιάτας ἐκπεπτωκόσιν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποκατέστησαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς πεθευρότας συναγαγόντες
2 πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα λοιμικὴς νόσου τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Καρχη-
δόνα γενομένης, καὶ τῆς νόσου πολλὴν ἔπιτασιν ἔχοισι, πολλοὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρησαν, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκείνην ἐφαύξαντο ἀποβαλεῖν· οἱ τε γὰρ Λίβνες καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, οἱ τε τὴν Σαρδόνα κατοικοῦντες, νομίζοντες ἐξειλει
καιρὸν κατὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεσαν τοῖς Καρχη-
3 δονίοις, ἐγένετο δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καιρὸν θεο-
πεμπτὸς τῆς ἀτυχίας κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνη· ταραχὴι
γὰρ καὶ φόβοι καὶ πανικοὶ θόρυβοι συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παράδοξοί, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μετὰ
tῶν ὁπλῶν ἐξεπήδησαν ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων, ὡς πολεμίων εἰσπεπτωκότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ὡς πολεμίους διαπολεμοῦντες, οὐς μὲν ἀνήρουν,
οὕς δὲ κατετραμμάτως. τέλος δὲ θυσίας το
θείων ἐξιλαμάμενοι καὶ μόνος ὅλων3 κακῶν ἀπαλλα-
γέντες, ταχὺ καὶ τοὺς Λίβνες κατεπολέμησαν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκτήσαντο.

25. Ἐπ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνης Ναυσανίκου
Ῥωμαίοι χιλιάρχους τέσσαρας ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν, Μάρκον Κορνήλιον καὶ Κόντων Σερ-
ουλίων,2 Μάρκον Φούριον καὶ Λεύκιον Κοινκτιόν.4

1 Κοινκτιόν . . . Μάλλιον Π] Μάλλιον Α, Μάλλιον Γάιον Σερ-
ουλίων Οὐαλέριον Αὖθι καὶ Κόντων Φάβιον cessation.
2 μόνος τῶν Dindorf: μεγάλων.
3 Κόντων Σερουλίων Π] Σερουλίων Κωντίων Α, Σερουλίων Κών-
τιον cessation.

12
During their term of office the Carthaginians invaded 379/8 B.C. Italy and restored their city to the Hipponiatae\(^1\) who had been exiled from it, and, having gathered together all the refugees, they showed themselves very solicitous of their welfare. After this a plague broke out among the inhabitants of Carthage which was so violent and took off so many of the Carthaginians that they risked losing their commanding position. For the Libyans, undervaluing them, seceded, and the Sardinians, thinking they now had an opportunity to oppose the Carthaginians, revolted, and, making common cause, attacked the Carthaginians. And about the same time a supernatural disaster befell Carthage; for tumults and fears and panicky disturbances constantly occurred throughout the city defying explanation; and many men rushed from their houses in arms, having the impression that enemies had burst into the city, and they fought constantly with one another as if with enemies, killing some and wounding others. Finally, after having propitiated the deity by sacrifices and with difficulty rid themselves of their misfortunes, they quickly subdued the Libyans and recovered the island of Sardinia.

25. When Nausinicus was archon at Athens, the 378/7 B.C. Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Servilius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Quinctius. During their term of

\(^1\) The city of Hipponium on the west coast of Bruttium in Italy had been captured by Dionysius, its citizens transferred to Syracuse, and its land to the Locrians (see Book 14. 107. 2). Apparently the Carthaginians were trying to cultivate the exiles as allies in Italy against Dionysius.

\(^4\) Κόλυτιον Vogel (cp. Livy, 6. 6): κολυτίον P, Κολυτίον F, Κόλυτιον υ.τ. (except A which omits).
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ κληθεῖσις Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη
Λακεδαιμονίως πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας.
τὴν Καδμείαν φρουροῦντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδίκως
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν πεφυγαδευκό-
των, συνεστράφησαν οἱ φυγάδες, καὶ συνεπιλαβο-
μένων Ἀθηναίων κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα νυκτὸς.
2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονοῦντας
ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐφόνευσαν, ἔτι κοιμωμένους
καταλαβόντες ἐπευτα τοὺς πολῖτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευ-
θερίαν παρακαλέσαντες συνεργοὺς ἔσχυν ἀπαντᾶς
τοὺς Θηβαίους. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους συνδραμόντος
μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν, ἀμὴ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν Καδμείαν πολιορ-
3 κεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν. οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἄκραν
Λακεδαιμονίου, μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὄντες οὐκ
ἐλάττουσ τῶν χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, εἰς μὲν τὴν
Σπάρτην ἐξεπεμισαν τοὺς δηλώσαντας τὴν τῶν
Θηβαίων ἐπανάστασιν καὶ βοηθεῖν τῇ ταχύτητι
παρακαλέσαντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ύπερδεξίων
ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀν-
4 ἤρον οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατετραμμάτιζον. οἱ δὲ
Θηβαίοι μεγάλην δύναμιν προσδοκοῦντες ἤξειν ἐκ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμονίου, ἐξεπεμβαν προσβευ-
τας εἰς τὸ 'Αθήνας ὑπομομακύνοντες μὲν ὁτι καὶ
αὐτοὶ συγκατήγαγον τὸν δήμον τῶν 'Αθηναίων
καθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πριάκων τυράννων κατ-
εδουλώθησαν, ἀξιούντες δὲ πανδημεὶ βοηθήσαι καὶ
πρὸ τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παροικίας συνεκπο-
λεμῆσαι τὴν Καδμείαν.

1 Fuller accounts are found in Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 2-12; Nepos, Pelopidas, 3; Plutarch, Pelopidas, 7-12 and De Genio Socratis, 596. Criticism of these accounts in von Stern, Gesch. d. spartan. u. theban. Hegemonie, 44 ff. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 2. 234, gives the date as December 379.
office what is known as the Bocotian War broke out 378/7 B.C. between the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians for the following reasons. When the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison unjustly in the Cadmeia and had exiled many important citizens, the exiles gathered together, secured the support of the Athenians, and returned by night to their native city. Having first slain in their own houses those who favoured the Lacedaemonian cause, whom they surprised while still asleep, they next rallied the citizens to the cause of freedom and obtained the co-operation of all the Thebans. When the populace had quickly assembled under arms, at daybreak they attempted to assault the Cadmeia. The Lacedaemonians who formed the garrison of the citadel, numbering with their allies not less than fifteen hundred, sent men to Sparta to announce the insurrection of the Thebans and to urge them to send help as soon as possible. Favoured by their position, they slew many of the attackers and wounded severely no small number. The Thebans, anticipating the arrival of a large army from Greece to aid the Lacedaemonians, dispatched envoys to Athens to remind them that they too once aided in restoring the democracy of the Athenians at the time when the Athenians had been enslaved by the Thirty Tyrants, and to request the Athenians to come with all their forces and assist them in reducing the Cadmeia before the arrival of the Lacedaemonians.

2 The Thirty Tyrants, established after the fall of Athens, 404, by Lysander of Sparta, were headed by Critias and Theramenes, the latter judicially murdered by Critias. Exiles of the democratic régime received help from Thebes to overthrow this tyranny.
26. 'Ο δὲ δήμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων διακόψας τῶν πρέσβεων ἐφηφύσαιτο παραχρήμα δύναμιν ὡς πλείον ἀποστείλαι τὴν ἔλευθερόσουσαν τὰς Θῆβας, ἀμα μὲν τῆς ευεργεσίας ἀποδιδοὺς τὰς χάριτας ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς εξιδιώσασθαι καὶ συναγωνιστάς ἰσχυροὺς ἔχειν κατὰ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίως ὑπεροχῆς τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος τούτο καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἄνδρων καὶ ἄνδρεια κατὰ πόλεμον οὐδενὸς 2 τῶν 'Ελληνες 1 εἰδόκει λείπεσθαι. τέλος δὲ Δημοφῶν κατασταθεῖς στρατηγός, καὶ παραχρήμα πεντακισχιλίων ὀπλίταις καὶ πεντακισχιλίως ἱππεῖς καταλέξας, τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ τῆς δύναμιν οἵ, ἡμέρα προήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δρομαῖος ἤπειγετο, φθάσαι σπεύδων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οὐδεν δὲ ἦττον ὁ δήμος παρεσκευάζετο πανδημεῖ στρατεύειν 3 εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἔδω ἡ χρέιᾳ. δὲ δὲ Δημοφῶν συντόμοις ταῖς ὀδοῖς χρησάμενος παραδόξως ἐπεφάνη τοῖς Θῆβαιοις. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πολλῶν στρατω- τῶν συνδραμόντων, ταχῦ μεγάλη δύναμις ἠθροίσθη 4 τοῖς Θῆβαιοις. ὀπλίται μὲν γὰρ συνήλθον οὐκ ἔλαττοι τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισακιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ

1 So Dindorf: 'Ελληνες.
2 συντόμοις Dindorf: συντόμως.

1 Only Deinarchus, Against Demosthenes, 39, mentions a vote of the Athenians. Most modern historians (Beloch, Griechische Geschichte 2, 3. 1. 146, Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, 5. 924, notes, and Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 67) accept the account in Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 19, which insists on the private nature of the assistance afforded Thebes by Athens and the punishment by the people of the two generals who were rash enough to give
26. The Athenian people heard the ambassadors through to the end and voted to dispatch immediately as large a force as possible for the liberation of Thebes, thus repaying their obligation for the former service and at the same time moved by a desire to win the Boeotians to their side and to have in them a powerful partner in the contest against the superiority of the Lacedaemonians. For the Boeotian was reputed to be inferior to none of the Greek nations in the number of its men and in military valour. Finally Demophon, who had been made general, and had immediately raised a levy of five thousand hoplites and five hundred horse, on the following day at dawn led forth his troops from the city, and pressed on at full speed in an effort to outstrip the Lacedaemonians; but the Athenians none the less went on with their preparations for an expedition into Boeotia with all their forces in case of need. Demophon by taking cross-country paths appeared unexpectedly before Thebes. And since many soldiers likewise came hurriedly together from the other cities of Boeotia, there was quickly assembled a great army for the support of the Thebans. For not less than twelve thousand hoplites and more than that assistance, one of whom was executed and the other exiled. Glotz in his Hist. gr., though generally inclined to give more weight to Diodorus, here speaks of "volontaires athéniens." In the same vein von Stern, Gesch. d. spartan. u. theban. Hegemonie, 44 ff., Xenophons Hellenika und die boiotische Geschichtsüberlieferung. For the contrary view see E. Fabricius, "Die Befreiung Thebens" in Rheinisches Museum 48 (1893), 448 ff., and W. Judeich, "Athen und Theben vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Leuktra" in Rheinisches Museum 76 (1927), 171 ff. Cp. also A. O. Prickard, The Return of the Theban Exiles (379/8 B.C.).
πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων. πάντων δὲ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὀρμησάντων διελόμενοι τὰ πλήθη τὰς προσβολὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιοῦντο, προσκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς κυνδύνοις συνεχῶς καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νυκτὸς.

27. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ φρουροῦντες ἐπαρκήθεντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εὐρύστως ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐλπίζοντες συντόμως ἤξειν τοὺς Λακεδαίμονις μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. ἦσε μὲν οὖν εἰχὼν τροφὰς ἵκανάς, ἐνεκαρτέρουσι τοὺς δεινοὺς, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιορκούσων ἀπέκτεινον καὶ κατεραμάτιζον, συνεργὴν ἔχοντες τὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὁχυρότητα· ὡς δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἔπετενεν, οἱ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ὄντες ἐχρόνιζον, ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλῆλους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαίμονι μέχρι θανάτου καρπορεῖν ἄντον δεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίων πόλεων συνοπτατεύονται, ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι, παραδίδοναι τῇ Καδμείᾳ ἀπεφίηναι· συνηγκάσθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς αὐτῆς τῆς Σπάρτης, ὄντες ὄλγου, παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. διότερος οὗτοι μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ ὁμολογίαις ἀφεθέντες εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονι δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους προσώποις ἐπὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάς, καὶ βραχὺ τῶν καρυών ὀστερότατα, ἀπρακτῶν ἑσοχὸν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν. τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας τῆς φρουρᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας μετέστησαν εἰς κρίσιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο κατεδίκασαν θανάτῳ, τὸν μέντοι τρίτον τοσοῦτον πλήθει χρημάτων ὅστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα χρηματα ἐκτίσαι. μετὰ
two thousand horse were assembled. And since they 378/7 B.C. were one and all eager for the siege, dividing their forces they kept making their assaults in relays, maintaining a persistent attack at all times both day and night.

27. The garrison in the Cadmeia under the exhortations of their commanders stoutly defended themselves against their adversaries, expecting that the Lacedaemonians would come shortly with a large army. Now as long as they had sufficient food, they held out stubbornly against the attacks and slew and wounded many of their besiegers, supported by the strength of the citadel; but when the scarcity of provisions increased and the Lacedaemonians, occupied in mustering forces, were long in coming, dissension spread amongst them. For the Lacedaemonians among them thought they should hold out till death, while their partners in war from the allied cities, who were many times their number, declared themselves for surrendering the Cadmeia. Under such compulsion even the men from Sparta itself, who were but few, joined in the evacuation of the citadel. These therefore capitulated on terms and returned to the Peloponnes; but the Lacedaemonians advanced with a considerable force on Thebes, and, coming just too late, were unsuccessful in their attack.¹ They put on trial the three officers of the garrison, sentenced two to death, and inflicted so heavy a fine upon the third that his estate could not pay it. Subsequently the


¹ φρονοοῦντες Dindorf: οἰκοδοῦντες (deleted by Madvig).
² μετέστησαν] Vogel defends (cp. Book 18. 64. 6 and 75. 8); κατέστησαν Bekker, Dindorf.
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dὲ ταὐτ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἑπανήλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, Ὡθβαῖοι δὲ Θεσπιάς πολιορκήσαντες ἀπρακτὸν ἐσχον τὴν ἐπιβολήν.

"Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοι Ἄρωμαίοι μὲν ἐπὶ ἀτελείᾳ πεντακοσίους ἀποίκους εἰς Σαρδονίαν ἀπέστειλαν.

28. Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου Ἄρωμαίοι χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Λεύκιου Παπίριου, Μάρκου Πόπλιου, Τίτου Κορυφῆλιου, Κόνωτος Λεύκιου. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, Λακεδαίμονίων ἐπτακότων περὶ τὰς Θήβας, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ θαρρήσαντες συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινὴ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι, δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσαντο, προσδοκώντες ἥξεως τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους μεγάλας δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. 'Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιολογοστάτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις, παρακαλοῦντες ἀντέχειν τῆς κοινῆς ἑλευθερίας. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαίμονιοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως ὑπεροπτικῶς καὶ βαρέως ἤρχον τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· διὸ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων ἀπ' ἐκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν νησιωτῶν· αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξομένης τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὄρμης πολλαὶ πόλεις προσέθεντο 20
Athenians returned home, and the Thebans assailed 378/7 B.C. Thespiae but were unsuccessful in their attack.

While these things were taking place in Greece, the Romans dispatched five hundred colonists, who were to be exempt from taxes, to Sardinia.\(^1\)

28. When Calleas was archon at Athens, the 377/6 B.C. Romans elected as military tribunes with consular power four men, Lucius Papirius, Marcus Publius, Titus Cornelius, and Quintus Lucius. During their term of office, following the failure of the Lacedaemonians at Thebes, the Boeotians, uniting boldly, formed an alliance and gathered a considerable army, expecting that the Lacedaemonians would arrive in Boeotia in great strength. The Athenians sent their most respected citizens as ambassadors to the cities which were subject to the Lacedaemonians, urging them to adhere to the common cause of liberty. For the Lacedaemonians, relying on the size of the force at their disposal, ruled their subject peoples inconsiderately and severely, and consequently many of those who belonged to the Spartan sphere of influence fell away to the Athenians. The first to respond to the plea to secede were the peoples of Chios and Byzantium; they were followed by the peoples of Rhodes and Mytilene and certain others of the islanders; and as the movement steadily gathered force throughout Greece, many cities

\(^1\) The Romans were scarcely interested in Sardinia before the first Punic War. Hence Satricum, a city of Latium, may be the correct reading. See critical note and ep. Livy, 6. 16. 6.

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\(^1\) \(\mu\nu\) omitted by Dindorf.

\(^2\) \(\Sigma\alphaρδονίαν\) Wesseling suggests Satricum.

\(^3\) Corrected from Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 7766: Καλλίου.

\(^4\) Κώντον Vögel: κώντον P, καὶ Κώντον FJK.
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. δὲ δὴ μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πόλεων εὐνοίᾳ κοινὸν συνεδριον ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων συνεστήσαντο καὶ συνεδριος ἀπέδειξαν ἐκάστης πόλεως. ἔταχθε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς γνώμης τὸ μὲν συνεδριον ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναίως συνεδρεύειν, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀσης καὶ μεγάλην καὶ μικρὰν μάς ψήφου κυρίαν εἶναι, πάσας δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτούμον, ἡγεμόνις χρωμένας Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν πόλεων ὀρῶντες ἀκατάσχετον οὕτων πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ὁμοὶς πρεσβείαις καὶ λόγοις φιλανθρώπους, ἐπὶ δ' ἐπαγγελίας εὐεργετικῶς ἐφιλοτιμῶντο διορθοῦσαν τὰς ἀλλοτρίων τητῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴς ἐποιοῦντο πολλὴν φροντίδα, προσδοκῶντες μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐσεθαί τὸν Βοιωτικὸν πόλεμον, συμμαχοῦντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν κοινωνοῦντων τοῦ συνεδρίου.

29. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραπτομένους "Ἀκορίς ὁ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, δυνάμεις ἄξιοκας ἀξιολόγους ἦθροις· μεγάλους γὰρ μισθοὺς τοῖς ὑπακούοντι προτιθείς,3 συνχοῦς 4 εὐεργετῶν, ταχὺ πολλοὺς ἐσχε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὑπακούοντας πρὸς τὴν στρα-

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1 πόλεων Sherman; ἀποστάντων Post: συμμάχων.
2 πόλεων Wesseling: πολλῶν Vogel justifies MSS. (cp. Book 18. 91. 5), but there τῶν πολλῶν means "the (l) hoi polloi."
3 προτιθείς Reiske: προστιθείς.
attached themselves to the Athenians. The democracy, elated by the loyalty of the cities, established a common council of all the allies and appointed representatives of each state. It was agreed by common consent that, while the council should hold its sessions in Athens, every city great and small should be on an equal basis and enjoy but one vote, and that all should continue independent, accepting the Athenians as leaders. The Lacedaemonians, aware that the movement of their cities to secede could not be checked, nevertheless strove earnestly by means of diplomatic missions, friendly words and promises of benefits to win back the peoples who had become estranged. Likewise they devoted themselves assiduously to their preparations for war, for they expected the Bocotian War to be a hard and tedious affair for them, since the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks who participated in the council were allied with the Thebans.

29. While these things were going on, Acoris, then king of the Egyptians, being on unfriendly terms with the Persian King, collected a large mercenary force; for by offering high pay to those who enrolled and doing favours to many of them, he quickly induced many of the Greeks to take service with him for the

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1 This is the formation of the second Athenian maritime confederacy which aimed at the overthrow of Spartan supremacy in Greece. The accounts here and in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 34–6. 3, are the essential literary texts. Important inscriptional evidence exists, *IG*, 2. 43, also 40–42, 44, 45, 82, 95–101. The formation of the confederacy should probably be placed after Sphodrias' attempt to surprise the Peiraeus (see chap. 29. 6 and Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 384).

4 *8' added by Dindorf.*
2 τείαν. οὐκ ἔχων1 δὲ στρατηγὸν ἄξιόχρεων, μετεπέμβατο Χαβρίαν τὸν 'Αθηναίου, ἀνδρα καὶ φρονήσεις2 καὶ συνείδησί "στρατηγική διάφορον καὶ δόξαν ἐπ’ ἀρετῆ μεγάλην περιπεποιημένον.3 οὕτος μὲν οὖν ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ δῆμου γνώμης προσδεξάμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφηγεῖτο τῶν κατ’ Αἰγυπτον δυνάμεων, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς παρεσκευάζετο 3 πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας. Φαρνάβαζος δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναδεδειγμένος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ4 τῆς Περσικῆς δυνάμεως παρασκευάσας μεγάλας ἐποιήσατο τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον δρασίμων ἐξέπεμβε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, καθηγορῶν μὲν Χαβρίον, ὅτι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦγουμένοις ἀπαλλιτρόι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοοίς ἀπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, παρακαλῶν δὲ 4 στρατηγὸν Ἰφικράτην αὐτῷ δοῦναι. οἱ δ’ Ὁ Αθηναίοι, σπεύδοντες τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν εἰς εὐνοοὺν προσαγαγόμεθα καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἰδιοποιήσαμεθα, ταχέως τὸν τε Χαβρίαν εἰς Αἰγυπτον μετεπέμβαντο καὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην στρατηγὸν ἐξαπέστειλαν συμμαχήσαντα τοῖς Πέρσαις.

1 ἔχων P, Vogel: ἔχοντων.
2 καὶ φρονήσεις P, Vogel: Vulgate omits.
3 περιπεποιημένον P, Vogel: πεποιημένον.
4 ἐπὶ Schäfer: ἀπὸ (Reiske omits).

1 This war between the Persians and the Egyptians (ep. Isocrates, Panegyricus, 140 f.; Demosthenes, 90, 76; Nepos, Chabrias, 2. 1) belongs to an earlier period (according to Hall, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 145 f., to the years 385–383). Nectanebōs became king of Egypt in succession to Acoris by 378 (ibid. 148). Olmstead, A. T., History of the Persian Empire, p. 399, gives 385–383 as dates of the war.
2 This must have been c. 386–384 when Chabrias was in charge of the Athenian army which was recalled from Cyprus 24.
campaign. But having no capable general, he sent for Chabrias the Athenian, a man distinguished both for his prudence as general and his shrewdness in the art of war, who had also won great repute for personal prowess. Now Chabrias, without first securing the permission of the Athenian people, accepted the appointment and took command of the forces in Egypt and with great dispatch made preparations to fight the Persians. But Pharnabazus, who had been appointed by the King general of the Persian armies, prepared large supplies of war material, and also sent ambassadors to Athens, first to denounce Chabrias, who by becoming general of the Egyptians was alienating, so he said, the King’s affection from the people of Athens, and, secondly, to urge them to give him Iphicrates as general. The Athenians, being eager to gain the favour of the Persian King and to incline Pharnabazus to themselves, quickly recalled Chabrias from Egypt and dispatched Iphicrates as general to act in alliance with the Persians.

(Hall, l.c. 146). Chabrias went shortly afterward to Egypt. Hall (l.c. 148), on the other hand, says that he went to Egypt in 377 and was soon recalled. See my note 3 below. Hall on the dates for Chabrias is at variance with other historians and Greek evidence. A good discussion of dates is found in Parke, Greek Mercenary Soldiers, 59-62. See recent treatment in Ohlmeister, op. cit. pp. 397 ff. Complete data in Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 15086.

3 The recall of Chabrias probably occurred in the winter 380/79, since in the next winter he held the Athenian frontier against Cleombrotus (Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 14) and in the early summer 378 helped defend Thebes against Agesilaios. He was probably elected general in the spring of 379 (see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 229-230). Chabrias was of good family, lived on a generous scale, kept a racing stable, and was an able condottiere.

4 Iphicrates was probably sent out to Persia (see Nepos,
DIODORUS OF SICILY

5 Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σπουδᾶς πεποιμένοις ἔν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέβαινε μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην μέχρι τῶν καυρῶν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σφοδριάδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου τεταγμένου μὲν ἐφ’ ἠγεμονίᾳ, φύσει δ’ ὅντος μετεώρον καὶ προπετοῦς, ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνευ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐφόρων καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ὁ δὲ Σφοδριάδης ἔχων στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἐπεβάλετο μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιᾶ: καταφαίνει δὲ γενόμενος Ἀθηναίοις καὶ διαμαρτών τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπρακτος ἐπανήλθεν. κατηγορθεὶς δ’ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ συναγωγιστὰς ἔχων τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἀδίκως ἀπελύθη. διόπερ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἐβηφίσαντο λελύσθαι τὰς σπουδὰς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. κρίναντες δὲ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῦς τρεῖς εἰλαντο τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Τιμόθεον καὶ Χαβριάν καὶ Καλλίστρατον. ἐβηφίσαντο

1 αὐτοῖς] Vogel (cp. chap. 51. 2): αὐτοὺς AJK.

Iphicrates, 2. 4) about the time Chabrias was elected general. Since the Corinthian War Iphicrates had been in Thrace, restored to King Cotys his rule over the Odrysians, and married Cotys' daughter. He returned from Persian service to Athens in 373. He was a self-made man, great organizer and master of light-armed tactics, one of the most able of the condotieri (see chap. 46 and Nepos, Iphicrates).


2 Other accounts are Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 20-21 and Plutarch, Pelopidas, 14 and Agesilaitis, 24. Diodorus here as in the case of Phoebidas is suspicious of Spartan policy, while Xenophon and Plutarch both speak of Thebes as the instigator of the raid in order to embroil Athens and Sparta. Again Diodorus seems right in suspecting Sparta (cp. "lei-
BOOK XV. 29. 5–7

The truce which the Lacedaemonians and Athenians had concluded in the earlier period remained unshaken up to this time. But now Sphodriades the Spartan, who had been placed in command and was by nature flighty and precipitate, was prevailed upon by Cleombrotus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, without the consent of the ephors to occupy the Peiraeus. Sphodriades with more than ten thousand soldiers attempted to occupy the Peiraeus at night, but he was detected by the Athenians and, failing in the attempt, returned without accomplishing anything. He was then denounced before the council of the Spartans, but since he had the kings to support him, he got off by a miscarriage of justice. As a result the Athenians, much vexed at the occurrence, voted that the truce had been broken by the Lacedaemonians. They then decided to make war on them and chose three of their most distinguished citizens as generals, Timotheüs, Chabrias, and Cal-

tende Kreise in Sparta” in Beloch, Griechische Geschichte 2, 3. 1. 147 and Judeich, op. cit. 178). The inroad of Sphodrias (in Diodorus Sphodriades) was made (cp. Pearl Harbor) at the very time when three Spartan ambassadors were in Athens to negotiate. Their promises that Sparta would punish Sphodrias did much to assuage the anger of the Athenians at the moment.

3 Diodorus recounts the whole war from the raid of Sphodrias to the battle of Naxos under the year 377/6. The raid of Sphodrias probably took place in the spring of 378 when Cleombrotus was operating in Boeotia after the liberation of Thebes (December 379).

4 See for the influence of Cleombrotus and Archidamus, son of Agesilaüs, in rescuing Sphodrias, Xenophon, ἴσ. 22-33 ; Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 25.

5 Cp. Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 34 ; Plutarch, Pelopidas, 15.

6 Conon’s son Timotheüs was successful as general and as statesman from this time on till his death in 354.
δὲ στρατιώτας μὲν ὀπλίτας καταλέξαι διομυρίους ἵππεις δὲ πεντακοσίους, ναῦς δὲ πληρώσαι διακοσίας. προσελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν συνεδρίον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πάσιν. ἐφηφέςαντο δὲ καὶ τὰς γενομένας κληρουχίας ἀποκαταστῆσαι τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις γεγονόσι, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο μηδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων γεωργεῖν ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς. διὰ δὲ ταύτης τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀνακτησόμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησσόν εὐνοίαν, ἑσχυροτέραν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἱδιὰν ἁγεμονίαν.

30. Πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων διὰ τὴν εὐρημένην αὐτίαν προεκλήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀποκλιναί, πρῶτα δὲ καὶ προθυμότατα συνεμάχθησαν οἳ κατὰ τὴν Εὐβοίαν οἰκοδομαὶ χωρίς Ἐστιαίας· αὔτη γὰρ εὐηρημενεῖν μὲν ὅπο Λακεδαίμονισι μεγάλα πεπολεμημένη δὲ δεενῶς ὅπο Ἀθηναίων, εὐλόγως πρὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἀδιάλυτου ἐφύλαττε τὴν ἔθραν πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας 2 βεβαιάν τὴν 3 πλῖν τινων διεφύλαττεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς συμμαχίαν συνέβησαν ἔβδομη τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου· διὸ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ μάλλον τῆς δυνάμεως αὐξομένης τοῖς ὅπο Λακεδαίμονίσι τα-πεινομένης, ἐφάμμελον τὴν ἱσχύν τῶν πόλεων συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναίοι, τῶν πραγ-

1 μὲν added by Kaelker.
2 Warmington would delete ἐφύλαττε; ἔνεικε Post.
3 βεβαιὰν τὴν Vogel (cp. Book 13. 32. 5): βεβαιοστάτην.

1 Callistratus of Aphidna, though one of the opponents of the King’s Peace (see Book 14. 110. 2-3), had come to see that Athens had no other choice. One of the most brilliant
listratus. They voted to levy twenty thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, and to man two hundred ships. They likewise admitted the Thebans into the common council on terms equal in all respects. They voted also to restore the land settled by cleruchs to its former owners and passed a law that no Athenian should cultivate lands outside of Attica. By this generous act they recovered the goodwill of the Greeks and made their own leadership more secure.

30. Now many of the other cities for the aforesaid reason were prompted to fall away to Athens; and the first to join in the alliance and the most eager were the cities of Euboea excepting Hestiaea; for Hestiaea, having been treated most generously by the Lacedaemonians while she had suffered terribly in war with the Athenians, had very good reason for maintaining unabated her enmity to Athens and for continuing to observe inviolate her pledge to Sparta. Nevertheless seventy cities eventually entered into alliance with the Athenians and participated on equal footing in the common council. So with the constant increase in the strength of the Athenians and the diminution of that of the Lacedaemonians the two states were now well matched. The Athenians, secr-
μάτων αὐτοίς κατὰ νόμιν προχωροῦντων, δύναμιν ἔξεπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Εὔβοιαν τὴν παραφυλάξουσαν μὲν τοὺς συμμάχους, καταπολεμήσουσαν δὲ τοὺς 3 ἐναντίον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὔβοιαν βραχὺ μὲν πρὸ τοὺς τῶν χρόνων Νεογένης τις ὄνομα μετ’ Ἰά- σουνος τοῦ Φεραιού συλλέξας στρατιῶτας κατελάβετο τὴν τῇ ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Ἑστιαιῶν, καὶ τύραννον ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδείξε ταύτῃ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ὡρείτῶν1 πόλεως. ἀρχοντὸς δ’ αὐτοῦ βιαῖς καὶ ὑπερηφάνως Λακεδαμόνιοι Θηριπίδην ἀπέστειλαν 4 ἐπ’ αὐτὸν. ὦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρη λόγος πεῖσαι τὸν τύραννον ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως· ὡς δ’ οὐ προσείχε, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξεπολιορκήσε2 τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοῖς Ὡρείταις3 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησεν, δι’ ἣν αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς Ἑστιαιῶν καλομείνην χώραν οἰκοῦν- τες οἰκείως διείλθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ 5 βεβαιῶς ἔτηρον τὴν φιλίαν. τῆς δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεμφθείσης δυνάμεως ἢγουμενος Χα- βρίας ἐπόρθησε τὴν Ἑστιαιῶτιν χώραν, καὶ τὴν καλομείνην μὲν Μητρόπολιν, κειμένην δ’ ἐπὶ τινος ἐρυμνοῦ λόφου, τείχισας, ἀπελευπαί ἐν αὐτῇ φρουράν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσους ἐπιπλέων προσ- ςτηγάγετο Πεπάρηθον καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλας τεταγμένας ὑπὸ Λακεδαμονίων.

3. Οἱ δὲ ὀρϑῶντες τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὀρμήν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀκατάσχετον οὐσιαν, ἑπαύ- σαντο τῆς προϋπαρχοῦσης βαρύτητος καὶ ταῖς

1 Ὡρείτων Palmer: ὠρωπίων.
2 ἐξεπολιορκήσε Dindorf: ἐπολιορκήσε.
ing affairs proceeding to their liking, dispatched a $377/6$ B.C. force to Euboea to serve at once as a protection for their allies and to subdue the opposition. In Euboea a short time before this a certain Neogenes with the assistance of Jason of Pherae had gathered soldiers and occupied the citadel of Hestiaea,¹ and so appointed himself tyrant of this country and of the city of the Oreitans. Because of his violent and arrogant rule the Lacedaemonians had then dispatched Theripides against him. Theripides at first endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant by reasoning with him to leave the citadel; but when the tyrant paid no heed to him, he rallied the people of the district to the cause of freedom, took the place by storm, and restored their freedom to the people of Oreus. For this reason the people who inhabit what is known as the country of the Hestiaeans continued to be loyal to the Spartans and preserved intact their friendship.

Chabrias, in command of the force dispatched by the Athenians,² laid waste Hestiaeotis, and, fortifying its Metropolis, as it is called, which is situated on a naturally steep hill, left a garrison in it, and then sailed to the Cyclades and won over Peparethos and Sciaithos and some other islands which had been subject to the Lacedaemonians.

31. The Spartans, perceiving that the impulse of their allies to secede was not to be checked, put an end to their former severity and began to treat the

in Strabo, 445), situated to the west a few miles, which in Pericles' time received two thousand cleruchs and was officially known as Histiaeia. The names became confused in antiquity. (See Richard Kiepert, p. 6 of text to Map XIV, Formae O.A.)

² According to Plutarch, De Glória Atheniensium, 8, Timotheus, not Chabrias, freed Euboea.
πόλεσι φιλανθρώπος προσεφέροντο. τοιαύτας δ' ομιλίας καὶ ευεργεσίας χρησάμενοι εὐνοοῦστεροὺς ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς συμμάχους κατεσκεύασαν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν πόλεμον αὐξόμενον καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπιδεόμενον, τὰς τὸ σῶμα παρασκευᾶς ἐπωσίσκει φιλοτιμῶς καὶ τὴν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ λειτουργῶν περν-2 τότερον ἐξευργάσαντο. τὰς τε γὰρ πόλεις καὶ τοὺς καταλεγομένους στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διείλαν εἰς δέκα μέρη· τούτων δὲ πρῶτην ἐπέειχον μερίδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ τρίτην Ἀρκάδες, τετάρτην δ' Ἡλεϊοι, πέμπτην δ' Ἀχαιοί· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐκτὴν ἐπλήρουν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Μεγαρεῖς, τὴν δ' ἐβδομὴν Σικυόνιοι καὶ Φιλάσιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην οἰκούντες, τὴν δ' ὁγδότην Ἀκαρνανίες, ἐνάτην δὲ Φωκεῖς καὶ Λοκροί, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ὁράκης κατουκούντες σύμμαχοι. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ὃ μὲν ὀπλίτης πρὸς δύο ψιλοὺς τεταγμένοι, ὃ δ' ὕππεις πρὸς τέταρτας 3 ὀπλίτας ἱσαζόμενοι. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συντάξεως οὖσας, ἤγειτο τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀγασίλαος ο βασιλεὺς· περιβόητος δ' ἦν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίκητος γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις. ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς λοιποῖς πολέμωσι ἐθαυμάσθη, καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπολέμουν4 τοῖς Πέρσαις, παραταξάμενοι καὶ πολλαπλασιώνα δύναμιν νικήσας, πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας

1 τοιαύτας Dindorf: τοσαύτας.
2 ἐπιδεόμενον Bekker: δεόμενον Κ.
3 ἐπ' Rhodoman: ἐν.
4 ἐπολέμουν Stephanus: πολεμοῦσες.
cities humanely. By this sort of treatment and by benefactions they rendered all their allies more loyal. And now that they saw that the war was becoming more serious and required strict attention, they set ambitiously to work on their various preparations for it, and in particular brought to greater perfection the organization and distribution of their soldiers and the services. In fact they divided the cities and the soldiers that were levied for the war into ten parts. The first part included the Lacedaemonians, the second and third the Arcadians, the fourth the Eleians, the fifth the Achaean. Corinthians and Megarians supplied the sixth, the seventh the Sicyonians and Phliasans and the inhabitants of the promontory called Acté, the eighth the Acarnanians, the ninth the Phocians and Locrians, and the last of all the Olynthians and the allies who lived in Thrace. They reckoned one hoplite to two light-armed, and one horseman as equivalent to four hoplites. Such was the organization, and King Agesilaüs was put in command of the campaign. He was renowned for courage and shrewdness in the art of war and had been all but invincible in the former periods. For in all his wars he won admiration and especially when the Lacedaemonians were fighting the Persians. For he gave battle and won the victory over a force of many times his own number; then he overran a large part

1 For other members of the league see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 108 and note 1.
2 On the Argolid peninsula, inhabited by people of Epidaurus, Methoné, and Troezén.
3 This reckoning (see Xenophon, Hell. 5. 2. 21 and 6. 2. 16) gives a commutation rate payable by a state that does not send its normal contingent to the league force. Three Aeginetan obols (or 4½ Athenian) per day was the rate for one hoplite.
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ἔπειθε κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων, καὶ πέρας, εἰ μὴ μετεπέμψαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Σπαρτιάται διὰ τινας πολιτικὰς χρείας, σχεδὸν ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐλην τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείαν εἰς τοὺς ἑσχάτους κινδύνους κατέστησεν. 4 ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος δραστικὸς καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως πολλῆς θρασύς καὶ παραβόλοις πράξεις χρώμενος. διὸ καὶ τότε θεωροῦτες οἱ Σπαρτιάται τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου προσδέμενον ἡγεμόνος θεολόγον, τούτων τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς ἡγεμόνα κατέστησαν.

32. 'Ο δ' Ἀγγείλαος προσαγαγὼν1 τὴν δύναμιν, ἴκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἔχων τοὺς σύμπαντας στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων ὄκτακοκχιλίων, ὅν ἤσαν αἱ2 Λακεδαιμονίων πέντε μόραι: τὴν δὲ μόραν3 ἀναπληροῦσιν ἄνδρες πεντακόσιοι. ὦ δὲ Σικυόντας καλούμενος λόχος παρὰ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας οὐ συντάττεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἴδιαν ἔχων σύστασιν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ισταταί, καὶ παραβοηθοῦν τοὺς αἰεὶ θλιβομένους μέρεσι· συνεστοὶ δ' ἐξ ἐπιλεκτων ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας ποιεῖται ροπᾶς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεις καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον αὕτως γίνεται τῆς νίκης. ἵππεις δ' εἴχεν ὁ Ἀγγείλαος 2 χιλίους καὶ πεντακόσιους. οὕτως μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενοι εἰς πόλιν Θεσσάλας, φοινομυθεῖν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, πλησίον ταύτης κατεστρωτοπέδευσε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀνελάμβανεν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρουσίαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας,

1 προσαγαγὼν Reiske: προσαγαγών.
2 αἱ Vogel: omitted by AJK, αἱ σεβ.
3 μόραι ... μόραν Vogel (ep. Ephorus, fr. 140): μύραι ... μύραν P, μύρια ... μύρια Vulgate.
of Asia,¹ mastering the open country, and finally 377/6 B.C. would probably have succeeded, had not the Spartans recalled him because of political affairs, in reducing the whole Persian empire to the direst straits. For he was a man of energy, daring but highly intelligent, engaging in hazardous actions. Accordingly the Spartans, seeing that the magnitude of the war called for a first-rate leader, again appointed him commander of the whole war.

32. Agesilaüs led forth his army and reached Boeotia accompanied by all the soldiers, amounting to more than eighteen thousand, in which were the five divisions of Lacedaemonians. Each division contained five hundred men. The company known as Sciritae ² amongst the Spartans is not drawn up with the rest, but has its own station with the king and it goes to the support of the sections that from time to time are in distress; and since it is composed of picked men, it is an important factor in turning the scale in pitched battles, and generally determines the victory. Agesilaüs also had fifteen hundred cavalry. Passing on then to the city of Thespiae, which was garrisoned by the Lacedaemonians, he encamped near it and for several days rested his men from the hardships of the march. The Athenians, having become aware of the arrival of the Lacedaemonians in Boeotia, immediately went to the assistance of

¹ See Book 14. 79-80, 83.
² A people who lived on the mountainous northern frontier of Laconia. This special corps, considered apparently the cream of the army, formed the vanguard of an advance and the rearguard of a retreat. Thought by some to be light-armed, though this is doubted by Kromayer-Veith on the strength of this and other passages (p. 39, Heervesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer, Munich, 1928). (See Thucydides, 5. 67. 1.)
ἐχοντες πεζους μην πεντεκασκιλιους. ἵππεως δὲ
3 διακοσίους. τούτων δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀθροισθη-
σῶν εἰς ἕνα τόπον, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι λόφον τινά
κατελάβαντο παραμῆκη, σταδίους ἀπέχοντα τῆς
πόλεως εἰκοσι, καὶ πρόβλημα ποιησάμενοι τᾶς Δυσ-
χωρίας ἀνέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον· τὴν
γὰρ Ἀγγειλάοι δόξαν καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν ἐν τοῖς
4 πεδίοις εἴ ῶσου κύνδυνον ὑπομένειν εὐλαβῶντο. ὦ
δ' Ἀγγειλάος συντεταγμένη τῇ δυνάμει προαγών
ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ὡς ἤγγισε τοῖς πολεμίωις, τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ψυλοὺς ἐπαφῆκε τοὺς ἐναντίοις,
πειρόμενοι πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν μάχην. ἀποκρο-
σαμένως δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων ῥαδίως ἐκ τῶν
ὑπερδεξίων, ἐπήγαγε πάσαν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν δύνα-
5 μὸν συντεταγμένην καταπληκτικῶς. Χαβρίας δ' ὦ
'Αθηναίοις τῶν μυθοφόρων ἀφηγούμενοι παρήγ-
γείλε τοὺς στρατιώτας δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους
καταπεφρονηκότως ἁμα καὶ τεταγμένως, καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὸ γόνυ κλίναντας ὀρθῶν τω
6 δόρατι μένειν. ἕν τοις ποιησάμεν τὸ προστάξθεν
ὡσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς παρακελεύσματος, ὡς Ἀγγειλάος
θαυμάσας τὴν τε εὐταξίαν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ
τὴν καταφρόνησιν, τὸ μὲν βιάζεσθαι πρὸς ὑπερ-
δεξίως τόπους καὶ συναναγκάζειν τοὺς ἐναντίοις
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐκ χειρὸς κύνδυ-
νον οὐκ ἔκρινε, πείραν δὲ λαβὼν ὅτι τολμήσαντι
ἀναγκαζόμενοι διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐν
τῷ πεδίῳ προεκαλέτο. ὥς συγκαταβαίνοντων δὲ
τῶν Θηβαίων, τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ἀπ-
ήγαγε, τοὺς δ' ἵππεως καὶ τὰ ψυλικά τῶν ταγμάτων

1 tetaγμένως Post : (ἐν Dindorf) τῇ τάξει μένεντας.
2 So Post, σὺν ὀρθῶ Hertlein : ἐν ὀρθῶ.

36
Thebes with five thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred cavalry. When these forces had assembled, the Thebans occupied an oblong crest about twenty stades from the city and, having transformed the obstacle into a bastion, awaited the attack of the enemy; for the reputation of Agesilaüs so overawed them that they were too timid to await his attack on equal terms in the level country. As for Agesilaüs, he led out his army in battle array against the Bocotians, and, when he had drawn near, in the first place launched his light-armed troops against his opponents, thus testing their disposition to fight him. But when the Thebans had easily from their higher position thrust his men back, he led the whole army against them closely arrayed to strike them with terror. Chabrias the Athenian, however, leading his mercenary troops, ordered his men to receive the enemy with a show of contempt, maintaining all the while their battle lines, and, leaning their shields against their knees, to wait with upraised spear. Since they did what they were ordered as at a single word of command, Agesilaüs, marvelling at the fine discipline of the enemy and their posture of contempt, judged it inadvisable to force a way against the higher ground and compel his opponents to show their valour in a hand-to-hand contest, and, having learned by trial that they would dare, if forced, to dispute the victory, he challenged them in the plain. But when the Thebans would not come down to meet him, he withdrew the phalanx of infantry, dispatched the cavalry and light-armed ranks

1 For the campaign of this year (actually 378) see Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 35-41, Agesilaüs, 26.
2 For the rôle of Chabrias see Polyænus, 2. 1. 2; Nepos, Chabrias, 1; Demosthenes, 20. 76.
δια πολλάς καὶ πολέμους ἐγκράτης ἐγένετο.

33. Οἱ δὲ συνόντες τῷ Ἀγεσιλάῳ Σπαρτιάται σύμβουλοι καὶ οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες ἑθαύμαζον πῶς δραστικὸς εἶναι δοκῶν Ἀγεσίλαος καὶ μείζων καὶ δυναμικωτέραν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διηγούντο, πρὸς τοὺς πολέμοις. πρὸς οὖς ὁ Ἀγεσίλαος ἀπεκρίθη, νῦν μὲν ἀκουόνοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους νευκηκέναι, πορθούμενη γὰρ τῇ χώρᾳ μὴ τετολμήσκεναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθῆσαι· εἰ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν πολέμων παρακεχωρηκότων τῆς νίκης ἐβασμότο τοὺς πολέμους ὑπομένειν τὸ δεινόν, ἢς ἂν διὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης δύναντο καὶ πταῖσαι·

2 κατὰ τὸν κύδωνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ταύτης ἔδοξε μετρίως κατεστοχάσθαι τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποβῆναι, ὥστε δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔδοξεν οὖκ ἀνδρωπότητι ἀπόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θειον των χρησμὸν εἰρηκέναι. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Θηβαίους καὶ συναναγκάσαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίσασθαι, μεγάλης συμφορᾶς περιέπεσον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτην ἐν Λεύκτροις ἤττηθεν πολλοὶ ἀπώλεσαν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Κλεόμμβροτος ἔπεσε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ Μαντίνεων πολεμόσυνας τοῖς ὀλοίς ἐσφάλησαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνελπίστως ἀπέβαλον. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας παραδόξως σφῆλα καὶ διδάσκει μηδέν ἄγαν κατελπίζειν. ὁ γοῦν Ἀγεσίλαος ἔχε—

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1 ἂν after νευκηκέναι deleted by Dindorf.
2 πταῖσαι Dindorf: ἕθασσι.
3 διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως Wurm: ὑπὸ τῆς διακρίσεως.
to plunder the countryside unhampered, and so took 377/6 B.C. a great quantity of spoil.

33. The Spartan advisers, who accompanied Agesilaüs, and his officers expressed to him their surprise that Agesilaüs, who reputedly was a man of energy and had the larger and more powerful force, should have avoided a decisive contest with the enemy. To them Agesilaüs made answer that, as it was, the Lacedaemonians had won the victory without the risk; for when the countryside was being sacked, the Boeotians had not dared to rally to its defense; but if, when the enemy themselves had conceded the victory, he had forced them to endure the risks of battle, perhaps through the uncertainty of fortune the Lacedaemonians might even have come to grief in the contest. Now at the time he was thought in this reply of his to have estimated the possible outcome fairly well, but later in the light of events he was believed to have uttered no mere human saying but a divinely inspired oracle. For the Lacedaemonians, having taken the field against the Thebans with a mighty army and having compelled them to fight for their freedom, met with a great disaster. They were defeated, namely, at Leuctra first, where they lost many of their citizen soldiers and their king Cleombrotus fell; and later, when they fought at Mantinea, they were utterly routed and hopelessly lost their supremacy. For fortune has a knack, when men vaunt themselves too highly, of laying them unexpectedly low and so teaching them to hope for nothing in excess. At any rate

1 362 B.C., though the battle of Leuctra, 371, established the supremacy of Thebes.

4 θεῖν Vigil: θεῖν.
Diodorus of Sicily

φρόνως ἄρκεσθείς τῷ πρῶτῳ προτερήματι, τὴν δύναμιν ἄσων ἀπεφύλαξεν.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἀγγειλάος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν Χαβρίαν στρατηγίαν συνήθεις ἐθαυμάσαν ταύτρος τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατηγήματι ἀγχίσθη εἰς τῷ Χαβρίας, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν αὐτῶς πετραγμένων κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐσεμπνέυσε τῷ στρατηγήματι, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δοθείσας αὐτῷ καθίστανεν ἐχώσας τὸ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν τὴν Ἀγγειλάου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς τὴν μὲν προφυλακῆς, ὀδοὺς ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων, ἀνείλον, τῇ δὲ πόλει προσβολῆς συνεχεῖς ποιοῦμενοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντες, ἀπῆγαν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὰς Θήβας. Φοιβίδας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐξειχὲ ἀξιόλογον φρουράν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιάσις, ἐκχυθείς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπετῶς τοῖς ἀποχρούσι Θηβαίους ἐπιθέμενος, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλε πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἐναντίοις τραύμασι περιπετεῶν ἔρωκὼς κατέστρεψε τῶν βίων.

34. Οὐ πολλῷ δ᾽ ὕστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι δυσχωρίας τινὰς ἑτέρας καταλαμβανόμενοι διεκόλυνον μὲν τοὺς πολέμους λεπταίτειν τὴν χώραν, κατὰ στόμα δὲ πρὸς ἄπασαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις οὐκ ἐτολμῶν

1 ἐξων] ἈΓΙΩ : Θεσπιάς ἐχων σετ.
2 πάλιν τῶν Dindorf: πάντων.
Agesilaüs, prudently satisfied with his first success, 377/6 B.C. brought his army through unharmed.

After this Agesilaüs returned with his army to the Peloponnese, while the Thebans, saved by the generalship of Chabrias, marvelled at his skill in strategy. Chabrias, though he had performed many gallant deeds in war, was particularly proud of this bit of strategy and he caused the statues which had been granted to him by his people to be erected to display that posture. ¹ The Thebans after the departure of Agesilaüs, leading an expedition against Thespiae, destroyed the advance outpost ² consisting of two hundred men, but after making repeated assaults on the city itself and accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, led their army back to Thebes. Phœbidas, ³ the Lacedaemonian, who had a considerable garrison in Thespiae, sallied forth from the city, fell rashly upon the retreating Thebans, and lost more than five hundred soldiers, while he himself, fighting brilliantly, after receiving many wounds in front, met a hero's death.

34. Not long after this the Lacedaemonians again ⁴ took the field against Thebes in the same strength as before, but the Thebans, by occupying certain new obstacles, prevented the enemy from devastating the country, though they did not venture to offer battle in the plains face to face against the whole army of

¹ As described in chap. 32. 5. For the statues see Nepos, Chabrias, 1.
² The camp site of Agesilaüs, chap. 32. 2.
³ See Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 42-46; Plutarch, Pelopidas, 15; Polyænus, 2. 5. 2.
⁴ This is the campaign of a new year (this time 377), the account of which is found in Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 47-55; Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 26. 3 f.
2 παρατάξασθαι. τοῦ δὲ 'Αγησιλάου προσμαχο-μένουι συγκατέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἵσχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν 'Αγησιλαον προετέρουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Θηβαίων ἐκχυθέντων πανδημεί, θεωρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ 'Αγησιλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπυγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, δόξαντες τὸτε πρῶτος μὴ καταδεικτέρους ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι Λακεδαίμονίων, τρόπαιοι τε ἔστησαν καὶ τὸ λουπὸν κατεβάρθησαν τῆς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν δυνάμεως.

3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πεζὰς2 δυνάμεις τοιούτων ἔσχε τὸ τέλος: τῶν δὲ ναυτικῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καυροὺς ἐγένετο μεγάλη ναυμαχία μεταξὺ Νάξου καὶ Πάρου διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Πόλλους ὁ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ναύαρχος, πυθόμενος σίτου πλῆθος ἐν ὀλκάσι παρακομιζέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐφήδρευε καὶ παρετήρει τὸν κατάπλου τῆς κομζομένῃς ἀγορᾶς, διανοούμενος ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ὀλκάσις. ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξέσεμες στόλου παραφυλάξοντα τῆς αὐτοπομπίαν δυτικοῦ καὶ διεσπεσίζει eis τὸν Πειραιά τῆς κομζομένῃς ἀγορᾶς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναύαρχος μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Νάξου συνεστήσατο πολυρικίαν. προσαγαγὼν δὲ τοῦροι τεῖχες μηχανῶς καὶ διὰ τούτων σαλεύας τὰ τεῖχη, σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο βία κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως. άμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους Πόλλους ὁ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ναύαρχος κατέπλευσε βοηθήσαν τοῖς Νάξους. γενομένης δὲ φιλοτιμίας ἀμφότεροι συγκατέβησαν εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς διαστά-
the enemy. As Agesilaüs advanced to the attack, 377/6 B.C.,
they came out to meet him gradually. A bitter battle
raged for a long time, in which at first Agesilaüs’
men prevailed, but later, as the Thebans poured forth
in full force from the city, Agesilaüs, beholding the
multitude of men streaming down upon him, sum-
moned his soldiers by trumpet to withdraw from the
battle. The Thebans, who found themselves now for
the first time not inferior to the Lacedaemonians,
erected a trophy of victory and thereafter faced the
army of the Spartans with confidence.

With regard to the fighting of the land forces, such
was the issue. At sea about the same time occurred
a great naval battle between Naxos and Paros, of
which the cause was as follows. Pollis, the admiral of
the Lacedaemonians, learning that a large shipment
of grain was on its way to Athens in freighters, lay in
wait watching for the grain fleet as it put in to port,
intending to attack the freighters. The Athenian
people, being informed of this, sent out a convoy to
guard the grain in transit, which in fact brought it
safe to the Peiraeus. Later Chabrias, the Athenian
admiral, with the whole navy sailed to Naxos and
laid it under siege. Bringing his siege-engines to
bear against the walls, when he had shaken them,
he then bent every effort to take the city by storm.
While these things were going on, Pollis, the admiral
of the Lacedaemonians, sailed into port to assist the
Naxians. In eager rivalry both sides engaged in
a sea-battle, and forming in line of battle charged

1 προσμαχομένου J. G. Schneider: προσμαχομένου.
2 πεζὰς Dindorf: πεζικὰς.
3 δὲ added by Reiske.
5 ξαντες ἐπέπλευσεν ἄλληλοις. εἶχε δὲ τρυῆρεις ὁ μὲν Πόλλις ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας ὑγιόρυκοντα καὶ τρεῖς. ἐπιπλευσάων δὲ τῶν νεών ἄλληλοις, Πόλλις μὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρῶτος ἐνέβαλε ταῖς ἀντιτεταγμέναις τρυῆρεσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος, ὡν ἤγείτο Κῆδων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ λαμπρῶς αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κῆδωνα διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν ναίν κατεβύθισεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις1 συμβαλῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους ἀναρρήτησιν, ἂς μὲν διέφθειρεν, ἂς δὲ φυγεῖν ἤναγκασεν. 6 ἡ δὲ κατιδὼν ὁ Χαβριάς, καὶ μέρος τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νεῶν ἐκτέμψασε, ἐβοήθησε τοῖς πιεζομένοις καὶ τὴν ἤτταν τῶν ἱδίων διωρθώσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξών τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στόλου καὶ γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος πολλὰς μὲν τρυῆρεις διέφθειρεν, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ αλχιμαλωτοὺς ἔλαβεν.

35. Γενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος, καὶ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναίδων φυγεῖν ἀναγκάζας, ἀπέσχετο παντελῶς τοῦ διωγμοῦ· ἀναμυνθεῖς γὰρ τῆς ἐν Ἀργυνούσαις ναυμαχίας, ἐν ἣ τοὺς νικήσαντας στρατηγοὺς ὁ δήμος ἀντὶ μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας θανάτῳ περιέβαλεν, αἰτιασάμενος ὅτι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἔθαψαν, εὔλαβήθη μήποτε τῆς περιστάσεως ὁμοίως γενομένης κινδυνεύσῃ παθεῖν παραπλῆσια. διόπερ ἀποστὸς τοῦ διώκειν ἄνελεγε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διανηχομένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ζῶντας διέσωσε, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκότας ἔθαψεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ περὶ ταύτην ἐγένετο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ῥαδίως ἄν ἄπαντα

1 ταῖς ἄλλαις Reiske: τοῖς ἄλλοις.
2 γὰρ added by Reiske.
each other. ¹ Pollis had sixty-five triremes; Chabrias
eighty-three. As the ships bore down on one another, Pollis, leading the right wing, was first to attack the opposing triremes on the left wing, which Cedon the Athenian commanded. In a brilliant contest he slew Cedon himself and sank his ship; and, in similar fashion engaging the other ships of Cedon and tearing them open with the beaks of his ships, he destroyed some and others he forced to flee. When Chabrias beheld what was happening, he dispatched a squadron of the ships under his command and brought support to the men who were hard pressed and so retrieved the defeat of his own side. He himself with the strongest part of the fleet in a valiant struggle destroyed many triremes and took a large number captive.

35. Although he had thus won the upper hand and forced all the enemies' ships to flee, he abstained altogether from pursuit. For he recalled the battle of Arginusae ² and that the assembly of the people, in return for the great service performed by the victorious generals, condemned them to death on the charge that they had failed to bury the men who had perished in the fight; consequently he was afraid, since the circumstances were much the same, that he might run the risk of a similar fate. Accordingly, refraining from pursuit, he gathered up the bodies of his fellow citizens which were afloat, saved those who still lived, and buried the dead. Had he not engaged in this task he would easily have destroyed the whole

¹ The battle of Naxos took place in Sept. 376. For other accounts see Xenophon, Hell. 5. 4. 60-61; Plutarch, Phocion, 6 (for date); Polyaeus, 3. 11. 2 (also gives date).
² 406 B.C. One of the Athenian causes célèbres (see Book 18. 99, 101).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στόλον διέφθειρε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων διεφθάρησαν τριήρεις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων διεφθάρησαν μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, αὐτανδροὶ δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὅκτω. Χαβρίας μὲν οὐν ἐπιφανῆ ναυμαχίανι νικήσας κατέπλευσε μετὰ πολλῶν λα-φύρων εἰς τὸν Πειραιά, καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίοι ταύτην πρῶτην ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκησαν· τὴν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδου οὐκ ἤδη διηγονόταν, τῷ δὲ βασιλικῷ στόλῳ χρησάμενοι προετρήσαν.

3 "Αμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους κατὰ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ Μάρκος Μάνλιος ἐπιβαλόμενος τυραν-νίδι καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη.

36. "Επ᾽ ἀρχοντός δ᾽ Ἀθηνησίου Χαρισάνδρου" Ἄκμαοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατ-έστησαν τέσσαρας, Σερούνιον Σουλπίκιον, Λεόκιον Παπίριον, Τίτον Κοῦκτιον, Ἡλείοι δ᾽ ἤγαγον ὀλυμπιάδα πρῶτην πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατόν, καθ᾽ ἑνὶ ἐνίκαι στάδιον Δάμων Θοῦριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ Τριβάλλαι σιτοδείᾳ πιεζόμενοι πανδημεῖ ορατεῖαν ἐποίησαντο πρὸς τὴν ὑπερόριον χώραν, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς ἐπορίζοντο.

2 οὕτως δὲ πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων ἐπῆλθον τὴν τε ὀμορον Θρᾴκην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀβδηριτῶν χώραν ἐπόρθησαν ἄδεως· πολλῆς δὲ ὑφελείας κυριεύσαν-

1 ἐπιφανῆ ναυμαχίαν] Vogel reads ἐπιφανεῖ ναυμαχία.
2 Μάνλιος Wesseling : Μανύλιος.
3 Χαρισάνδρου Dindorf : Χαρισάνδρου.
enemy fleet. In the battle eighteen triremes \(^1\) on the Athenian side were destroyed; on the Lacedaemonian twenty-four were destroyed and eight captured with their crews. Chabrias then, having won a notable victory, sailed back laden with spoils to the Peiraeus and met with an enthusiastic reception from his fellow citizens. Since the Peloponnesian War this was the first naval battle the Athenians had won. For they had not fought the battle of Cnidus \(^2\) with a fleet of their own, but had got the use of the King’s fleet and won a victory.

While these things were going on, in Italy Marcus Manlius,\(^3\) who aspired to a tyranny in Rome, was overpowered and slain.

36. When Charisander was archon at Athens, the Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Papirius, Titus Quinctius; and the Eleians celebrated the one hundred first Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii won the stadium race. During their term of office, in Thrace the Triballians, suffering from a famine, moved in full force into territory beyond their borders and obtained food from the land not their own. More than thirty thousand invaded the adjacent part of Thrace and ravaged with impunity the territory of Abdera; and after seizing a large quantity of booty they were

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\(^1\) At variance with Demosthenes, 20. 78: μόνος τῶν πάντων στρατηγῶν οὐ πόλιν, οὐ φρουρίον, οὐ ναόν, οὐ στρατιώτην ἀπώλεσεν (sc. Χαβρίας) οὐδέν ἴσον μένειν υἱῶν.

\(^2\) 394 B.C. Conon, the Athenian admiral, had a Persian fleet in this naval victory which threatened Sparta’s supremacy (see Book 14. 83).

\(^3\) See Livy, 6. 20.

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\(^4\) Τίτον Κοιντιον Ῥ (ep. Livy, 6. 18. 1): Καρνήλιον Τίτον καὶ Μάρκον Κοιντιον.
καταπεφρονηκότως καὶ ἀτάκτως τὴν ἐπάνωδον ἐποιοῦντο. οί δὲ Ἀβδηρίται παιδημεῖ στρατεύσαν−
tes ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ὀποράδην καὶ ἀτάκτας τὴν ἐπάνωδον ποιομένους πλείουσ τῶν δισχυλῶν ἀνείλον.
3 οί δὲ βαρβάροι παροξυνθέντες ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβη−
kόσι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀβδηρίτας τιμωρή−
σασθαι, πάλιν ἐνέβαλον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν.
οί δὲ προνεικηκότες ἐπαρθένες τῷ προτερήματι,
καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ὀρακῶν συμμαχίαν ἀπο−
στειλάντων αὐτοῖς, παρετάξαντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.
4 γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἱσχυρᾶς, καὶ τῶν Ὀρακῶν
μεταβαλομένων ἄφων, μονωθέντες οἱ Ἀβδηρίται
καὶ κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν βαρβάρων,
σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ τῆς μάχης μετεσχηκότες κατ−
εκόπησαν. τηλικαύτη δὲ συμφορὰ τῶν Ἀβδηρί−
tῶν περιπετευκότων καὶ μελλόντων πολιορκεῖσθαι,
Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐπιφανείς μετὰ δυνάμεως
ἐξεῖλατο τῶν κινδύνων τοὺς Ἀβδηρίτας, καὶ τοὺς
μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἐν δὲ τῇ
πόλει φουράν ἁξιόλογον καταλυτῶν αὐτῶς ὑπὸ
τῶν ἐδολοφονήθη. Τιμόθεος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν
ναυαρχίαν καὶ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, τὰς
τ’ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις προσηγάγετο καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν
Ἀκαρνανίαν ὁμοίως ἐπεισέν ἀποκλίναι πρὸς Ἀθη−
ναίους. Ἀλκέταν τε τῶν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα φιλον
κατασκευάσας, καὶ καθόλου τὰς χώρας τὰς τῶν
περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους πόλεων ἐξιδιοποιησά−
μενος, ἐνίκησε ναυμαχία τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ
1 καὶ after αὐτοὺς deleted by Reiske.
making their way homeward in a contemptuous and disorderly fashion when the inhabitants of Abdera took the field in full force against them and slew more than two thousand of them as they straggled in disorder homewards. The barbarians then, enraged at what had happened and wishing to avenge themselves upon the Abderites, again invaded their land. The victors in the earlier conflict, being elated by their success and aided by the presence of the Thracians of the neighbouring region, who had sent out a body of men to assist them, drew up their lines opposite to the barbarians. A stubborn battle took place, and since the Thracians suddenly changed sides, the Abderites, now left to fight alone and surrounded by the superior number of the barbarians, were butchered almost to a man, as many as took part in the fight. But just after the Abderites had suffered so great a disaster and were on the point of being besieged, Chabrias the Athenian suddenly appeared with troops and snatched them out of their perils. He drove the barbarians from the country, and, after leaving a considerable garrison in the city, was himself assassinated by certain persons. Timotheis succeeded him as admiral, sailed to Cephallenia, won over the cities there, and likewise persuaded the cities of Acarnania to come over to Athens. After he had made a friend of Alcetas, king of the Molossians, and, speaking generally, had won over the areas belonging to the cities of those regions, he defeated the Lacedae-

1 See Aeneas Tacticus, 15. 8-10.
2 Demosthenes, Nepos, and Diodorus himself (Book 16. 7. 3) state that Chabrias died eighteen years later at Chios.

2 π' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις Reiske: τε ναῖς τῷ πόλεις.
3 χάρας τάς] πόλεις τάς PAFK; πλειονάς Dindorf.
6 Leukáda. tauta de pantà tachéws kai radìws ἐπετέλεσε, πελθων μὲν διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως, νυκῶν δὲ δὲ ἄνδρειαν καὶ στρατηγίαν. διόπερ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλληνισι μεγάλης ἐτύχεσαν ἀποδοχὴς. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Τιμόθεου ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

37. Ἄμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους Ὁθβαιοι μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Ὁρχομενον ἐπιλέκτους ἄνδρας πεντακοσίους καὶ συνετέλεσαν πράξειν ἄξιαν μνήμης φροντοῦντων γὰρ τοῦ Ὁρχομενον Λακεδαιμονίων πολλοῖς στρατιωτάις, καὶ τοῖς Ὁθβαιοῖς ἀντιταξαμένων, ἐγενήθη μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ὅν ὦ Ὁθβαιοι πρὸς διπλασίους συμβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. οὐδέποτε γὰρ τούτῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήτων ὑπάρχειν

2 ἐδόκει τὸ πολλοὺς ὀλίγους νικῆσαι. διὸ καὶ φρονήματος ἐπίμπλαντο Ὁθβαιοι, καὶ τὴν ἄνδρειαν εἶχον μᾶλλον περιβότην, καὶ φανεροὶ καθευδίκεισαν ἀμφισβητήσοντες τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἴγκειαις.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἐρμείας δὲ Μεθυμναίος τὴν τῶν Σικελικών σύνταξιν εἰς τούτον τὸν ἐναυτὸν κατέστροφε, γράψας βιβλίους δεκα, ὡς δὲ τινές διαιροῦσι, δώδεκα.

38. Ἐπ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησον Ἰπποδάμου Ὁρμαίοι χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν τέταρας, Λευκίου Ὀυαλέριου, Λευκίου Ἡλλίου, Λευκίου Ἡλλίου,

1 Λευκίου Ρ.: Κρίσεων (Aul. Livi, 6. 21. 1).
2 Μάλλιου Ρ.Α.: Μάλλιου Φάμπου.
monians in a naval battle off Leucas. All this he accomplished quickly and easily, not only persuading men by his eloquence, but also winning battles by courage and good generalship. Consequently he won great acclaim, not only among his own fellow citizens but also among the Greeks at large. Thus stood the fortunes of Timotheus.

37. While these things were going on, the Thebans made an expedition against Orchomenus with five hundred picked men and performed a memorable action. For as the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison of many soldiers in Orchomenus and had drawn up their forces against the Thebans, a stiff battle took place in which the Thebans, attacking twice their number, defeated the Lacedaemonians. Never indeed had such a thing occurred before; it had seemed enough if they won with many against few. The result was that the Thebans swelled with pride, became more and more renowned for their valour, and had manifestly put themselves in a position to compete for the supremacy of Greece.

Of the historians, Hermeias of Methymne brought to a close with this year his narrative of Sicilian affairs, having composed ten books, or, as some divide the work, twelve.

38. When Hippodamas was archon at Athens, the 375/4 B.C. Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Valerius, Lucius Manlius, Servius

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2 Properly in the year 375/4 (Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 155). See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 16 f.
3 One fragment of the Sicilian history of Hermeias remains (Athenaeus, 10. 438 c; also FHG, 2. 80. 1). The history seems to have dealt mainly with the Elder Dionysius with perhaps a brief introduction on earlier Sicilian affairs. (See Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 42-43.)
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Σερούλιον ὑποθέσαν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέως μέλλων πολέμεων πρὸς Ἀλγυπτίους καὶ σπευδῶν ξενικὴν δύναμιν ἁς ὀλοκληρώσαν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμους. οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα ἦπερ τοῦ ᾅ Ἑλλήνων ἀπολελυμένως τῶν οἰκείων πολέμων ἐτοιμάσεσθαι ἐπέστηκεν πρὸς τὰς ἔξωφολοις. διὸ πρέπει πρέσβεις ἐξεπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας τὰς πόλεις 2 κοινὴν εἰρήνην συνθέσαι. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἄσμενως προσδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους διὰ τὸ κάμπει τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων, συνέθεστο πάντας τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡστε πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους εἶναι. καὶ κατέστησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνες ἐξαγωγεῖς, οὗτοι πόλιν ἐκάστην ἐπελθόντες εξ-3 ἣγαγον ἀπάσας τὰς φρουράς. μόνων δὲ Θηβαίων οὐ προσδεξαμένων κατὰ πόλιν γίνεσθαι τὰς σπον-δάς, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βουστίαν ἀπάσαν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων συνελεύσεως ταττόντων, καὶ Αθηναίων μὲν ἀντεπόντων φιλοτιμότατα, Καλλιστάτου τοῦ δημαρχοῦν τῶν λόγων διαθεμένου, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων Ἐπαμεινώνδου διαθεμένου λόγων ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ, τούς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἑλληνὶ πάσι συμφώνως αἱ σπονδαὶ συνετελέσθη-σαν, μόνοι δὲ Θηβαίοι κριθέντες ἐκπονδοῦν, καὶ

1 Σερουλιον Rhodoman: Σερουλιον.
2 Di before τοῦ deleted by Reiske.

1 This peace seems to have been concluded though it did
Sulpicius, and Lucretius. During their term of office 375/4 B.C.
Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, intending to make war on the Egyptians and being busily engaged in organizing a considerable mercenary army, decided to effect a settlement of the wars going on in Greece. For by this means he particularly hoped that the Greeks, once released from their domestic wars, would be more ready to accept mercenary service. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to Greece to urge the cities to enter into a general peace by agreement. The Greeks welcomed his proposal because they wearied of the uninterrupted series of wars, and all agreed to make peace on the condition that all the cities should be independent and free from foreign garrisons. Accordingly the Greeks appointed agents who, going from city to city, proceeded to evacuate all the garrisons. But the Thebans alone would not agree that the ratification of the peace should be made city by city, but insisted that all Boeotia should be listed as subject to the confederacy of the Thebans. When the Athenians opposed this in the most contentious manner, Callistratus, their popular leader, reciting their reasons, while, on behalf of the Thebans, Epameinondas delivered the address before the general assembly with marvellous effect, the result was that though the terms of the peace were harmoniously concluded for all the other Greek states, the Thebans alone were refused participation in

not last long. Ascribed by Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 1. 156 to the year 375/4 (see also Judeich, "Athen und Theben," Rheinisches Museum 76 (1927), 181 and his ascription in note 2 of Cephisodotus' statue of Eirenê to this occasion). Cp. Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 1; Isocrates, Antidosis, 109 f., Plataicus, 10; Nepos, Timotheüs, 2; Philochorus in Didymus, de Demosthène, 7. 64 ff.
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tou Ἐπαμεινόνδου δια τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς ἐμποιοῦντος φρόνημα τοῖς πολίταις, ἐθάρρησαν τοῖς 4 ἀπάντων δόγμασιν ἀντιβαίνειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ πάντων1 περὶ τῆς ἥγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενοι, παρεχώρουν ἄλληλοις, οἱ μὲν τῆς2 κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἀξίων κρινόμενοι. διότερ τὴν εἰκ τρίτου προσώπου ἀναφερομένην ἥγεμονίαν χαλεπῶς έφερον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ Βοιωτίαν πόλεις ἀπέσπασιν τῆς τῶν Ῡηβαίων συντελείας.

39. Οἱ δὲ Ῡηβαιοὶ, τῇ τε ρώμῃ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διαφέροντες καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις προνεικικότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους, μετέωροι τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὑπῆρχον καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἥγεμονίας ἡμισφαίριτον. οὐ διεισεύθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖον ἑχειν ἁγαθοὺς ἥγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγοὺς κατὰ 2 τοὺς υποκειμένους χρόνους. ἐπιφανεστάτου δὲ ἦσαν Πελοπίδας καὶ Γοργίδας3 καὶ Ἐπαμεινόνδας συντόσ

1 πάντων P: παντός.
2 τῆς added by Reiske.
3 Γοργίδας Casaubon (cp. Plutarch, Pelopidas, 12, 14, 18, 19): Γοργίας (cp. chap. 50. 6).

Beloch (l.c. note 1) thinks that Diodorus has confused this peace with the peace concluded three years later before Leuctra from which Epameinondas withdrew. Judeich (op. cit. pp. 182-183) accepts Diodorus' account of this peace of 374 and believes that Epameinondas may well have addressed the league synchedron at Athens, to which he thinks Diodorus refers. In any case Thebes remained in the Athenian confederacy, as is shown in Isocrates, Plataicus, 21; Demosthenes, In Timotheum, 14, 21, 40 ff. If Diodorus means by 51-
them; and, through the influence of Epameinondas, who by his own personal merits inspired his fellow citizens with patriotic spirit, they were emboldened to make a stand against the decision of all the rest. For the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, who had constantly been rivals for the hegemony, now yielded one to the other, the one being judged worthy to rule on land, the other on the sea. They were consequently annoyed by the claims to leadership advanced by a third contender and sought to sever the Boeotian cities from the Theban confederation.

39. The Thebans, who excelled in bodily strength and prowess and had already conquered the Lacedaemonians in numerous battles, were elated in spirit and eager to dispute the supremacy on land. Nor were they cheated of their hope, both for the aforesaid reasons and because they had more good commanders and generals during the period under consideration. Most famous were Pelopidas, Gorgi-

synhedron an assembly of the members of the second Athenian confederacy, as Judeich seems to think, and not a general peace conference, the question arises how it happens that Callistратus addresses the assembly in which Athens by the terms of the league has no voice. Possibly we are to interpret the κοινόν as a joint meeting of the league assembly and the Athenians. But Diodorus, chap. 28. 3, uses the term κοινόν συνέδριον of the common council of the league which seems to mean the council of the allies. Callistратus may have spoken in the Athenian assembly only, while Epameinondas addressed the allies in their council.

2 The ethnic league of the Boeotians was reorganized under Thebes in 394 B.C. but was under an eclipse from 387 to this time. In 371, the Theban envoys claim the right of Thebes (cp. chap. 50. 4; Xenophon, Hell. 6. 3. 19) to sign for the rest of Boeotia as Sparta did for Laconia. Thebes, like Prussia in the German Bund, held the predominance by being able to command the majority of the votes.
γάρ οὖ μόνον τῶν ὀμοεδονοῦντων ἄλλα καὶ πάντων Ἐλλήνων πολὺ προέσχεν ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει. μετέσχε γάρ ἐπὶ πολὺ πάσης παιδείας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας· πρὸς δὲ τούτους φυσικοῖς προτερήμασι κεχορηγμένους, εἰκότος καὶ πράξεις ἐπιφανεστάτας συνετέλεσεν. διὸ καὶ συναναγκασθεὶς ὁλόγοις πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς πάσας τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις ἀγωνίασθαι, τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε τῶν ἀνικήτων στρατιωτῶν, ὡστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν¹ Κλεόμβροτον ἀνελεῖν τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων ἁρδών σχεδὸν κατα-κόψαι. καὶ τὰ τηλεκαύτα παραδόξως διεπράξατο διὰ τὴν ἀγχόνων καὶ τὴν ἐκ παιδείας αὐτῆς περιγεγενημένην ἀρετὴν.

3 Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων μικρὸν ὑστερον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐκτεθείσιν σαφέστερον δηλώσομεν, νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχές τῆς ἱστορίας τρεισὶμεθα.

40. Ἔπεις γάρ τὴν συγχωρηθείσαν τοῖς δήμοις αὐτονομίαις αἱ πόλεις ἐνέπιπτον εἰς ταραχὰς μεγάλας καὶ στάσεις, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. Ὀλιγαρχικοῖς γάρ πολιτεύμασι κεχρημέναι καὶ ταῖς τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐξουσίας ἀπειράγαθαις χρώμεναι, πολλοὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐφυγὰ-δευν καὶ κρίσεις ἐπιβάλλουσαν συκοφαντίδεις

¹ Σπαρτιατῶν] Λακεδαιμονίων ΑΗЈК.
² ἐκτεθείσι ΡΑЈΚ] ἐκτεθησομένους cēt.

¹ Though Diodorus has Gorgias in two places, all other writers mentioning the Theban general of this period give only Gorgidas (see P.-W. Realencyclopaïdie, s.v. “Gorgidas”).

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das, and Epameinondas. Epameinondas, indeed, far indeed, far 375/4 B.C. excelled not merely those of his own race but even all Greeks in valour and shrewdness in the art of war. He had a broad general education, being particularly interested in the philosophy of Pythagoras. Besides this, being well endowed with physical advantages, it is natural that he contributed very distinguished achievements. Hence even when compelled with a very few citizen soldiers to fight against all the armies of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, he was so far superior to these heretofore invincible warriors that he slew the Spartan king Cleombrotus, and almost completely annihilated the multitude of his opponents. Such were the remarkable deeds which he unexpectedly performed because of his astuteness and the moral excellence he had derived from his education.

However, we shall somewhat later explain these matters more fully in a special chapter; at present we shall turn to the thread of our narrative.

40. After autonomy had been conceded to the various peoples, the cities fell into great disturbances and internal strife, particularly in the Peloponnese. For having been used to oligarchic institutions and now taking foolish advantage of the liberties which democracy allows itself, they exiled many of their good citizens, and, trumping up charges against them,

2 See his life by Nepos, and Plutarch, Pelopidas, 3, 4.
3 His Pythagorean instructor was Lysis of Tarentum (Nepos, Epameinondas, 2. 2).
4 At Leuctra, see chaps. 53 ff.
5 See chap. 88.
6 See chap. 38. 2.
7 "Good" is used in the political sense: "conservative," though doubtless Diodorus thought they were really good.
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κατεδίκαζον. διόπερ εἰς στάσεις ἐμπίπτουσαι
φυγᾶς καὶ δημεύσεις οὐσιῶν ἐποιοῦντο, μάλιστα
δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονίων ἡγεμονίας
προεστηκότας τῶν πατρίδων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τότε
χρόνοις ἐπιτακτικῶς ἐκείνων τοῖς πολίταις προσ-
ενηγεμένων, ὑστερον ὁ δημοτικὸς ὁχλος ἀπολαβῶν
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐμνησικάκει. πρῶτον δὲ τῶν
Φιαλέων οἱ φυγάδες συστραφέντες κατελάβοντο
tὴν καλουμένην Ἡραίαν, χωρίον ὄχυρον. ἐκ ταύ-
της δ’ ὄρμηθέντες παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν Φιάλειαν,
καὶ Διονυσίων κατὰ τόξην ὄντων ἐπιπεσόντες
ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθημένοις,
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάξαντες, οὐκ ὅλγους δὲ καὶ συναπο-
νόησαν πείσαντες, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.

3 οἱ δὲ τῆς Κορίνθου φυγάδες, συνξοὶ διατρίβοντες
παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργείοις, ἐπεχείρησαν κατείναι παρα-
δεχθέντες δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὀικείων καὶ
φίλων, διαβληθέντες ἐγένοντο περικατάληπτοι,
μελλόντες δὲ συναρπάζεσθαι, καὶ φοβοῦμενοι τὴν
ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως αἰκίαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. οἱ
δὲ Κορίνθιοι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀληθασμένου
μετεσχηκέναι τοῖς φυγάσι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, οὐς μὲν
ἀπέκτειναν, οὐς δ’ ἐφυγάδευσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει
τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιχειρήσαντες τινὲς μεταστῆσαι
tὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ κρατήθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,
pολλοὶ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οὐκ ὅλγοι δ’ ἐξέπεσον.
ομοίως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Σικυωνίοις τινὲς νεώτερί-

1 te after ἐγένοντο deleted by Vogel; δὲ, ἐγένοντο Dindorf, Bekker.

1 Phialeia, in the south-western corner of Areadia. The
more ancient name was Phigaleia, which later came back
into use.
condemned them. Thus falling into internal strife they had recourse to exilings and confiscations of property, particularly against those who during the Spartan hegemony had been leaders of their native cities. Indeed in those times the oligarchs had exercised authoritative control over their fellow citizens, and later as the democratic mob recovered its freedom it harboured a grudge. First, however, the exiles of Phialeia,\(^1\) rallying their forces, recovered Heraea,\(^2\) as it is called, a stronghold. And setting out from there, they swooped down upon Phialeia,\(^3\) and at a time when, as it happened, the festival of Dionysus was being celebrated, they fell unexpectedly upon the spectators in the theatre, killed many, persuaded not a few to participate in their folly, and retreated to Sparta. And the exiles from Corinth, who, many in number, were living among the Argives, attempted to return, but though admitted into the city by some of their relatives and friends, they were denounced and surrounded, and, as they were about to be apprehended, fearful of the maltreatment their capture would entail, they slew one another. The Corinthians, having charged many of their citizens with assisting the exiles in the attack, put some to death and exiled others. Again, in the city of the Megarians, when some persons endeavoured to overturn the government and were overpowered by the democracy, many were slain and not a few driven into exile. Likewise among the Sicyonians as well

\(^2\) Heraea, an Arcadian town, near the frontier of Elis, on the road from Arcadia to Olympia.

\(^3\) Beloch (Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 174, notes 2, 4) would assign these instances of party strife to the period after Leuctra. Glotz (3. 151, note 22) likewise. See Isocrates, Archidamus, 64-69.
ζευν ἐπιβαλόμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες ἀνηρέθησαν. δὲ τοῖς Φλιασίοις πολλῶν φυγαδευμένων καὶ καταλαβομένων ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας φρούριον ὠχυρὸν καὶ πλῆθος μισθοφόρων ἄθροιστων, ἐγένετο μάχη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νικησάντων τῶν φυγάδων ἀνηρέθησαν τῶν Φλιασίων ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρικασίους. ὑστερον δὲ προδότων τῶν φυλάκων τοὺς φυγάδας, κρατήσαντες οἱ Φλιάσιοι τῶν φυγαδών ἀνείλουν πλείους τῶν ἐξακοσίων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἦν ἁγκασάν φυγεὶν εἰς Ἀργος. αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πόλεις ἐν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς ἦσαν.

41. Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος δὲ Ἀθηναῖς Σωκράτιδον Ρωμαίοι ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χειλάρχους κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Κόντον Σερούλιον, Σερούλιον Κορνήλιον, ἐτὶ δὲ Σπόριον Παπύριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ο βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ληυπτίους ἀφεστηκότας απὸ Περσῶν. ἤγοντο δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων Φαρναβάζος μὲν τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, Ἰφικράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν τῶν διομυρίων. δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος μετάπεμπτος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτάχθη διὰ τὴν ἐν 2 τῶν στρατηγείων ἀρετὴν. ἦτη δὲ πλεῖω τοῦ Φαρναβάζου κατανηλωκότος περὶ τὰς παρασκευάς, ο μὲν Ἰφικράτης ὄρῳν αὐτῶν ἐν μὲν τῶν λέγειν ὡς θεών, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις νωκχελῆ, παρρησίᾳ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐχρήσατο, φήσας θαυμάζειν πῶς ἐν

1 σφαλέντες Dindorf: σταλέντες ΡΑΗΠ., γνωσθέντες ΓΙΚ.
2 Σερούλιον Ρ.: Κράσσου Σερούλιον.
a number who tried to effect a revolution but failed were killed. Among the Phliasians, when many who were in exile had seized a stronghold in the country and gathered a considerable number of mercenaries, a battle was fought against the city party, and, when the exiles won the victory, over three hundred of the Phliasians were slain. Later, as the sentinels betrayed the exiles, the Phliasians got the upper hand and executed more than six hundred exiles, while they drove the rest out of the country and compelled them to take refuge in Argos. Such were the disasters that afflicted the Peloponnesian cities.

41. When Socratides was archon at Athens, the Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Quintus Servilius, Servius Cornelius, and Spurius Papirius. During their term of office King Artaxerxes sent an expedition against the Egyptians, who had revolted from Persia. The leaders of the army were Pharnabazus, commanding the barbarian contingent, and Iphicrates the Athenian, commanding the mercenaries, who numbered twenty thousand. Iphicrates, who had been summoned for the campaign by the King, was given the assignment because of his strategic skill. After Pharnabazus had wasted several years making his preparations, Iphicrates, perceiving that though in talk he was clever, he was sluggish in action, frankly told him that he marvelled that

1 Other accounts: Nepos, Iphicrates, 2. 4; Trogus, Prologue to 10; Plutarch, Artaxerxes, 24; Polyaenus, 3. 9. 38, 56, 59.
2 See chap. 29. 3-4 for Artaxerxes' request for the services of Iphicrates.

3 Σερόουν added by Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 22. 1).
4 Παπίριον ΡΑ: Παπίριον καὶ Φάβιον "Αλβον.
μὲν τοὺς λόγους ἐστὶν ὅξυς, ἐν δὲ τοὺς ἔργοις βραδύς. δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀπεκρίθη, διότι τῶν μὲν λόγων
3 αὐτὸς κύριος ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ ἔργων ὁ βασιλεὺς. τῆς
dὲ τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως ἀθροισθεῖσας εἰς πόλιν Ἀκιν, ἢριθμήθησαν τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων εἰκοσὶ μυ-
ριάδες, ὑπὲρ Φαρνάβαζος1 τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων Ἐλλήνων Ἰφικράτης ἤγετο δισμυρίων. καὶ ναῦς
ἡμιθρήμησαν τριήρεις μὲν τριακόσια, τριακόντορι
de διακόσιαν· τῶν δὲ τὴν ἅγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἅλλην
4 παρασκευήν κομιζούσων πολὺς ἤν ἀριθμός. ἀρχο-
mένου δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀνέζευζαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατηγοὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦ
στόλου συμπαραπλέοντος2 προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Λιγυ-
πτον. ὡς δὴ ἤκουν πλησίον τοῦ Νείλου, κατέλαβαν
toὺς Λιγυπτίους φανερῶς παρεσκευασμένους τὰ
5 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὡς Φαρνάβαζος βραδεῖαν
tὴν στρατείαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐδεδώκει
toῖς πολέμιοις εἰς τὴν παρασκευὴν. ὡς ἔπλην
γὰρ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ, τῶν ὅλων οὐκ
ἐντες αὐτοκράτορες, περὶ πάντων ἀναφέρουσι τῷ
βασιλεῖ, καὶ προσαναμένουσι τὰς περὶ ἐκάστων3
ἀποκρίσεις.
42. Ὡς δὲ τῶν Λιγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Νεκτάνεβις
ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν Περσικῶν δυνά-
μεων, ἐθάρρη δὲ μᾶλλον μὲν τῇ τῆς χώρας ὁχυ-
ράτης, δυσπροσίτω παντελῶς οὕσης τῆς Λιγύπτου,
ἐπειτα καὶ τῷ πεφράχθαι καλῶς πάσας εἰσβολὰς
2 τὰς τε ἀπὸ ἡς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ θαλάττης. ἐπὶ
tοῦ στόμασι γὰρ τοῦ4 Νείλου τὰς εἰς τὸ Λιγύπτιον

1 Φαρνάβαζος Wesseling: ἄρτάβαζος.
2 συμπαραπλέοντος Wurm: συμπαράποντος.
3 ἐκάστων Reiske: ἐκαστον.
BOOK XV. 41. 2—42. 2

anyone so quick in speech could be so dilatory in action. Pharnabazus replied that it was because he was master of his words but the King was master of his actions. When the Persian army had assembled at the city of Acê ¹ it numbered two hundred thousand barbarians under the command of Pharnabazus and twenty thousand ² Greek mercenaries led by Iphicrates. The triremes numbered three hundred and the thirty-oared vessels two hundred. The number of those conveying food and other supplies was great. At the beginning of the summer ³ the King's generals broke camp with the entire army, and accompanied by the fleet sailing along the coast proceeded to Egypt. When they came near the Nile they found that the Egyptians had manifestly completed their preparations for the war. For Pharnabazus marched slowly and had given plenty of time for the enemy to prepare. Indeed it is the usual custom for the Persian commanders, not being independent in the general conduct of war, to refer all matters to the King and await his replies concerning every detail.

42. The Egyptian king Nectanebôs learned the size of the Persian armies, but was emboldened, chiefly by the strength of the country, for Egypt is extremely difficult of approach, and secondly by the fact that all points of invasion from land or sea had been carefully blocked. For the Nile empties into the Egyptian

¹ Later St. Jean d'Acre, or simply Acre.
² 12,000 in Nepos, l.c.
³ Spring 373 just before Nile flood (chap. 43. 4). In the autumn Iphicrates was again in Athens where he was elected general (chap. 43. 5-6).

⁴ ὁτόμασι γὰρ τοῦ Reiske: ὁτόμασι τοῦ γὰρ.
πέλαγος ἐκβολαὶς ποιουμένου, καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν
στομάτων πόλις κατεσκευάστο πύργοις μεγάλους
ῄσχυνα καθ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ βέλθρου¹ καὶ ξυλίνην
γέφυραν τοῦ ἐξπλοῦ κυριεύουσαν. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ
Πηλοσιακὸν στόμα κατεσκεύασε² διὰ τὸ κείσθαι
μὲν αὐτὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας πορευο-
μένους καὶ δοκεῖν διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλιστ' ἂν³ ποιεῖσθαι
3 τὴν ἔφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπετά-
φρευσε, καὶ διετέίχεσε τοὺς ἐξπλόους κατὰ τοὺς
εὐκαιροτάτους τόπους, καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὰς μὲν
κατὰ γῆν πορευτάς⁴ ἐποίησε λιμνάζειν, τὰς δὲ
πλωτὰς χώμασιν ἐνέφραττεν. διὸπερ ὡκὶ ἦν
ῥαδίως οὔτε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπίσπλεειν οὔτε τοῖς ὑπενθύμισι
4 προσπελάσαι οὔτε τοῖς πεζοῖς προσελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ
περὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον στρατηγοῖ, καταλαβόντες τὸ
Πηλοσιακὸν στόμα θαυμαστῶς ἐχυρωμένον καὶ
στρατιωτῶν πλῆθει φυλαττόμενον, τὸ μὲν διὰ τοῦ-
τοῦ βιάζεσθαι παντελῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν δι' ἑτέρου
dὲ στόματος ἐγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἐξπλοῦν. διὸ
πλεύσαντες πελάγιον πρὸς τὸ μῆκος καθοράσαθαι τὰς
ναῦς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, κατέπλευσαν πρὸς τὸν
στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Μενδήσιον, ἔχον ἡμών παρή-
κουσαν ἐφ' ἱκανῶν τόπων. εἰς ταύτην ἀποβάντες
μετὰ στρατιωτῶν τρισχιλίων ὁ τε Φαρνάβαζος καὶ
ὁ Ἰφικράτης προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ τετευχισμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ
5 στόματος πολισμάτων. ἐκβοήθησαντῶν δὲ τῶν
Αιγυπτίων ἤπεισι τε καὶ πεζοῖς τρισχιλίοις, γενο-
μένης τε μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις πολλῶν
ἐκ τῶν νεῶν προσγεγεγεμένων, κυκλωθέντες οἱ
Αιγυπτιοί, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οὐκ ὁλίγοι δ'
Sea by seven mouths, and at each mouth a city had been established along with great towers on each bank of the stream and a wooden bridge commanding its entrance. He especially fortified the Pelusiac mouth because it is the first to be encountered by those approaching from Syria and seemed to be the most likely route of the enemy approach. He dug channels connecting with this, fortified the entrances for ships at the most suitable points, and inundated the approaches by land while blocking the sea approaches by embankments. Accordingly it was not easy either for the ships to sail in, or for the cavalry to draw near, or for the infantry to approach. Pharnabazus' staff, finding the Pelusiac mouth so remarkably fortified and guarded by a multitude of soldiers, rejected utterly the plan of forcing a way through it and decided to make the invasion by ship through another mouth. Accordingly they voyaged on the open sea so that the ships should not be sighted by the enemy, and sailed in by the mouth known as Mendesian, which had a beach stretching over a considerable space. Landing here with three thousand men, Pharnabazus and Iphicrates pushed forward to the walled stronghold at the mouth. The Egyptians rushed out with three thousand horse and infantry, and a sharp battle ensued, but many men from their ships came to increase the number of the Persians, until finally the Egyptians were surrounded, many slain, and not a few captured alive; and the rest

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1 See Book I. 33. 5 ff.

3 μάλιστ’ αὐ Post: μάλιστα.
4 πορευτάς Reiske: πορεύσας.
5 τὸ omitted by PFJ, Vogel.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐξωγρήθησαν· οἱ δὲ περιευθέντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδιώχθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰφικράτην συνεσπεσόντες τοὺς φρουροῦσαν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τὸν φρουρίον, τούτο μὲν κατέσκαψαν, τούτο δὲ ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο.

43. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνέπεσε στάσις, δι’ ἣν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐσφάλμασαν. οὐ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφικράτης παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πυθόμενος ἐρήμου εἶναι τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐπικαιροτάτην οὖσαν πόλιν τῶν κατ’ Ἀγυπτόν, συνεβούλευεν ἕξαντῆς ἀναπλεῖν ἔπι τὴν Μέμφιν πρὸ τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὰς τῶν Ἀγυπτίων δυνάμεις· οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Φαρναβάζου ποντὸ δεῖν ἀναμένειν τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν ἀσφαλεστέραν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν στρατείαν

2 ἔπι τὴν Μέμφιν. τοῦ δ’ Ἰφικράτους ἀξιοῦντος αὐτῷ1 δοθῆναι τοὺς παρόντας μυσθοφόρους, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐπαγγελλομένου κρατήσειν τῆς πόλεως, τὸ τε βράσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπώπτευσε, μὴ κατ’ ἰδίαν κατάσχε τὴν Ἀγυπτόν. διόσπερ οὐ συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου, ὁ Ἰφικράτης διεμιστήρατο, λέγων ὡς εὰν παρωσί τὴν ἄξιοτητα τῶν καρφῶν, ἀπρακτὸν ποιήσωσι τὴν ὅλην2 στρατιάν. στρατηγοὶ μὲν οὖν τινες3 ἐφθάνουν

3 αὐτῷ καὶ διαβολὰς ἀδίκους προσῆπτον. οἱ δ’ Ἀγυπτίοι πολλὴν ἀναστροφὴν λαβόντες, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μέμφιν ἐξέπεμψαν τὴν ἰκανὴν φυλακήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πεπορθημένον πολισμάτων πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεις παραγενόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες διὰ τὴν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν ὥριον4 ὁχυρότητα, συμπλοκὰς ἐποιοῦντο

1 αὐτῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ. 2 ὅλην Sintenis: πολλὴν.
were driven in confusion into the city. Iphicrates' 374/3 B.C. men dashed in with the defenders inside the walls, took possession of the fortress, razed it, and enslaved the inhabitants.

43. After this, discord set in amongst the commanders, causing the failure of the enterprise. For Iphicrates, learning from the captives that Memphis, the most strategically situated of the Egyptian cities, was undefended, advised sailing immediately up to Memphis before the Egyptian forces arrived there, but Pharnabazus thought they should await the entire Persian force; for in this way the campaign against Memphis would be less dangerous. When Iphicrates demanded that he be given the mercenaries that were on hand and promised if he had them to capture the city, Pharnabazus became suspicious of his boldness and his courage for fear lest he take possession of Egypt for himself. Accordingly when Pharnabazus would not yield, Iphicrates protested that if they let slip the exact moment of opportunity, they would make the whole campaign a failure. Some generals indeed bore a grudge against him and were attempting to fasten unfair charges upon him. Meanwhile the Egyptians, having had plenty of time to recuperate, first sent an adequate garrison into Memphis, and then, proceeding with all their forces against the ravaged stronghold at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile and being now at a great advantage owing to the strength of their position, fought constant engagements with the

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1 See Book 1, 50. 3 ff.

3 στρατηγοὶ μὲν οὖν τινὲς Capps: om. MSS. Lacuna has been recognized by edd.
4 τόπων Dindorf: ὀπλων.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

toίς πολεμίοις συνεχεῖς. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπισχυόντες πολλοὺς ἀνήρουν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ κατεθάρρουν τῶν πολεμίων. χρονίζοισις δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ πολιομάτιον τούτο στρατεύας, καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ἡδή γενομένων, ὁ Νεῖλος πληροῦμενος καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπέχων τῷ πλῆθει τοῦ ρεύματος αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ὑψώρον τὴν Ἁγινπτον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἀντιπραττούσης αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τῆς περιστάσεως, ἐγνωσάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἁγινπτον τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιήσαντες. διότερ έπανιόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ γενομένης διαφορᾶς τῷ Φαρνάβαζῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἰφικράτην, ὑποπεύωσας ὁ Ἰφικράτης μὴ συλληφθῆ καὶ τιμωρίας τύχῃ, καθάπερ Κόνων ἔπαθεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐκρωμε λάβρα φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· διὸ καὶ παρασκευασάμενος πλοῖον ἔλαβε νυκτὸς ἀπαλλαγεῖς καὶ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὰς Αθήνας. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψας κατηγόρησε τοῦ Ἰφικράτους ὡς αὐτῶν γεγονότος τοῦ μὴ ληφθῆναι τὴν Ἁγινπτον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τοῖς μὲν Πέρσαις ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν ὅτι εἶν αὐτῶν ἰδικηκότα, κολάσουσι κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετ’ ὅλους χρόνων στρατηγὸν κατέστησαν τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν.

44. Όνυκ ἄνοικειον δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰφικράτους ἀρετῆς ἱστορούμενα παραθέτων. οὕτος γάρ παραδεδοται στρατηγικῆς τὸ ἀγχύνοιαν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἑπίνοιαν ἀγαθὴν φύσει κεχρῆσθαι διαφόρως. προσλαβόμενον οὖν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ

1 ale] deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
2 ἐγνωσαν Dindorf: ἐγνωκαν.
3 So FK: κατεστήσατο ὁ πλ.
enemy. With ever-increasing strength they slew 374/3 B.C. many Persians and gained confidence against them. As the campaign about this stronghold dragged on, and the Etesian winds had already set in, the Nile, which was filling up and flooding the whole region with the abundance of its waters, made Egypt daily more secure. The Persian commanders, as this state of affairs constantly operated against them, decided to withdraw from Egypt. Consequently, on their way back to Asia, when a disagreement arose between him and Pharnabazus, Iphicrates, suspecting that he might be arrested and punished as Conon the Athenian had been, decided to flee secretly from the camp. Accordingly, having secured a ship he covertly got away at night and reached port at Athens. Pharnabazus dispatched ambassadors to Athens and accused Iphicrates of being responsible for the failure to capture Egypt. The Athenians, however, replied to the Persians that if they detected him in wrongdoing they would punish him as he deserved, and shortly afterward appointed Iphicrates general in command of their fleet.

44. It will not be out of place to set forth what I have learned about the remarkable character of Iphicrates. For he is reported to have possessed shrewdness in command and to have enjoyed an exceptional natural genius for every kind of useful invention. Hence we are told, after he had acquired his long

2 When Antalcidas, the Spartan, went to Tiribazus, satrap of Ionia, in 392, to enlist the aid of Persia against the growing power of Athens, Tiribazus arrested Conon (Xenophon, Hell. 4. 8. 16; Book 14. 85), who was acting with the confidence of Pharnabazus. According to one authority Conon was put to death by the Persians in prison, according to another he took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, where he died of sickness.
Diodorus of Sicily

Περσικῶ πολέμω πολυχρόνιον ἐμπειρίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἔργων, ἐπινοήσασθαι πολλὰ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων, καὶ μάλιστα1 περὶ τὸν καθ-2 οπλισμὸν φιλοτιμηθῆναι. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων μεγά- λαις ἀσπίσι χρωμένων καὶ διὰ τούτο δυσκινήτων ὄντων, συνεὶλε τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ κατασκεύασε πέλ- τας συμμέτρους, ἄμφοτέρων2 εὗ στοχασάμενος, τοῦ τε σκέπειν ἰκανός τὰ σώματα καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι τοὺς χρωμένους ταῖς πέλταις διὰ τὴν κούφοντα3 παντελῶς εὐκαίριον ὑπάρχειν. διὰ δὲ τῆς πειρᾶς τῆς ἐυχρηστίας ἀποδοξῆς τυχανούσης, οἱ μὲν πρό- τερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὅπλαι καλούμενοι τότε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πέλτης πελτασταὶ μετωνομάσθησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δόρατος καὶ τοῦ ξίφους εἰς τούσκαντιαν τὴν μετάθεσιν ἐποίησασθαί· ἤφη γὰρ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἴμμολω μεγέθει, τὰ δὲ ξίφη σχεδὸν δι- πλάσια κατασκεύασαν. τὴν δὲ δοκιμασίαν ἡ χρεία διαβεβαιώσα τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῷ τῆς4 πειρᾶς ἐπιτεύγματι δόξης ἡξίωσεν. τὰς τε ὑπο- δέσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐλογοῦσε καὶ κούφας ἐποίησε, τὰς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἱμικρατίδας ἀπ’ ἐκείνων καλούμενας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τὰς στρατεύεις κατέδειξε, περὶ δὲ μακρὸν ἄν εἰς γράφειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ Ἀγυπτίων στρατεία τῶν Περσῶν, μεγάλης τυχόνσα παρασκευὴς, παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἀπρακτὸν ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

45. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταραττομένων τῶν πόλεων διὰ τὴν ἀσυνήθη πολιτείαν, καὶ πολλῶν

1 τῶν after μάλιστα deleted by Dindorf.
2 εἴ before ἄμφοτέρων deleted by Vogel (cp. chap. 64. 4).

1 Consult H. W. Parke, Greek Mercenary Soldiers, 79 ff., 70
experience of military operations in the Persian War, 374/3 B.C., he devised many improvements in the tools of war, devoting himself especially to the matter of arms. For instance, the Greeks were using shields which were large and consequently difficult to handle; these he discarded and made small oval ones of moderate size, thus successfully achieving both objects, to furnish the body with adequate cover and to enable the user of the small shield, on account of its lightness, to be completely free in his movements. After a trial of the new shield its easy manipulation secured its adoption, and the infantry who had formerly been called "hoplites" because of their heavy shield, then had their name changed to "peltasts" from the light pelta they carried. As regards spear and sword, he made changes in the contrary direction: namely, he increased the length of the spears by half, and made the swords almost twice as long. The actual use of these arms confirmed the initial test and from the success of the experiment won great fame for the inventive genius of the general. He made soldiers' boots that were easy to untie and light and they continue to this day to be called "iphieratids" after him. He also introduced many other useful improvements into warfare, but it would be tedious to write about them. So the Persian expedition against Egypt, for all its huge preparations, disappointed expectations and proved a failure in the end.

45. Throughout Greece now that its several states were in confusion because of unwonted forms of who quotes this passage and upholds Diodorus in that "he regards the peltast’s equipment as a modification introduced into hoplite troops." See also Nepos, Iphicrates, 1. 3-4.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἐπανισταμένων διὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοὺς μὲν τὰς ὁλυγαρχίας κατασκεύαζοντων ἐβοήθουν οἱ Λακε- δαιμόνιοι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀντεχομένους 2 συνεμάχουν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι. ἀμφότεραι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις αὐται χρόνων ὅλγων διετήρησαν τὰς σπουδὰς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμπράττουσαι ταῖς οἰκείαις πόλεσι ἐπο- λέμουν, οὐδὲν ἕτε φροντίζοντες τῆς κοινῆς συντε- θείσης εἰρήνης. διόπερ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιστασίας κυρίοις γεγονόσι τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὁ δήμος χαλεπῶς ἔχων καὶ μνησικα- κῶν ἐφυγότευσε πάντας.1 . . . οὕτωι δὲ πρὸς Τιμόθεου τὸν 'Αθηναίων ἤγομένον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταφυγόντες συνέπλεον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεμάχουν.

3 τοῦτον οὖν παραστησάμενοι συνεργόν, καὶ διαβι- βασθέντες εἰς τὴν νήσου ὅπ' αὐτοῖς, κατελάβοντο χωρίον ὁχυρὸν παρὰ θάλατταν ὁ προσηγόρευον Ἀρκαδίαν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ὀρμώμενοι καὶ βοηθοῦν ἔχοντες τὸν Τιμόθεου, ἐκακοποίουσι τοὺς ἐν τῇ 4 πόλει. τῶν δὲ Ζακυνθίων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίως ἀξιούντων βοηθῆσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀποστειλαντες πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν τοῦ Τιμόθεου· ὡς δ' ἐθέσαντο τὸν δήμον ἀποκλίνοντα πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας, συνεστήσαντο ναυτικόν, καὶ πληρώσαντες

1 Lacuna noted by Palmer, since αὐται cannot refer to Lacedaemonian sympathizers (πάντας).

2 See chap. 38. 1.

3 The sense seems to be: "Restored by the Lacedaemonians, these exiles banished their enemies in their turn."

Arcadia may have been the name of the fortress and
government, and many uprisings were occurring in 374/3 B.C. the midst of the general anarchy, the Lacedaemonians gave assistance to such as were trying to establish oligarchies, while the Athenians supported those groups which clung to democracy. For both these states did maintain the truce 1 for a short time, but then, acting in co-operation with their affiliated cities renewed the war, no longer respecting the general peace that had been agreed upon. So it came about that in Zacynthos the popular party, being angry and resentful toward those who had held control of the government during the domination of the Lacedaemonians, drove them all into exile. . . . 2 These Zacynthians, having taken refuge with Timotheüs the Athenian in charge of the fleet, joined his naval force and fought with him. Accordingly they made him their confederate, were transported by him to the island, and seized a stronghold by the sea which they called Arcadia. 3 With this as their base and having the support of Timotheüs they inflicted damage upon those in the city. 4 And when the Zacynthians asked the Lacedaemonians to help them, these latter at first sent envoys to Athens to denounce Timotheüs; but then, seeing that the Athenian people favoured the exiles, 5 they organized a fleet, and manning

Nellus, IG², 43. 133-134, the name of the mountain on which it was constructed (see Dittenberger², 1. 147, note 48).

1 See account in Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 2-3. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 1. 156, places the attack after the formation of the peace in the late autumn of 375. Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 77, gives 374.

2 They even went so far as to make the Zacynthian democrats members of the league (Cambridge Ancient History, ibid.). See inscription list, IG², 43. 131 ff., where the Zacynthians appear as the last addition to the list. Dittenberger³, 1. 147, note 42, gives the date 374.
τριήρεις εἶκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις συμμαχίαν, δόντες τὴν ἤγεμονίαν Ἄριστοκράτει. 46. Ὅμως δὲ τούτως πραττομένως τῶν ἐκ Κορ-
κύρας τινὲς ϕύλοι Λακεδαίμονίων ἐπαναστάντες τῷ δήμῳ, παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀποστείλαι ναιτικήν δύναμιν, ὑπισχυόμενοι παραδώσεωι αὐτῶις τὴν Ἐρώταν. οἳ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι, τὴν Κόρ-
κυραν εἰδότες μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ἠχοῦσαν τοῖς ἀντ-
εχομένοις τῆς θαλάττης, ἔσπευσαν κύριοι γενέσθαι 2 ταύτης τῆς πόλεως. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπέμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἐρώταν τριήρεις εἶκοσι καὶ δώο, τὴν ἤγεμονίαν Ἀλκιδά παραδόντες. τούτων δὲ τῶν στόλων προσ-
επούθησαν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστείλαι, ὥστε φίλοι προσδεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Κορκυραίων κατάσχωσι 3 τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων. οἳ δὲ Κορκυραῖοι γυναῖκες τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὴν ἐπινοιάς, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐτμελέως ἐφύλαττον, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ βοήθειας. οἳ δὲ Ἀθη-
ναίοι ψηφισάμενοι βοηθεῖν τοῖς Κορκυραίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίων τοῖς φυγάσῳ, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ζάκυνθον ἐξέπεμψαν Κτηνικλέα στρατηγόν, ἠγούμενον τῶν φυγάδων, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κόρκυραν παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικήν δύναμιν ἐκκέμπειν. 4 Ὅμως δὲ τούτως πραττομένως κατὰ τὴν Βοω-
τιάν Πλάτανεῖς ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμα-
χίας μετεπέμποντο στρατιώτας, κεκριμένοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως οἳ βοωτάρχαι χαλεπώς διασεῖόντες πρὸς τοὺς Πλάτανεῖς, καὶ ὀπείδοντες φθάσαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς δύναμιν

1 Ζακυνθίων τοῖς φυγασῶν Λακεδαίμονίων τοῖς συμμάχοις ΑΗΕΚ.

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twenty-five triremes sent them to assist the Zacynthians, placing Aristocrates in command.¹

46. While these things were going on, some partisans of the Lacedaemonians in Corcyra revolted against the democracy and called upon the Spartans to dispatch a fleet, promising to betray Corcyra to them. The Lacedaemonians, aware of the great importance that Corcyra had for the aspirants to sea power, made haste to possess themselves of this city.² So they immediately dispatched to Corcyra twenty-two triremes, having given the command to Alcidas. They pretended that this expedition was sent to Sicily, in order to be received as friends by the Corcyraeans and then with the assistance of the exiles to occupy the city. But the Corcyraeans, discovering the design of the Spartans, kept careful guard over the city and sent envoys to Athens to get help. The Athenians voted help for the Corcyraeans and the Zacynthian exiles, sent to Zacynthos Ctesicles as general in command of the exiles, and prepared to dispatch a naval force to Corcyra.

While these things were going on, the Plataeans in Boeotia, clinging to the alliance with the Athenians, sent to them for soldiers, having decided to hand their city over to the Athenians. At this the Boeotarchs³ became incensed with the Plataeans, and, being eager to forestall the allied force from Athens, immediately brought a considerable army against

¹ He must have been Spartan nauarch for 375/4 according to Beloch, Grieschische Geschichte², 2. 2. 281.
² As to the Lacedaemonian aggression see Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 77 and Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 4. Note the intervention of Dionysius in chap. 47. 7.
³ Annual officials, eleven in number, of the Boeotian League.
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5 ἀξιόλογον ἦγον. παραγενόμενοι δὲ πλησίον τῆς τῶν Πλαταιῶν πόλεως, ἀπροσδοκήτου τῆς ἐπι-
θέσεως γενομένης, οἱ πλείστοι μὲν τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων
συνηρπάγησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ συμμάχων ὄντες ἔρημοι, συνηναγκάσθη-
σαν ὁμολογίας συνθέσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐαρέστους.
ἔδει γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιπλα λαβόντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ
tῆς πόλεως καὶ μηκέτι τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπιβαίνειν.
6 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατα-
σκάψαντες καὶ Θεσπιᾶς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς
dιακειμένας ἐξεπόρθησαν, οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς εἰς
'Αθήνας μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν φυγόντες τῆς
Ισοπολιτείας ἔτυχον διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ
dήμου.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Βοιωτίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

47. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στρατηγῶν καταστῆσαν τε
Μνάσιππον ἔξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὴν Κόρκυραν, ἔχοντα
τριήρεις μὲν ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε, στρατιώτας δὲ
χιλίους καὶ πεντακόσιους. οὐτὸς δὲ καταπλεύσας
eἰς τὴν νῆσον καὶ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας
eἰσέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τεττάρων μὲν νεὼν
ἐκυρίευε, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων τριῶν νεὼν φυγο-
σῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν, αὐταὶ μὲν ἐνετρήσθησαν ὑπὸ
tῶν Κόρκυραίων, ὡς μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριοι
gένωται. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ πεζῷ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ γῆ

1 See also Xenophon, Hell. 6. 3. 1 and 5; Isocrates, Plataious; Pausanias, 9. 1. 8, sets the fall of Plataeae in 373/2
when Astieus was archon.
2 See chap. 51. 3 and Xenophon, Hell. 6. 3. 1. Pausanias, 9. 14, seems to place the destruction of Thespiae after the
battle of Leuctra.

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the Plataeans. They reached the neighbourhood of Plataeae when the attack was not expected, so that a large number of the Plataeans were arrested in the fields and carried off by the cavalry, while the rest, who had escaped to the city, being helpless without any allies, were forced to make a covenant agreeable to their enemies; they were obliged, namely, to depart from the city with their movable possessions and never again to set foot on Bocotian soil. Thereupon the Thebans, having razed Plataeae completely, pillaged Thespiae as well, which was at odds with them. The Plataeans with their wives and children, having fled to Athens, received equality of civic rights as a mark of favour from the Athenian people. Such was the state of affairs in Bocotia.

47. The Lacedaemonians appointed Mnasippus general and ordered him to proceed to Corcyra with sixty-five triremes, his forces consisting of fifteen hundred soldiers. Touching at the island, he picked up the exiles, then sailed into the harbour and captured four ships, the three remaining ships having fled to the shore, where they were burned by the Corecyraeans to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. He also defeated with his infantry

3 A privilege rarely accorded by the Athenians in these days. The democrats of Samos had been accorded this privilege near the close of the Peloponnesian War. The Plataeans had been granted citizenship in the same war and Meyer (Geschichte des Altertums, 5. 399) contends that this still held. This grant of _iastos _seems not to have been of the Hellenistic type (W. S. Ferguson, Greek Imperialism, 31), by which the citizen of one state enjoyed certain privileges (cp. _civitas sine suffragio_) in another state during residence there.

4 Late summer 373 (Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 158). See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 9. 3-15.
λόφον τινά κατειλημμένους, καὶ καθόλου πολὺν
2 φόβον τοῖς Κορκυραῖοις ἐπέστησεν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἀπεστάλκεισαν Τιμόθεον τὸν Κόνω-
νος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν τοῖς Κορκυραῖοις μετὰ νεῶν ἐξή-
kοντα. οὗτος δὲ πρὸ τῆς συμμαχίας ταύτης πλεύσας
ἐπὶ Θράκης, καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν
προσκαλεσάμενος, προσέθηκε τριάκοντα τριήρεις.
3 τότε δὲ καθυστερῶν τῆς τῶν Κορκυραίων συμμα-
χίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέβαλε τὴν στρατηγίαν, τοῦ
δήμου χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντος· ὡς δὲ
παρέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ἄγων πρόσβεων
πλῆθος τῶν τὴν συμμαχίαν συντιθεμένων καὶ τριά-
kοντα τριήρεις προστεθέντως, πάντα δὲ τὸν ὀστὸν
ἐν κατεσκευάξω πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, μετενόησεν ὁ
δήμος καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποκατ-
4 ἔστησεν. προσκατασκεύαζον1 δὲ καὶ ἄλλας2 τριή-
ρεις τετταράκοντα, ὥστε3 τᾶς πάσας4 γίνεσθαι
ἐκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα· ἐποίουντο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ
βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον χρησίμων
ἀξιολόγους παρασκευᾶς. κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν στρα-
tηγὸν ἔλομενοι Κτησικλέα μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντα-
kοσίων ἐξεπεμφαν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Κορκυραῖοις.
5 οὗτος δὲ λάθρα νυκτὸς ἔλαβε τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας
eἰσπλεύσας εἰς Κόρκυραν· καὶ καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἐν
τῇ πόλει πρὸς μὲν ἅλλοις στασιάζοντας, τὰ δὲ
κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον κακῶς διοικοῦντας, τὰς μὲν
στάσεις διέλυσε, τῆς δὲ πόλεως πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
πουρσάμενος εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολιορκοῦ-

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1 προσκατασκεύαζον Dindorf: προκατασκευάζων.
2 τᾶς before ἄλλας deleted by Dindorf.
a contingent on land which had seized a certain hill, and generally terrorized the Corecyraeans. The Athenians had some time previously dispatched Timotheüs, Conon’s son, with sixty ships to aid Corecyra. He, however, before intervening in their favour, had sailed to the region of Thrace. Here he summoned many cities to join the alliance, and added thirty triremes to his fleet. At this point, because he was too late to assist Corecyra, he was at first deprived of his command as a result of his loss of popularity. Later, however, when he sailed along the Attic coast to Athens, bringing with him a great number of envoys from states which were ready to conclude an alliance with Athens, having added thirty triremes to his fleet and put the whole fleet in good trim for the war, the people repented and reinstated him in his command. They furthermore equipped forty additional triremes, so that altogether he had one hundred thirty; they also provided liberal stores of food, engines of war, and other supplies needed for war. To meet the immediate emergency, they chose Ctesicles general and sent him with five hundred soldiers to aid the Corecyraeans. He arrived there secretly by night and sailed into Corecyra undetected by the besiegers. Finding the inhabitants of the city at strife with one another and handling military matters badly, he composed the dissensions, devoted much attention to the city’s business, and heartened

1 Timotheüs was not reinstated though he was acquitted in this cause célèbre. See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 13; Nepos, Timotheüs, 4; Demosthenes, 49. 9 f., 22.
2 See chap. 46. 3 and Xenophon, op. cit. 2. 10.

3 ἂντε Reiske: ἄσ καί.
4 ἄλλασ before πάσας deleted by Reiske.
6 μένουσ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐπιθέμενος ἀνείλεν αὐτῶν περὶ διακοσίως, ὕστερον δὲ μεγάλης μάχης γενομένης τὸν τε Μνάσιππον ἀνείλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὕκ ὀλίγους· τέλος δὲ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας εἰς πολιορκίαν συν-7 κλείσας μεγάλων ἐπαίνων ἔτυχεν. τού δὲ περὶ τὴν Κόρκυραν πολέμου σχεδὸν ὤδη τέλος ἔχοντος κατέπλευσέν ὁ στόλος τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὴν Κόρκυραν, ἔχον στρατηγοὺς Τιμόθεου καὶ Ἰφικράτην. οὕτω δὲ τῶν καρδῶν ὑστερηκότες ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν μνήμης ἄξιον, τρεῖρες δὲ Συκελικαῖς περιτυχόντες, ὡς Διονύσιος ἢν ἀπεσταλκὼς Λακεδαίμονις ἐπὶ συμμαχῆν, ὃν ἠγούντο Κυσσίδης καὶ Κρίνππος, αὐτάνδρους εἶλον, οὕσας ἐννέα· τοὺς δὲ ἄλοντας λαφυροπτωλήσαντες, καὶ πλείω τῶν ἐξήκοντα ταλάντων ἀθροίσαντες, ἐμισθοδότησαν τῆς δύναμιν.

8 "Ἀμα δὲ τούτως πραττομένως κατὰ μὲν τὴν Κύπρον Νικοκλῆς ὤ ἐννοοῦχος ἐδολοφόνησεν Εὐαγόραν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῆς τῶν Σαλαμώνων βασιλείας ἐκυρίευσε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἦρωμαῖοι πρὸς Πρα νεστίνους παραταξάμενοι καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀντιταξιμένων κατέκοψαν.

48. Ἔπ᾽ ἀρχόντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησον Ἀστείου Ἦρω-μαίοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχως ἔξι, Μάρκον Φούριον καὶ Λεύκιον Φούριον, ἔτι δὲ Αὔλον Ποκτόμιον καὶ Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Λεύκιον Ποκτόμιον. ἔπὶ δὲ

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1 See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 16-26. The year is 372.
2 Timotheus is wrongly included. See Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 77.
3 Perhaps the occasion mentioned in Book 16. 57. 3.
the besieged. At first in an unexpected attack on 374/3 B.C.,
the besiegers he slew about two hundred, and later
in a great battle slew Mnasippus and not a few others.
Finally he encircled and laid siege to the besiegers
and won great approval. 1 The war to possess Corecyra
was practically at an end when the Athenian fleet
sailed in with the generals Timotheus 2 and Iphicrates.
These, having arrived too late for the critical moment,
accomplished nothing worth mentioning except that,
falling in with some Sicilian triremes 3 which Diony-
sius had dispatched under the command of Cissides
and Crinippus to assist his allies the Lacedaemonians,
they captured them with their crews, nine ships in all.
By selling the captives as booty they collected more
than sixty talents, with which they paid their forces. 4

While these things were going on, in Cyprus Nico-
cles the eunuch 5 assassinated the king Evagoras and
possessed himself of the royal power over the Sala-
minians; and in Italy the Romans, arrayed in battle
against the Praenestini, 6 defeated them and slew
almost all their opponents.

48. When Astieius was archon at Athens, the 373/2 B.C.
Romans elected six military tribunes with consular
power, Marcus Furius, Lucius Furius, Aulus Postu-
mius, Lucius Lucretius, Marcus Fabius, and Lucius
Dionysius also sent presents for Delphi (cp. IG, 2 2. 108. 9)
which was burned (Dittenberger 3, 295) in 373.
4 See also Xenophon, Hell. 6. 2. 27-39 and Polyaeon, 3.
9. 55.
5 Theopompus (fr. 111) says that Evagoras and his son
Pnytagoras were murdered by a eunuch Thrasydaeus. Nic-
cles, the son and successor of Evagoras, probably had no
hand in the murder. See also Aristotle, Politics, 5. 1311 b;
Isocrates, Ad Nicoclem (II), Nicocles (III), and Evagoras, 72.
Diodorus has abbreviated his source overmuch and made
Nicocles the eunuch.
6 See Livy, 6. 27. 9 ff.
Diodorus of Sicily

tou'toN kata t'hn Peloponnesou ege'nontos seismoi megaloi kai kataklusmoi chwaras kai polewv aposteron oudepotote gar en tois epanw xronous ege'nontos pathi touauta peri poleis 'Ellnivdas, ouste twv polewv autan'droun aphanismos, theias tinw energeias t'hn apoleian kai phorain twv anbropwv

2 mekhanismenhs. epeteine de to megtheos tis sumphorais o kairos: ou gar hmeras synethi genvsebhi ton seismon en bydunaton hnu ton skindunountas botheiain eautois, allla nuktos tou pathous sumbantos aимen oikiai diati to megtheos ton seismou katarrpitoimenai synexekontou, oi de anbropoi diati te to skotos kai to tis peristaseis aproudokogeth kai paradoxen adunatous eixon antilambanethou

3 tis swtherias. oi men ouv poleious eanapolphethentes tois ptwmwv twn oikivwn aphaniseboun: epilambouis d' hmeras twves exeptwv eik twn oikivwn, kai doxantess ekpefeugenvai twn kindunon melizon kai paradoxitera synforai peripeseon tis gar thalasseis metewrisbeisis epil polu kai kumatos thalassou ekairemenvou kateklusibhous apintes sun tais patrws aphanisteis: egvento de touto to pathos tis 'Akhais peri duo poleis, 'Ellinai te kai Bouran, ou tis 'Ellinai' synebain megyston twv kata t'hn 'Akhain polewv echein axiwmn pro ton

4 seismou. peri de twv synaptyomatwn megalhs ovsis zhtiseos, oi men fysikoi pioironai tas aitia tas touwtwn pathwn ouke elis to theion ana-

1 te after 'Ellinai deleted by Dindorf.

1 See Strabo, I. 3. 18: "Then there are Bura and Heliceı; Bura disappeared in a chasm of the earth, and Heliceı was wiped out by a wave from the sea" (H. L. Jones, L.C.L.).

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Postumius. During their term of office great earth-
quakes occurred in the Peloponnese accompanied by
tidal waves which engulfed the open country and cities
in a manner past belief; for never in the earlier
periods had such disasters befallen Greek cities, nor
had entire cities along with their inhabitants dis-
appeared as a result of some divine force wreaking
destruction and ruin upon mankind. The extent of
the destruction was increased by the time of its occu-
rence; for the earthquake did not come in the day-
time when it would have been possible for the sufferers
to help themselves, but the blow came at night, so
that when the houses crashed and crumpled under the
force of the shock, the population, owing to the dark-
ness and to the surprise and bewilderment occasioned
by the event, had no power to struggle for life. The
majority were caught in the falling houses and anni-
hilated, but as day returned some survivors dashed
from the ruins and, when they thought they had
escaped the danger, met with a greater and still more
incredible disaster. For the sea rose to a vast height,
and a wave towering even higher washed away and
drowned all the inhabitants and their native lands as
well. Two cities in Achaña bore the brunt of this
disaster, Helice and Bura,1 the former of which had,
as it happened, before the earthquake held first place
among the cities of Achaña. These disasters have
been the subject of much discussion. Natural
scientists make it their endeavour to attribute respon-
sibility in such cases not to divine providence, but

These cities are in Achaña, Helice east of Aegium on the
Corinthian Gulf and Bura inland. It is strange that no
mention occurs of Delphi if the same earthquake caused the
fire of 373 (Marm. Par. 71; Dittenberger3, 295; Homolle,
διοδόρου της Σικυλίας

49. Κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰσῆμεν κοινὴν ποιεῖν οὕτως σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιώνιων, καὶ τυσίας συνθεῖν ἄρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδώνιας περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλην ἐν ἔρημῳ τόπῳ. ὡστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιώνια, μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ τόπουν, διὸ ἦν πλησίον τῆς Ἑφέσου. πέμψατε δὲ θεωρὸς Πυθαώδης, ἵσθινας ἔλαβον ἀφιδρύματα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχαίων καὶ προγονικῶν αὐτοῖς βωμῶν ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαίας καλομένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἰωνες κατὰ τὸν χρήσμον ἐπεμμῆνε τὴν Ἀχαίαν τοὺς ληφθόμενος τὰ ἀφιδρύματα. οὕτως δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διαλεγόμενες ἐπείσαν διδόναι τὰ ἄξιον, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἑλίκην αἰκοῦντες, ἔχοντες παλαιὸν λόγον ὅτι τὸτε κυνωνεύοντος ὅταν Ἰωνες ἔπι τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος θύσωσιν, ἀναλογιζόμενοι τῶν χρησμόν ἀντέλεγον τοὺς Ἰωνες περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων,

1 τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαίας καλομένης] τῆς ἐν τῇ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαίας καλομένη Madvig, Vogel.

2 See on this subject Book 16. 61-64.

Herodotus (1. 145) has twelve Ionian cities and makes the connection between Achaia and Ionia. Helicé and Bura are specially mentioned there as two places of refuge of the 84.
to certain natural circumstances determined by necess-
sary causes, whereas those who are disposed to vener-
ate the divine power assign certain plausible reasons
for the occurrence, alleging that the disaster was
occasioned by the anger of the gods at those who
had committed sacrilege. This question I too shall
endeavour to deal with in detail in a special chapter
of my history.¹

⁴⁹. In Ionia nine cities ² were in the habit of holding
a common assemblage of all the Ionians and of
offering sacrifices of great antiquity on a large scale
to Poseidon in an open region near the place called
Mycalē. Later, however, as a result of the outbreak
of wars in this neighbourhood, since they were unable
to hold the Panonia there, they shifted the festival
gathering to a safe place near Ephesus. Having sent
an embassy to Delphi, they received an oracle telling
them to take copies of the ancient ancestral altars at
Helicē, which was situated in what was then known as
Ionia,³ but is known now as Achaia. So the Ionians
in obedience to the oracle sent men to Achaia to make
the copies, and they spoke before the council of the
Achaeans and persuaded them to give them what they
asked. The inhabitants of Helicē, however, who had
an ancient saying that they would suffer danger when
Ionians should sacrifice at the altar of Poseidon, taking
account of the oracle, opposed the Ionians in the
matter of the copies, saying that the sanctuary was
Ionians from the Achaeans. Cp. Strabo, 14. 1. 20 for the
festival celebrated near Mycalē.

³ See chap. 48. 3 for earthquake and tidal wave. On the
connection of Helicē and Bura with the Ionians see Strabo,
8. 7. 2 and 4: “after Bura, Helicē, whither the Ionians fled
for refuge after they were conquered in battle by the Acha-
eas, and whence at last they were expelled” (L.C.L. l.c.).
Diodorus of Sicily

λέγοντες μὴ κοινών τῶν 'Αχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἵδιον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ τέμενος. συνέπραττον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τῆς τινὸς 
3 Βοιδραν οἴκοιντες. τῶν δὲ 'Αχαιῶν κοινῷ δόγματι συγχωρησάντων, οἱ μὲν Ἰωνεῖς ἔδυσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ 
βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸν χρήσμον, οἱ δ' 'Ελληνεῖς τὰ χρήματα διαρρήμαντες τῶν Ἰώνων 
τοὺς τε θεωροῦν συνήρπασαν, ἡσέβησάν τε εἰς τὸ 
θείον. ἀνθ' ἄν φασι μηνύσαντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα 
διὰ τοῦ σεισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τάς ἀσε-
4 βούσας πόλεις λυμήνασθαι. τοῦ δ' ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος 
γεγονόντα τὴν μῆνιν ταῖς πόλεσι φαινὲν ἐμφανεῖς 
ἀποδείξεις υπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν 
κατακλυσμῶν τούτων τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν διειληφθαί τὴν 
ἐξουσίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν 
Πελο-
πόνησον οἰκητήριον γεγονέναι Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ 
τὴν χώραν ταύτην ὁσπέρ ἰερὰν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος 
νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἐν Πελο-
πόνησῳ πόλεις μάλιστα τῶν άθανάτων τὸν θεὸν 
5 τιμῶν τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτως τὴν Πελοπόνησον 
κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλώματα καὶ συστά-
σεις ύδατών ναματιαῖων μεγάλας. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν 
αὐτῇ δύο ποταμοῖς φανέροις ῥέοντας ὕπο γῆν· ὁ 
τε γὰρ περὶ Φένεον ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν κατα-
δυόμενος ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἡφαῖνετο, τῶν 
κατὰ γῆς ἀντρων αὐτῶν ὑποδεχομένων, ὁ τε περὶ

1 αὐτῶν Vogel: αὐτῶν.
2 χρήματα Vogel (cp. chap. 82. i) ὦματα Dindorf, Bekker.

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not the common property of the Achaians, but their own particular possession. The inhabitants of Bura also took part with them in this. But since the Achaians by common decree had concurred, the Ionians sacrificed at the altar of Poseidon as the oracle directed, but the people of Helicë scattered the sacred possessions of the Ionians and seized the persons of their representatives, thus committing sacrilege. It was because of these acts, they say, that Poseidon in his anger brought ruin upon the offending cities through the earthquake and the flood. That it was Poseidon's wrath that was wreaked upon these cities they allege that clear proofs are at hand: first, it is distinctly conceived that authority over earthquakes and floods belongs to this god, and also it is the ancient belief that the Peloponnese was an habitation of Poseidon; and this country is regarded as sacred in a way to Poseidon, and, speaking generally, all the cities in the Peloponnese pay honour to this god more than to any other of the immortals. Furthermore, the Peloponnese has beneath its surface huge caverns and great underground accumulations of flowing water. Indeed there are two rivers in it which clearly have underground courses; one of them, in fact, near Pheneüs, plunges into the ground, and in former times completely disappeared, swallowed up by underground caves, and the other, near Stym-

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1 See particularly Pausanias, 7. 24. 3-7. Frazer (4. 165) gives other references for this story. (For Bura, ibid. 168.)
2 When the generation to which Zeus belonged overthrew the older gods the universe was apportioned to Zeus, sky and dry land, to Poseidon, the water, to Dis, the underworld. With his trident Poseidon controlled the waters and by smiting the earth with it produced earthquakes ("Poseidon the earth-shaker").
Στύμφηλον ἀεὶ τὰ χάσμα καταδυνόμενος ἐπὶ διακοσίους σταδίους φέρεται κεκρυμμένος κατὰ γῆς καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ἐξίησαν. πρὸς δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λέγουσιν, ὅτι πλὴν τῶν ἀσβησάντων οὐδεὶς ἄλλος περιέπεσε τῇ συμφορᾷ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γενομένων σεισμῶν καὶ κατακλυσμῶν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥήθεισιν.

50. Ἔπει ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνας Ἀλκισθένους Ῥωμαίοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν υπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν ὅκτω, Λεύκιον Ὅυαλέριον καὶ Πόπλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ Γάιον Τερέντιον καὶ Λεύκιον Μενήμον, πρὸς δὲ τούτων Γάιον Σολπίκιον καὶ Τίτον Πατίριον καὶ Λεύκιον Λιμύλιον, παρὰ δὲ Ἡλείως ὀλυμπίας ἤχθη δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἔκατον, καθ’ ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάμων Θούριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτη σχεδόν πεντακόσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ θεῖον προεστήμανεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀποβολῆς ὦφθη μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς νῦκτας λαμπάς μεγάλη καυμένη, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος οἴνομασθείσα πυρών δοκίς μικρὸν δ' ύστερον ἤτηθείνες οἱ Σπαρτιαῖοι παραδόξως μεγάλη μάχῃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέβαλον.

1 Στύμφηλον Vogel: τὸ στύμφην Ῥα, τὸ στύμφιον σετ.
2 τὸ Dindorf: τὸ.
3 Πόπλιον ῬΑ (ἐπ. Λivy, 6. 27. 2), Πόπλιον Ἀγγον σετ.
4 Λιμύλιον ῬΑ, Λιμύλιο καὶ Φάβιον Μάκρον σετ.

1 The first is the river Ladon, a tributary of the Alpheius, flowing past Pheneis, and the second is the Stymphalus. In Frazer's Pausanias (8. 20, 22) on pp. 262 and 268 (vol. 4) are found descriptions of these rivers. See also Strabo, 8. 8. 4. Both towns were in Arcadia, the first being represented by Virgil (Aeneid, 8. 165) as the home of Evander.

2 One might ask about the guilt of the crews of the ten Spartan ships which chanced to be anchored off Helice and 88
phalus,\(^1\) plunges into a chasm and flows for two hundred stades concealed underground, then pours forth by the city of the Argives. In addition to these statements the pious say further that except for those who committed the sacrilege no one perished in the disaster.\(^2\) Concerning the earthquakes and floods which occurred we shall rest content with what has been said.

50. When Alcisthenes was archon at Athens, the Romans elected eight military tribunes with consular power, Lucius and Publius Valerius, Gaius Terentius, Lucius Menenius, Gaius Sulpicius, Titus Papirius, and Lucius Aemilius, and the Eleians celebrated the hundred second Olympiad in which Damon of Thurii won the stadium race. During their term of office, after the Lacedaemonians had held the supremacy in Greece for almost five hundred years, a divine portent foretold the loss of their empire; for there was seen in the heavens during the course of many nights a great blazing torch which was named from its shape a "flaming beam," and a little later, to the surprise of all, the Spartans were defeated in a great battle were destroyed by the tidal wave (cp. Aelian, *De Nat. Animal*. 11. 19 and Wesseling’s note on this passage of Diodorus). For the fate of similar arguments see Voltaire, *Candide* 5.

\(^3\) Seneca, *Q.N.* 7. 5: "talem effigiem ignis longi fuisse Callisthenes tradit, antequam Burin et Helicen mare abscondidet. Aristoteles ait non trabem illum sed cometen fuisse." Translation by John Clarke: "Callisthenes puts it on record that a similar appearance of a trail of fire was observed before the sea swallowed up Buris and Helice. Aristotle says it was not a ‘beam,’ but a comet." On the basis of this passage of Diodorus and the passage of Seneca it would seem that δᾶς in Aristotle, *Meteor.* 1. 6, 343 b 23 (δῶ καὶ ἐκλήθη δᾶς, ed. by F. H. Fobes) should read δοκᾶς (see Wesseling’s note). Aristotle dates the occurrence in 373/2 (*ibid.* b 19).
3 ἀνελπίστως. ἔνοιο δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν τὴν γένεσιν τῆς λαμπάδος εἰς φυσικὰς αἰτίας ἀνέφερον, ἀποφαινόμενο τὰ τοιαῦτα φαντάσματα κατηγορηκασμένως γίνεσθαι χρόνοις ὑρισμένοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς τε ἐν Βαβυλώνι Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστρολόγους ποιομένους προφήτεσις ἐν- ἀργείς ἐπιτυγχάνειν· τοὺς δὲ μὴ θαυμάζειν ὅταν γένηται τι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ εὰν μὴ γένηται, κατὰ τὰς ἰδιὰς ἐκάστων περιοδίων αἰώνιοι κινήσει καὶ φοράς ὑρισμέναις συντελομένων.¹ τὴν δ’ οὖν λαμπάδα τοσοῦτον ἐσχηκέναι λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ φωτός, ὡστ’ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σκιὰς ποιεῖν παραπλησίας τῇ σελήνῃ.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄριον πάλιν παρατομένην τὴν Ἕλλαδα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε, παρακαλών συλλύσσασθαι τοὺς ἐμφύλιους πολέμιους καὶ συνθέσθαι κοινὴν εἰρήνην κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἃς πρότερον ἦσαν πεπουλμένοι. τῶν δὲ Ἕλληνων πάντων ἀσμένως προσδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους, συνεδρίες κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι πλὴν Θηβαίων· Θηβαῖοι γὰρ μόνοι, τὴν Βουστίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἄγουσι συντέλειαν, οὐ προσ- εδεχθοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἕλληνων διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ἄρε- ¹ συντελομένων Vogel, ἀπάντων συν. Rhodoman, τούτων συν. Wurm, συντελομένας Reiske: τῶν συντελομένων.

¹ For the participation of the King see Dionysius Hal. De Lysia Judicium, 12; Xenophon, Hel. 6. 3. 12, 5. 1 f.
² See chap. 38, which in many details is an anticipation of this chapter.
³ See Xenophon, op. cit. 6. 3. 1-19 and for date Plutarch, Agesilaios, 28.
and irretrievably lost their supremacy. Some of the students of nature ascribed the origin of the torch to natural causes, voicing the opinion that such apparitions occur of necessity at appointed times, and that in these matters the Chaldeans in Babylon and the other astrologers succeed in making accurate prophecies. These men, they say, are not surprised when such a phenomenon occurs, but rather if it does not, since each particular constellation has its own peculiar cycle and they complete these cycles through age-long movements in appointed courses. At any rate this torch had such brilliancy, they report, and its light such strength that it cast shadows on the earth similar to those cast by the moon.

At this time Artaxerxes the Persian King, seeing that the Greek world was again in a turmoil, sent ambassadors, calling upon the Greeks to settle their internecine wars and establish a common peace in accordance with the covenants they had formerly made. All the Greeks gladly received his proposal, and all the cities agreed to a general peace except Thebes; for the Thebans alone, being engaged in bringing Boeotia under a single confederacy, were not admitted by the Greeks because of the general determina-

4 The Bocotian League such as it had been before the Peace of Antalcidas (for its constitution see Oxyr. Pap. 842 [vol. v], xi. 38–xii. 31) was set up anew, only much more strongly centralized and on a democratic basis. The executive was the college of boeotarchs no longer representative of separate states but elected from all Bocotian citizens and reduced in number from eleven to seven (chap. 52). The deciding power lay with the assembly of the Bocotian folk which met at Thebes but in which every citizen of a Bocotian state had a voice (op. Book 16. 25. 1). Unlike Attica, each city had autonomy and the League army was composed of contingents from the separate states.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

σκευίν κατὰ πόλιν γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὀρκους καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς. διόπερ ἐκσπουδὴν γεγονήθεντες ὠσπερ καὶ πρότερον, συνεῖχον τὴν Βουωτίαν ἐν τῇ καθ' ᾧ αὐτοῦς μᾶ ἱστελείαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παραξενθέντες ἐγνώσαν μεγάλη δυνάμει στρατεύειν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς, ως κοινοὺς πολεμίους σφόδρα γὰρ ὑφεωρῶντο τὴν αὐξησιν αὐτῶν, μὴ ποτὲ τῆς ὅλης Βουωτίας ἤγομενοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Σμώρτης καταλῦσωσιν, ἐπιλαβομένοι καιροῦ. ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς γυμνασίοισιν συνεχῶς διατρίβοντες εὐρωστοί τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπῆρχον, καὶ φύσει φιλοπόλεμοι καθεστῶτες οὐδένως ἔθνους Ἕλληνικοῦ ταῖς ἀνδρείαις ἐλέησοντο. εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιφανείς ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, μεγίστους δὲ τρεῖς, Ἔπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, ἆτι δὲ καὶ Πελαπίδαν· ἡ τε πόλις τῶν Ἡθβαίων διὰ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἐπιφανείας εἰ τοῖς ἱρωικοῖς χρόνοις φρονήματος ἡν πλήρης καὶ μεγάλων ὀρέγετο πραγμάτων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων τὸν ἐναυτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ δυνάμεις κατέλεγον τὰς μὲν πολιτικάς, τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

51. Ἔπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνης Φρασικλείδου Ὁρυμαίοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χυλιάρχους ὁκτὼ, Πόπλιον Μάνιον1 καὶ Γάιον, Ἐρενούκιον καὶ Γάιον Σέξτον1 καὶ Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον, ἔτι δὲ Λεύκιον Λαβίνιον1 καὶ Πόπλιον Τριβώνιον καὶ Γάιον Μάλλιον, πρὸς δὲ τούτων Λεύκιον Ἀνθέστοιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Ἡθβαῖοι ἐκσπουδὴν γεγονότες

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tion to have the oaths and treaties made city by city.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{372/1 B.C.}

So, remaining outside of the treaties as formerly, the Thebans continued to hold Boeotia in a single confederacy subject to themselves. The Lacedaemonians, being exasperated by this, decided to lead a large army against them as common enemies, for they cast an extremely jealous eye upon their increase of power, fearing lest with the leadership of all Boeotia they might break up the Spartan supremacy, given a suitable opportunity. For they constantly practised gymnastics and had great bodily strength, and since they were naturally lovers of war, they were inferior to no Greek nation in deeds of valour. They had besides leaders conspicuous for their virtues, greatest among them being three men, Epameinondas, Gorgidas, and Pelopidas.\textsuperscript{2} The city of the Thebans was full of pride because of the glory of its ancestors in the heroic age and aspired to mighty deeds. In this year, then, the Lacedaemonians were making ready for war, levying armies both of their own citizens and from their allies as well.

51. When Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, the \textit{371/0 B.C.} Romans elected eight military tribunes with consular power, Publius and Gaius Manius, Erenucius, Gaius Sextus, Tiberius Julius, Lucius Lavinius, Publius Tribonius, and Gaius Manlius, and besides Lucius Anthestius. During their term of office the Thebans, since they were not participants in the truce, were

\textsuperscript{1} See Xenophon, \textit{op. cit.} 6. 3. 19-20; Plutarch, \textit{Agesilaus}, 28; Nepos, \textit{Epameinondas}, 6. 4; Pausanias, 9. 13. 2.

\textsuperscript{2} See chap. 39.

\textsuperscript{1} The correct forms of three of these names are given by Livy (6. 30. 2): \textit{Manilius, Sextilius, and Albinius}: Μάνιος, Σέκσιλιος, Αλβίνιος.
Diodorus of Sicily

ήμαρκάσθησαν ἀναδέξασθαι μόνοι τῶν πρὸς Λακε-
δαιμονίους πόλεμον οὔδεμιᾶ γὰρ ἔξεσθιν πόλει συμ-
μαχῆσαι διὰ τὸ πάσας συντεθεῖσαι 1 τὴν κοινὴν
2 εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μονωθέντων τῶν
Ὀθηβαίων, ἔκριναν πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς Ὀθῆβας
ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. φανερὰς δὲ οὕσης τῆς τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων παρασκευῆς, καὶ τῶν Ὀθῆβαίων
ἐρήμων ὀντῶν συμμάχων, ἀπαντεῖ ὑπελαμβανο-
ντος ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀπαρτυτῶν καταπολεμη-
3 θῆσασθαι. 2 διόπερ ὁ μὲν εὐνοικὸς ἔχοντες 3 τῶν
Ἐλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς Ὀθῆβαίους συνῆγγυν αὐτοῖς
ἐπὶ ταῖς προσδοκομέναις συμφοραῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀλλο-
τρίως ἔχοντες περιγαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλι
των Ὀθῆβαίων ἐξανδραποδισθησομένων. τέλος δὲ
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλὴν δύναμιν παρασκυευα-
μενοί παρέδωκαν αὐτὴν Κλεομβρότῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ,
καὶ πρώτον μὲν προαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις εἰς Ὀθῆβας,
προστάττοντες ἀπάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Βουλατίᾳ πόλεις
ἐὰν αὐτούμοις, Πλαταιῶς δὲ καὶ Θεσπιῶς οἰκίζων
καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς πρῶτοι γεγονόσι κυρίως
4 ἀποκαταστῆσαι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ὀθῆβαίων,
ὡς οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὔδεις 4 τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὔτ' 5 εκείνους ἀπετῆσαι προσήκει
τῶν 2 τῆς Βουλατίας. γενομένων δὲ τοιούτων τῶν
ἀποκρίσεων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Κλεομβρότον
ἐυθὺς ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Ὀθῆ-
βας. οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι προθύ-
μως εἶχον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλπίζοντες μὴ τ' ἀγῶνα

1 συντεθεῖσαι Reiske: συντίθεσθαι.
2 Suggested by Vogel, ἀν after ῥαδίως Hertlein and Mud-
vig: καταπολεμηθῆναι.
3 οἱ μὲν εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντες Dindorf, Vogel: εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντων.
4 οὔδεῖν added by Vogel, τι by Dindorf.
forced to undertake alone the war with the Lacedae-
monians; for there was no city that could legally join
them, because all had agreed to the general peace. The
Lacedaemonians, since the Thebans were isolated,
determined to fight them and reduce Thebes to com-
plete slavery. And since the Lacedaemonians were
making their preparations without concealment and
the Thebans were destitute of allies, everyone assumed
that they would easily be defeated by the Spartans.
Accordingly some of the Greeks who were friendly to
the Thebans sympathized with them at the prospect
of defeat, while others who were at odds with them
were overjoyed at the thought that Thebes would in a
trice be reduced to utter slavery. Finally the Laced-
daemonians, their huge army ready, gave command
of it to Cleombrotus their king,¹ and first of all sent en-
voys ahead to Thebes, directing the Thebans to permit
all of the Boeotian cities to be independent, to people
Plataea and Thespiae,² and to restore the land to its
former owners. When the Thebans replied that they
never meddled with affairs in Laconia and the Spartans
had no right to touch those of Boeotia, such being the
tenor of their answers, the Lacedaemonians sent
Cleombrotus forth immediately with his army against
Thebes; and the Spartan allies were eager for the
war, confident that there would be no contest or

¹ Cleombrotus was already in Phocis (Cary, Cambridge
Ancient History, 6. 80). He was sent there in 375/4 (Xeno-
phon, Hell. 6. 1. 1, 2, 1. 4. 2). Beloch (35. 2. 236-237) thinks
he was sent out afresh in 371.
² See chap. 46. 6.

⁵ ovr PAFJKL, ovrw ovr cet. ⁶ προατήκει] προατήκειν PAFHJK.
⁷ τῶν added by Capps.
μήτε μάχην ἐσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκοιντὶ τῶν Βουωτῶν κρατῆσειν.

52. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προάγοντες ὡς ἦκον εἰς Κορώ-νειαν,1 κατεστρατοπεδεύσαν καὶ τοὺς καθυστεροῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀνέμενον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐψηφίσαντο τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναίκας εἰς 'Αθήνας ὑπεκθέοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν στρατηγὸν ἔλομενοι τούτῳ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν, συμμπάροντων αὐτῷ βοη-2 ταρχῶν ἔξ. ὃ δ' 'Ἐπαμεινώνδας πανδημεὶ τοὺς Θηβαῖους τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιῶν ὄντας καταλέξας εἰς τὴν μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βουωτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἔχων τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐ πλείους τῶν ἐξακισχιλῶν.

3 κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐξοδον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἐδοξεὶ δυσχερῆ σημεῖα φανῆναι τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ. περὶ γὰρ τὰς πύλας ἀπήνησε τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν κήρυξ τυφλός, οἷς ἀνδράποδων" ἀποδεδρακότα ἀνακομίζων,4 καὶ καθάπερ ἦν εἰθὺ-μένον ἀνηγόρευε κηρύττων μὴτ' ἐξάγειν Θήβηθεν μὴτ' ἀφανίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντα πάλιν ἀνασώζειν.

4 οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀκοινοτῶν τούς κήρυκος οἰωνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἱππεῖαν εἶχον, ἵνα μὴ δοξώσοι διὰ δειλίαν ἀπο-τρέπειν5 τῶν 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τῆς στρατείας. ὃ δ' 1 Κορώνειαν Wesseling: χαίρόνειαν (χεράνειαν PA).
2 τυφλός, ὡς Vogel, τυφλός Madvig: τυφλόν.
3 So Vogel, ἀνδράποδα Madvig: ἀνδρα.
4 ἀνακομίζων Post: κομίζων. Vogel, following PA, deletes
battle but that they would master the Boeotians 371/0 B.C. without a struggle.

52. The Spartans accordingly advanced till they came to Coroneia, where they encamped and waited for such of their allies as were tardy. The Thebans, in view of the presence of the enemy, first voted to remove their wives and children to safety in Athens, then chose Epameinondas general and turned over to him the command in the war, giving him as his advisers six boeotarchs. Epameinondas, having conscripted for the battle all Thebans of military age and the other Boeotians who were willing and qualified, led forth from Thebes his army, numbering in all not more than six thousand. As the soldiers were marching out from the city it seemed to many that unfavourable omens appeared to the armament. For by the gates Epameinondas was met by a blind herald, who, seeking recovery of runaway slaves, just as was usual, cried his warning not to take them from Thebes nor to spirit them away, but to bring them home and keep them secure. Now the older people amongst those who heard the herald considered it an omen for the future; but the younger folk kept quiet so as not to appear through cowardice to hold Epameinondas back from the expedition. But

1 The Thebans had recently been slaves to Sparta, so the proclamation portended their destruction if they were led forth from the city. This translation is based on the assumption that the crier was reporting names and descriptions of slaves who had run away and whom the owners sought to recover, coupled with the warning not to export or conceal them but to arrest them and keep them safe for the owner.

κομίζων καὶ. (On the whole passage see Vogel, Praefatio, xiii.)

 volunt Wessel: 

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Ἐπαμεινώνδας πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας προσέχειν δεῖν τοῖς οἰωνοῖς εἶπεν
εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

5 ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καταπληξιμένου τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοὺς εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντας, ἔτερος οἰωνὸς ἔφανη δυσχερέστερος τοῦ προτέρου. ὁ γὰρ γραμματεὺς προῆγεν ἔχων δόρυ καὶ ταῖνιαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ προεστῆμα τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἤγερμόνων πνεύματος δὲ γενομένου συνέβη τῇ ταῖνιαν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν περιμασίσχεσθαι περὶ των στήλην ἐφεστώσαν τάφων ἤσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ θεδάμενοι τινὲς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, οὐ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου στρατεύσαντες

6 ἔτελεύτησαν. τῶν δὲ προσβυτέρων τινὲς πάλιν ἐντυχόντες διεμαρτύραντο μὴ προάγειν τὴν δύναμιν, φανερῶς τῶν θεῶν κυνώντων, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίθης προῆγε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἤγονος τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαιῶν μνήμην αἱρεταιμένον εἶναι τῶν παρὸν-

7 τῶν σημείων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας πεφιλοσοφηκὼς καὶ τοῖς ἐν παιδείᾳ λογισμοῖς ἐμφρόνως χρησάμενος παραυτικά μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν μέμψεως ἐτυχεν, ὑστερον δὲ διὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων δόξας στρατηγικῆ συνέσει διαφέρειν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο τῇ πατρίδι, εὐθὺς γὰρ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ προκαταλαβόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενά, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.
Epameinondas replied to those who told him that he must observe the omens:

"One only omen is best, to fight for the land that is ours."\(^1\)

Though Epameinondas astounded the cautious by his forthright answer, a second omen appeared more unfavourable than the previous one. For as the clerk advanced with a spear and a ribbon attached to it and signalled the orders from headquarters, a breeze came up and, as it happened, the ribbon was torn from the spear and wrapped itself around a slab that stood over a grave, and there were buried in this spot some Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesians who had died in the expedition under Agesilaüs. Some of the older folk who again chanced to be there protested earnestly against leading the force out in the face of the patent opposition of the gods; but Epameinondas, deigning them no reply, led forth his army, thinking that considerations of nobility and regard for justice should be preferred as motives to the omens in question. Epameinondas accordingly, who was trained in philosophy and applied sensibly the principles of his training, was at the moment widely criticized, but later in the light of his successes was considered to have excelled in military shrewdness and did contribute the greatest benefits to his country. For he immediately led forth his army, seized in advance the pass at Coroneia, and encamped there.

\(^1\) Homer, \textit{Iliad}, 12. 243.

\(^1\) ήτι Wesseling : ήτι.
\(^2\) ἀποσπασθεῖσαν Wurm, περιμαμίσχεθαι περὶ Capps : ἀπο-

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53. Ὅ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος πυθόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προκατειληφέναι τὰς παρόδους, τὸ μὲν ταύτῃ ποιεῖται τὴν διέξοδον ἄπέγνω, πορευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος, καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν παραβαλλήν ὀδὸν χαλεπὴν οὗσαν, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν ἀκινδύνους. ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ τινὰ τῶν πολισματίων χειρωσάμενος δέκα τριήμηρων ἐγκράτης ἐγένετο.

2 μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καταντήσας εἰς τὰ καλούμενα Λεύκτρα κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς ὀδοπορίας ἀνελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ Βουωτοὶ προάγοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἠγγυσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ λόφους τινὰς ὑπερβαλόντες ἀφίνη κατενόησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπέχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ Λευκτρικὸν πεδίον, κατεπλάγησαν ἱδόντες τὸ μέγεθος 3 τῆς δυνάμεως. συνεδρευσάντων δὲ τῶν βουωταρχῶν καὶ βουλευμένων, πότερον χρῆ μὲν εἰς καὶ πρὸς πολλαπλασίαν δύναμιν διαγωνίζεσθαι ἢ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιήσαμεν ἐν τόποις ὑπερδεξίοις συνεστήσονται τὴν μάχην, ἔτυχον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἢσαν γενόμεναι. εἷς γὰρ ὄντων βουωταρχῶν τρεῖς μὲν ὄντοι δεῖν ἀπάγειν τὴν δύναμιν, τρεῖς δὲ μένειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲς ἢ καὶ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας συνεξαρθμούμενος. ἀπορίας δ' οὐσίας μεγάλης καὶ δυσκρίτων τῶν βουωταρχῶν ὁ ἑβδομος ἦκεν, δὲν πείσας Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁμόψηφον ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι προετέρησε τῆς γνώμης. ὃ μὲν ὀν ὑπὲρ 4 τῶν ὀλίγων ἀγῶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκυρώθη. ὃ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας δεισιδαιμονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς γεγονόσας σημείοις, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἴδιας ἐπινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας μεταβείναι

1 δέκα Vogel (cp. chap. 78. 4), δώδεκα Wurm (cp. Xenophon, Hell. 6. 4. 3): τε καὶ ΡΑ, καὶ cēl.

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53. Cleombrotus, learning that the enemy had seized the pass first, decided against forcing a passage there, proceeded instead through Phocis, and, when he had traversed the shore road which was difficult, entered Bocotia without danger. In his passage he took some of the fortresses and seized ten triremes. Later, when he reached the place called Leuctra, he encamped there and allowed the soldiers to recover after their march. As the Bocotians neared the enemy in their advance, and then, after surmounting some ridges, suddenly caught sight of the Lacedaemonians covering the entire plain of Leuctra, they were astounded at beholding the great size of the army. And when the boeotarchs held a conference to decide whether they ought to remain and fight it out with an army that many times outnumbered them, or whether they should retreat and join battle in a commanding position, it chanced that the votes of the leaders were equal. For of the six boeotarchs, three thought that they should withdraw the army, and three that they should stay and fight it out, and among the latter Epameinondas was numbered. In this great and perplexing deadlock, the seventh boeotarch came to vote, whom Epameinondas persuaded to vote with him, and thus he carried the day. So the decision to stake all on the issue of battle was thus ratified. But Epameinondas, who saw that the soldiers were superstitious on account of the omens that had occurred, earnestly desired through his own ingenuity and strategy to reverse the scruples of the

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 4. 3-4.
2 See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 20.
3 ὑπερδεξίως Reiske: δεξιῶς.
4 ὀμόψηφος Rhodoman: ὀμόψυχος.
Diodorus of Sicily

tὰς τοῦ πλήθους εὐλαβείας. διότερ των προσφάτως παραγεγονότων ἐκ Θηβῶν ἔπεισεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὡσ παραδόξως ἀφαιρῇ γέγονε καὶ λόγος ἐν ταῖς Θηβαίσι διαδέδοται ὡς τῶν ἡρώων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνελήφοτων αὐτὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Βουλτοῖς ἀπελήλυθοτων. ἀλλον δὲ κατέστησεν ὡς ἀπὸ Ἑροφώνιου προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότα καὶ λέγοντα διότι προστέταχεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐν Λευκτροισ νικήσασι, ἀγώνα τιθέναι Διὸ βασιλεὶς στεφανίτην· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Βουλτοι ταῦτῃ ποιοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν ἐν Λεβαδεία. 54. Συνήργησε δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν Λεανδρίας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, πεφευγόν μὲν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνον, τότε δὲ συστρατεύων Θηβαίους. οὐτος γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προαχθεῖσι ἀπεφήνετο παλαιὸν εἶναι λόγιον τοῖς Σπαρτιάσι, ὅτι τότε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλοῦσι, ὅταν ἐν Λευκτροισ ὕπο Θηβαίων 2 ἠπτήθωσι. προσήλθον δὲ τῷ Ἐσπαμεινώνδα καὶ χρησμολόγων τινές ἐγχώριοι, λέγοντες ὅτι περὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν Λευκτροῦ καὶ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων μεγάλη συμφορᾶ δεῖ περιπεσεῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι 3 διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Λευκτρος ἦν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδίον τούτο ἐσχῆ τὴν προσηγορίαν. τούτου θυγατέρας καὶ Σκεδάσου τινός ὁμοίως κόρας πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβιάσαντο· αἱ δὲ ὑβριστείσαι τὴν συμφορᾶν οὐκ ἐνέγκασαν, τῇ πατρίδι τῇ πεμψάσῃ 1 Λεανδρίδας Dindorf, Κλεανδρίδας C. Müller, 2 ἀπεφήνατο Wesseling : ἀπέφηνε τό.
soldiery. Accordingly, a number of men having recently arrived from Thebes, he persuaded them to say that the arms on the temple of Heracles had surprisingly disappeared and that word had gone abroad in Thebes that the heroes of old had taken them up and set off to help the Bocotians. He placed before them another man as one who had recently ascended from the cave of Trophonius,¹ who said that the god had directed them, when they won at Leuctra, to institute a contest with crowns for prizes in honour of Zeus the king. This indeed is the origin of this festival which the Bocotians now celebrate at Lebadeia.

54. An aider and abettor of this device was Leandriæ ² the Spartan, who had been exiled from Lacedaemon and was then a member of the Theban expedition. He was produced in the assembly and declared that there was an ancient saying amongst the Spartans, that they would lose the supremacy when they should be defeated at Leuctra at the hands of the Thebans. Certain local oracle-mongers likewise came up to Epameinondas, saying that the Lacedaemonians were destined to meet with a great disaster by the tomb of the daughters of Leuctrus and Seedasus for the following reasons. Leuctrus was the person for whom this plain was named. His daughters and those of a certain Seeadus as well, being maidens, were violated by some Lacedaemonian ambassadors. The outraged girls, unable to endure their misfortune, called down curses on the country that had sent forth

¹ Near Lebadeia. Trophonius designates an underworld Bocotian Zeus (Chthonius) who gave oracles from this cave. For these stories see Polyænus, 2. 3. 8.
² Not known elsewhere; perhaps an error for Cleandridas (son of Gylippus ?); see P.-W. Realencyclopaédie, s.vv.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΥΛΟΣ

τοὺς ὑβριστὰς καταρασάμεναι τὸν βίον αὐτοχειρία
catéstrefan. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων λε-
γομένων, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου συναγαγόντος
ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς οἰκεῖοις λόγοις
προτρεπαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα, πάντες μετέθεντο
τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τῆς μὲν δεισδαμονίας ἀπελυ-
θησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθαρσεῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς
κατέστησαν. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ συμμαχία κατὰ τοῦτον
tὸν καίρον τοῖς Θηβαίοις παρὰ Θεσσαλῶν, πεζοὶ
μὲν χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ἵππεις δὲ πεντακόσιοι,
ὦν ἦγετο Ἰάσων. οὗτος δὲ ἔπεισε τοὺς τε Βου-
tοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιος ἀνοχὰς ποιήσωσαι
καὶ τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης εὐλαβηθῆναι. γενο-
μένων δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέζευξε μετὰ
τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας, καὶ ἀπήντησεν
αὐτῷ ἄλλη δύναμις μεγάλη Λακεδαίμονις καὶ
τῶν συμμάχων, ἤγουμένου Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Ἀγησι-
λάου. οἱ γὰρ Σπαρτιάται θεωροῦντες τὴν ἐποιμό-
tητά τῶν Βοιωτῶν, καὶ τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν ἀπάνοιαν
eὐλαβοῦμεν, τὴν δευτέραν ἀπεστάλκεισαν δύναμιν,
ἐνα τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων περιγείνωσαι τῆς
7 τῶν πολεμίων τόλμης. συνελθούσων δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ
tῶν δυνάμεων αὐσχρὸν εἶναι ὑπέλαβοι οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνοι δεδιέναι τὰς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀρέτας. διόπερ
tὰς σπονδὰς παρ’ οὐδὲν ἤγησάμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς
προθυμίας ἀνέκαμψαν εἰς Λεύκτρα. ἔτοιμων δ’
ὁποιον καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ἐξέτασσον
ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνάμεις.

55. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Λακεδαίμονιοι οἱ ἄφ’

1 A slightly different version of this story occurs in
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their ravishers and took their lives by their own hands.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{371/0 B.C.} Many other such occurrences were reported, and when Epameinondas had convened an assembly and exhorted the soldiers by the appropriate pleas to meet the issue, they all shifted their resolutions, rid themselves of their superstition, and with courage in their hearts stood ready for the battle. There came also at this time to aid the Thebans an allied contingent from Thessaly, fifteen hundred infantry, and five hundred horsemen, commanded by Jason.\textsuperscript{2} He persuaded both the Boeotians and the Lacedaemonians to make an armistice and so to guard against the caprices of Fortune. When the truce came into effect, Cleombrotus set out with his army from Boeotia, and there came to meet him another large army of Lacedaemonians and their allies under the command of Archidamus,\textsuperscript{3} son of Agesilaus. For the Spartans, seeing the preparedness of the Boeotians, and taking measures to meet their boldness and recklessness in battle, had dispatched the second army to overcome by the superior number of their combatants the daring of the enemy. Once these armies had united, the Lacedaemonians thought it cowardly to fear the valour of the Boeotians. So they disregarded the truce and with high spirits returned to Leuctra. The Boeotians too were ready for the battle and both sides marshalled their forces.

55. Now on the Lacedaemonian side the descen-

Plutarch, \textit{Pelopidas}, 20. 3-4. Pausanias, 9. 13. 5-6, is closer to Diodorus.

\textsuperscript{2} According to Xenophon, \textit{Hell.} 6. 4. 20-26, Jason came after the battle of Leuctra, and there is no mention of an armistice.

\textsuperscript{3} Archidamus likewise in Xenophon, \textit{ibid.} 18, was dispatched after and not before the battle.
Ἡρακλέους γεγονότες ἡγεμόνες ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων, Κλεόμβροτος τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τοῦ βασιλέως ὑίος, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς Ὁσπαμεινώνδας ἰδίᾳ τινὶ καὶ περιπτῇ τάξει χρησάμενος διὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατηγίας 2 περιποίησατο τὴν περιβόητον νύκην. ἐκλεξάμενος γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος ἔστησε, μεθ᾽ ἐν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμελλε διαγωνίζεσθαι· τοὺς δ᾽ ἀσθενεστάτους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτερον κέρας τάξεις παρῆγγειλεν αὐτοῖς φυγομαχεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐφοδίαν τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατ᾽ ὀλύγων ὑποχωρεῖν. διὸ καὶ λοξὴν ποιήσας τὴν φάλαγγα, τῷ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχοντι κέρατι ἔγνω κρίνει τὴν 3 μάχην. ὡς δ᾽ αἱ τε σάλπηγγες ἐσθήμανον παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ὀρμὴν συγκάλαξαν αἱ δυνάμεις, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς κέρας ἀμφοτέρους ἔπηγαν μηνοειδεῖς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς φάλαγγος πεποιηκότες, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τῷ μὲν ἐτέρῳ κέρατι ὑπεχώρουν, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ 4 ὀρὺμοι συνήπτων τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὡς δὲ συνῆξαν ἀλλήλους εἰς χεῖρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκθύμως ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων ὑσσόρροπος ἢν ἡ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐσπαμεινώνδαν διὰ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ πυκνότητα τῆς τάξεως πλεονεκτοῦντον πολλοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀνηροῦντο. οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμενον ὑπενέγκας τὸ βάρος τῆς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀντιστάντων οἱ μὲν ἐπιπτον, οἱ δὲ κατετραμματίζοντο, πάσας τὰς 5 πληγὰς ἐναρτίας λαμβάνοντες. ἐὼς μὲν οὖν ὁ βα-
dants of Heracles were stationed as commanders of the wings, namely Cleombrotus the king and Archidamus, son of the King Agesilaüs, while on the Boeotian side Epameinondas, by employing an unusual disposition of his own, was enabled through his own strategy to achieve his famous victory. He selected from the entire army the bravest men and stationed them on one wing, intending to fight to the finish with them himself. The weakest he placed on the other wing and instructed them to avoid battle and withdraw gradually during the enemy's attack. So then, by arranging his phalanx in oblique formation, he planned to decide the issue of the battle by means of the wing in which were the élite. When the trumpets on both sides sounded the charge and the armies simultaneously with the first onset raised the battle-cry, the La-
cedemonians attacked both wings with their phalanx in crescent formation, while the Boeotians retreated on one wing, but on the other engaged the enemy in double-quick time. As they met in hand-to-hand combat, at first both fought ardently and the battle was evenly poised; shortly, however, as Epameinondas' men began to derive advantage from their valour and the denseness of their lines, many Peloponnesians began to fall. For they were unable to endure the weight of the courageous fighting of the élite corps; of those who had resisted some fell and others were wounded, taking all the blows in front. Now as long

1 See note on chap. 54. 6. It has been suggested that Xenophon, who fails to mention Epameinondas at Leuctra and represents Archidamus as being sent out after the battle, was attempting to belittle the part of Epameinondas as victor and to spare his best friend Agesilaüs, the father of Archi-
damus, the disgrace of his son's defeat. There is no evidence for this view,
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σιλεύς τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων Κλεόμβροτος ἕξη, πολλοὺς ἔχων τοὺς συνασπίζοντας καὶ προθύμως πρὸ ἀυτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκοντας, ἀδηλος ἢν ἡ ῥοπὴ τῆς νίκης· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως πάντα κώδυνον ὕπομένων οὐκ ἦδύνατο βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας, ἤρωικῶς δὲ μαχόμενος καὶ πολλοὶς τραύμασι περιπεσοῦν ἐτελεύτησε, τότε συνδρομῆς γενομένης περὶ τοῦ πτώματος νεκρῶν πλῆθος ἐσωρεύθη.

50. Ἀναρχίας δὲ γενομένης περὶ τὸ κέρας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν βαρεῖς ἐγκείμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ βίᾳ βραχὺ προέσαν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονιοι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τοῦ μὲν σῶματος ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο, τῆς δὲ νίκης 2 οὐκ ἦχυσαν ἐφικέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ ἐπιλέκτων ὑπερβαλλομένων ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως Ἐπαμεινώνδου πολλὰ συμβαλλομένης, μόνης ἐβιάσθησαν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναχωροῦντες τὴν τάξειν οὐ διέλυνον, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν ἀναρρομένων, τοῦ δὲ παραγελλόντος ἡγεμόνος τετελευτηκότος, ἐγένετο παντελῆ τροπὴ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπικείμενοι τοῖς φεῦγοις καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἑναντίων κατακόψαντες ἀπηνέγκατο νίκην ἐπιφανεστάτην. συμβαλόντες γὰρ τοῖς ἀριστοῖς τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τῶν πολλαπλασίων παραδόξως περιγενόμενοι, μεγάλην δάξαν

1 οὐ διέλυν Rhodoman, Muddig, διεφύλασσαν Vogel; διέλυσαν MSS., Dindorf, Bekker.

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as King Cleombrotus of the Lacedaemonians was alive 371/0 B.C. and had with him many comrades-in-arms who were quite ready to die in his defence, it was uncertain which way the scales of victory inclined; but when, though he shrank from no danger, he proved unable to bear down his opponents, and perished in an heroic resistance after sustaining many wounds, then, as masses of men thronged about his body, there was piled up a great mound of corpses.

56. There being no one in command of the wing, the heavy column led by Epameinondas bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, and at first by sheer force caused the line of the enemy to buckle somewhat; then, however, the Lacedaemonians, fighting gallantly about their king, got possession of his body, but were not strong enough to achieve victory. For as the corps of élite outdid them in feats of courage, and the valour and exhortations of Epameinondas contributed greatly to its prowess, the Lacedaemonians were with great difficulty forced back; at first, as they gave ground they would not break their formation, but finally, as many fell and the commander who would have rallied them had died, the army turned and fled in utter rout. Epameinondas’ corps pursued the fugitives,¹ slew many who opposed them, and won for themselves a most glorious victory. For since they had met the bravest of the Greeks and with a small force had miraculously overcome many times their

¹ In the account of the battle, Diodorus fails to give any hint of cavalry action (see Xenophon, l.c. 10-13) which was co-ordinated with the rapid advance of the Theban corps d’élite. This co-ordination (see Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 80), more perhaps than the denseness of the corps and the échelon formation of the Thebans, was a new factor in fighting later developed by Macedon.
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ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία κατεκτήσαντο. 1 μεγίστων δ’ ἐπαίνων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἐπαμεινόνδας ἥξιωθη, διὰ τῆς ἴδιας ἀνδρείας μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικῆς συνεσεως τοῦ ἀνικήτου ἥγεμονος τῆς Ἐλλάδος κατηγωνισμένος.

4 ἔπεσον δ’ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων οὐκ ἐλάττωσι πολλῶν τετρακισχιλίων, τῶν ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν περὶ τριακισίων. μετα δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τε τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σπουδᾶς ἐποιήσαντο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην συμβαίνατο τοιοῦτον ἐσχε τέλος.

57. Τοῦ δ’ ἐναυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθῆναι, μὲν ἤρχετο Δυσνίκητος, 2 ἐν Ὑδρομῇ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιαρχοὶ κατεστάθησαν τέτταρες, Κόινος Σερούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ἐτὶ δὲ Γάιος Λυκίνιος καὶ Πόσλος Κολίος. 3 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὅρθων μεγάλη δυνάμει στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Ὠρχομενόν ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσαθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἐπαμεινόνδας δὲ συμβουλεύσαντο διὰ τὰ διὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας κατεργασθέντα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ διὰ δια-φυλάττεν τοὺς τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ὀρεγομένους, μετέγνωσαν. διότι τοὺς μὲν Ὀρχομενίους εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων χώραν κατέταξαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φωκεῖς καὶ Λιτωλίους καὶ Λοκροὺς φίλους ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο. 2 Ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Φερόν τύραννος ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος ἐστράτευσε εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Ἑρακλείᾳ διὰ προδοσίας ἐλών ἀνά-

1 κατεκτήσαντο Reiske: κατεστήσαντο.
2 Δυσνίκητος (ср. Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 4580) Δυσκύνητος Η.
3 Κόλιος P, Κόλιος FJK, Cloelius Livy, 6. 31. 1.
number, they won a great reputation for valour. The highest praises were accorded the general Epameinondas, who chiefly by his own courage and by his shrewdness as a commander had defeated in battle the invincible leaders of Greece. More than four thousand Lacedaemonians fell in the battle but only about three hundred Boeotians. Following the battle they made a truce to allow for taking up the bodies of the dead and the departure of the Lacedaemonians to the Peloponnese.

Such was the outcome of events relating to the battle of Leuctra.

57. When the year had ended, at Athens Dysnictetus was archon, and in Rome military tribunes with consular power were elected, four in number: Quintus Servilius, Lucius Furius, Gaius Licinius, and Publius Coelius. During their term of office the Thebans, taking the field with a large army against Orchomenus, aimed to reduce the city to slavery, but when Epameinondas advised them that any who aimed at supremacy over the Greeks ought to safeguard by their generous treatment what they had achieved by their valour, they changed their mind. Accordingly they reckoned the people of Orchomenus as belonging to the territory of their allies, and later, having made friends of the Phocians, Aetolians, and Locrians, returned to Bocotia again. Jason, tyrant of Phocea, whose power was constantly increasing, invaded Locris, first took Heracleia in Trachinia by

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1 Diodorus probably is exaggerating. Xenophon (Hell. 6. 4. 15) says "almost a thousand."

2 For the allies of the Thebans in 370 see Xenophon, Hell. 6. 5. 23; Agesilaus, 2. 24.

3 See Hell. 6. 4. 27-28.

4 See added by Scaliger.
στατον ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν Οἰταίως καὶ Μηλεύσων ἐδωρήσατο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Περ-
ραβίαν ἀναζεύξας1 τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν λόγους 
φιλανθρώποις προσηγάγετο, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῆς βίας 
ἐχειρώσατο. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ στερε-
ουμένης, οἱ τὴν Θεταλίαν οἰκούντες ὑφευρήκαντ 
τὴν αὐξήσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν.

3 Ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν 
'Αργείων ἐγένετο στάσις καὶ φόνος τοσοῦτος ὡς 
παρ' ἐτέρους τῶν 'Ελλήνων οὐδέποτε γεγονέναι 
μνημονεύεται. ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ νεωτερισμὸς οὗτος 
παρὰ τοὺς 'Ελληνες σκυταλισμός, διὰ τὸν τρόπον 
τοῦ θανάτου ταύτης τυχῶν τῆς προσηγορίας.

58. Ἡ δ' οὖν στάσις ἐγένετο διὰ τοιαύτας αἰ-
τίας. τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀργείων δημοκρατουμένης 
καὶ τινῶν δημαγωγῶν παροξυνόντων τὸ πλῆθος 
kατὰ τῶν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ δόξαις ὑπερεχόντων, 
οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι συστάντες ἐγνωσαν καταλύσα 
2 τὸν δήμον. βασανισθέντων δὲ τινῶν ἐκ τῶν συν-
εργεῖν δοκούντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὴν ἐκ 
tῶν βασάνων τιμωρίαν ἑαυτῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετ-
έστησαν, ἐνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις ὁμολογήσαν-
τος καὶ πίστιν λαβόντος, ὃ μὲν μνημής τριάκοντα 
tῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δὲ δήμος οὐκ 
ἐλέγξας ἀκριβῶς ἄπαντας των διαβληθέντας ἀπέ-
3 κτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐδήμευσεν. πολλῶν 
δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν ύποψίαις ὄντων, καὶ τῶν δημα-
γωγῶν ψευδεῖς διαβολαῖς συνηγοροῦντων, ἐπὶ τοσ-
ούτον ἐξηγημόθη τὸ πλῆθος ὡστε πάντων τῶν

1 ἀναζεύξας Dindorf, Vogel: ἐπιζεύξας.

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treachery, laid it waste, and gave the country to the Oetaeans and Malians; then later, moving into Perrhaebia, he won over some of the cities by generous promises, and subdued others by force. As his position of influence speedily became established, the inhabitants of Thessaly looked with suspicion on his aggrandizement and encroachments.

While these things were going on, in the city of Argos civil strife broke out accompanied by slaughter of a greater number than is recorded ever to have occurred anywhere else in Greece. Among the Greeks this revolutionary movement was called "Club-law," receiving this appellation on account of the manner of the execution.

58. Now the strife arose from the following causes: the city of Argos had a democratic form of government, and certain demagogues instigated the populace against the outstanding citizens of property and reputation. The victims of the hostile charges then got together and decided to overthrow the democracy. When some of those who were thought to be implicated were subjected to torture, all but one, fearing the agony of torture, committed suicide, but this one came to terms under torture, received a pledge of immunity, and as informer denounced thirty of the most distinguished citizens, and the democracy without a thorough investigation put to death all those who were accused and confiscated their property. But many others were under suspicion, and as the demagogues supported false accusations, the mob was wrought up to such a pitch of savagery that they condemned to

1 See also Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae reip.* 814; Isocrates, *Philip,* 52; Dionysius of Hal. 7. 66. 5.

2 δ' οὖν Dindorf: γοὖν MSS., Bekker, Vogel.

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κατηγορουμένων, ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ μεγαλοπλούτων, καταγγέλλων θάνατον. ἀναρεθέντων δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ἄνδρῶν πλειόνων ἢ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν αὐτῶν ὃ δῆμος οὐκ ἐφείσατο. 4 διὰ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς οἱ μὲν δημαγωγοὶ φοβηθέντες μή τι παράλογον αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσαν, τῆς κατηγορίας ἀπέστησαν, οἱ δ' ὀρθοὶ δόξαντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔγκαταλελείφθαι καὶ διὰ τούτο παροξυνθέντες, ἀπαντάς τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν, ὦσπερει τινος νεμεσθάντος δαιμονίου, τῆς ἀρμοζούσης τιμωρίας ἐτυχον, ὃ δὲ δῆμος παυσάμενος τῆς λύπης εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἐννοιαν ἀποκατέστη.

59. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Λυκομήδης ὁ Τεγεάτης ἔπεισε τοὺς 'Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθῆναι καὶ κοινὴν ἔχειν σύνοδον συνεστῶσαν ἐς ἄνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τούτοις ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ 2 πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι. γενομένης δὲ στάσεως μεγάλης παρὰ τοῖς 'Ἀρκάσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπίλων διακριθέντων τῶν διαφερομένων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν πλείους δὲ τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων ἐφυγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ 3 Παλλάντιον. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ἐκδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Παλλαντίων ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρικτότων ἐσφαγματίσθησαν.

1 ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ Dindorf, Bekker: ὄντων μὲν πολλῶν καὶ (P omits καὶ, followed by Vogel).
2 καὶ διακοσίων omitted by P, καὶ ξιακοσίων FJK.
3 λύπης Schäfer: λυπῆς.
4 ἐννοιαν Post: εὐνοιαν.
5 τῷ Wesseling: τῇ.

1 According to Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 23, Lycomedes was 114.
death all the accused, who were many and wealthy. 370/69 B.C. When, however, more than twelve hundred influential men had been removed, the populace did not spare the demagogues themselves. For because of the magnitude of the calamity the demagogues were afraid that some unforeseen turn of fortune might overtake them and therefore desisted from their accusation, whereas the mob, now thinking that they had been left in the lurch by them, were angry at this and put to death all the demagogues. So these men received the punishment which fitted their crimes as if some divinity were visiting its just resentment upon them, and the people, eased of their mad rage, were restored to their senses.

59. About the same time, Lycomedes 1 of Tegea prevailed upon the Arcadians to form a single confederacy 2 with a common council to consist of ten thousand men empowered to decide issues of war and peace. But since civil war broke out in Arcadia on a large scale and the quarrelling factions came to a decision by force of arms, many were killed and more than fourteen hundred fled, some to Sparta, others to Pallantium. 3 Now these latter refugees were surrendered by the Pallantians and slaughtered by the victorious party, whereas those who took refuge from Mantinea (also Pausanias, 8.27.2 and Diodorus himself, chap. 62.2). Lycomedes urged the Arcadians, who at this time entered the services of other states in great numbers as mercenaries, to devote themselves to strengthening their own state.

1 See for the Arcadian League Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 88 f., or better Gloetz, Hist. gr. 3. 154-156. Also Freeman, History of Federal Government, 154 ff.

2 Arcadian town just west of Tegea, said to have been the home of Evander and origin of the name Palatine (Virgil, Aeneid, 8. 51-54).
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οἱ δ’ εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην φυγόντες ἐπείσαν τοὺς Λακε-
δαιμονίους εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν στρατεύσαι. διόπερ Ἄγησιλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν φυ-
γάδων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν χώραν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τούτους τῆς στάσεως καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἰτίους γεγονέναι. πορθήσας δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος κατεπλήξατο τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς ἐναντιοπραγοῦντας.

60. Ἀμα δὲ τούτους πραπτομένους Ἰάσων ὁ Φερὼν τύραννος, συνέσει τοῖς στρατηγικῇ διαφέρων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν περιοίκων εἰς συμμαχίαν προηγ-
μένος, ἐπείσε τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγεμονίας. ταύτην γὰρ ὀστερὸν ἐπι-
αθλὸν ἀρετῆς προκείσθαι τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτῆς ἡμῖν παρεῖσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίους γὰρ συνέβαινε περὶ Λευκτρα μεγάλης συμφορᾶς περιπεπτούντος, Ἀθη-
ναίους δὲ μόνον τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἀντ-
ἐχεσθαι, Ἡθαίους δὲ τῶν πρωτείων ἀξίους μὴ ἐσώμεθα, Ἀργείους δὲ διὰ στάσεως καὶ φόνους ἐμφυ-
λίους τεταπευνώσθαι. διόπερ οἱ Θετταλοὶ προστη-
σάμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνα Ἰάσωνα τούτω πατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. δὲ Ἰάσων παραλαβόν τῆν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν τῆς πλησίον ἐθνῶν των προ-
ηγάγετο καὶ πρὸ τὸν Ἀμώνταν τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα συμμαχίαν ἐπουσάτο. 3 Ἡδίων δὲ τὶς συνεβη κατὰ τούτων τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τῶν γὰρ ἐν δυναστείαῖς ἐντῶν τρεῖς ἐτελεύτησαν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν καυρόν. Ἀμώντας μὲν ὁ Ἀρρίδαίου

1 προηγμένος Vogel (cp. Book 16. 84. 1), προσαγαγόμενος Schäfer followed by Dindorf, Bekker: προηγμένος ΡΑΓ, προσαγαγόμενος cet.
2 ο Ἀρρίδαίου Dindorf: Θαρραλέου.
in Sparta prevailed upon the Lacedaemonians to invade Arcadia. According to King Agesilaüs with an army and the band of fugitives invaded the territory of the Tegeans, who were believed to have been the cause of the insurrection and the expulsions. By devastation of the countryside and assaults upon the city, he cowed the Arcadians of the opposing party.

60. While these things were going on, Jason, tyrant of Pherae, because of his superior shrewdness as a general and his success in attracting many of his neighbours into an alliance, prevailed upon the Thessalians to lay claim to the supremacy in Greece; for this was a sort of prize for valour open to those strong enough to contend for it. Now it happened that the Lacedaemonians had sustained a great disaster at Leuctra; that the Athenians laid claim to the mastery of the sea only; that the Thebans were unworthy of first rank; and that the Argives had been brought low by civil wars and internecine slaughter. So the Thessalians put Jason forward as leader of the whole country, and as such gave him supreme command in war. Jason accepted the command, won over some of the tribes near by, and entered into alliance with Amyntas king of the Macedonians.

A peculiar coincidence befell in this year, for three of those in positions of power died about the same time. Amyntas, son of Arrhidaeus, king of Macedonians.

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 5. 10-18. 2 See chap. 54. 5. 3 Jason was made Tagus of the Thessalians, Xenophon, Hell. 6. 1. 18. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 237, prefers Diodorus’ date 371 to Xenophon’s 375/4. For Jason’s ambitions see Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 82. Jason’s death (§ 5) caused the sudden collapse of unification in Thessaly and opened the door to Theban aggressions. 4 See Book 14. 89, 93. 3; chap. 19. 2 and Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 56-58.
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βασιλεύων τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἐτηθείκοσι καὶ τέτταρα, υἱὸς ἀπολύτων τρεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Περδίκκαν καὶ Φιλίππον. διεδέχετο δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἦρξεν 4 ἐνιαυτὸν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀγαμώτος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετῆλλαξεν ἄρξας ἐνιαυτὸν, τὴν δὲ ἄρχην διαδεξάμενος Κλεομένης ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐβασιδέεσεν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τέτταρα. 2 τρίτος δὲ Ἰάσων ὁ Φεραῖος ἦγεραιν ἦρμημένος τῆς Θεσπαλίας καὶ δοκῶν ἐπιεικῶς ἄρχει τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ἐδολοφονήθη, ὡς μὲν Ἑφορος γέγραφεν, ὑπὸ τινῶν ἐπὶ νεωτίκων συνομοσαμένων δόξης ἔνεκα, ὡς δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ ὑπὸ Πολυδωρὸν τάδελφου. οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν. Δοῦρις δὲ ὁ Σάμιος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος τῆς τῶν Ελληνικῶν ἱστορίας ἐνετέθη ἐποίησαν τὴν ἄρχην.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράξη κατὰ τούτον τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν.

61. 'Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθηνησίος Λυσιστράτου παρὰ Ρωμαίοις ἐγένετο στάσις, τῶν μὲν ολομένων δειν ὑπάτους, τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχους αἱρεῖοι. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τινα χρόνον ἀναρχία τὴν στάσιν ὑπέλαβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐδοξεῖ χιλιάρχους αἱρεῖοι εἴς καὶ κατεστάθησαν Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Ὑπεργύνος καὶ Σερούιος Σουλπίκιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Λεύκιος Κοίντιος καὶ Γάιος Κορνήλιος, ἐτι δὲ 2 Γάιος Ουθαλέριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πολυδωρὸς ὁ

1 οὗτος Dindorf: οὕτως AR, αὐτὸς cet.
2 τριάκοντα καὶ τέτταρα] εἴθείκοντα Book 30. 29. 1.
3 οὕτως Wesseling: οὗτος PAL, οὕτως cet.
4 So MSS., except so. εὐεργίνοις P, Οὐετούριος Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6, 39, 3).

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donia, died after a rule of twenty-four years, leaving 370/69 B.C. behind him three sons, Alexander, Perdícneas, and Philip. The son Alexander succeeded to the throne and ruled for one year. Likewise Agesipolis, king of the Lacedaemonians, died after ruling a year, the kingship going to Cleomenes his brother who succeeded to the throne and had a reign of thirty-four years.³ Thirdly, Jason of Pherae, who had been chosen ruler of Thessaly and was reputed to be governing his subjects with moderation, was assassinated,³ either, as Ephorus writes, by seven young men who conspired together for the repute it would bring, or, as some historians say, by his brother Polydorus. This Polydorus himself also, after succeeding to the position of leader, ruled for one year. Duris ⁴ of Samos, the historian, began his History of the Greeks at this point.

These then were the events of this year.

61. When Lysistratus was archon at Athens, civil 360/8 B.C. strife arose among the Romans, one party thinking there should be consuls, others that military tribunes should be chosen. For a time then anarchy supervened on civil strife, later they decided to choose six military tribunes, and those elected were Lucius Aemilius, Gaius Verginius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Quintius, Gaius Cornelius, and Gaius Valerius. During their term of office Polydorus of Pherae the ruler

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¹ See chap. 67. 4. The beginning of his reign is placed in the archonship of Phrásicleides 371/0 in the Marm. Par. 72.
² This should be sixty years ten months. See note vol. x, p. 217 and Beloeh, Griechische Geschichte, 4. 2. 157.
³ See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 3. 31-32.
⁴ Duris carried his history at least to the death of Lysimachus (PHG, 2. 468 and fr. 33).
Φεραίως ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἀρχαὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ ἀνηρέθη φαρμάκῳ προκληθείς εἰς μέθην τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἦρξεν ἐπὶ ἑνδέκα. οὕτως δὲ παρανόμως καὶ βιαιῶς κτησάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν, ἀκολούθως ταύτη τῇ προσώπευε διότι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δυναστῶν ἐπεικῶς προσφερομένων τοῖς πλήθει καὶ διὰ τούτ᾽ ἀγαπώμενῶν, οὕτως βιαιῶς καὶ χαλεπῶς ἄρχων ἔμισσετο. 3 διὸ καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν φοβηθέντες τῶν Λαρισσαίων τινές, οἱ δὲ εὐγενεῖαν Ἀλευάδα προσαγορεύμενου, συνέθετο πρὸς ἄλληλους καταλύσαι τὴν δυναστείαν. ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκ Λαρίσης εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔπεισαν Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν βασιλέα συν- 4 καταλύσαι τὸν τύρανν. τούτων δὲ περὶ ταῦτα διατριβόντων, ὁ Φεραίως Ἀλεξάνδρος πυθόμενος τὴν καὶ ἔμειν αὐτοῦ παρασκευήν, κατέλεγε τοὺς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν εὐθέτους, διανοούμενος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ συντήρασαι τὴν μάχην. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἔχων μεθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐκ Λαρίσης φυγάδας, φθάσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Λάρισαν, παρεισχθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐκράτησε τῆς 5 πόλεως πλὴν τῆς ἀκρας. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τὴν τε ἀκραν ἔξεπολιορκῆσε καὶ Κραννώνα πόλιν προαγαγόμενος ὁμολογήσε μὲν τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ἀποδώσεις τὰς πόλεις, καταφρονήσας δὲ τῆς δόξης, καὶ

1 ἀδελφίδου Vulgate.
2 ἀδελφιδοῦς Wesseling: ἀδελφος.
3 ἔξεπολιορκῆσε Hertlein: ἐπολιορκησε.

1 According to Xenophon (Hell. 6. 4. 33), Polydorus and Polyphron, brothers of Jason, succeeded Jason; Polyphron 120
of Thessaly was poisoned by Alexander his nephew, 369/8 B.C. who had challenged him to a drinking bout, and the nephew Alexander succeeded to the rule as overlord and held it for eleven years. Having acquired the rule illegally and by force, he administered it consistently with the policy he had chosen to follow. For while the rulers before him had treated the peoples with moderation and were therefore loved, he was hated for his violent and severe rule. Accordingly, in fear of his lawlessness, some Larissaeans, called Aleuadai because of their noble descent, conspired together to overthrow the overlordship. Journeying from Larissa to Macedonia, they prevailed upon the King Alexander to join them in overthrowing the tyrant. But while they were occupied with these matters, Alexander of Pherae, learning of the preparations against him, gathered such men as were conveniently situated for the campaign, intending to give battle in Macedonia. But the Macedonian king, accompanied by refugees from Larissa, anticipated the enemy by invading Larissa with the army, and having been secretly admitted by the Larissaeans within the fortifications, he mastered the city with the exception of the citadel. Later he took the citadel by siege, and, having also won the city of Crannon, at first covenanted to restore the cities to the Thessalians, but then, in contempt of public

slew Polydorus and was himself slain by Alexander, son of Polydorus, the next year (ibid. 34). For Alexander's death see Book 16, 14. 1.

2 Xenophon attests the cruel character of his rule (l.c. 35 ff.).

3 Supposedly descended from Aleuas, a Heraclid, the Aleuadai formed two branches: the Aleuadai of Larissa and the Scopadai of Crannon. They were the great aristocrats of Thessalian society.
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φρουράς ἄξιολόγους εἰσαγαγών, αὐτὸς κατείχε τὰς πόλεις. ὁ δὲ Φεραῖος Ἀλέξανδρος καταδωκθεῖς ἀμα καὶ καταπλαγεῖς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Φερᾶς.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

62. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν Πολύτροπον στρατηγὸν ἔξεπεμβαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, ἔχοντα πολιτικοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας χιλίους, φυγάδας δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πεντακοσίους, οὕτως δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ὁρχωμένον τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν παρεφύλαττε τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, οίκειως διακειμένες νυν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. Λυκομήδης δὲ ὁ Μαντινεύς, στρατηγὸς ὁν τῶν Ἀρκάδων, παραλαβὼν τοὺς καλομένους ἐπιλέκτους, ὄντας πεντακισχιλίους, ἤχεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁρχωμένόν. προαγαγόντων δὲ τὴν ὑπαμάναν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν ὁ τε στρατηγὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνηρέθη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λουποὶ συνεδρώχθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

3 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, καίπερ νενικηκότες, ὡμως εὐλαβοῦντο τὸ βάρος τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέλαβον δυνήσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διαπολεμεῖν. διὸ καὶ παραλαβόντες Ἀργείους τε καὶ Ἡλείους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄξιοντες συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὧς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσείχε, διαπρεσβευόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπεισάν αὐτοῖς συμμαχίαν συνεδρίαν κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαι-

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1 See chap. 67. 4.
2 "The Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans" (Xenophon, Hell. 6. 5. 11, trans. by Brownson, L.C.L.).

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opinion, he brought into them garrisons of considerable strength and held the cities himself.\(^3\) Alexander of Pherec, hotly pursued and alarmed at the same time, returned to Pherec.

Such was the state of affairs in Thessaly.

62. In the Peloponnesian, the Lacedaemonians dispatched Polytropus as general to Arcadia with a thousand citizen hoplites and five hundred Argive and Bocotian refugees. He reached the Arcadian Orchomenus and guarded it closely since it was on friendly terms with Sparta.\(^2\) Lycomedes of Mantinea, general of the Arcadians, with five thousand men styled the élite,\(^3\) came to Orchomenus. As the Lacedaemonians led forth their army from the city a great battle ensued in which the Lacedaemonian general was killed\(^4\) and two hundred others, while the rest were driven into the city. The Arcadians, in spite of their victory, felt a prudent respect for the strength of Sparta and believed that they would not be able by themselves to cope with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, associating Argives and Eleians with themselves, they first sent envoys to Athens requesting them to join in an alliance against the Spartans, but as no one heeded them, they sent an embassy to the Thebans and persuaded them to join an alliance against the Lacedaemonians.\(^5\) Immediately, then,

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\(^{3}\) These were called *eparitoi*. See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4. 22, 33, 36; 5. 3; and *infra*, chap. 67. 2.

\(^{4}\) *Hell.* 6. 5. 14.

\(^{5}\) See Demosthenes, 16. 12, 19, and Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 5. 19. For the policy of Athens in this period see Cloché, *La Politique étrangère d' Athènes*, 97-99. Cloché thinks Athens had a chance to expand her confederacy at the expense of her former ally Thebes and her former enemy Sparta, but her refusal to help (owing especially to Elis' recalcitrancy) at this time gave Thebes the opportunity to step in.
4 μονίων. ευθὺς οὖν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγον, προσλαβόμενοι συμμάχους Λοκρούς τε καὶ Φωκείς. οὕτω οὖν οἱ προήγον οὕτω τὴν Πελοπόννησον, βοωταρχούντων Ἐπαμενώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου τούτοις γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι βοωτάρχαι παρεκκεχαρῆκεσαν ἐκουσών τῆς στρατηγίας διὰ τε τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν ἄνδρειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ὡς δὲ κατηνηθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, ἦκον πρὸς αὐτοὺς πανδημεῖ τοῦ τῆς Ἀρκάδες καὶ Πλειοῦ καὶ Ἀργείω καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συμμαχοὶ πάντες. ἄθροισθεντῶν δὲ πλεύσαν ἡ πεντακισισμυρίων, οἱ μὲν ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν συνεδρεύσαντες ἐγνώσαν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν βαδίζειν τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικήν πορθῆσαι.

63. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν νέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λευκτρα συμφορᾷ, οὐκ ἠλώγουσι δὲ εἰς ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡττας ἀπολωλεκότες, καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἰς ὅλογος πολιτικὸς στρατιώτας ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης συγκεκλεισμένοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτως τῶν συμμάχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς δομιὰς αἰτίας ὀλγανδροῦντων, εἰς πολλὴν ἁμηχανίαν ἐπιστολοῦν. διὸς ἦνακάζωντο καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοηθείαν, οἰς τριάκοντα μὲν τυράννους εἰς τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπέστησαν, τὰ δὲ τείχῃ τῆς πόλεως ἐκώλυσαν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ἐπεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀρδὴν ἀναμορφῆτε τὴν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποιῆσαι μηλόβοτον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἱσχυρότερόν ἐστιν ἀνάγκης καὶ τύχης, δι' ἀν ἐβιάζοντο ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστολοῖς ἀνοιοδομεῖν ἀνοικοδομεῖν.

1 The Thirty were instituted as the governing board at Athens by Lysander after the capture of the city (404 B.C.).
the Boeotians led out their army, taking some Lo-
crians and Phocians along as allies. Now these men
advanced against the Peloponnese under the boeo-
tarchs Epameinondas and Pelopidas, for the other
boeotarchs had willingly relinquished the command to
these in recognition of their shrewdness in the art of
war and their courage. When they reached Arcadia,
the Arcadians, Eleians, Argives, and all the other allies
joined them in full force. And when more than fifty
thousand had gathered, their leaders sitting in council
decided to march upon Sparta itself and lay waste all
Laconia.

63. As for the Lacedaemonians, since they had cast
away many of their young men in the disaster at
Leuctra and in their other defeats had lost not a few,
and were, taking all together, restricted by the blows
of fortune to but few citizen soldiers, and, furthermore,
since some of their allies had seceded and others
were experiencing a shortage of men for reasons
similar to their own, they sank into a state of great
weakness. Hence they were compelled to have re-
course to the aid of the Athenians, the very people over
whom they had once set up thirty tyrants, whom they
had forbidden to rebuild the walls of their city, whose
city they had aimed utterly to destroy, and whose
territory, Attica, they wished to turn into a sheep-
walk. Yet, after all, nothing is stronger than necessity
and fate, which compelled the Lacedaemonians to
following the defeat of Aegospotami. Though Sparta’s allies
wished to destroy Athens utterly, Sparta herself would not allow
such drastic punishment, but did demand the dismantling of
the walls, which were torn down by the Athenian populace
to the accompaniment of flute music. Though forbidden to
rebuild, when, after the victory of Cnidus (394 B.C.), Conon
returned to Athens, the people once again built the walls.

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σθησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμιωτάτων δεηθήναν. ὥμως δὲ οὐ διεσφάλησαν τῶν ἐλπίδων. δὲ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, μεγαλοφυκχος ὄν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἡθβαίων ἰσχύν οὐ κατεπλάγγησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδίσμου κινδυνεύουσιν ἐξηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν πανδημεί. καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατηγῶν καταστήσαντες τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἐξεπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς νέους αὐθημερόν, ὄντας μυρίους καὶ δισεκάτους. Ἰφικράτης μὲν οὖν, προθύμως ἔχων τοὺς στρατιωτὰς, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς 3 δυνάμεως κατὰ σπουδὴν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Λακωνικῆς καταστρατοπεδεύοντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ πανδημεῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξοδον ποιησάμενοι προῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, ταῖς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν δυνάμεις τεταπεινωμένοι, ταῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς τεθαρ-4 ρηκότες. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινοῦνδαν ὄρον τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν δυσεῖσβο-λον οὐδὲν, τὸ μὲν ἀθρόα τηλικαύτη δυνάμει ποι-εῖσαλ τὴν ἐμβολὴν οὐχ ἤγοντο συμφέρειν, εἰς τέταρα δὲ μέρη διελόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κατὰ πλεῖονας τόπους ἐκρίναν ποιεῖσαλ τὴν ἐφοδον.

64. ἦς μὲν οὖν πρώτη μερὶς ἢ τῶν Βοιωτῶν μέσην τὴν πορείαν ἐποιήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν καλουμένην πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς τῇδε κατοικοῦντας 2 ἀπέστησε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Ἀργείοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Τεγεάτιδος χώρας ἐμβαλόντες συν-ήσαν μάχην τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὰς παρόδους, καὶ τῶν

1 ἐπὶ] peri Dindorf, Vogel. 2 ἦ added by Vogel. 3 μέσην Madvig, ἢ, ἢ Wurm: ἢς. 4 Σελλασίαν PHL, Vogel.
request the aid of their bitterest enemies. Nevertheless they were not disappointed of their hopes. For the Athenian people, magnanimous and generous, were not terrified by the power of Thebes, and voted to aid with all their forces the Lacedaemonians now that they were in danger of enslavement. Immediately they appointed Iphicrates general and dispatched him with twelve thousand young men the self-same day. Iphicrates, then, whose men were in high spirits, advanced with the army at top speed. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, as the enemy took up quarters on the borders of Laconia, issued in full force from Sparta and marched on to meet them, weakened in military force but strong in inward courage. Now Epameinondas and the others, perceiving that the country of the Lacedaemonians was difficult to invade, thought it not to their advantage to make the invasion with such a large force in a body, and so decided to divide their army into four columns and enter at several points.

64. Now the first contingent, composed of the Boeotians, took the middle route to the city known as Sellasia and caused its inhabitants to revolt from the Lacedaemonians. The Argives, entering by the borders of Tegeatis, engaged in battle the garrison

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 6. 5. 33-49. Diodorus brings in too soon the dispatch of Iphicrates and his army. It belongs to the spring of 369, after the campaign in Laconia.

2 The best account of this invasion is in Xenophon, Hell. 6. 5. 22-32. See also Plutarch, Pelopidas, 24; Agesilas, 31-32; Pausanias, 9. 14; Polyænus, 2. 1. 14, 15, 27, 29; Nepos, Agesilas, 6; Aelian, Var. Hist. 14. 27. The invasion of Laconia belongs to the winter 370/69.

3 A rendezvous deep in Laconian territory north of Sparta.

4 South-eastern corner of Arcadian bordering Argolis.
τες δησυμενήν υπό τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ἑκατέρουν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θυμοῖς προπίπτοντες ἔξεπεσοῦν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. κωλυόμενοι δ’ υπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων προϊέναι μικρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, μῆ τις ἐπίθεται, ἐπείσθησαν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγείς καὶ τῇ 2 πόλει παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διὰ τοῦ Ταύγετου καταβαίνον- των ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν, καὶ διαβαίνοντων τὸν ποταμὸν σφοδρὸν ὄντα τῷ βεῦματι κατὰ τὴν χει- μερινὴν ἄραν, ὄρωντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταραγμέ- νην τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς διαβάσεως, καρυὸν ἔλαβον εὐθετον πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναίκας καὶ παιδιὰς, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας, ἀπέλιπον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυ- λάττοντας τὴν Ἐπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ πανθημει συντά- χαντες τους νέους ἐξεχύθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἄφυς τοῖς διαβαίνοντοι πολὺν 3 ἐποιοῦτο φόνον. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Βουιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ τῷ πλήθει κυκλούντων τοὺς ἐναντίως, οἱ Σπαρτιάται πολλοὺς ἀνηρηκότες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, φανερῶς εὐδεδειγμένοι 4 τὰς ἑδίας ἀνδραγαθίας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν πᾶση τῇ δυνάμει καταπληκτι- κῶς προσβαλλόντων τῇ πόλει, οἱ μὲν Σπαρτιάται συνεργῶν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν τόπων ὁχυρότητα, πολ- λοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν προπετῶς βιαζομένων, τέλος δ’ οἱ πολιορκούντες πάσαν εἰσενεκκάμενοι σπουδῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεικαζὼς βία χειρώσασθαι 4 τὴν Ἐπάρτην. ἐπεί δὲ τῶν βιαζομένων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησαν, οἱ δ’ ἔτραυματίζοντο, ἀνεκαλέσαντο τῇ σάλπυγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπ- 1 προπίπτοντες Wesseling: προπίπτοντες.
then bear to see it being sacked by the enemy, but 309/8 B.C.
hot-headedly were ready to rush forth from the city;
but being restrained by the elders from advancing too
far from their native land, lest some one attack it,
they were finally prevailed upon to wait quietly and
keep the city safe. Now Epameinondas descended
through the Taygetus¹ into the Eurotas valley and
was engaged in crossing the river, whose current was
swift since it was the winter season, when the Lacedaemonians, seeing their opponents' army thrown
into confusion by the difficulty of the crossing, seized
the opportunity favourable for attack. Leaving the
women, children, and the old men as well in the city
to guard Sparta, they marshalled in full force the men
of military age, streamed forth against the enemy,
fell upon them suddenly as they crossed, and wrought
heavy slaughter. But as the Boeotians and Arcadians
fought back and began to encircle the enemy with
their superior numbers, the Spartans, having slain
many, withdrew to the city, for they had clearly dis-
played their own courage. Following this, as Epamei-
ndonas in full force made a formidable assault on the
city, the Spartans with the aid of their strong natural
defences slew many of those who pressed rashly for-
ward, but finally the besiegers applied great pressure
and thought at first they had overcome Sparta by
force; but as those who tried to force their way were
some slain, some wounded, Epameinondas recalled
the soldiers with the trumpet, but the men of their

¹ Mountain range immediately above Sparta bordering
the Eurotas River.

² ἐποιοῦντο] ἐποίουν Dindorf, Vogel.
³ προσβαλλόντων P, Vogel: προσβαλλόντων Vulgate, Dindorf,
Bekker. ⁴ χειρόσασθαι] χειρόσεσθαι Dindorf.
Diodorus of Sicily

αμεινώνδαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσελθόντες τῇ πόλει προ-
εκαλοῦντο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας εἰς παράταξιν, ἡ
ζυνομολογεῖσαι προσέταττον ἢπίτου εἴναι τῶν
5 πολεμίων. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιάτων,
ὅτι καρδὸν λαβόντες εὐθεῖαν διαγωνιοῦντα περὶ
tῶν ὅλων, ἀπηλλάγησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. πάσην
dὲ τὴν Λακωνικὴν δημόσιατας, καὶ λαφύρων ἀναρε-
θμητον πλήθος ἄθροισαντες, ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν
'Αρκαδίαν.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, ὑστερηκότες τῶν
καρδῶν, ἐπανῄσκουν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὔδὲν πρά-
ξαντες μανῆμα ἄξιον, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις
παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἤκον βοηθήσοντες στρατιῶτα
τετρακισχίλιοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους προσάευεν τοὺς
Εὐλωταὶ ἕλευθερωμένους προσφάτως χιλίους καὶ
tῶν Βοιωτῶν φυγάδων διακοσίους, ἐτὶ δὲ ἐκ
tῶν σύνεγγυς πόλεων οὐκ ὀλίγους μεταπεμψάμενοι,
κατεσκεύαζον δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον τοῖς πολεμίοις.
ταύτην δὲ ἄθροιαν υπενέχοντες καὶ γυμνάζοντες αἰεὶ
μᾶλλον ἐθάρρυν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἄγανα.

66. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος ὁ
καὶ δόξης ὅρεγόμενος αἰωνίου, συνεβούλευε τοῖς
tε Ἀρκάδαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὁικίσαι τὴν
Μεσσήνην, πολλὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγενημένην ἀνάστατον
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, τόπον δὲ εὐθεῖαν ἐχοῦσαν κατὰ
tῆς Σπάρτης. συγκατατιθεμένων δὲ πάντων ἄνε-
ξήτησε τοὺς ἀπολελιμμένους τῶν Μεσσηνίων, καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους καταλέξας εἰς τὴν
πολιτείαν ἄνεκτισε τὴν Μεσσήνην, πολλοὺς ποιήσας
αὐτῆς οἰκήτορας. τούτους δὲ κατακληρουχόσας

1 8' ἐκ Dindorf: δὲ. 2 ὑπολελιμμένου FK, Dindorf.
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own accord would approach the city, and would challenge the Spartans to a pitched battle, bidding them otherwise admit their inferiority to the enemy. When the Spartans replied to the effect that when they found a suitable occasion they would stake everything on one battle, they departed from the city. And when they had devastated all Laconia and amassed countless spoils, they withdrew to Arcadia.

Thereupon the Athenians, who had arrived on the scene too late for action, returned to Attica without accomplishing anything of note; but others of their allies, to the number of four thousand men, came to reinforce the Lacedaemonians. Besides these they attached to their numbers the Helots who had been newly emancipated, a thousand, and two hundred of the Bocotian fugitives, and summoned no small number from the neighbouring cities, so that they created an army comparable to that of the enemy. As they maintained these in one body and trained them, they gained more and more confidence and made themselves ready for the decisive contest.

66. Now Epameinondas, whose nature it was to aim at great enterprises and to crave everlasting fame, counselled the Arcadians and his other allies to resettle Messenê, which for many years had remained stripped of its inhabitants by the Lacedaemonians, for it occupied a position well suited for operations against Sparta. When they all concurred, he sought out the remnants of the Messenians, and registering as citizens any others who so wished he founded Messenê again, making it a populous city. Among them

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1 See chap. 63. 2. Xenophon places the request for help from Athens after the attack on Sparta (Hell. 6. 5. 33-52).

2 advéntiue Capps : éktiue.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀνέσωσε πόλιν ἐπίσημον Ελληνίδαι καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

2 Ὅνυκ ἀνοίκειοι δὴ εἶναι νομίζω, πολλάκις τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀλούσης καὶ κατασκαφείσης, τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις παραδίδοναν. τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν οἶο ἀπὸ Νηλεώς καὶ Νέστορος κατέσχεσαν αὐτήν μέχρι τῶν Τροικῶν χρόνων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὡς Ἀγαμέμνονος Ὀρέστης καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταῦτας Κρεσφόντης ἔλαχε τὴν Μεσσήνην μερίδα, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι τοὺς ἐβασίλευσαν αὐτῆς. ύστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντου τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποβαλόντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κύριοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τηλέκλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποθανόντος ἐν ἀγώνι κατεπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσήναι. τούτον δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσατέτα ψῆφι γενέσθαι, κατομοσαμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ ἀνακάμψειν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐὰν μὴ Μεσσήνην ἔχωσιν. τὸτε δὲ κυνεῖ θυσίας παρθενίας ὀνομασθέντας γεννηθήναι καὶ κτίσαι τὴν τῶν Ταραντίων πόλιν.

1 τὴν χώραν καὶ Dindorf, Bekker: καὶ τὴν χώραν MSS., Wurm, Vogel.
2 ἀνοικοδομήσας deleted by Wurm, Vogel.
3 ταῦθ' ὡς Dindorf: ταῦθ' ΡΑ, ταῦθ' σελ.
4 So Dindorf, Vogel: ἀνακάμψαι MSS., Bekker.
5 δὲ Dindorf with MSS. except PAFK, Vogel omits.

1 See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 24. 5, Agesilaus, 34. 1; Pausanias, 4. 26-27; 9. 14. 5; Isocrates, Archidamus, 28. Apparently Xenophon, the Spartophile, could not bring himself to mention the refounding of Messene.
2 A brief account of the early history of Messene and
he divided the land, and reconstructing its buildings 369 B.C. restored a notable Greek city and gained the widespread approbation of all men. 1

Here I think it not unsuitable, since Messenê has so often been captured and razed, to recapitulate its history 2 from the beginning. In ancient times the line of Neleus and Nestor 3 held it down to Trojan times; then Orestes, Agamemnon’s son, and his descendants down to the return of the Heracleidae 4; following which Cresphontes 5 received Messenê as his portion and his line ruled it for a time; but later when Cresphontes’ descendants had lost the kingship, the Lacedaemonians became masters of it. After this, at the death of the Lacedaemonian king Teleclus, 6 the Messenians were defeated in a war by the Lacedaemonians. This war is said to have lasted twenty years, for the Lacedaemonians had taken an oath not to return to Sparta unless they should have captured Messenê. Then it was that the children called partheniae 7 were born and founded the city of Tarentum.

Sparta is to be found in Holm, The History of Greece, 1. 193-201. See also Wade-Gery, Cambridge Ancient History, 3. 537-539, 548, 557-560.

3 Chieftains of Pylos on the coast. Cp. Book 4. 68. 6; and Pausanias, 4. 8. 1.

4 The so-called children of Heracles who formed the second wave of Dorian invasion in the Peloponnese (cp. Book 4. 57 f.).

5 A Heraclid who favoured the early inhabitants of Messenê and was slain by the Dorians. He was introduced with his son Aeptius as a hero by Epameinondas according to Pausanias, 4. 27. 6. See Strabo, 8. 4. 7.

6 A king of the Agid line. First Messenian War, 743-723 B.C. See Pausanias, 3. 2. 6; 4. 4. 2; 31. 3 and Strabo, 6. 3. 3.

7 From the union of Spartan “maids” (hence παρθέναι) with men left behind at Sparta while the bulk of the Spartiates were fighting in Messenê. They settled Tarentum 706 B.C. See Strabo, l.c. 3-4.
Diodorus of Sicily

υστερον δε δουλεύοντων Μεσσηνίων τοις Λακεδαιμονίωις, Ἀριστομένης ἐπεισε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἀποστήναι τῶν Σπάρτιατῶν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διειργάσατο τοὺς Σπάρτιατας ὅτε καὶ Τυρταίος ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἤγετῶν ἐδόθη τοῖς Σπάρτιαταις. ἔποιε οὖ οἱ Ἀριστομένης γεγονέναι φασὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκοσαετῆ πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ὅστισ τοῖς πόλεμοις αὐτοῖς σεισμὸ καὶ μεγάλου γενομένου καὶ τῆς μὲν Σπάρτης ὁλῆς σχεδὸν συγκυβείσης ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐρήμου γενομένης, οἱ Μεσσηνίων περιλειφθέντες ὄκισαν τὴν Ἰθώμην μετὰ τῶν συναποστάτων. Εὐλόγων, ἀναστάτου γεγενημένης τῆς Μεσσήνης πολλοὺς χρόνους. ἀνυχήσαντες δὲ ἐν πάσι τοῖς πολέμοις, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι κατ- 6 ὄκισαν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, δόντων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ὁικητήριον τῆν τὸν πόλιν. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐξέπεσαν, των δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεσσήνη τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων ὄνομασθεῖσαν κατ- τῷ τοῖς τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς Θηβαίοι, πείσαντος αὐτοῖς Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ πανταχόθεν συναγαγόντος τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ὄκισαν τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ τὴν ἅρχαιαν αὐτοῖς χώραν ἀποκατέστησαν.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Μεσσήνην τοισαύτας καὶ τῇλι- καύτας συνέβη γενέσθαι μεταβολὰς.

1 So Dindorf: συναποστάτων.

1 Messenian hero of the Second Messenian War, 685–668 B.C.

2 Fragments of his marching songs and his poem on good government (Εὐνομία) are collected in Edmunds, Elegy and Iambus, 1. 58 ff., L.C.L. See Book 8. 27. 2. Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Litt.-Gesch. 1. 1. 358 ff., doubt if a poet came out of
Later, however, while the Messenians were in slavery to the Lacedaemonians, Aristomenes persuaded the Messenians to revolt from the Spartans, and he inflicted many defeats upon the Spartans at the time when the poet Tyrtaeus was given by the Athenians as a leader to Sparta. Some say that Aristomenes lived during the twenty-year war. The last war between them was on the occasion of a great earthquake; practically all Sparta was destroyed and left bare of men, and the remnants of the Messenians settled Ithomé with the aid of the Helots who joined the revolt, after Messené had for a long time been desolate. But when they were unsuccessful in all their wars and were finally driven from their homes, they settled in Naupactus, a city which the Athenians had given them for an abode. Furthermore some of their number were exiled to Cephallenia, while others settled in Messana in Sicily, which was named after them. Finally at the time under discussion the Thebans, at the instigation of Epameinondas, who gathered together the Messenians from all quarters, settled Messené and restored their ancient land to them.

Such then were the many important vicissitudes of Messenian history.

Athens or Sparta at this period but think it quite possible that Tyrtaeus came from Miletus (cp. Suidas, Lexicon, s.v. Λάκων η Μιλήσιος) along with other poets that came to Sparta from the more forward regions of Asia Minor and the islands. For other notices of his life see Edmunds, ibid. 50-58.

2 464-455 B.C. See Book 11. 63.

3 Situated on a promontory on the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth; an important ally of Athens in the Peloponnesian War.

5 Formerly Zanclé, settled by Sicilians probably, later colonized by Chalcidians.

3 Bouwtôi de, metepemponînou autous Òettelówn èpò èleuvêróssei mèn tòn póleous katalúsei de tís 'Alezánðrou tòu Òeíalou tûranwûdos, èxapèsteilán Peleptidôn metà dynámëseis eis Òettelión, òntes èntolàs autòs eis tò sumphéro tòn Bouwtôn di-
4 oukhía tò kata tìn Òettelía. òntos5 de katan-
tísas eis Láriósoan, kal katalabón tìn àkropoli

1 taíz póleis] deleted by Vogel but his reference (Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 14) is indecisive.
3 mèn] placed after tòus by Dindorf.
67. The Thebans, having accomplished in eighty-five days all that is narrated above, and having left a considerable garrison for Messenê, returned to their own land. The Lacedaemonians, who had unexpectedly got rid of their enemies, sent to Athens a commission of the most distinguished Spartans, and came to an agreement over the supremacy: the Athenians should be masters of the sea, the Lacedaemonians of the land; but after this in both cities they set up a joint command. The Arcadians now appointed Lycomedes their general, gave him the corps they called their élite, five thousand in number, and took the field against Pellênê in Laconia. Having taken the city by force, they slew the Lacedaemonians who had been left behind there as a garrison, over three hundred men, enslaved the city, devastated the countryside, and returned home before assistance came from the Lacedaemonians. The Boeotians, summoned by the Thessalians to liberate their cities and to overthrow the tyranny of Alexander of Pherae, dispatched Pelopidas with an army to Thessaly, after giving him instructions to arrange Thessalian affairs in the interests of the Boeotians. Having arrived in Larissa and found the acropolis garrisoned by Alex-

1 Three months in Plutarch, Agesiläus, 32. 8.
2 Xenophon says (Hell. 7. 1. 14) that they each exercised alternate command of sea and land forces for periods of five days. See chap. 38. 4.
3 See chap. 62. 2.
4 Pellana in the Laconian dialect. Situated on the Eurotas River on the road from Sparta to Arcadia. See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 2. 2.
5 See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 26.

4 So MSS. except F²J which have ἐγκαταληφθέντας.
5 So Schäfer: αὐτὸς.
Diodorus of Sicily

φρουρομένην ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ταύτην μὲν παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν παρέλθων καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ὡμηρον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄδελφον Φίλιππον, ὃν ἐξεπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Θῆβας. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν διοικησάμενος ὥσ ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν τοῖς Βουκολοῖς, ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

68. Τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων Ἀρκάδες καὶ Αργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι συμφρονήσαντες ἐγνωσάν ὁποῖαν στρατεύειν ἐπί τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Βουκολούς ἐπείσαν αὐτοὺς κοινώνειν τοῖς πολέμοις. οἱ δὲ Ἕπαμενώνδαν καταστήσαντες ἥγεμόνα μετ' ἀλλών βοιωταρχῶν, ἐξεπεμψαν στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπτακισθεῖσος, ἵππεις δὲ ἐξακοσιοῦς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι τὴν Βουκολῶν στρατίαν παροῦσαν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐξεπεμψαν δύ-2 νὰμι καὶ στρατηγόν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Χαβρίαν. οὗτος δὲ παρελθὼς εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ προσλαβόμενος καὶ παρὰ Μεγαρέων καὶ Πελληνίων, ἑτὶ δὲ Κορυθίων στρατιώτας, στρατόπεδον συνεστήσατο ἀνδρῶν μυ-ρίων· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παραγενομένων εἰς Κόρινθον συνήχθησαν 3 οἱ συμπαντεῖς οὐκ ἐλάττουσιν δισμυρίων. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁχυρώσουσαί τὰς παρόδους καὶ διακωλύειν τοὺς Βουκολούς τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσβολής. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ Κεγχρεῶν μέχρι Λεχαίου σταυ-

1 See chap. 61. 4. 5.
2 For a different account concerning Philip see Book 16. 2. 2. Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 86, disagrees with both passages in Diodorus. See Aeschines, On the Embassy, 28.

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ander of Macedon,\(^3\) he obtained its surrender. 309/8 B.C. Then proceeding into Macedon, where he made an alliance with Alexander the Macedonian king, he took from him as a hostage his brother Philip, whom he sent to Thebes.\(^2\) When he had settled Thessalian affairs as he thought fit in the interest of the Boeotians, he returned home.

68. After these events, Arcadians, Argives, and Eleians, making common cause, decided to take the field against the Lacedaemonians, and having sent a commission to the Boeotians prevailed on them to join in the war. They appointed Epameinondas commander\(^3\) along with other boeotarchs and dispatched seven thousand foot and six hundred horse. The Athenians, hearing that the Boeotian army was about to pass into the Peloponnese, dispatched an army and Chabrias as general against them. He arrived in Corinth, added to his number Megarians,\(^4\) Pellenians,\(^5\) and also Corinthians, and so gathered a force of ten thousand men. Later, when the Lacedaemonians and other allies arrived at Corinth, there were assembled no less than twenty thousand men all told. They decided to fortify the approaches and prevent the Boeotians from invading the Peloponnese. From Cenchreae\(^6\) to Lechaeum they fenced off the area

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\(^3\) An account of this expedition is in Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 15-22. See also Pausanias, 9. 15. 4.

\(^4\) According to Isocrates (*On the Peace*, 118), Megara remained neutral. It is obvious here that she afforded passage to both parties.

\(^5\) Pellenë was the easternmost town of Achaia, slightly north-west of Sicyon and Corinth.

\(^6\) The line from Cenchreae (on the Saronic Gulf) to Lechaeum (on the Corinthian Gulf) crossed the neck of the isthmus close to the Peloponnese and just included the city of Corinth. Mentioned in Book 11. 16. 3.
ρώμασι καὶ βαθείας τάφρος διελάμβανον τὸν τόπον· ταχύ δὲ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διὰ τε τὴν πολυχειρίαν καὶ τὰς προθυμίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔφθασαν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πάντα τὸν ἰχνώσαντες.

4 ὀ δ' Ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἦκων μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ κατανοήσας εὐθεδώστατον εἶναι τὸν καθ' ὅν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεφύλασσον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προεκάλεσα τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς παρά-
ταξιν, σχεδὸν τριπλαισίους δύνας τοῖς πλήθεσιν, οὕτως δὲ τολμώντος ἐκεῖς τοῦ τεχνίματος προ-
ελθείν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἀμυνομένων
5 ἀπάντων, προσῆκε τὴν βίαιν τοῖς πολεμίως. κατὰ πάντα μὲν οὖν τὸν τόπον ἐγίνοντο προσβολαὶ καρ-
τεραί, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίως, εὐθεδῶν ὄντων καὶ δυσφυλάκτων τῶν τόπων. μεγάλῆς δὲ φιλοτιμίας γενομένης παρ' ἀμφοτέρους, Ὁ Ἐπαμει-
nώνδας ἦκων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν
Θηβαίων μόνος ἐβιάσατο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίως·
dιακόμας δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμι
διαγράφαν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησου, διαπρα-
ζάμενος ἔργον οὐδὲν τῶν προκατεργασμένων καταδεστέρων.

69. Εὐθὺ δὲ ἐπὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ὁ Ἐπίδαυρον πο-
ρευθεὶς τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδήμωσε, τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὀὐκ ἐδυνήθη κρατῆσαι διὰ τοῦ φρουρᾶς ἔχειν ἀξιο-
λόγους, Σικυόνα δὲ καὶ Φλοῦντα καὶ τινὰς άλλας πόλεις καταπληξάμενος προσηγάγετο. στρατεύσας
δ' ἐπὶ Κόρινθον, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπεξελθόντων

μικήσας μάχῃ, τούτους μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν συν-

1 πάντα] πάντα τῶν Dindorf.
2 So Vogel, following P: παρελθεῖν.
3 Φαλοῦντα MSS. corrected by Palmer.
4 άλλας added by Dindorf (cp. chaps. 71., 4 and 75. 9).
with palisades and deep trenches, and since the task was quickly completed owing to the large number of men and their enthusiasm, they had every spot fortified before the Bocotians arrived. Epameinondas came with his army, inspected the fortifications, and, perceiving that there was a spot very easy of access where the Lacedaemonians were on guard, first challenged the enemy to come forth to a pitched battle, though they were almost three times his number, then when not a man dared to advance beyond the fortified line, but all remained on the defensive in their palisaded camp, he launched a violent attack upon them. Accordingly, throughout the whole area heavy assaults were made, but particularly against the Lacedaemonians, for their terrain was easily assailed and difficult to defend. Great rivalry arose between the two armies, and Epameinondas, who had with him the bravest of the Thebans, with great effort forced back the Lacedaemonians, and, cutting through their defence and bringing his army through, passed into the Peloponnese, thereby accomplishing a feat no whit inferior to his former mighty deeds.

69. Having proceeded straightway to Troezên and Epidaurus, he ravaged the countryside but could not seize the cities, for they had garrisons of considerable strength, yet Sicyon, Phlius, and certain other cities he so intimidated as to bring them over to his side. When he invaded Corinth, and the Corinthians sallied forth to meet him, he defeated them in battle, and drove them all back inside their walls, but when the

1 Fighting for Sicyon is indicated in Polyaeon, 5. 16. 3 and Pausanias, 6. 3. 3. That the Bocotians obtained it is stated in Xenophon, Hell. 7. 2. 11; 3. 2. 4.
2 According to Xenophon, ibid. 2. 5-9, Phlius remained true to Sparta.
εδώξε, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν διὰ τὴν εὐημερίαν μετεωρισθέντων, καὶ τινῶν προχείρως τολμησάντων διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐσβιάζονται, οἱ μὲν Κόρινθοι δείσαντες ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, Χαβρίας δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἐμφρόνως ἀμα καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ὑποστάσεις τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν κατ-2 ἐβαλεν. γενομένης δὲ φιλοτιμίας, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν συντάξαντες ἐπήγαγον ἐπὶ τὴν Κόρινθον καταπληκτικῶς, δὲ Χαβρίας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ καταλαβόμενος τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους ὑπέστη τὴν 3 τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Βοιωτοὶ, πε- πουδότες ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ρώμαις καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς συνεχείᾳ πολέμωσις ἐμπειρίαις, τῇ βίᾳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦλπιζον χειρόσωσθαι, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χορηγούμενοι, οὓς μὲν ἀνήρουν τῶν βιαζόμενων, τοὺς δὲ κατετίθυσεν. 4 οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ, πολλὰ μὲν κακοπαθῆσαντες, ουδὲν δὲ πρᾶξαι δυνάμενοι, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. Χαβρίας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ἄνδρεια καὶ στρατηγικῆς συνε-έσει θαμμασθεὶς τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἀπετρήματο τοὺς πολεμίους.

70. 'Εκ δὲ τῆς Συκελίας Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρίας διοχύλιοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐκπειραθέντες ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχῆσαι Λακεδαίμονιοι, εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες πείραν αὐτῶν βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν προῆγον αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς καὶ μάχας ἀνθραγαθοῦντων αὐτῶν πολλοὶ τε τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνηροῦντο.

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Boeotians were so elated by their success that some of them rashly ventured to force their way through the gates into the city, the Corinthians, frightened, took refuge in their houses, but Chabrias the Athenian general made an intelligent and determined resistance, and succeeded in driving the Boeotians out of the city, having also struck down many of them. In the rivalry which followed, the Bocotians gathered all their army in line of battle and directed a formidable blow at Corinth; but Chabrias with the Athenians advanced out of the city, took his station on superior terrain and withstood the attack of the enemy. The Boeotians, however, relying upon the hardihood of their bodies and their experience in continuous warfare, expected to worst the Athenians by sheer might, but Chabrias’ corps, having the advantage of superior ground in the struggle and of abundant supplies from the city, slew some of the attackers and severely wounded others. The Boeotians, having suffered many losses and being unable to accomplish anything, beat a retreat. So Chabrias won great admiration for his courage and shrewdness as a general and got rid of the enemy in this fashion.

70. From Sicily, Celts and Iberians to the number of two thousand sailed to Corinth, for they had been sent by the tyrant Dionysius to fight in alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and had received pay for five months. The Greeks, in order to make trial of them, led them forth; and they proved their worth in hand-to-hand fighting and in battles and many both of the Bocotians and of their allies were slain by them.

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1 χειρόσωθαί] χειρόσειθαι Dindorf.
2 So P, Faber: δυνάμει.
διόπερ δόξαντες εὐχειρία καὶ ἀνδρεία διαφέρειν καὶ πολλὰς χρείας παρασχόμενοι, καὶ τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ἐξαπο-2 εστάλησαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φιλίσκος μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπο-σταλεῖς κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας διαλύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμους, εἰρήνην δὲ κοινὴν συνθέσθαι. οἷς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀσμένως υπῆκουσαν, Θηβαῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὑπόστασιν ὅλην τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγα-γόντες1 συντέλειαν οὐ προσεδέχθησαν. ἀπογνω-σθείης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὃ μὲν Φιλίσκος καταλιπὼν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους δισχίλιους ἐπι-λέκτους μισθοφόρους ἔχοντας τοὺς μισθούς, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
3 "Ἀμα δὲ τούτως πραττομένους Εὐφρων ὁ Σικ-κυώνος, διαφέρων θράσει καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ, συνεργοὺς λαβὼν Ἀργείους ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τετταράκοντα τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους τῶν Σικυώνων ἐφυγάδευσε, δημεύοντας αὐτῶν τὰς συσίας, καὶ πολλὰς χρημάτων κυριεύσας μισθο-φόρους ἠθροίσε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐδυνάστευσεν.
71. Ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι Ναυσιγνένου ἐν Ὀμήρῳ χιλιάρχοι κατεστάθησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τέτταρες, Λεύκιος Παπίριος,2 Λεύκιος Μενήμιος, Σερούιος Κορνήλιος, Σερούιος Σολόπικιος,3 παρὰ δὲ Ἡλείων ὀλυμπιάς ἡχθεὶ τρίτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ’ ἡν ἐνίκη σταβίον Πυθόστρατος Ἀθηναίοις.

1 So Vogel: ἡγοῦντες FJK. 2 Παπίριος Vulgate. 3 Σολόπικιος MSS. except PA.
 Accordingly, having won repute for superior dexterity and courage and rendered many kinds of service, they were given awards by the Lacedaemonians and sent back home at the close of the summer to Sicily. Following this, Philiscus, who was sent on this mission by King Artaxerxes, sailed to Greece to urge the Greeks to compose their strife and agree to a general peace. All but the Thebans responded willingly; they, however, adhering to their own design, had brought all Boeotia into one confederation and were excluded from the agreement. Since the general peace was not agreed to, Philiscus left two thousand picked mercenaries, paid in advance, for the Lacedaemonians and then returned to Asia.

While these things were going on, Euphron of Sicyon, a particularly rash and crack-brained individual, with accomplices from Argos, attempted to set up a tyranny. Succeeding in his plan, he sent forty of the wealthiest Sicyonians into exile, first confiscating their property, and, when he had secured large sums thereby, he collected a mercenary force and became lord of the city.

71. When Nausigenes was archon at Athens, in 368/7 B.C. Rome four military tribunes with consular power were elected, Lucius Papirius, Lucius Menenius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpicius; and the Eleians celebrated the hundred third Olympiad, in which Pythostratus the Athenian won the stadium race.

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1 For the performance of these Celts and Iberians see Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 20-22.
2 See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 27. This peace move is dated in the spring of 368 (Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 93).
3 This is told in Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 44-46 under the year 367. Diodorus is probably wrong as to the year (cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 243).
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πτολεμαῖος ὁ 'Αλωρίτης ὁ Ἀμύντος ὦσ ἐδολοφόνησεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἄδελφον, καὶ εἴσπιλευσε τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐτὴ τρία. κατὰ δέ τὴν Βοιωτίαν Πελοπίδας ἐφάμιλλος ὡν τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδα τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον δόξη, καὶ θεωρῶν ἐκείνον τὰ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον συμφερόντως κατασκευάκοτα τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, ἐσπευδά τὰ ἐκτὸς Πελοπόννησος δι' αὐτοῦ προσάγεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. παραλαβών δὲ Ἰσμηνίαν, ἄνδρα φίλον μὲν ἔαυτοῦ θαυμαζόμενον δ' ἐπ' ἀρετῆ, παρήλθεν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν. καταντήσας δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φερόν τύραννον, ἀλώγως συνελήφθη μετὰ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδόθη. Ἐν τούτοις πρακτείσαι παραεξείνθετων, καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκπεμβάνατο ὑπέλατο μὲν ὁκτακυκλίους ἱππεῖς δ' ἐξακοσίους, φοβθεῖσι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξεπεμψε προσβεντας εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας περὶ συμμαχίας. ὥς παραχρῆμα ὁ δῆμος ἐξεπεμψε ναῦς μὲν τριάκοντα στρατιώτας δὲ χιλίους, ὡς ἦν στρατηγός. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὕτως περιέπλει τὴν Εὔβοιαν Ἐν τούτοις κατηντήσαν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν. τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον πεζὴν δύναμιν ἥθροικότος καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλαπλασίους ἑρωτοῦ τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ μάχης ἔκρυνον λύσας τὸν πόλεμον, συνεργοῦσι ἑρωτοῦ τοὺς Θεσσαλούς: ὅς δ' οὕτως οὕτως

1 After Ἀλωρίτης Vogel deletes ὁ Ἀμύντος ὦσ and after Ἀλέξανδρον the words τῶν ἄδελφων as inconsistent with chaps. 60. 3, 77. 5 and Book 16. 2. 4. See explanatory note below.
2 So Rhodoman: τριάκοντα (cp. chap. 77. 5).

1 Ptolemy of Alorus was the husband of Eurynot, daughter of Amyntas III and Eurydice (Justin, 7. 4. 5, 7), hence the use of τῶν ἄδελφων. He may well have been the son of an Amyntas since the name was common in Macedonia. After 148
During their term of office Ptolemy 1 of Alorus, son of 368/7 B.C. Amyntas, assassinated Alexander, his brother-in-law, and was king of Macedon for three years. In Boeotia Pelopidas, whose military reputation rivalled that of Epameinondas, saw that the latter had arranged the Peloponnesian affairs to the advantage of the Boeotians, and was eager to be the instrument whereby districts outside of the Peloponnese were won for the Thebans. Taking along with him as his associate Ismenias, a friend of his, and a man who was admired for his valour, he entered Thessaly. 2 There he met Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, but was suddenly arrested with Ismenias, and placed under guard. The Thebans, incensed at what had been done, dispatched with all speed eight thousand hoplites and six hundred cavalry into Thessaly, so frightening Alexander that he dispatched ambassadors to Athens for an alliance. 3 The Athenian people immediately sent him thirty ships and a thousand men under the command of Autocles. While Autocles was making the circuit of Euboea, the Thebans entered Thessaly. Though Alexander had gathered his infantry and had many times more horsemen than the Boeotians, at first the Boeotians decided to settle the war by battle, for they had the Thessalians as supporters; but when the latter

Alexander’s death he took the regency for Perdiccas (Aeschines, On the Embassy, 29) and married the Queen dowager Eurydicē (sch. ibid.; Justin, 7. 4. 7). If he was king, no coins were issued in his name. (See Beloch 2, 3. 2. 67.) See also Plutarch, Pelopidas, 27; Marsyas in Athenaeus, Deip. 14. 629 d.

2 For this venture see Plutarch, Pelopidas, 27 ff.; Pausanias, 9. 15. 1-2; Nepos, Pelopidas, 5.

3 For the alliance see Plutarch, Pelopidas, 31. 4, Apophthegmata Epaminondou, 17 (193); Demosthenes, 23. 120; IG, 22. 1. 116. 39 f.
Diodorus of Sicily

μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγκατέλιπον, ἁθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σύμμαχοι παρεγένοντο τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὰ δὲ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τάλλα πάντα ἐπέλευσε1 τοῖς Βουῳτῶι, ἔγνωσαν οἱ βοιωτάρχαι τὴν εἰς οἶκον εἰπένδον ποιεῖσθαι. ἀναζευζάντων δ’ αὐτῶι, καὶ τῆς πορείας οὕσης διὰ χώρας πεδιάδοις, Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπηκολούθει πολλοῖς ἐπιεύσει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐπέθετο. τῶν δὲ Βουῳτῶι οἱ μὲν κατακοντιζόμενοι συνεχῶς ἀπέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τραύματι περιέπιπτον, τέλος δ’ οὔτε μένεων οὔτε προάγειν εὑρίσκειν εἰς πολλὴν ἀμήχανίαν ἐνεύπιπτον,2 ἃτε ἤλθαν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτιθέλων σπανιότατων. τῇ δ’ αὐτῶι τὴν συνηρίαν ἀπογυμνωσκότων, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἰδιωτεύων κατ’ ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ύπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεστάθη στρατηγός. εὐθὺς δὲ διαλέξας τοὺς τε ψυλῶν καὶ τοὺς ἁπατεῖς, τούτους μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταχεῖας ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας διὰ τούτων ἀνέστελλε τοὺς ἐπακολούθωντας πολεμίους καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεῖχετο τοῖς προηγούμενοις ὁπλίταις, ποιούμενος δὲ μάχας ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καὶ τὰξεῖ φιλοτέχνω χρώμνεος 7 διέσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τῶν κατορθώματος αὐξῶν τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδοξίαν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς τότε βοιωταρχήσαντας καταδικάσαντες, πολλοίς χρήμασιν ἐξημίσαν.

72. Ἐπιζητουμένης δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς πῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἱδιώτης ὑν ἐστρατεύετο μετὰ τῶν εἰς Θεσπεδῶν αποσταλέντων, ἀποδότεον τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον τῆς ἀπολογίας. τῇ μάχῃ τῇ περὶ Κόρινθου Ἐπαμεινώνδας διακόψας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ προτειχισμάτος 150
left them in the lurch and the Athenians and some other allies joined Alexander, and they found their provisions of food and drink and all their other supplies giving out, the boeotarchs decided to return home. When they had broken camp and were proceeding through level country, Alexander trailed them with a large body of cavalry and attacked their rear. A number of Boeotians perished under the continuous rain of darts, others fell wounded, until finally, being permitted neither to halt nor to proceed, they were reduced to utter helplessness, as was natural when they were also running short of provisions. When they had now abandoned hope, Epameinondas, who was at that time serving as a private soldier, was appointed general by the men. Quickly selecting the light-armed men and cavalry, he took them with him, and, posting himself in the rear, with their aid checked the enemy pursuers and provided complete security for the heavy-armed men in the front ranks; and by wheeling about and offering battle and using masterly formations he saved the army. By these repeated successes he more and more enhanced his own reputation and won the warm approbation of both his fellow citizens and allies. But the Thebans brought judgement against the boeotarchs of the day and punished them with a heavy fine.

72. When the reason is asked why a man of such parts was serving as a private soldier in the expedition that was sent to Thessaly, we must give his own plea in defence. In the battle at Corinth Epameinondas, having cut through the guard of the Lacedaemonians

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1 So Schäfer: ὑπελέιπετο.
2 So Hertlein: ἐξεπίπτον.
3 So Vogel: τε.
DIODOCUS OF SICILY

φυλακή τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ δυνάμενος πολ-
λοῦσ ανελευ τῶν πολεμίων, ἥρκεσθη τῷ προτερή-
2 ματι καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλείου μάχης ἀπέστη. γενομένης
de peri autón ıkartis ὑποφίας ὡς πεφεισμένου τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἱδίας ἑνεκα χάριτος, οἱ φθονοῦντες
αὐτοῦ τῇ δόξῃ καυρόν ἔλαβον εὐλόγων διαβολῆς.
ἐπενεγκάντων οὖν αὐτῷ προδοσίας ἐγκλῆμα, τὸ
πλῆθος παροξυνθὲν ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν τῆς βοιω-
tαρχίας, καὶ ἵππων ποιήσαν2 ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐξ-
ήλευσε τὰς καθ' εαυτοῦ διαβολὰς, τότε ὁ δῆμος
ἀποκατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν προγενενημένην εὐ-
3 δοξίαν. μετ' ὅλιγον δὲ χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίους
πρὸς Ἀρκάδας ἐγένετο μεγάλη μάχη, ἐν ἡ ἐνίκησαν
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπιφανῶς. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Δεύκ-
tρους ἤταν τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς παράδοξον εὐ-
tύχημα ἐγένετο· ἐπέσον γὰρ Ἀρκάδων μὲν ὑπὲρ
tῶν μυρίων, Λακεδαιμόνιων δ' οὐδείς. προείπον
δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ Δωδωνίδες4 ίέρειαι διότι πόλεμος οὗτος
4 Λακεδαιμονίωι ἀδάκρυς ἔσται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην
οἱ Ἀρκάδαις, φοβηθέντες τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
eὐσβολάς, ἐκτισαν ἐπὶ τυχος ἐπικαλρό τόπον τῆν
ὄνομαξομένην Μεγάλην πόλιν, συρρῆματε εἰς αὐ-
τὴν κώμας εἰκοσὶ5 τῶν ὄνομαξομένων Μαυλαίων
καὶ Παρρασίαν Ἀρκάδων.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

1 πλείων editors : πλείων PAFJL.
2 ποιήσαν (sic) Wesseling : ποιήσας.
3 ἀπὸ διά Reiske.
4 So Wesseling : Δωδωνίας.
5 εἰκοσι] μ' L (Pausanias, 8. 27. 3, 4), тετταράκοντα Dindorf, Bekker.

For the "tearless battle" see Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 28
32 and Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 33. 3 ff.

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on the outwork, though he might have slain many of the enemy, was satisfied with his advantage and desisted from further combat. A serious suspicion arose that he had spared the Lacedaemonians as a personal favour, and those who were jealous of his fame found an opportunity for plausible charges against him. They accordingly brought a charge of treason against him, and the populace, incensed, removed him from the board of boeotarchs, made him a private soldier, and sent him out with the rest. When he had by his achievements wiped out the feeling against him, the people then restored him to his former position of high repute. Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians fought a great battle with the Arcadians and defeated them signally. Indeed since the defeat at Leuctra this was their first stroke of good fortune, and it was a surprising one; for over ten thousand Arcadians fell and not one Lacedaemonian. The priestesses of Dodona had foretold to them that this war would be a tearless one for the Lacedaemonians. After this battle the Arcadians, fearful of the invasions of the Lacedaemonians, founded in a favourable location the city called Great, Megalopolis, by combining to form it twenty villages of the Arcadians known as Maenalians and Parrhasians.

Such were the events in Greece at this time.

2 Ancient oracle of Zeus in Epeirus.
3 Pausanias (see critical notes) names forty villages. Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 91-92, accepts Diodorus’ figure but not his date. For the date of founding Pausanias, *ibid.* 27. 8, gives 371/0; the Parian Marble 370/69 or 369/8, while Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 1. 187, accepts Diodorus.
4 Districts of southern Arcadia. In Maenalia was situated the new foundation, Megalopolis.
Diodorus of Sicily

73. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος ἔχων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, καὶ τῶν Ῥαχθονίων ὅρων οὐκ εἶ διακειμένους πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην παρ’ αὐτοῖς λοιμικήν νόσον καὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Λιβύων, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπ’ αὐτούς. οὐκ ἔχων δὲ πρόφασιν ἀξιολόγου τῆς διαφορᾶς, προσεποιήθη τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν

2 Φοίνικας ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν χώρας. παρα-σκευασάμενος οὖν πεζοῦς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους, τριήρεις δὲ τριακοσίας καὶ τὴν ἀμισίους τῇ δυνάμει ταύτη παρασκευήν, ἐν-έβαλεν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων χώραν. καὶ Σελινούντα μὲν καὶ Ἐντέλλαν εὐθὺς προσηγάγετο, καὶ τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν πορθήσας καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἐρυκίων ἐγκρατής γενόμενος ἐπολιορκήσει Λιδύβαιον πολλῶν δ’ οὕτων ἐν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν

3 τῆς πολιορκίας ἔλυσεν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὰ νεώρια τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐμπερήθηκα, καὶ δόξας πάντα τὸν στόλον αὐτῶν διεφθάρθαι κατεφρόνησε, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τριήρων ἔκατον μὲν καὶ τριάκοντα τὰς ἀρι-στας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἐρυκίων λιμένα, τὸς δ’ ἄλλας ἀπάσας ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Συρακοῦ-4 σας. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδονίοι παραδόξως διακοσίας ναῦς πληρώσαντες ἐπέπλευσαν ταῖς ὀρμούσις ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Ἐρυκίων· ἀνελπίστοι δὲ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως γενομένης ἀπήγαγον τῶν τριήρων τὰς πλείστας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χειμῶνος ἐνστάντος ἄνοχας ποιησάμενοι διεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἕκα-5 τεροὶ πόλεις. μετ’ ὀλίγων δὲ χρόνων Διονύσιος

1 So Reiske: ἐκάτερα.
BOOK XV. 73. 1-5

73. In Sicily, Dionysius the tyrant having large armies, and perceiving that the Carthaginians were in no condition for war because of the plague which had raged in their midst\(^1\) and the defection of the Libyans, decided to take the field against them. Not having a reasonable excuse for strife, he alleged that the Phoenicians in the empire of Carthage had violated the territory subject to him. He therefore got ready an armament of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, three hundred triremes and the supply train appropriate for that force, and invaded Carthaginian territory in Sicily. He immediately won Selinus and Entella, laid waste the whole countryside, and, having captured the city of Eryx, besieged Lilybaeum,\(^2\) but there were so many soldiers in the place that he abandoned the siege. Hearing that the Carthaginians' dockyards had been burned and thinking their whole fleet had been destroyed, he conceived a contempt for them and dispatched only one hundred thirty of his best triremes to the harbour of Eryx, sending all the rest back to Syracuse. But the Carthaginians, having unexpectedly manned two hundred ships, sailed against the fleet at anchor in the harbour of Eryx, and, as the attack was unforeseen, they made off with most of the triremes. Later when winter had set in, the two states agreed to an armistice and separated, each going to its own cities. A little later

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\(^1\) For previous Sicilian passages see chaps. 6-7, 13, 14, 15-17, 24 (plague and revolt). For a discussion of this Third Carthaginian War see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2. 2. 375 and Bury, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 131.

\(^2\) Selinus is on the south coast of Sicily near the west end, Entella is inland from it, while Eryx is in the extreme north-west corner, the modern harbour of which is Trapani, and Lilybaeum is to the south on the coast.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

eis ἀρρωστιάν ἐμπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε, δυναστεύσας ἐτη τριάκοντα καὶ ὄκτω· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδέχαμενος ὁ νῦν Διονύσιος ἐτυπάνωσεν ἐτη διώδεκα.

74. Ὅψιν ἀνοίκειον δ' ἦστι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας διελθεῖν τάς τε αὐτίας τῆς τελευτῆς καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τοῦτῳ τῷ δυνάστῃ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆν. ¹ Διονύσιον τοῦν δεδιδαχότος Ἀθηναίοις πραγματίκαι καὶ νικέσαντος, τῶν ἐν τῷ χορῷ τις ἄδοντων² ὑπολαβῶν τιμηθήσεθαι λαμπρῶς εἶν πρώτος ἀπαγγέλλῃ τὴν νίκην, διέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον. καταλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖ ναῦν ἐκπλέουσαν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ μετεμβάσες³ εἰς ταύτην, οὐρίοις ἔχρησατο πνεῦμα, καὶ καταπλεύσας εἰς Συρακούσας συντόμως ἀπήγγειλε τῷ 2 τυράννῳ τὴν νίκην. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τοῦτον μὲν ἐτύμησεν, αὐτός δὲ περικρησθεὶς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐαγγέλια θύσας πότους καὶ μεγάλας εὐωχίας ἐπετέλεσεν. ἔστων δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς φίλους, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πότους φιλοτιμότερον τῇ μέθῃ δους ἑαυτόν, εἰς ἀρρωστιάν ὁμορροτέραν ἐνέπεσε διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐμφορηθέντων ὑγρῶν. ἔχων δὲ παρὰ θεῶν λόγιον τότε⁴ τελευτήσειν ὅταν τῶν κρειστῶν περιγένευται, τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνέφερεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους, ὑπολαμβάνων τούτους κρέστους ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι. διὸ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλεονάκις

¹ τὴν τ. β. καταστροφῆν Reiske: τῆς τ. β. καταστροφῆς.
² ἄδοντων Reiske, Vogel: ἄδων.
³ μετεμβάσις AJKL.
⁴ τότε JL: τὸ σετ.

¹ The “Wine Press Festival” of January or February at which both comedies and tragedies were presented. By unanimous consent (see Niese, P.-W. Realencyclopadie, 5. 901 top for references) the poetry of Dionysius was wretched
BOOK XV. 73. 5—74. 3

Dionysius fell sick and died, after ruling as overlord for thirty-eight years. His son Dionysius succeeded and ruled as tyrant twelve years.

74. It is not out of keeping with the present narrative to recount the cause of his death and the events which befell this dynast toward the end of his life. Now Dionysius had produced a tragedy at the Lenaea at Athens and had won the victory, and one of those who sang in the chorus, supposing that he would be rewarded handsomely if he were the first to give news of the victory, set sail to Corinth. There, finding a ship bound for Sicily, he transferred to it, and obtaining favouring winds, speedily landed at Syracuse and gave the tyrant news of the victory. Dionysius did reward him, and was himself so overjoyed that he sacrificed to the gods for the good tidings and instituted a drinking bout and great feasts. As he entertained his friends lavishly and during the bout applied himself overzealously to drink, he fell violently ill from the quantity of liquor he had consumed. Now he had an oracle the gods had given him that he should die when he had conquered "his betters," but he interpreted the oracle as referring to the Carthaginians, assuming that these were "his betters." So in the wars that he had many times

and boring, but he never ceased to aspire. For one humiliating experience see Book 14. 109. See also Book 15. 6. The name of the play presented on this occasion was the Ransom of Hector (Nauck, Trag. gr. fr. 2, 794).

2 It is to be noted that Athens was now, through Sparta, an ally of Dionysius I. (Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 28-29.) Athens honoured Dionysius and his sons with public praises and crowns in 369/8. See Hicks and Hill, Greek Historical Inscriptions, 108. For the formal alliance see ibid. 112. See also Bury, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 134 and 132.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

πεπολεμηκὼς εἰώθει κατὰ τὰς νίκας ὑποφεύγειν καὶ ἐκουσίως ἤττᾶσθαι, ἣν μὴ δόξῃ τῶν ἱσχυρό-
4 τέρων γεγονέναι κρέεττων. οὐ μὴν ἡδυνήθη γε τῇ πανουργίᾳ κατασοφίσασθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πεπρωμένης ἀνάγκην, ἀλλὰ ποιήσῃ ὃν κακὸς καὶ διακρίνεις ἐν Ἀθήναις ἔνικησε τοὺς κρέεττοις ποιήτας. εὐ-
λόγως οὖν κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τὸ περιγενέσθαι τῶν κρεεττόνων ἑπακολουθῆτιν ἐσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν.

5 ο δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ νεώτερος διαδεξάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον τὰ πλῆθος συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλη-
σίαν παρεκάλεσε τοὺς οἰκείους λόγους τηρεῖν τὴν πατρισπαράδοτον πρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐνοιαν, ἐπειτὰ τῶν πατέρα μεγαλοπρεπῶς θάφας κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς ταῖς βασιλεῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις, ἴσαν τάκτης κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.

75. Ἑσπ' ἄρχοντος δὲ Ἀθήνης Πολυζήλου κατὰ μὲν τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἀναρχία διὰ τινὰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φερών τύραννος ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλεσάς τῇ πόλει τῶν Σκοτούσσαίων, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περιστήμας τοὺς μισθο-
φόρους ἀπαντᾶς ἀπέσφαξε, τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων ῥώπας εἰς τὴν πρὸ τῶν τεχνῶν 2 τάφρον τὴν πόλιν διήρπασεν. Ἑπαμεινώνδας δ' δὲ Θῆβαις μετὰ διυώμεος ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Πελοπόν-

1 γεγονέναι κρέεττων] κρέεττων εἶναι F.I.K.
2 δ' ὁ P, δὲ Vulgata.

1 Though Diodorus has just said above that Dionysius was producing at Athens (§ 1), he seems by his repetition to wish to stress the fact that the judgement was rendered by the most critical and authoritative city of the time.

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waged against them he was accustomed to withdraw 368/7 B.C. 
in the hour of victory and accept defeat willingly, in 
order that he might not appear to have proved him-
self "better" than the stronger foe. For all that, how-
ever, he could not in the end by his chicanery outwit 
the destiny Fate had in store for him; on the con-
trary, though a wretched poet and though judged 
on this occasion in a competition at Athens,¹ he 
defeated "better" poets than himself. So in verbal 
consistency with the decree of the oracle he met 
his death as a direct consequence of defeating "his 
better." 

Dionysius the younger on his succession to the 
tyranny first gathered the populace in an assembly 
and urged them in appropriate words to maintain 
toward him the loyalty that passed to him with the 
heritage that he had received from his father; then, 
having buried his father with magnificent obsequies 
in the citadel by the gates called royal, he made 
secure for himself the administration of the govern-
ment.

75. When Polyzelus was archon at Athens, anarchy 367/6 B.C. 
prevailed at Rome because of civil dissensions, and in 
Greece, Alexander, tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, 
having lodged accusations about certain matters 
against the city of Scotussa,² summoned its citizens 
to an assembly and, having surrounded them with 
mercenaries, slew them all, cast the bodies of the dead 
into the ditch in front of the walls, and plundered the 
city from end to end. Epameinondas, the Theban, 
entered the Peloponnese with an army, won over the 

² A Thessalian town between Pherae and Pharsalus. For 
this blood-bath see Plutarch, Pelopidas, 29. 4, 31. 1 and 
Pausanias, 6. 5. 2 f. (date given as 371/0, perhaps as a result 
of missing an Olympiad).
νησίου τούς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τινας ἄλλας πόλεις προσηγάγετο,1 Δύμην δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυκώνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν. ἔστρατευσαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Θεσσαλίαν Βοιωτοῖ, καὶ Πελοπίδαι εκομίσαντο παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεροῦ τυράννου. Φλισσίους δὲ πολεμούμενοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων Χάρης ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐβοήθησεν. νικήσας δὲ τούς Ἀργείους δυσὶ μάχας καὶ τὴν ἁσφάλειαν περιποιήσας τοῖς Φλισσίοις ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

70. Τοῦ δὲ ἐναυσίου2 χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθηναίες μὲν ἤρχετε Κηφισόδωρος, εὖ Ἄρωμη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ὁ δήμος τέσσαρας κατέστησεν, Δεύκιον Φούριον, Παῦλον4 Μάλλιον, Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον, Σερούιον Κορνήλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θεμίσων δ' Ἐρετρίας τύραννος Ὀρωπότον κατελάβετο. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων παραλόγως ἀπέβαλεν τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερεχόντων, οἱ Θηβαίοι βοηθήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραλαβόντες εἰς παρακαταθήκη τὴν πόλιν οὕκ ἀπέδωκαν.

2 "Ἀμα δὲ τούτων πραττομένως Κωιοὶ μετώκισαν εἰς τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην πόλιν καὶ κατεσκεύασαν αὐτὴν ἄξιολόγουν πλήθος τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εἰς ταύτην ἠθροίσθη καὶ τείχῃ πολυτελῇ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ λιμῆν ἄξιολογος. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων αἰεὶ

1 προσηγάγετο Wesseling: προσήγαγεν.
2 τοῖς Φλισσίους πολεμούμενοι after ἐβοήθησε deleted by Madvig, whom Vogel follows.
3 So F, Dindorf, Vogel: ἐναυσίαίου Vulgate, Bekker.
4 Αὖλον Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 36. 3).

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Achaeans ¹ and some cities besides, and liberated Dymê, Naupactus, and Calydon, which were held by a garrison of the Achaeans. The Boeotians invaded Thessaly also and released Pelopidas ² from the custody of Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. And to the Phliasians upon whom the Argives were waging war, Chaeres ³ brought assistance, having been sent with an army under his command by the Athenians; he defeated the Argives in two battles, and after securing the position of the Phliasians, returned to Athens.

76. When the year ended, Cephisodorus was archon at Athens, and at Rome the people elected four military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Furius, Paulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, and Servius Cornelius. During their term of office, Themison, ⁴ tyrant of Eretria, seized Oropus. But this city, which belonged to Athens, he quite unexpectedly lost; for when the Athenians took the field against him with far superior forces, the Thebans, who had come to aid him and had taken over from him the city for safekeeping, did not give it back.

While these things were going on, the Coans transferred their abode to the city they now inhabit and made it a notable place ⁵; for a large population was gathered into it, and costly walls and a considerable harbour were constructed. From this time on its

¹ See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 41 f., who places this march after the peace conference (chap. 76. 3 infra), probably wrongly (Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 94-95).
² See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 29. 2-6. Following this rescue Pelopidas went to Susa as envoy from Thebes.
³ See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 2. 18 ff. under year 366.
⁴ See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 4. 1; Demosthenes, 18. 99; Aeschines, On the Embassy, 164; Against Ctesiphon, 85.
⁵ See Strabo, 14. 2. 19.
μάλλον ἡξήθη προσόδοις τε δημοσίαις καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλοῦτοις, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐνάμιλλος ἐγένετο ταῖς πρωτευούσαις πόλεσιν.

3 Ἡμι δὲ τούτως πραττομένους ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἄποστειλας πρέσβεις ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἔλληνας τοὺς μὲν πολέμους καταλύσασθαι καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήμην συνθέσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. διόπερ δὲ τὸ Δακωνῖκος καὶ Βοιωτικὸς κληθείς πόλεμος κατελύθη, πλείω1 μείνας ἑτῶν πέντε, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Δευκτορίκων.

4 Ἡπήρξαν δὲ κατὰ τούτοις τοὺς χρόνους ἄνδρες κατὰ παιδέαν ἄξιοι μνήμης Ἰσοκράτης τε ὁ Ῥήτωρ καὶ οἱ τούτου γενόμενοι μαθηταὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Λαμψακηρὸς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλόσοφων οἱ τελευταῖοι, Ξενοφῶν τε ὁ τὸς ἱστορίας συγγραμμένος ἐσχατογῆρας ὄν· μέμηνται γὰρ τῆς Ἐπαμεινόνδου τελευτῆς μετὰ ὅλιγον χρόνων γεγενημένης. Ἀριστιππὸς τε καὶ Ἀντιοχείη, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ἀλκίνης ὁ Σφήττιος ὁ Σωκρατικός.

77. Ἡπὶ ἀρχοντός δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι Χίωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι κατεστάθησαν Κώντος Σερούλιους2 καὶ Γάιος Οὐδετόριος καὶ Ἀυλὸς Κορνήλιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος.3 ἔπε δὲ τούτων εἰρήμης οὐσίας κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα, πάλιν ἄρχαι πολέμων συν-έστησάν τις τῶν πόλεων καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων

1 πλείω Bekker, Vogel] πλείων F, πλέων Dindorf.
2 So Rhodoman (ep. Livy, 6. 36. 6): Σερούλιος.
3 So Rhodoman: Φάβιος.

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BOOK XV. 76. 2—77. 1

public revenues and private wealth constantly increased, so much so that it became in a word a rival of the leading cities of Greece.

While these things were going on, the Persian King sent envoys and succeeded in persuading the Greeks to settle their wars and make a general peace with one another. Accordingly the war called Sparto-Bocotian was settled after lasting more than five years counting from the campaign of Leuctra.

In this period there were men memorable for their culture, Isocrates the orator and those who became his pupils, Aristotle the philosopher, and besides these Anaximenes of Lampsacus, Plato of Athens, the last of the Pythagorean philosophers, and Xenophon who composed his histories in extreme old age, for he mentions the death of Epameinondas which occurred a few years later. Then there were Aristippus and Antisthenes, and Aeschines of Sphettus, the Socratic.

77. When Chion was archon at Athens, at Rome military tribunes with consular power were elected, Quintus Servilius, Gaius Veturius, Aulus Cornelius, Marcus Cornelius, and Marcus Fabius. During their term of office, though peace prevailed throughout Greece, clouds of war again gathered in certain cities

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 1. 39. For previous embassies from Artaxerxes urging peace see chaps. 38. 1, 50. 4, 70. 2. This congress which met at Thebes seems to have been as unsuccessful as the previous ones.
2 "Paideia" is translated "culture" by Werner Jaeger in his three-volume work of that title (I. xvi). One may well be surprised at a list of names which includes the orator Anaximenes of Lampsacus and omits Demosthenes. The last of the Pythagoreans include Archytas, Timaeus, Xenophilius, Phanton, Échecrates, Diocles, and Polymnastus (Diog. Laert. 8. 46, 79).
3 i.e. later than the year 366/5.
κανονικὰ παράλογα. οἱ γὰρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων φυγάδες ὀρμηθέντες εἰς Ἡλίδος κατελάβοντο τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Τριφυλίας χωρίου ὄχυρόν, ὁ προσ-2 ηγόρευται Λασίων. εἰκολλάνδρα χρόνων περὶ τῆς Τριφυλίας ἡμιφυσικοῦ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἡλείου, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκατέρων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπεροχάς ἐναλλαξ ἐκουρήσει τῆς χώρας. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑπο-κειμένους καρποὺς τῶν Ἀρκάδων κρατοῦσι τῇ Ἴρι φυγαδόν τοῦ τῶν Ἡλείων, προφασέως τῶν φυγάδων ἀφοροῦσας ταῦτ-3 τιν οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ Ἡλείων. διὸ καὶ παρα-οξυνθέντες οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις εξαποστελαντες ἀπήτουν τὸ χωρίον ὡς δ’ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσεῖ obtained, μετεπέμψαντο παρ’ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τῶν Λασίων. τῶν δὲ Ἡλείων βοηθισάντων τοῖς φυγάσων ἐγένετο μάχη πλησίον τοῦ Λασίωνος, καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πολλαπλασίων ὄντων ἤττηθησαν Ἡλεῖοι καὶ πλείοις τῶν διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν 4 ὀπέβαλον. ταύτης δὲ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πολέμου γενομένης συνέβη τὴν διαφορὰν ἐπὶ πλεον προβῆναι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς Ἡλείοις, εὗρον γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἀρ-κάδες μετεωρισθέντες τῷ προτερήματι ἐστράτευ-σαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλείαν, καὶ εἰς πόλεις Μάργανα καὶ Κρόνιον, ἐτὸν τῶν ᾿Κυπαρισσίαν καὶ ᾿Κορυφάσιον. 5 Ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Μακε-δονίαν Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ Ἀλκιτής ἐδολοφονήθη

1 So Dindorf: Λασίων. 2 See note 1 above.

1 There seems to be no specific reference to this group in Elis, though they probably went into exile at the same time as the groups which chose Sparta and Pallantium (chap. 59. 2). Even so Elis and Arcadia are allies in chaps 62. 5, 64. 6, and 68. 1. See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 4.
and strange new outbreaks of revolution. For instance, the Arcadian exiles, setting out from Elis, occupied a stronghold known as Lasion of the country called Triphyllia. For many years Arcadia and Elis had been disputing the possession of Triphyllia, and according as the ascendancy shifted from one country to the other, they had alternately been masters of the district; but at the period in question, though the Arcadians were ruling Triphyllia, the Eleians, making the refugees a pretext, took it from the Arcadians. As a result the Arcadians were incensed and at first dispatched envoys demanding a return of the district; but when no one paid any attention to them, they summoned an allied force from the Athenians and with it attacked Lasion. The Eleians coming to the rescue of the refugees, a battle ensued near Lasion in which, being many times outnumbered by the Arcadians, the Eleians were defeated and lost over two hundred men. When the war had started in this way, it came to pass that the disagreement between Arcadians and Eleians widened in scope, for immediately the Arcadians, elated by their success, invaded Elis and took the cities of Margana and Cronion, and Cyparissia and Coryphasium.

While these things were going on, in Macedon Ptolemy of Alorus was assassinated by his brother-

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3 Margana was a town in Pisatis their claims to which the Eleians renounced to Sparta in a treaty in 400 (Xenophon, *Hell. 3*, 2, 30). Cronium appears to refer to the Hill of Cronos by the Alpheius in Pisatis.
4 Of these Strabo says (*8*, 4, 1) "Messenē comes after Triphyllia; and there is a cape which is common to both; and after this cape come Cyparissa and Coryphasium" (*L.C.L.*, translated by H. L. Jones).
5 See chap. 71, 1.
Diodorus of Sicily

υπὸ τὰ δελφοῦ Ἡλείου, βασιλεύας ἦτη τρία τῆς καταστάθησαν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἦτη πέντε.

78. Ἡ εποίησις Δημόκριτου ἔν Ρώμῃ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιαρχοῦ τρεῖς κατεστάθησαν. Τίτων Κοῦκτιος καὶ Σερούιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Σερούιος Σουλπίκιος, ὁ λοιπὸς δὲ ὑπὸ Πισάτων καὶ Αρκάδων ἦχθη τετάρτη πρὸς τὰς ἑκατόν, καθ’ ἦν ἑνίκα στάδιον Φειδίας Ἁθηναίω.

2 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πισάται μὲν ἀνανεώσαμεν τὸ παλαιὸν ἄξιωμα τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοὺς μυθικοὺς καὶ παλαιοὺς ἀποδείξεις χρώμενοι, τὴν θέων τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς πανηγύρεως αὐτοῖς προσήκειν ἀπεφαίνοντο. κρίνοντες δὲ τῶν παρόντων καιρὸν εὐθετον ἔχειν ἀμφισβητήσαντι τοὺς ἄγωνος, συμμαχίαν ἐπούσαντο πρὸς Ἁρκάδας ὁμοῖοι πολεμίους Ἡλείων συναγωνιστὰς δὲ λαβόντες τούτων ἐστράτευσαν.

3 ἐπὶ τούς Ἡλείους ἀρτὶ τιθέντας τὸν ἄγωνα. ἀντιστάντων δὲ τῶν Ἡλείων πανδησίας συνέστη μάχη καρπεὶ, θεωμένων τὴν μάχην τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν Ἑλλήνων ἑστεφανωμένων καὶ μεθ’ ὑσσυχίας ἀκινδύνως ἐπισημαίνομεν μᾶς ἑκατέρων ἀνδραγαθίας. τέλος Πισάται νυκτήσαντες ἑθηκαν τὸν ἄγωνα, καὶ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ταύτην ὑστερον οὐκ ἀνέγραψαν Ἡλείοι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν βία καὶ ἀδίκως διατεθήναι.

4 Ἡ ἁμα δὲ τούτων πραπτόμενος ἑσπαμεινώνδας ὁ

1 ταδελφοῦ deleted by Vogel (cp. chap. 71. 1).
2 So Vogel with ΠΑΦΚ: Ὀλυμπιακῆς cet., Dindorf, Bekker.

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2 See chap. 60. 3.
in-law Perdiccas was archon at Athens, in 367/6 n.c.

78. When Timocrates was archon at Athens, in 364/3 n.c.

in-law Perdiccas after ruling three years; and Perdiccas succeeded to the throne and ruled Macedon for five years.

Rome three military tribunes with consular power were elected, Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpicius; and the hundred fourth Olympiad was celebrated by the Pisans and Arcadians, in which Phocides, an Athenian, won the stadium race. During their term of office the Pisans, renewing the ancient prestige of their country and resorting to mythical, antiquarian proofs, asserted that the honour of holding the Olympian festival was their prerogative. And judging that they had now a suitable occasion for claiming the games, they formed an alliance with the Arcadians, who were enemies of the Eleians. With them as supporters they took the field against the Eleians who were in the act of holding the games. The Eleians resisted with all their forces and a stubborn battle took place, having as spectators the Greeks who were present for the festival wearing wreaths on their heads and calmly applauding the deeds of valour on both sides, themselves out of reach of danger. Finally the Pisans won the day and held the games, but the Eleians later failed to record this Olympiad because they considered that it had been conducted by force and contrary to justice.

While these things were going on, Epameinondas

For the struggle over the presidency of the Olympian games see P.-W. Realencyclopädie, 17. 2531-2536. Xenophon recounts this strife in Hell. 7. 4. 28-35. Pausanias notes the omission of the 104th Olympiad from the record of the Eleians in 6. 4. 2, 8. 3, 22. 3, in the last passage using the term ἄνδυμα. For the relations of Elis and Arcadia see Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 97-99.
Diodorus of Sicily

Θηβαίος, μέγιστον ἐχων τῶν πολιτῶν ἄξιωμα, συναγεθείς ἐκκλησίας διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, προτερόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀντέχεσθαι τῇς κατὰ θάλατταν ἤγεμονίας. διελθὼν δὲ λόγον ἐκ χρόνου πεφροντισμένον ἐδείκνυε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην συμφέρονσαν τε καὶ δυνατὴν, τά τε ἄλλα προφερόμενος καὶ διότι τοὺς πεζῆν κρατοῦσι βαδίον ἐστὶν περιποίησθαι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχην· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξέρξην πολέμῳ διακοσίας ναύς ἱδίας πληροῦντας διεκδικοῦσιν δέκα ναύς παρεχομένους ὑποτεθάδαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οἰκείως διαλεχθέως ἐπείσε τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχης.

79. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο τριήμερα μὲν ἐκατὸν ναυπηγεῖον, νεώρια δὲ ταύτας ἵσα τῶν ἁριμόν, 'Ροδίων δὲ καὶ Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους προτρέπεσθαι βοηθήσαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκπεμφθείς ἐπὶ τὰς εἰρημένας πόλεις Λάχητα μὲν τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν, ἐχουσα στόλου ἄξιολογον καὶ διακολύειν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπεσταλμένον, καταπληξάμενος καὶ ἀποπλεῦσαι συναναγκάσας, ἱδίας τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἑποίησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ ἁνὴρ ὁδοὺς πλείων χρόνων ἐπέζησεν, ῥημαλογώμενος ὃν τι Θηβαίοι τῇ κατὰ γῆν ἤγεμονίαν καὶ τῆν τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχην προσεκτήσαντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ μετ' ἑδο καὶ διακοσίας ναυὸς ἱδίας πληροῦντας Reiske: διακοσία ναυοῖς πληροῦντας. Capps suggests ἴδια. 2 So I.2 (see Herod. 8. 1. 2): δὲ καὶ cēt.
3 Capps suggests ἴδια.
4 So JKL: peri the other MSS.
5 τῇ ... ἤγεμονίᾳ Dindorf (cp. Book 14. 100. 1): τῇ ... ἤγεμονίᾳ.
the Theban, who enjoyed the highest standing amongst his fellow countrymen, harangued his fellow citizens at a meeting of the assembly, urging them to strive for the supremacy on the sea. In the course of the speech, which was the result of long consideration, he pointed out that this attempt was both expedient and possible, alleging in particular that it was easy for those who possessed supremacy on land to acquire the mastery of the sea. The Athenians, for instance, in the war with Xerxes, who had two hundred ships manned by themselves, were subject to the commands of the Lacedaemonians who provided only ten ships. By this and many other arguments suited to his theme he prevailed upon the Thebans to make a bid for the mastery at sea.

79. Accordingly the people immediately voted to construct a hundred triremes and dockyards to accommodate their number, and to urge the peoples of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium to assist their schemes. Epameinondas himself, who had been dispatched with a force to the aforementioned cities, so overawed Laches, the Athenian general, who had a large fleet and had been sent out to circumvent the Thebans, that he forced him to sail away and made the cities friendly to Thebes. Indeed if this man had lived on longer, the Thebans admittedly would have secured the mastery at sea in addition to their supremacy on

1 Demosthenes says (14. 22) that one dockyard accommodated thirty ships. Certainly the dockyards cannot be equal in number, ἵσα τῶν ἀρματῶν, as Diodorus says. Post suggests that Diodorus may be using νεώρια in the sense of νεώροικος (slips).

2 The attempt of Epameinondas to wrest naval supremacy from Athens is recounted by Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 105. See Isocrates, Philip, 53 and Plutarch, Philopoemen, 14. 1, 2.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΣΙΚΗΛΙΟΥ

ολίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν Μαυτάνειαν μάχῃ λαμπροτάτην τὴν νίκην τῇ πατριδί περιτουήσας ἥρωκος ἐτελεύτησεν, εὐθέως καὶ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων πράγματα τῇ τούτῳ τελευτῇ συναπέθανεν. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ύστερον 3 ἀκριβῶς διεξῄμεν. τότε δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔδοξε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὥρχομενον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς βουλόμενοι τὴν ἐν Θῆβαις πολιτείαν εἰς ἀριστοκρατικὴν κατάστασιν μεταστήσαν, συνέπεσαν τοὺς τῶν Ὥρχομενίων ἑπτασίδα, ὄντας τριακοσίας, συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπι- 4 βολῆς. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσώθοντες μετὰ Θῆβαιων ἑλπίζοντας ἡμέρα τεταγμένη πρὸς τὴν ἐξοπλισίαν, εἰς ταύτην συνεδεντο ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων κοινωνοῦντων τῆς προθέσεως καὶ προσφορὰς σάντων, ἀπήτησαν πρὸς τὸν καρόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν συντησάμενοι τὴν πράξει μετανοήσαντες ἐθῆκασαν τοῖς βοωστάρχαις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, προδόντες τοὺς συνομόσαντας, καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἐαυτοῦ ἐπορίσαντο τὴν συντηρίαν. τῶν δὲ ἀρχόν- των συλλαβόντων τοὺς τῶν Ὥρχομενίων ὑππείς καὶ παραγαγόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δήμος ἐφθάσατο τούτους μὲν ἀποσφάζει, τοὺς δὲ Ὥρχο- μενίους ἐξανραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατα- σκάψαι. ἐκ παλαιῶν γὰρ χρόνων οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τούτους ἀλλοτρίους διέκειστο, δασμοφοροῦντες μὲν τοῖς Μυκαῖς ἐν τοῖς ἥρωικοῖς χρόνοις, ύστερον δὲ 6 ύφ᾽ Ἡρακλείους ἐλευθεροθέντες. οἱ δὲ οὖν Θηβαῖοι καρόν ἔχειν νομίσαντες καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους

1 μετὰ Θηβαίων Ποστ, ἐκ Θηβαίων Wesseling, τοῖς ἐκ Θηβαίων Dindorf, ἐπὶ Θηβαίων Hertlein, ἐκ ἀρχαίων Wurm, ἐς Θηβαίων Vogel: ἐκ Θηβαίων.
2 So Schäfer: παραγόντων.

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land; when, however, a little while later, after winning a most glorious victory for his country in the battle of Mantinea, he died a hero’s death, straightway the power of Thebes died with him. But this subject we shall set forth accurately in detail a little later. At that time the Thebans decided to take the field against Orchomenus for the following reasons. Certain refugees who wanted to change the constitution of Thebes to an aristocracy induced the knights of Orchomenus, three hundred in all, to join them in the attempt. These knights, who were in the habit of meeting with some Thebans on a stated day for a review under arms, agreed to make the attack on this day, and along with many others who joined the movement and added their efforts, they met at the appointed time. Now the men who had originated the action changed their minds, and disclosed to the boeotarchs the projected attack, thus betraying their fellow conspirators, and by this service they purchased safety for themselves. The officials arrested the knights from Orchomenus and brought them before the assembly, where the people voted to execute them, to sell the inhabitants of Orchomenus into slavery, and to raze the city. For from earliest times the Thebans had been ill-disposed towards them, having paid tribute to the Minyae in the heroic age, but later they had been liberated by Heracles. So the Thebans, thinking they had a good opportunity and having got

1 Diodorus’ dating of the destruction of Orchomenus is established by the fact that Isocrates (Archidamus, 27) does not know of the event. See Pausanias, 9. 15. 3; Demosthenes, 20. 109; Plutarch, Comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus, 1.

2 Peoples of prehistoric Greece who from Orchomenus ruled a large area of central Greece.
Diódoros of Sicily

τῆς τιμωρίας λαβόντες, ἑστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρχομενόν· κατασχόντες δὲ τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρὰς ἀπέκτειναν, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἕξηνδρα-
pοδίσαντο.

80. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτούς καυροὺς Θετταλοὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον διαπολεμοῦντες καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις ἦπτόμενοι,2 πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Θηβαίους, ἀξιωντες αὐτοὺς βοηθῆσαι καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοὺς ἔξασποστειλαὶ Πελοπίδαν. ἦδει-
σαν γὰρ τούτον τὸν ἀνδρὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπ' Ἀλέξανδρον σύλληψιν ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενον πρὸς τὸν δυ-
νάστην, ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία διάφορον καὶ ἔπι
2 στρατηγικῇ συνέσει διαβεβηκόμενον. συναχθεῖσις δὲ τῆς κοινῆς συνόδου τῶν Βουωτῶν καὶ τῶν πρέσ-
βεων διαλεξθέντων περὶ δὲν ἐξον ἐντολάς, οἱ μὲν Βουωτοὶ πάντα συνεχώρησαν τοὺς Θετταλοῖς, καὶ
dόντες εἰς ἐπτακεισχίλους στρατιώτας τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ
cυντόμως ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἑομένους.
tοὺ δὲ Πελοπίδου ταχέως μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 ἐξιόντος συνέβη τὸν ἦλιον ἐκλιπεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ
tὸ γεγονός ὑποπενσαμένων, τῶν μάντεων των ἀπεφήμαντο διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐξοδον τῶν στρα-
tιωτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἦλιον. καὶ διὰ
tοῦτων τῶν λόγων προλεγόντων τὸν τοῦ Πελοπίδου θάνατον, οὐδὲν ἤς τὸν ὄ Πελοπίδας ἀνεξευζεῖν ἐπὶ
4 τὴν στρατείαν,2 ύπὸ τοῦ χρεών ἀγόμενος. ὅς δὲ
cαταντησεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον

1 So Stephanus: κατέχοντες P, ἔχοντες cat.
2 ἦπτόμενοι (فاعل ἦπτόμενοι P) ἦπτημένοι Dindorf.

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plausible pretexts for punishing them, took the field against Orchomenus, occupied the city, slew the male inhabitants and sold into slavery the women and children.

80. About this time the Thessalians, who continued the war upon Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, and, suffering defeat in most of the battles, had lost large numbers of their fighting men, sent ambassadors to the Thebans with a request to assist them and to dispatch to them Pelopidas as general. For they knew that on account of his arrest by Alexander he was on very bad terms with the ruler, and besides, that he was a man of superior courage and widely renowned for his shrewdness in the art of war. When the common council of the Boeotians convened and the envoys had explained the matters on which they had been instructed, the Boeotians concurred with the Thessalians in every matter, gave Pelopidas seven thousand men and ordered him speedily to assist as requested; but as Pelopidas was hastening to leave with his army, the sun, as it happened, was eclipsed. Many were superstitious about the phenomenon, and some of the soothsayers declared that because of the withdrawal of the soldiers, the city’s “sun” had been eclipsed. Although in this interpretation they were foretelling the death of Pelopidas, he notwithstanding set out for the campaign, drawn on by Fate. When he arrived in Thessaly, and found that Alexander had

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2 See chaps. 71. 2, 75. 2.
3 According to Plutarch, Pelopidas left his army because of the eclipse and took command of the Thessalian League.
4 13 July 304.

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κατέλαβε προκατελημμένον τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχοντα πλείους τῶν δυσμυρίων, ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις, προσλαβόμενος δὲ συμμάχους παρὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν συνῆμεν μάχην τοῖς ἐναντίοις. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτοῦντος, ὁ Πελοπίδας σπείρων διὰ τῆς ἱδίας ἀνδρείας κρίναι τὴν μάχην ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁμήρησε τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον. τοῦ δὲ δυνάστου μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ὑποστάντος, ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἀριστεύων πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν τόπον νεκρῶν κατέστρωσε, τέλος δὲ ἐπιθείς τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τρεφόμενος τὴν μὲν νίκην περιποιήσατο, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ βίον ἀπέβαλε,1 πολλοὶς περιπέτειων τραύμασι 6 καὶ τὸ ξῆν ήρωικῶς προέμενος. οὐ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος δευτέρα μάχη λειψθεὶς2 καὶ τοῖς ὄλοις συντριβεῖς, ἦναγκάσθη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τοῖς μὲν Θετταλῶις τὰς καταπετολεμημένας πόλεις ἀποδοῦναι, Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς παράδοναι Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Φερῶν μόνων3 ἀρχοντα σύμμαχον εἶναι Βοιωτοῖς.

81. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι περιβότοντος νίκην ἀπεννημεμένου, πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς ἐφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἠτασθαὶ1 διὰ τὴν Πελοπίδου τελευτήν: ἀξιόλογον γὰρ ἀπολωλεκτὲς ἄνδρα, κατὰ λόγον ἕκρυνυ τὴν νίκην ἦττωνα ὑπάρχειν τῆς Πελοπίδου δόξης. πολλάς γὰρ καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι, πλείστον δὲ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων

1 ἀπέβαλε : ἀπεβάλεν P, ἀνέλυπε cec.
2 So Dindorf, Bekker, Vogel : ἀρπθεῖς.
3 So A, Vogel (lep. chap. 8. 2) : μόνων cec.
forestalled him by occupying the commanding positions and had more than twenty thousand 1 men, he encamped opposite the enemy, and, strengthening his forces with allied troops from among the Thessalians, joined battle with his opponents. Although Alexander had the advantage by reason of his superior position, Pelopidas, eager to settle the battle by his own courage, charged Alexander himself. The ruler with a corps of picked men resisted, and a stubborn battle ensued, in the course of which Pelopidas, performing mighty deeds of valour, strewed all the ground about him with dead men, and though he brought the contest to a close, routed the enemy and won the victory, he yet lost his own life, suffering many wounds and heroically forfeiting his life. But Alexander, after being worsted in a second battle and utterly crushed, was compelled by agreement to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had reduced, to surrender the Magnesians and the Phthiotian Achaeans to the Boeotians, and for the future to be the ruler over Pherae alone as an ally of the Boeotians.

81. Although the Thebans had won a famous victory, they declared to the world that they were the losers because of the death of Pelopidas; for having lost such a remarkable man, they rightly judged the victory of less account than the fame of Pelopidas. Indeed he had done many great services to his country and had contributed more than any other man to the

1 Probably an exaggeration. The victory was not so important, otherwise the Thebans would not have found it necessary to send a large army into Thessaly shortly afterward. For this battle of Cynoscephalae see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 86-87.
Diodorus of Sicily

αὐξήσων. ἐν γὰρ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων κατηλύσει, καθ’ ἥν ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν Καδμείαν, ύμολογημένως ἀπαντεῖς τούτῳ τὸ πρωτείον τοῦ κατορθώματος ἀπονέμουσιν. τῇ δὲ εὐημερίᾳ ταύτην συνέβη πάντων τῶν ὦστερον γενομένων ἀγάθων αἰτίαν 2 γενέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Τεγύραν ἡμῶν μόνος Πελοπίδας τῶν βοιωταρχῶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Λακε- 
δαιμονίους, πλείονἀ παχύνοντας τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὅτε διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐνίκης πρῶτον ἔστησαν Θηβαίοι τρόπαιον κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν 
Λευκτρον μάχην ἦγοςατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόχου, μεθ’ 
οὗ προεμβαλὼν τοὺς Σφαρτιάτας ἀρχηγός ἐγένετο 
τῆς νίκης. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα στρατείαις 
ἐπτὰ μὲν ἦγοςατο μυριάδων, πρὸς αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ 
Σπάρτῃ τρόπαιον ἔστησε κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 
τῶν πάντων τὸν πρὸ τοῦ εὑρόν ἀπορθήτων γεγενη-
3 μένων. πρὸς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα πρεσβεύοντο 
ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὑμολογίαις τῆς Μεσσήηναν κατ’ 
διὰν παρέλαβεν, ὧν ἀνάστατον οὐσαν ἐτη τρικόσια 
Θηβαίοι πάλιν ἀποκατέστησαν, ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ 
διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα πολλα-
πλασίουν δύναμιν οὐ μόνον ἐπιφανῶς ἐνίκησεν, 
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βάναυσον ἔσχεν ἐπ’ ἄρετῇ περιβόητον. 
4 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας οὕτω καλῶς διετέθη, ἀρκε-

1 So Reiske: καταλήψει.
2 Teugnassen Stephanus (cp. Plutarch, Pelopidas, 16 f.), Dindorf, Bekker: Τεγύραν MSS., Vogel.
3 πλείων Hertlein: πλείων PA, πλείων cet.
4 τοῦ Dindorf, Vogel: τούτου.
5 πολλαπλασίου Dindorf: πολλαπλάσιον.
6 ἐνίκησεν after καλῶς deleted by Vogel; καλῶς ἐγ. placed after ἐνίκησεν (above) by Reiske, after περιβόητον by Dindorf, Bekker.

1 But Diodorus does not mention Pelopidas in his account
rise of Thebes. For in the matter of the return of the refugees, whereby he recaptured the Cadmeia, all men agree in attributing to him the principal credit for its success. And it turned out that this piece of good fortune was the cause of all the subsequent happy events. In the battle by Tegyra, Pelopidas alone of the boeotarchs won victory over the Lacedaemonians, the most powerful of the Greeks, the first occasion when on account of the importance of the victory the Thebans erected a trophy over the Lacédæmonians. In the battle of Leuctra he commanded the Sacred Band, with which he charged the Spartans first and thus was the primary cause of the victory. In the campaigns about Lacedaemon, he commanded seventy thousand men, and in the very territory of Sparta erected a trophy of victory over the Lacédæmonians, who never in all previous time had seen their land plundered. As ambassador to the Persian King he took Messene under his personal charge in the general settlement, and though for three hundred years it had been stripped of inhabitants, the Thebans established it again. At the end of his life, in the contest with Alexander who had an army far outnumbering his, he not only gained a glorious victory, but also met his death with a courage that made it renowned. In his relations with his fellow citizens (chaps. 25, 26) of retaking the Cadmeia. (For this see Plutarch, Pelopidas, 7-12.)

2 A village of Boeotia near Orchomenus. The battle of Tegyra is described by Plutarch (see critical notes) as a “sort of prelude” to that of Leuctra and one of Pelopidas’ most glorious exploits.

3 See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 18; 20, 2; 23, 2, 4. Nepos, Pelopidas, 4, 2.

4 See chaps. 62, 4 ff. and notes.

5 See Plutarch, Pelopidas, 30, 5; Xenophon, Hell. 7, 1. 35-36.

6 See chap. 80 and notes.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὰς Θῆβας καθάδον τῶν φυγάδων μέχρι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τελευτής βουωταρχῶν πάντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσε, μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν ταύτης ἥξιωμένου τῆς τιμῆς. Πελοπίδας μὲν οὖν, διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ἁρετὴν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀποδοχῆς ἡξιωμένος, ἐχέτω καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπανουν.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Κλέαρχος, τὸ γένος ὑπὸ Ἑρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐξήλωσε μὲν τὴν διαγωγὴν τὴν Διονυσίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου τυράννου, τυραννεύσας δὲ τῶν Ἑρακλεωτῶν ἐπὶ φανάρι ἤξεθα ἐπὶ δώδεκα. ἀμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἔχων δύναμιν πεζήν τε καὶ ναυτικήν Τορώνην μὲν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν πολιορκήσας ἔλεγε, Κυζικηνοὺς δὲ πολιορκομένους ἐβοήθησεν.

82. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήναις μὲν ἤρχεται Χαρικλείδης, ἐν Ὁρώμη δ' ὑπατοὶ κατεστάθησαν Δεύκιος Αίμυλος Μάμερκος καὶ Δεύκιος Σέξτιος Λατερίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρκάδες μετὰ Ποσαίων κοινῇ τεθεικότες ὑπῆρχον τὸν ἀγώνα.

1 φυγάδων Post: πολιτῶν.
3 πεζήν Dindorf: πεζήν.

1 Confirmed by Plutarch, Pelopidas, 34. 5.
2 Clearchus had been a student of Isocrates and Plato. He was exiled from Heracleia a few years previous to 364 and had become a mercenary commander in the service of Persia. Called in by the council of Heracleia to combat the democracy, Clearchus placed himself at the head of the democratic movement, ousted the oligarchs, confiscated their
he was so favourably treated that from the return of 364/3 B.C. the exiles to Thebes until his death he continued every year to hold the office of boeotarch, an honour accorded to no other citizen. So let Pelopidas, whose personal merits received the approbation of all, receive from us too the approbation of History.

At the same time, Clearchus, who was a native of Heracleia on the Black Sea, set out to win a tyranny, and when he had achieved his purpose, he emulated the methods of Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, and after becoming tyrant of Heracleia ruled with conspicuous success for twelve years. While these things were going on Timotheus, the Athenian general, commanding a force of both infantry and ships, besieged and took Toroné and Potidæa, and brought relief to Cyzicus, which was undergoing a siege.

82. When this year had ended, at Athens Chariicleides became archon, and in Rome consuls were elected, Lucius Aemilius Mamercus and Lucius Sextius Lateranus. During their term of office the Arcadians collaborating with the Pisans administered property, freed their slaves, and set up a tyranny along the line of Dionysius of Syracuse. See Justin, 16. 4-5.

3 On Toroné and Potidæa see Isocrates, Antidosis, 108, 113 f. and Polyaeus, 3. 10. 15.

4 The Theban fleet under Epaminondas had been operating during the summer of 364 in the Sea of Marmora and had caused Byzantium to withdraw from the Athenian confederacy (see chap. 79. 1). At the arrival of Timotheus in the region, Epaminondas prudently withdrew and Timotheus recovered Byzantium and relieved the siege of Cyzicus. See Nepos, Timotheus, 1. 3 and Glotz, Hist. gr. 3. 170.

5 The battle of Mantinea, described under this archonship, occurred in 362 just as the Mantineans were gathering in the harvest (Xenophon, Hell. 7. 5. 14), which would normally take place from the middle of June on (Fougères, Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale, 56, 460).
Diodorus of Sicily

tων Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ ἐκυρίευον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων. τῶν δὲ Μαντίνεων ἀναλαβόντων εἰς τοὺς ἱδίους βίους οὐκ ὅλγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔσπευδον οἱ παρανομήσαντες διακατέχειν τὸν πρὸς Ἡλείους πόλεμον, ὥσα μὴ δῶσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ 2 λόγον τῶν ἀναλωθέντων. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων βουλομένων συνθέοθα τὴν εἰρήνην, στάσεις ἐκεῖναι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς. γενομένων οὖν δυνῶν ἐταιρίων, συνέβαινε τῆς μὲν τοὺς Τεγεάτας, τῆς 3 δὲ τούς Μαντίνεις ἠγείροντα. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐξηθείσης εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν κρίσιν κατήγγειλαν, καὶ Τεγεάται μὲν προσβεύσαντες πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ἔπεισαν εαυτοὺς βοηθεῖν, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοί στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσαντες Ἑπαμεινώνδαν καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον δόντες ἐξαπέστειλαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς 4 Τεγεάταις. οἱ δὲ Μαντίνεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑπαμεινώνδου δόξαν καταπλαγέντες, πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροτάτους τῶν Βουωτῶν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πρέσβεις ἐκπέμποντες ἔπεισαν συμμαχεῖν. ὥσα ἀμφότερων ἀδράς δυνάμεις ταχέως ἀποστείλατεν, ἑκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ 5 μεγάλοι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον συνέστησαν. εὐθὺς οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πληθύνουσιν ἐστρατεύσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, Ἑπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῖνοι καὶ τῆς Μαντίνειας οὐ μακράν ἀπέχον ἐπούθετο παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὧτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανημείριο πορ-

1 στάσεις P, Vogel; στάσιν Vulgate, Dindorf, Bekker.

1 For the use of the treasure see Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6.98, and for the gold coins issued in the name of Pisa see op. cit., Volume of Plates, ii. 6. d.

2 Diodorus completely reverses the rôle of Mantineia in

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the Olympian games, and were masters of the temple \textsuperscript{363/2} B.C. and the offerings deposited in it.\textsuperscript{1} Since the Mantineians had appropriated for their own private uses a large number of the dedications, they were eager as transgressors for the war against the Eleians to continue, in order to avoid, if peace were restored, giving an account of their expenditures.\textsuperscript{2} But since the rest of the Arcadians wished to make peace, they stirred up strife against their fellow countrymen. Two parties accordingly sprang up, one headed by Tegea, and the other by Mantinea. Their quarrel assumed such proportions that they resorted to a decision by arms, and the Tegeans, having sent ambassadors to the Boeotians, won assistance for themselves, for the Boeotians appointed Epameinondas general, gave him a large army, and dispatched him to aid the Tegeans.\textsuperscript{3} The Mantineians, terrified at the army from Boeotia and the reputation of Epameinondas, sent envoys to the bitterest enemies of the Boeotians, the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, and prevailed upon them to fight on their side.\textsuperscript{4} And when both peoples had quickly sent in response strong armies, many heavy engagements took place in the Peloponnesus. Indeed the Lacedaemonians, living near at hand, immediately invaded Arcadia, but Epameinondas, advancing at this juncture with his army and being not far from Mantinea, learned from the inhabitants that the Lacedaemonians, in full force, were plundering the territory

the matter of the use of the treasures of Olympia. Mantinea, according to Xenophon, \textit{Hell.} 7. 4. 33, protested against this and headed the party eager to make peace with Elis. The quarrel over the appropriation of sacred money brought to light the fundamental split in Arcadian politics.

\textsuperscript{3} See Xenophon, \textit{Hell.} 7. 4. 34, 35.

\textsuperscript{4} See Xenophon, \textit{Hell.} 7. 5. 3.
θοδοὶ τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν χώραν. ὑπολαβῶν ὦν ἔρημον εἶναι στρατιωτῶν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἑπεβάλετο μὲν μέγα τι πράξει, τῇ δὲ τύχῃ ἔσχεν ἀντιπράττονσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἠρμῆσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαίμονών Ἀγις ὑποπτεύον τὴν ἀγχύνοιαν τὴν 'Ἐπαμεινώνδου κατεστοχάσατο μὲν τὸ μέλλον ἐμφύρνοντα, ἐξέπεμψε ἐπὶ τινας Κρῆτας ἕμεροδρόμους, δι' ὧν καταταχθεῖσας τὸν 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἐθύλωσε, διότι Βοωτοὶ συντόμως ἤζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πορθήσοντες τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὦς ἄν τάχιστα δύνατο μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἤξει βοηθήσων τῇ πατρίδι. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ παραφυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν καταπεληγμένους· ταχὺ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιφανέντα βοηθήσει.

83. Τῶν δὲ Κρῆτῶν συντόμως τὸ παραγγελθέν ποιησάντων, παραδόξως οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέφυγον· μὴ προδηλωθεὶσας γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἔλαβεν ἄν ὁ 'Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἰσπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀμφοτέρων δικαίως ἄν τις ἀποδέξατο, συνετωτέραν δὲ στρατηγίαν τὴν τού Λά-κωνος ἰγνόσατο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ 'Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὅλην τὴν νύκτα διαγραφήσας καὶ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὀδοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν διανύσας ἀμὴ ἡμέρα προσῆγε τῇ Σπάρτῃ. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολελειμμένος Ἀγγείλαος ὅλην πρῶτον χρόνῳ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀκούσας τὰ κατὰ μέρος, εὐθὺς μετὰ πολλῆς

1 ἐξέπεμψε Wurm: ήξεων πέμψα πΑ, ήξεων πέμψας ΚΚΛ, ήξεων ἐπέμψε τιτ. 2 Dindorf: ἐκέλευε γοῦν. 3 Rhodoman: Λακεδαίμονος.

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of Tegea. Supposing then that Sparta was stripped of soldiers, he planned a great stroke, but fortune worked against him. He himself set out by night to Sparta, but the Lacedaemonian king Agis, suspecting the cunning of Epameinondas, shrewdly guessed what he would do, and sent out some Cretan runners and through them forestalling Epameinondas got word to the men who had been left behind in Sparta that the Boeotians would shortly appear in Lacedaemon to sack the city, but that he himself would come as quickly as possible with his army to bring aid to his native land. So he gave orders for those who were in Sparta to watch over the city and be terrified at nothing, for he himself would soon appear with help.

83. The Cretans speedily carried out their orders, and the Lacedaemonians miraculously avoided the capture of their native land; for had not the attack been disclosed in advance, Epameinondas would have burst into Sparta undetected. We can justly praise the ingenuity of both generals, but should deem the strategy of the Laconian the shrewder. It is true that Epameinondas, without resting the entire night, covered the distance at top speed and at daybreak attacked Sparta. But Agesilaüs, who had been left on guard and had learned only shortly before from the Cretans all about the enemy’s plan, straightway

1 See Xenophon, Hell. 7. 5. 4-17; Polybius, 9. 8; Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 34. Diodorus’ account diverges from the other three in that it is Agesilaüs who is represented by them as already on the way to Mantinea and forced to return to protect Sparta. Except for the well-known bias of Xenophon for Agesilaüs, one could unhesitatingly suspect Diodorus, especially since no Spartan king Agis is known for this date. Cleomenes, brother of Agesipolis and son of Cleombrotus, succeeded the former in 370 and still ruled (see chap. 60. 4 and note 2 on p. 119).
σπουδής την ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπούσατο τῆς πόλεως. 8 τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτους τῶν παίδων καὶ τοὺς γεγρακότας ἔπι τὰ στέγη 1 τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεβίβασε καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν βιαζομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἥλικίαις συντάξας διεμέρισεν εἰς τὰς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσχωρίας καὶ παρόδους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς δυναμένους τόπους δέξασθαι διόδον ἐμφράξας ἁν- 4 ἐμενε τῆν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφοδον. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ εἰς πλείω μέρη διελόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ πάντη προσπόρτων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, ὡς εἶδε τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν σύνταξιν, εὐθὺς ἔγνω μεμημημένην τὴν πράξιν· ὅμως δὲ προσμαχόμενος πάσι κατὰ μέρος καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις ἐλαττούμενος 5 συνήπτεν εἰς χεῖρας. πολλὰ δὲ παθὼν καὶ δράσας οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἐὼς τὸ στράτευμα 2 τῶν Λακεδαίμων ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην· πολλών δὲ βοηθοῦντων τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαβοῦσης, ἐλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

84. Πυθόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἵμαλατων ὧτι Μαντινεῖς πανδημεῖ πάρεισι βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαίμονις, τότε μὲν ἀναχωρῆσας μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν· παραγγέλλας δὲ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καταλατίνων τῶν ἐπεῖν τινάς, τούτος μὲν παρήγγειλεν ἐὼς 3 ἐσωθηνῆς φυλακῆς πυρᾶ καίνειν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυ- νάμεως ἀφορμήσας ἐστευεῖν ἄφινω προσπεείν 4 τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ πολλήν διανύσας ὅδον ἄφινω τοῖς Μαντινεύσιν ἀνελπιστῶς ἐπέρραξεν, οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε

1 τέγη ΑΦΚ. 2 Dindorf: στρατοπέδευμα. 3 ἐὼς added by Wurm.
devoted his utmost energy to the care of the city's defence. He placed the oldest children and the aged on the roofs of the houses and instructed them from there to defend themselves against the enemy if he forced a way into the city, while he himself lined up the men in the prime of life and apportioned them to the obstacles in front of the city and to the approaches, and, having blocked all places that could offer passage, he awaited the attack of the enemy. Epameinondas, after dividing his soldiers into several columns, attacked everywhere at once, but when he saw the disposition of the Spartans, he knew immediately that his move had been revealed. Nevertheless he made the assault on all the positions one after the other, and, though he was at a disadvantage because of the obstacles, closed in a hand-to-hand combat. Many a blow he received and dealt and did not call off the zealous rivalry until the army of the Lacedaemonians re-entered Sparta. Then as many came to the assistance of the besieged and night intervened, he desisted from the siege.

84. Having learned from his captives that the Mantineians had come in full force to assist the Lacedaemonians, Epameinondas then withdrew a short distance from the city and encamped, and having given orders to prepare mess, he left some of the horsemen and ordered them to burn fires in the camp until the morning watch, while he himself set out with his army and hurried to fall suddenly on those who had been left in Mantinea. Having covered much ground on the next day, he suddenly broke in on the Mantineians when they were not expecting it. How-

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4 So Vogel; διπεπεσεῖν Reiske: περιπεπεσεῖν.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ περ ἀπαντά τῇ στρατηγίᾳ προνοησάμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην λαβὼν ἀντιπράπτουσαν παραδόξως ἀπέβαλε τὴν νίκην. ἂρτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πληροίζοντος ἐρήμων τῇ πόλει κατημένην ἐτεθατερα τῆς Μαντινείας οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἄντες ἐξακολουθοῦν, στρατηγὸν δὲ ἐχοντες 'Ἡγούλεων, ἀνδρα τότε παρὰ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπανούμενον. οὕτως δὲ τοὺς ἰκανοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεσαγαγόν, τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐξετάζων ὡς μάχη διακριθήσομεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ Μαντινεῖς ἐπεφάνησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀλιγον κρίσιν ἀπαντῆσαν κατεσκευάζοντο καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν συμμάχους μετεπέμποντο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Μαντινείσων ἐβοήθουν 'Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαίμονιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀλλοι τίνες, ὅτι δ' σύμμαχος ἄριθμος ἦν πεζοί μὲν πλείους τῶν διαμυρίων ἐπίπεδος δὲ περὶ δισθελὼν τοῖς δὲ Θεσσαλίαις συνεμάχον οἱ πλείστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαίοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργείοι καὶ τίνες ἔτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἑξωθήν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἥθροισθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, ἐπίπεδος δ' οὖν ἐλάττους τῶν τρισθελίων.

85. Ἀμφισέρων δὲ προβούμως συγκαταβάντων εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀλιγῶν ἀγῶνα, καὶ διαταχθέντων

1 See Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 6339: 'Ἡγούλεων.
2 So Capps, τῶν . . . ἐπανούμενον Wesseling: τῶν . . . ἐπανούμενον.
3 So Wesseling: διακριθησομένου.
4 So PA, Vogel: παρεσκευάζοντο σετ.
5 Wesseling places καὶ 'Αχαιοί after 'Ἡλεῖοι above (cp. chap. 85, 2 and Xenophon, Hell. 7. 4. 17).
6 προβούμως συγκαταβάντων Hertlein: συντόμως προκαταβάντων.

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ever, he did not succeed in his attempt, although by his plan of campaign he had provided for every contingency, but, finding Fate opposed to him, contrary to his expectations he lost the victory. For just as he was approaching the unprotected city, on the opposite side of Mantinea there arrived the reinforcements sent by Athens,¹ six thousand in number with Hegesileôs² their general, a man at that time renowned amongst his fellow citizens. He introduced an adequate force into the city and arrayed the rest of the army in expectation of a decisive battle. And presently the Lacedaemonians and Mantineians made their appearance as well, whereat all got ready for the contest which was to decide the issue and summoned their allies from every direction. On the side of the Mantineians were the Eleians, Lacedaemonians, Athenians, and a few others, who numbered all told more than twenty thousand foot and about two thousand horse. On the side of the Tegeans the most numerous and bravest of the Arcadians were ranged as allies, also Achaean, Boeotians, Argives, some other Peloponnesians, and allies from outside, and all in all there were assembled above thirty thousand foot and not less than three thousand horse.

85. Both sides eagerly drew together for the decisive conflict,⁴ their armies in battle formation, while

¹ See chap. 82. 4 and Xenophon, Hell. 7. 5. 15.
² The name of the Athenian commander is given as Hegesileôs by Ephorus (Diog. Laert. 9. 54) and by Xenophon (De Vostigalibus, 3. 7). Hegesileôs was uncle of Eubulus and general again in the year 349/8. See critical note.
³ Probably from Thessaly, Αχααιοι Θειωται, if present text is retained. See chap. 85. 2 for Achaean of Peloponnesus.
⁴ The fundamental account of the battle of Mantinea is found in Xenophon, Hell. 7. 5. 18-27. For references to maps and special problems see Glotz, Hist. gr. 3. 177, note 101.
τῶν στρατοπέδων, οί μὲν μάντειςι οφαγιασάμενοι παρ' ἀμφιτέρως ἀπεφαινόντο τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ τῶν 2 θεῶν προφανομένην· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τάξιν2 Μαντινεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τὸ δεξίον ἐπείχον κέρας, ἑχοντες παραστάτας καὶ συναγωγιστὰς Λακεδαιμονίως, τούτως δὲ συνεχεῖς ἔσαν Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἁχαιοί, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ καταδείκτεροι τὴν μέσην3 ἐπείχον τάξιν· τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας ἀνεπλήρου Ἀθηναίοι. Θηβαῖοι δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐτάχθησαν, παραστάτας ἑχοντες Ἀρκάδας, τὸ δὲ δεξίον παρέδωκαν Ἀργείοις· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν μέσην τάξιν, Εὔβοιες καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Σικυώνιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτως Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μαλείαι καὶ Λιναῖοι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεσπάλοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σύμμαχοι. τοὺς δ' ἰππείς ἐφ' ἐκατέρω τῶν κεράτων ἀμφότεροι δι- 3 εἶλοντο. τῶν δὲ στρατευμάτων τούτων τὸν τρόπον τεταγμένων, ὡς ἦδη πλησίον ἐπήρχον ἄλληλων, αἱ μὲν σάλπυγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινον, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις ἠλάλαξαν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοής τὴν νίκην ἐσήμαινον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰππομαχίαν ἐν τοῖς κέρασι συνεστῆσαντο, καθ' ἢν ταῖς φιλο- 4 τυμίαις ἐαυτοῖς ὑπερθέλαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἰππείς τοῖς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπελάσαντες ἠλπτυντο ὅπως ὄντως ταῖς τῶν ἰππῶν1 ἀρεταῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐχυχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἰππικὴν ἐμπερίας· εἰ δὲ πλῆθει καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῶν ψιλῶν5 καὶ τῇ στρατηγικῇ συντάξει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλεύθοντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν6 ὁλίγους εἶχον ἀκοντιστάς, οἱ δὲ

1 So Scaliger: μαντινεῖς.
the soothsayers, having sacrificed on both sides, declared that victory was foreshadowed by the gods. In the disposition of forces the Mantincians with the rest of the Arcadians occupied the right wing with the Lacedaemonians as their neighbours and supporters, and next to these were Eleians and Achaean; and the weaker of the remaining forces occupied the centre, while the Athenians filled the left wing. The Thebans themselves had their post on the left wing, supported by the Arcadians, while they entrusted the right to the Argives. The remaining multitude filled the middle of the line: Euboeans, Loerians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Malians, Aenianians, together with Thessalians and the remaining allies. Both sides divided the cavalry and placed contingents on each wing. Such was the array of the armaments, and now as they approached one another, the trumpets sounded the battle charge, the armies raised the battle shout, and by the very volume of their cries betokened their victory. At first they engaged in a cavalry battle on the flanks in which they outbid each other in keen rivalry. Now as the Athenian horse attacked the Theban they suffered defeat not so much because of the quality of their mounts nor yet on the score of the riders' courage or experience in horsemanship, for in none of these departments was the Athenian cavalry deficient; but it was in the numbers and equipment of the light-armed troops and in their tactical skill that they were far inferior to their opponents. Indeed they had only a few javelin-throwers.

2 So Wurm (cp. chap. 86. 2): δείαν.
3 So Capps (cp. chap. 85. 2 below): λοιπὴν.
4 So Schäfer: ἱππεῖαν. 6 So Wesseling: φίλων.
5 oν A, omitted by cet.
Θηβαίοι τριπλασίους σφενδονήτας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν τόπων ἀπεστάλ- δυς μένουσ. οὖτοι περιττότερον ἐκ παιδῶν χθολοῦντες τὴν ἐν τούτοις μάχην, μεγάλην ῥοπῆν ποιεῖν εἰώ- θεισαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις διὰ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐμπειρίας. διόπερ οἱ 'Ἀθηναιοὶ κατατυπωσκόμενοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ψυλίκων, καταπονοῦμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθε- 6 στηκότων, ἀπαντεῖ ἐτράπησαν. τὴν δὲ φυγὴν ἐκτὸς τῶν κεράτων ποιησάμενοι διωρθώσαντο τὴν ἴτταν· ἀμα μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν οὐκ ἔταραξαν τὴν ἴδιαν φάλαγγα, ἀμα δὲ περιπεσόντες Ἐυβοεύς καὶ μισθοφόροι τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν πλησίον λόφων, συνάφαντες 7 αὐτοῖς μάχην ἀπανταὶ ἀπέκπετεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵππεῖς τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἀντισταγμένων ἐπελά- σαντες ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο παραλλάξαν τοὺς πεζοὺς. ἱσχυρὰς δὲ μάχης γενομένης, καὶ τῶν 'Ἀθηναιῶν καταπονομένων καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ἀπροκάτων, ὁ τῶν Ἰλείων ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τεταγ- μένος ἐπεβοήθησε τοὺς φεύγοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν καταβαλῶν παλιντροποὺ ἐποίησε τὴν μά- 8 χην. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰλείων ἵππεῖς τοῦτον τῶν τρόπον ἐπιφανέντες τῷ λαῷ κέρατο τὸ γεγονός περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐλάττωμα διωρθώσαντο· ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρων κέρατος ἐπιρραζόντων ἀλλ' ἄλλοις τῶν ἵππων βραχὸν χρόνον ἡ μάχη διεμείνεν ἴσορροπος, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θετταλῶν ἵππεων οὶ μετὰ τῶν Μαντινῶν δυνατοὶ ἐβιάσθησαν, καὶ συνεχοῦς ἀπο- βαλόντες κατέφυγον πρὸς τὴν ἴδιαν φάλαγγα.

86. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν παρ' ἀμφιτέρων ἵππεων

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whereas the Thebans had three times as many slingers and javelin-throwers sent them from the regions about Thessaly. These people practised from boyhood assiduously this type of fighting and consequently were wont to exercise great weight in battles because of their experience in handling these missiles. Consequently the Athenians, who were continually being wounded by the light-armed and were harried to exhaustion by the opponents who confronted them, all turned and fled. But having fled beyond the flanks, they managed to retrieve their defeat, for even in their retreat they did not break their own phalanx, and encountering simultaneously the Euboeans and certain mercenaries who had been dispatched to seize the heights near by, they gave battle and slew them all. Now the Theban horse did not follow up the fugitives, but, assailing the phalanx opposing them, strove zealously to outflank the infantry. The battle was a hot one; the Athenians were exhausted and had turned to flee, when the Eleian cavalry-commander, assigned to the rear, came to the aid of the fugitives and, by striking down many Boeotians, reversed the course of the battle. So while the Eleian cavalry by their appearance in this fashion on the left wing retrieved the defeat their allies had sustained, on the other flank both cavalry forces lashed at one another and the battle hung for a short time in the balance, but then, because of the number and valour of the Boeotian and Thessalian horsemen, the contingents on the Mantineian side were forced back, and with considerable loss took refuge with their own phalanx.

86. Now the cavalry battle had the foregoing issue.

1 So Dindorf: εἰώθασον.  
2 τῶν added by Reiske.
μάχη τοιούτων ἐσχε τὸ τέλος· αἱ δὲ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις ὡς συνήθθησαν εἰς χεῖρας τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλους καὶ θαμμαστοὺς ἄγκυρας συνεστήσαντο. οὐδέποτε γὰρ Ἕλληνων πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἀγωνιζομένων οὔτε πλήθος ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτο παρετάξατο οὐθ' ἥγημονες ἀξιολογῶτεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν οὔτε ἄνδρες δυνατῶτεροι τὰς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπεδείκνυ ἔξαντο. οἱ γὰρ πεζομαχεῖν ἀρίστα δυνάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιρούς, Βοωτοὶ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἀνθεσθηκότες πρῶτον μάχην συνήθησαν, οὐδεμίαν φειδώ ποιούμενοι τοῦ ξηρ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῆς τάπτοντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πληγῶν τὰ πλεῖστα συντρύψαντες, εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μαχαίρας

3 ἀγώνα κατηνίκησαν. συμπλεκόμενοι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ παντολεῖς διαθέσεις τραυμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς οὐκ ἔληγον· ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τοὺς δεινοὺς ἔγκαρτερούντων διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς παρ᾽ ἐκατέρω ἀνδραγαθίας οὐδεμίαν ῥοπὴν ἑλάμβανεν" ἡ μάχη. ἔκαστος γὰρ τοῦ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν καταφρονῶν, τοῦ δὲ δρᾶσι τί λαμπρόν ἐφίμενος, εὐγενῶς ἀνεδέχετο τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης θάνατον.

4 ἰσχυρὰς δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν τε χρόνῳ γινομένης καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μηδεμίαν ῥοπὴν λαμβάνοντος, ὁ μὲν 'Επαμεινώνδας ὑπολαβὼν τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς προσδείχθαι τὴν νίκην, ἐγνὼ δὲ ἓναυτὸ κρίναι τὸν κινδύνον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ μετὰ τούτων συμφράζας, εἰσέβαλεν εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους· καθηγούμενος δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος, καὶ πρῶτος ἀκούσας, ἐβάλε τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν Λα-

5 κεδαμονίων. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, οὕς μὲν ἀνελών, οὕς δὲ καταπληξά-
But when the infantry forces closed with the enemy in hand-to-hand combat, a mighty, stupendous struggle ensued. For never at any other time when Greeks fought Greeks was such a multitude of men arrayed, nor did generals of greater repute or men more competent ever display such gallantry in battle. For the most capable foot-soldiers of that time, Bocotians and Lacedaemonians, whose lines were drawn up facing one another, began the contest, exposing their lives to every risk. After the first exchange of spears in which most were shattered by the very density of the missiles, they engaged with swords. And although their bodies were all locked with one another and they were inflicting all manner of wounds, yet they did not leave off; and for a long time as they persisted in their terrible work, because of the superlative courage displayed on each side, the battle hung poised. For each man, disregarding the risk of personal hurt, but desirous rather of performing some brilliant deed, would nobly accept death as the price of glory. As the battle raged severely for a long time and the conflict took no turn in favour of either side, Epameinondas, conceiving that victory called for the display of his own valour also, decided to be himself the instrument to decide the issue. So he immediately took his best men, grouped them in close formation and charged into the midst of the enemy; he led his battalion in the charge and was the first to hurl his javelin, and hit the commander of the Lacedaemonians. Then, as the rest of his men also came immediately into close quarters with the foe, he slew some, threw others into

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1 So Dindorf: πελακαί.
2 τὰς ... ἀνδραγαθίας Wesseling (cp. chap. 65. 3): ταῖς ... ἀνδραγαθίαις.
3 So Wesseling: ἀνελάμβανεν.
μενος, διέκοψε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ Ἐπαμεινόνδου καὶ τὸ βάρος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν συστήματος καταπλαγέντες ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς μάχης· ἐπικεκμένων δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους αἰεὶ φονευόντων, νεκρῶν ἑσπερεύθη πλήθος.

87. Οἱ δὲ Λακαδεμόνιοι θεωροῦντες Ἐπαμεινώνδαν προθυμότερον προπίπτοντα1 τῷ θυμῷ, συνέδραμον ἐπὶ αὐτόν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πυκνῶν φερομένων βελῶν, τὰ μὲν ἔξενευε, τὰ δὲ διεκρόνετο, τινὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξαιρὼν τούτοις ἦμαντο τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. ἤρωκαὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἀγωνισόμενοι κυρίων ἔλαβεν πληγὴν εἰς τὸν θώρακα. κλασθέντος δὲ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου καταλειφθέντος ἐν τῷ σώματι, παραχρῆμα ἔπεσε κατισχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπεσοῦσης φιλοτιμίας, καὶ πολλῶν παρ᾽ ἀμφότεροι ἀναιρεθέντων, μόνοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ βρόμῃ τῶν σωμάτων προέχοντες κατεπόνησαν τοὺς Λακε-

2 δαμονίους. φυγῆς δὲ γενομένης, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ βραχὺν ἐπιδιώξαντες χρόνον ἀνέστρεφαν, ἀναγκαίοτατον ἤγονεμοι τὸ κυριεύσας τῶν νεκρῶν. ἀνακλεσαμένων οὖν τῶν σαλπυγκτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀπαντές τῆς μάχης ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τρόπαιον ἀμφό-

3 τεροι στήσαντες ἡμιφεασθητοὺς τῆς νίκης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι νευκηκότες τοὺς περὶ τὸν λόφον Εὐβοῖς καὶ μισθοφόρους κύριοι τῶν νεκρῶν ὑπήρχον, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους ἀπὸ κράτους ἠττηκότες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῶν πεπτωκότων προσένεμον ἐαυτοῖς τῆς νίκης. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν χρόνον τινὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσεως οὐδέτεροι
a panic, and broke through the enemy phalanx. The Lacedaemonians, overawed by the prestige of Epameinondas and by the sheer weight of the contingent he led, withdrew from the battle, but the Boeotians kept pressing the attack and continually slaying any men who were in the rear rank, so that a multitude of corpses was piled up.

87. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they saw that Epameinondas in the fury of battle was pressing forward too eagerly, they charged him in a body. As the missiles flew thick and fast about him, he dodged some, others he fended off, still others he pulled from his body and used to ward off his attackers. But while struggling heroically for the victory, he received a mortal wound in the chest. As the spear broke and the iron point was left in his body, he fell of a sudden, his strength sapped by the wound. About his body a rivalry ensued in which many were slain on both sides, but at last with difficulty by their superiority in bodily strength, the Thebans wore the Lacedaemonians out. As the latter turned and fled, the Boeotians pursued for a short time but turned back, considering it most essential to take possession of the bodies of the dead. So, when the trumpeters sounded recall for their men, all withdrew from battle and both sides set up trophies claiming the victory. In fact the Athenians had defeated the Euboeans and mercenaries in the battle for the heights and were in possession of the dead; while the Boeotians, because they had overpowered the Lacedaemonians and were in possession of the dead, were for awarding the victory to themselves. So for a long time neither side sent envoys to recover its dead,

1 So Wesseling (ep. chap. 65. 1): προσπίπτοντα.
2 ἀμφισβήτουν ΡΑ, ἡμφισβήτουνセット.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΗΛΗΣ

dιεπρεσβεύσαντο, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσιν ἐκχωρεῖν τοῦ πρωτείου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Λακεδαίμονιῶν πρώτων ἐπικηρυκευσαμένων περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἄναψεσθαι άμφότεροι τοὺς ἱδίους ἔδαψαν. Ἡ Ἐπαμενώνδας δ᾽ ἐπὶ ζῶν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπηνέχθη, καὶ τῶν συγκληθέντων ἱατρῶν ἀποφημαμένων, ὡτι πάντως, ὡτιν ἐκ τοῦ θώρακος ἐξαιρεθῇ τὸ δόρυ, συμβῆσεται καὶ τῶν θάνατον ἐπακολουθήσαι, εὐψυχότατα τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν ἐποιῆσατο.

6 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν προσκαλεσάμενος ἐπηρῴησεν εἰ διασέσωκε τὴν ἀσπίδα. του δὲ φήσαντος καὶ θέντος αὐτῆς πρὸ τῆς ὁράσεως, πάλιν ἐπηρῴησε πότεροι νευκήκασιν. ἀποφανομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ νευκήκασιν, Ὡμαρ, φησίν, ἔστι τελευτᾶν, καὶ προσέταξεν ἐκοπάσαι τὸ δόρυ. ἀναβησάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων φίλων, καὶ τινὸς εἰπόντος ὅτι Τελευτᾶς ἀτεκνός, Ἐπαμενώνδα, καὶ δακρύσαντος, Μᾶ Θία μὲν, φησίν, ἄλλα καταλείπων δύο θυγατέρας, τὴν τε ἐν Λεύκτρως νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἐξαιρεθέντως ἀνευ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐξεπέγεισαν.

88. Ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσωθότες ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄνδρῶν τελευταῖς ἐπιλέγειν τὸν ἱδίον ἑπανω, οὐδαμῶς ἀρµῶν ήγουμένα παραδραμεῖν ἄνδρος τῆλυκουτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνεπισήμαντο. δοκεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν μὴ μόνον τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ὑπερβάλλειν ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτως ἑπιεικεία τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχία. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν τούτου γεγονόσων ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς Πελοπίδας τη τῆς Θηβαιος καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Κόνων,

1 εὐψυχότατα τὴν Cobet: εὐψυχοτάτην.
2 So PAL: Θηβαιος ἐτε de cet.
in order that it should not appear to yield the primacy; but later, when the Lacedaemonians were the first to have sent a herald to ask for the recovery of their dead, each side buried its own. Epameinondas, however, was carried back to camp still living, and the physicians were summoned, but when they declared that undoubtedly as soon as the spear-point should be drawn from his chest, death would ensue, with supreme courage he met his end. For first summoning his armour-bearer he asked him if he had saved his shield. On his replying yes and placing it before his eyes, he again asked, which side was victorious. At the boy's answer that the Boeotians were victorious, he said, "It is time to die," and directed them to withdraw the spear point. His friends present cried out in protest, and one of them said: "You die childless, Epameinondas," and burst into tears. To this he replied, "No, by Zeus, on the contrary I leave behind two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea, my victories." 1 Then when the spear point was withdrawn, without any commotion he breathed his last.

88. For us who are wont to accord to the demise of great men the appropriate meed of praise, it would be most unfitness, so we think, to pass by the death of a man of such stature with no word of note. For it seems to me that he surpassed his contemporaries not only in skill and experience in the art of war, but in reasonableness and magnanimity as well. For among the generation of Epameinondas were famous men: Pelopidas the Theban, Timotheüs and Conon,

1 Had Λευκτρα not been a neuter plural, the Greek would have permitted the more effective turn of phrase available in English. Cf. Philip of Macedon's daughter, Thessalonike, "Victory in Thessaly."
3 Δεινομένους καὶ τινες ἐτεροι. ἀλλ᾽ ὁμως εἰ τις συγκρίναις τὰς τοῦτον ἄρετας τῇ Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγικά τε καὶ δόξης, πολὺ ἂν προέχουσαν εὐροῖ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνναν ἀρετήν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ἂν εὐροὶ προτέρημα τῆς δόξης, παρὰ δὲ τοῦτῳ πάσαι τὰς ἀρετὰς ἑθροισμέναις. καὶ γὰρ ῥώμη σώματος καὶ λόγου δεινότητι, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτος ἡγχῆς λαμπρότητι καὶ μυσαργυρία καὶ ἐπιεικεία, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἄνδρεια καὶ στρατηγικῆς χυνέσει πολὺ διηνέγκει πάντων. 4 τουγαροῦν ἡ πατρίς αὐτοῦ ἔντος μὲν ἐκτῆσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἕλλαδος, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτης ἐστερήθη καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεὶρον ἀεὶ μεταβολῆς ἐπειράθη, καὶ πέρας διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν ἡγομένων ἀνδραπόδισμος καὶ κατασκαφῆς ἐλαβε πείραν. Ἐπαμεινώννας μὲν οὖν παρὰ πάσι περιβόητον ἔχον τῆν ἁρετήν, τοιαύτης ἔτυχε καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου.

89. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀμφισβητουμένην ἔχοντες τὴν νίκην καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ἐφάμιλλοι καθεστώτες, ἔτη δὲ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν κινδύνων καταπονοούμενοι, διελύσαντο πρὸς ἄλλους. συνθέμενοι δὲ κοινῆς εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίαν, κατέταττον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους.
also Chabrias and Iphicrates, Athenians all, and, \(363/2\) B.C. besides, Agesilaüs the Spartan, who belonged to a slightly older generation. Still earlier than these, in the times of the Medes and Persians, there were Solon, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Cimon, Myronides, and Pericles and certain others in Athens, and in Sicily Gelon, son of Deinomenes, and still others. All the same, if you should compare the qualities of these with the generalship and reputation of Epameinondas, you would find the qualities possessed by Epameinondas far superior. For in each of the others you would discover but one particular superiority as a claim to fame; in him, however, all qualities combined. For in strength of body and eloquence of speech, furthermore in elevation of mind, contempt of lucre, fairness, and, most of all, in courage and shrewdness in the art of war, he far surpassed them all. So it was that in his lifetime his native country acquired the primacy of Hellas, but when he died lost it and constantly suffered change for the worse and finally, because of the folly of its leaders, experienced slavery and devastation. So Epameinondas, whose valour was approved among all men, in the manner we have shown met his death.

89. The states of Greece after the battle, since the victory credited to them all was in dispute and they had proved to be evenly matched in the matter of valour, and, furthermore, were now exhausted by the unbroken series of battles, came to terms with one another. When they had agreed upon a general peace and alliance, they sought to include the Messenians in the compact. But the Lacedaemonians, because

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1 So Dindorf: \(πρότερον\).
2 So Dindorf: \(τούτου\).
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λακτον ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν σπουδῶν οὐ προείλοντο κοινωνεῖν καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπήρχον ἐκ-
σπουδοῦ.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ξενοφῶν μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐναι-
τὸν κατέστροφεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν.
Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς τὴν πρώτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀνέγραψεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ θεογονίας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατ-
έστροφε δ’ εἰς τὴν ἐν Μαντυνείᾳ μάχην καὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν περιέλαβε δὲ πᾶσας σχε-
δόν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις ἐν βύβλοις δώδεκα. Φιλιστός δὲ τὰ περὶ Διονύσιον
τὸν νεότερον ὦδὲ κατέστροφε, διελθὼν ἐτή πέντε ἐν βύβλοις δυσών.

90. Ἑπὶ άρχοντος δ’ Ἀθήνης Μόλωνος ἐν Ῥώ-
μῃ κατεστάθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεώκιου Γενούκιος καὶ
Κόντος Σερουλίου. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ τὴν παράλιον
οἴκοντες τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ
τως τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπαναστάν
tες 2 πόλεμον εξήγεικαν πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην. ὅμως δὲ
τούτους καὶ Ταχώς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Διονυσίου κρι-
νας πολεμεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας, ναῦς τε κατεσκεύασε
καὶ πεζὰς 3 δυνάμεις ἠθροίσεν. πολλοὺς δὲ ξενο-

1 After κοινωνεῖν Bekker deletes διὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους.
2 So Stephanus: κατέστρεφεν.
3 πεζὰς MSS.

1 See chap. 94. 1; Plutarch, Agesilaius, 35; Polybius, 4. 33. 8-9.
2 The Hellenica.
3 Anaximenes (c. 380-320 B.C.) was a student under Zois
and Diogenes and later a teacher. He accompanied Alex-
ander the Great. This work had the title πρῶταί ἴστοριαί
(Athenaeus, 6. 231 c) or πρῶτη Ἑλληνικῶν (Harpocration, s.v.
Ἀμφικτύους). Other works were Φιλιστικά and τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξ-
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of the irreconcilable quarrel with them, chose not to be parties to the truce and alone of the Greeks remained out of it.\footnote{1}

Among the historians Xenophon the Athenian brings the narrative of "Greek Affairs"\footnote{2} down into this year, closing it with the death of Epameinondas, while Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who composed the "First Inquiry of Greek Affairs"\footnote{3} beginning with the birth of the gods and the first generation of man, closed it with the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epameinondas. He included practically all the doings of the Greeks and non-Greeks in twelve volumes. And Philistus\footnote{4} brought his history of Dionysius the Younger down to this year, narrating the events of five years in two volumes.

90. When Molon was archon at Athens, in Rome\footnote{5} there were elected as consuls Lucius Genecius and Quintus Servilius. During their term of office the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast revolted from Persia, and some of the satraps and generals rising in insurrection made war on Artaxerxes.\footnote{6} At the same time Tachôs the Egyptian king decided to fight the Persians and prepared ships and gathered infantry forces.\footnote{7}

\footnote{4}Philistus, besides an earlier work, wrote a History of Sicily from the fall of Acragas (406/5) to the death of the elder Dionysius (367/6) in four books (see Book 13. 103. 3). This work on Dionysius the Younger was much read down to Cicero's time but has come to us in very few fragments: FHG, 1. 185; 4. 639 (see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 42).

\footnote{5} This was the Satraps' Revolt. See Tarn, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 20-21; Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire, 411 ff.

\footnote{6} For the earlier Persian expedition against Egypt see chaps. 29, 41-43.
DIODORUS OF SYRACUSE

λογήσας ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἔπεισε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχεῖν· οἱ γάρ Σπαρτιάται πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην ἀλλοτρίως εἶχον διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὁμοίως τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληναίν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην κατατετάχθαι. τη- λικαύετο δὲ συνδρομῆς κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν γενομένης, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὸν 3 πόλεμον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἔδει πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιών τιμωρίαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον συμμάχους, συμμάχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἀρχοντας μὲν τῶν παραδίκαιων τόπων, συντεθειμένους δὲ κοινοπραγμάτων ὁν ἦσαν ἐπιφανεστατοὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν ὁ τῆς Περσίας στρατάς, ὅσα καὶ Μιθριδάτου τελευτήσαντος τῆς

1 τὰς πρὸς τὰς ΡΑ; τὰς πρὸς ΦΚ, Vogel deletes πρὸς, πρὸς τὰς Dindorf, Bekker.

The difficulties with the identification of Ariobarzanes and Mithridates hinge on the following facts: (1) Ariobarzanes in 407 was subordinate to Pharnabazus, satrap of Dascyleion (Xenophon, Hell. 1. 4. 7). (2) Ariobarzanes about 387 succeeded Pharnabazus in the satrapy of Dascyleion when Pharnabazus was summoned to the court to marry the daughter of Artaxerxes (Xenophon, op. cit. 5. 1. 28). (3) Ariobarzanes refused to give up his throne to Pharnabazus' son, Artabazus (chap. 91. 2), by the King's daughter when Artabazus grew up, and so became ringleader of the Satraps' Revolt. (Cp. Nepos, Datames, 2. 5; Trogus, ProL 10; Demosthenes, 15. 9; Isocrates, 15. 111 ff.; Nepos, Timotheus, 1. 2, 3.) (4) Ariobarzanes was betrayed by his son Mithridates, sent up to court and crucified about 362. (See Harpocrates; Xenophon, Education of Cyrus, 8. 8. 4; Aristotle, Politics, 5. 1313 a, and Valerius Maximus, 9. 11, ext. 2.) (5) Ariobarzanes (this passage) succeeded Mithridates in the kingship (sc. of Pontus). (6) Ariobarzanes died (Book 16. 90. 2) in 337/6 after ruling (sc. in Pontus) for

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Having procured many mercenaries from the Greek cities, he persuaded the Lacedaemonians likewise to fight with him, for the Spartans were estranged from Artaxerxes because the Messenians had been included by the King on the same terms as the other Greeks in the general peace. When the general uprising against the Persians reached such large proportions, the King also began making preparations for the war. For at one and the same time he must needs fight the Egyptian king, the Greek cities of Asia, the Lacedaemonians and the allies of these,—satraps and generals who ruled the coastal districts and had agreed upon making common cause with them. Of these the most distinguished were Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, who at the death of Mithridates had taken twenty-six years (fits with this passage) and was succeeded by Mithridates. Note that Harpocration alone speaks of the crucifixion of Ariobarzanes. The mention by Aristotle of the attack on Ariobarzanes by Mithridates is tentatively placed in the year 337/6 by Rackham, _L.C.L._ 450. Since Xenophon mentions the murder in the _Education of Cyrus_ in juxtaposition with Rheomithres and Tachós, it seems probable that the death of Ariobarzanes is to be placed in 362 and not in 337/6 when Xenophon was probably dead and the _Education of Cyrus_ was almost certainly finished. One must therefore agree with Judeich (P.-W. _Realencyclopädie_, s.v. “Ariobarzanes”) that numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 refer to the same man, a different Ariobarzanes from numbers 5 and 6. Beloch ( _Griechische Geschichte_, 3. 2. § 60) comes to this conclusion and says that Diodorus is here mistaken in stating that Ariobarzanes takes over the throne from Mithridates. If this is Mithridates I of Pontus, he is succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes who is most likely the nephew of the satrap Ariobarzanes in question here. The nephew Ariobarzanes, probably known as Ariobarzanes of Cios (and Arrhiné (?), cp. Book 20. 111. 4), is succeeded by his son Mithridates II. The uncle, the revolting satrap, also had a son Mithridates who betrayed him and caused his death.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τούτου βασιλέως κεκυριευκὼς ἦν, Μαύσωλος ὁ Ἐλλην, ἔδωκε Καρίαν δυναστεύον καὶ πολλῶν ἐρματῶν καὶ πόλεων ἀξιολόγων κυριεύων δύναται καὶ μητρόπολιν συνεβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, ἠχούσαν ἀκρόπολιν ἀξιολόγον καὶ τὰ τῆς Καρίας βασίλεια: πρὸς δὲ τούτου Ὀρόντης μὲν τῆς Μυσίας σατράπης, Ἀντωφραδάτης δὲ Λυδίας τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων Ἄνεος Λύκιοι τε καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Κυλικες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Φοίνικες καὶ σχεδὸν 4 πάντες οἱ παραβαλόσιοι. τηλικαύτης δ᾽ οὖσας ἀποστάσεως, τὸ μὲν ἤμισο τῶν προσόδων τῷ βασιλεὶ κατελέυτο, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐχ ἴκανον ἂν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρέαις.

91. Οἱ δὲ ἀφεστηκότες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὀλων διοίκησιν εἴλουτο στρατηγὸν Ὀρόντην. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα πρὸς ξενολογίαν, δισυνεπί στρατιώταις ἐναύσοις μισθοῖς, ἐγένετο προδότης τῶν πιστευόντων. ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως διωρεῶν τε μεγάλων τευχεσθαι καὶ τῆς παραβαλασσίου πάσης παραλημφθαι τὴν σατραπείαν, ἢν ἐγχειρίη τοῖς Πέρσαις

1 ἄνευ added by Capres; οἱ πολλοὶ added by Urlichs; μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ι. or τῶν δ᾽ Ἰώνων σύμμαχοι suggested by Wesseling; τῶν δ᾽ εἶδον Dindorf; πλὴν δὲ Ἰώνων Vogel.

1 Mausolus, son of Heatonnus of Mylasa who became "dynast of Caria" about 390, succeeded his father about 377/6 (see Book 16, 36. 2) and married his sister Artemisia, who succeeded him (Book 16, 36. 2; 45, 7). At first opposed to Ariobarzanes, he later joined in the revolt against the King. The monument erected to him by his widow is famous as the Mausoleum.

2 Orontes was the son of Artasuras and husband of Rhodogune, daughter of the King (Xenophon, Anabasis, 2. 4. 8; 3. 4. 15; Plutarch, Artaxerxes, 27. 4). Though satrap of 204
possession of his kingdom, and Mausolus,\(^1\) overlord of 362/1 B.C. Caria, who was master of many strongholds and important cities of which the hearth and mother city was Halicarnassus, which possessed a famous acropolis and the royal palace of Caria; and, in addition to the two already mentioned, Orontes,\(^2\) satrap of Mysia, and Autophradates,\(^3\) satrap of Lydia. Apart from the Ionians were Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians, likewise Syrians, Phoenicians, and practically all the coastal peoples. With the revolt so extensive, half the revenues of the King were cut off and what remained were insufficient for the expenses of the war.

91. The peoples who had revolted from the King chose as their general Orontes in charge of all branches of the administration. He, having taken over the command and funds needed for recruiting mercenaries, amounting to a year's pay for twenty thousand men, proceeded to betray his trust. For suspecting that he would obtain from the King not only great rewards but would also succeed to the satrapy of all the coastal region if he should deliver the rebels into Armenia in 401 (Xenophon, op. cit. 3. 5. 17; 4. 3. 4), he had by this time probably lost Armenia (in spite of Trogus, Prol. 10) and was satrap of Mysia only, but hoped, as Diodorus says, to acquire the satrapy of all the coast cities (i.e., satrapy of Sardes) now under control of Autophradates, by his betrayal of the insurrection to the King. Since Autophradates also returned to his allegiance, his aims were frustrated only to be revived in 355. He probably died about 344. (See Beloch, Griechische Geschichte\(^2\), 3. 2. 138-140; and supra, chap. 2. 2.)

\(^a\) Autophradates was probably satrap of Sardes in 392, then of the coastal cities only in 388, and later, after the death of Tiribazus, again re-established in Sardes until his death. (See for an account of him Beloch, Griechische Geschichte\(^2\), 3. 2. 135-136.)

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tous afeosthkatias, proton men tous komistas tae xermata synelabhe kai pros ton 'Aptaxerxein apesteile, meta de tauta pollass ton polow kai tous xenologhentas stratiwtas tois upo tov basi-
2 lews pemfhesein igma mou parenedwen. omoiws de toutw kai katat tis Kappadochias egeneto pro-
dosia, kai'ti idion ti kai paradoso sunvepsi gene-
vsthai. 'Aptabazou gar tov basilios stratiqhou
meta pollhes dunames embalontos eis tin Kappada-
dochian, o men tautilus tiis xwras stratapthiis Daa-
tamhis antestratopedeusen autw, pollous men
ippeis ebroikous diisumorios de pezous misodofrous
3 echon autw sustratetontas. o de kidesthis tou
Datamou ton ippeion aphiugumenes, xarin boullo-
menos katathesai kai tiis idias swtirias ama
pronoymenes, aposatas vuktos meta ton ippeon
apilane pro tois polemious, sunteleimenes pros
'Aptabazou ti proteron hemera peri tiis proodosias.
4 Datamhis de parakalodes tous misodofrous kai
dowelas uposchiomenos, anxeveze pros tous afeosth-
katas. katalabown de autous 5h suvanptontas
stoi polemious, kai autous prospesow ama tois
peri ton 'Aptabazou kai tois ippeusin, ekteine
5 tois eis xevras erxomoues. o de 'Aptabazos, to

1 PAL omit autou.

1 Artabazus was the son of Pharnabazus (note 1, p. 202) and Apame, daughter of Artaxerxes (Plutarch, Artaxerxes, 27. 4; Xenophon, Hell. 5. 1. 29), born about 387 or later. He married the sister of Memnon and Mentor (Book 16. 52.

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the hands of the Persians, he first arrested those who brought the money and dispatched them to Artaxerxes; then afterward he delivered many of the cities and the soldiers who had been hired to the commanding officers who had been sent by the King. In a similar manner, betrayal occurred also in Cappadocia, where a strange and unexpected thing took place. Artabazus,¹ the King’s general, had invaded Cappadocia with a large army, and Datames,² the satrap of the country, had taken the field against him, for he had collected many horsemen and had twenty thousand mercenary foot-soldiers serving with him. But the father-in-law of Datames, who commanded the cavalry, wishing to acquire favour and at the same time having an eye to his own safety, deserted at night and rode off with the cavalry to the enemy, having the day before made arrangements with Artabazus for the betrayal. Datames then summoned his mercenaries, promised them largess, and launched an attack upon the deserters. Finding them on the point of joining forces with the enemy and himself attacking at the same time Artabazus’ guard and the horsemen, he slew all who came to close quarters.

4) about 363. For his history see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3 2. 147-149.

¹ Datames was the son of Camisares who ruled over part of Cappadocia (see Life by Nepos). He was probably leader of an offensive of the satraps at the time of Tachōs’ invasion of Syria (see Polyaeus, 7. 21. 3). It was probably in the summer of 359 that Artabazus invaded Cappadocia, and at the latest in the following winter that Datames was murdered by Ariobarzanes’ son Mithridates (Nepos, *Datames*, 10-11; Polyaenus, 7. 29. 1). For a longer account see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2. 254-257; also Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 20-21; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 411 ff.
Diódoros of Sicily

μὲν πρῶτον τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀγνωστὸν, ὑπολαβῶν δὲ τὸν ἀποστάτην τοῦ Δατάμου, παλμιπροδοσίαν ποιεῖσθαι, παρήγγειλε τοὺς ιδίους κτείνειν τοὺς προσώματα ἰσπείσαι· ὦ δὲ Μιθροπαρζάνης ἐν μέσους ἀποληφθεῖν καὶ τῶν μὲν ὡς προδότην ἀμυνομένων τῶν δὲ ὡς παλμιπροδότην τιμωρομένων, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καθειστήκει· τῆς δὴ ἀπορίας οὐκ ἔστην βουλεύσασθαι, πρὸς ἀληθὲς ἐτρέπετο, καὶ πρὸς ἀμφότερον διαμαχόμενος πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. τέλος δὲ πλεῖόνων ἡ μυρίων ἀναρεθέντων, τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὁ Δατάμης τρελάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς φονεύσας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς διώκοντας οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Δατάμην ἀποχωρήσαντες ἤξιον τυχεῖν συγγνώμης, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὧτοι τράπωνται, καὶ τέλος εἰς πεντακοσίους οὗτοι κυκλωθέντες ύπὸ Δατάμου κατηκοντίσθησαν. Δατάμης μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ στρατηγία θαυμαξόμενος, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἐσχε περιβότον τὴν τῇ ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ στρατηγείᾳ σύνεσιν· ὦ δὲ βασελεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης πυθόμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν τοῦ Δατάμου, καὶ στενῶν ἀρασθαὶ τοῦτον, δὲ ἑπιβουλὴς αὐτῶν ἐδολοφόνησεν.

92. "Αμα δὲ τούτως πραττομένοις Ἀρεμίθρης, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν πεμφθέες εἰς Ἀχαμπτον πρὸς Ταχῶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ λαβῶν ἀργυρὸν μὲν τά-

1 Schäfer deletes πρῶτον after Δατάμου. Post suggests πρότερον ὡς ἀποστάτην τοῦ Δατάμου. 2 So Reiske: πάλιν προδοσίαν. 3 παλμιπροδότην] πάλιν προδότην Ῥ.Α.Ε.: πάλιν ὡς προδότην ceb. 4 τότε Reiske: τέ. 5 So Dindorf (cp. Xenophon, Education of Cyrus, 8. 8. 4): Ἀρεμίθρης.

1 This was the name of the traitor. For different versions.
Artabazus, at first unaware of the truth and suspecting that the man who had deserted Datames was effecting a counter-betrayal, ordered his own men to slay all the horsemen who approached. And Mithrobarzanes, caught between the two parties—one group seeking revenge against him as a traitor; the other trying to punish him for counter-betrayal—was in a predicament, but since the situation allowed no time to deliberate, he had recourse to force, and fighting against both parties caused grievous slaughter. When, finally, more than ten thousand had been slain, Datames, having put the rest of Mithrobarzanes' men to flight and slain many of them, recalled with the trumpethissoldiers who had gone in pursuit. Amongst the survivors in the cavalry some went back to Datames and asked for pardon; the rest did nothing, having nowhere to turn, and finally, being about five hundred in number, were surrounded and shot down by Datames. As for Datames, though even before this he was admired for his generalship, at that time he won far greater acclaim for both his courage and his sagacity in the art of war; but King Artaxerxes, when he learned about Datames' exploit as general, because he was impatient to be rid of him, instigated his assassination.²

92. While these things were going on, Rheomithres, who had been sent by the insurgents to King Tachôs in Egypt, received from him five hundred of this story see Nepos, Datames, 6; Polyaenus, 7. 21. 7; and Frontinus, Strategemata, 2. 7. 9.

² See note 2, p. 207.
³ Mentioned in Xenophon, Education of Cyrus, 8. 8. 4 as leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends as hostages in the power of Tachôs. Fought at Granicus and Issus (see Book 17. 19. 4 and 34. 5).
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λαντα πεντακόσια, ναύς δὲ μακρὰς πεντήκοντα, κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὰς ὅνομαξομένας Λεύκας. εἰς δὲ τούτην τὴν πόλιν μεταπεμψάμενος πολλοὺς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἡγεμόνας, τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν καὶ δήσας ἀνέπεμψε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀποστάτης γενόμενος ταῖς ἐκ τῆς προδοσίας δωρεᾶς διελύσατο τὰ πρὸς τὸν Βασιλέα.

2 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλγυπτὸν Ταχὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσαμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διακοσίας μὲν τριήρεις εἰς ἄνω τευτελός κεκοσμημένας, μισθοφόρους δὲ ἐπιλέκτους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μυρίους, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πεζοὺς στρατιώτας Ἀλγυπτίους ὀκτακισμυρίους, καὶ τῶν μὲν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέδωκεν Ἀγεσίλαος τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ, ἀπεστάλμενοι μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαίμωνιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ’ ὄπλιτῶν χιλίων, δυναμένης δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι στρατιώτων καὶ δὲ ἀνδρείαν καὶ στρατηγικὴν 3 σύνεσιν τεθαυμασμένην. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἑνεχείρουσε Χαβρία τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπεσταλμένων, ἱδία δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συστατεύεσθαι πεπεισμένως. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἀν ἀπάσῃ τῆς δυνάμεως, Ἀγεσιλαός μὲν συμβουλεύσαντι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλγυπτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν πόλεμον διοικεῖν οὐ προσέσχε καὶ λὼς συμβουλεύοντι. τῆς γὰρ δυνάμεως

1 ἀπασαν τὴν MSS.; Reiske deletes ἀπασαν.
2 So F1J: ἡγεμόνας ετὸ.

1 On a promontory at the mouth of the Hermus River (see chap. 18. 2 and 4).
2 Agesilaüs could have come to Egypt only after the battle of Mantinea, accordingly in the autumn of 362 or in the 210
talents of silver and fifty warships, and sailed to Asia to the city named Leucae.\(^1\) To this city he summoned many leaders of the insurgents. These he arrested and sent in irons to Artaxerxes, and, though he himself had been an insurgent, by the favours that he conferred through his betrayal, he made his peace with the King. In Egypt King Tachôs, having completed his preparations for the war, now had two hundred triremes expensively adorned, ten thousand chosen mercenaries from Greece, and besides these eighty thousand Egyptian infantry. He gave the command of the mercenaries to the Spartan Agesilaüs,\(^2\) who had been dispatched by the Lacedaemonians with a thousand hoplites to fight as an ally, being a man capable of leading troops and highly regarded for his courage and for his shrewdness in the art of war. The command of the naval contingent he entrusted to Chabrias\(^3\) the Athenian, who had not been sent officially by his country, but had been privately prevailed upon by the king to join the expedition. The king himself, having command of the Egyptians and being general of the whole army, gave no heed to the advice of Agesilaüs to remain in Egypt and conduct the war through the agency of his generals, though the advice was sound. In fact when

following spring. The campaign was probably in the summer of 361. After the revolt against Tachôs, he supported Nectanebô in his struggle against the Mendesian pretender (Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 37-38) and in the course of the winter (Xenophon, Agesilaüs, 2. 31. 1; Plutarch, op. cit. 40) left Egypt (end of 361 or beginning of 360). He died on the return journey to Sparta.

\(^1\) Chabrias had been general 363/2 (IG, \(2^{\text{a}}\). 1. 111) and could have come as a private commander in the late summer of 362 at the earliest. For his former service in Egypt see chap. 29. 2-4.
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προελθούσης πορρωτέρω καὶ περὶ Φοινίκην κατα-
στρατοπεδευόμενος, ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλγυ-
πτου στρατηγοῦ ἀπέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως,
διαπεμψάμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Νεκτανεβώ, καὶ
πείσας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐν Ἀλγυπτῶ βασιλείας,
4 μέγαν πόλεμον ἐξέκασαν· ὁ γὰρ Νεκτανεβὼς ὑπὸ
tοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένος ἤγεμαν τῶν ἐς Ἀλγυπτοῦ
στρατιωτῶν, καὶ πεμφθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης
πολιορκεῖν τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, συγκάτανοις
γενόμενος ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβολαῖς, τοὺς μὲν
ἡγεμόνας διωρεῖς τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπαγγελλαί
προτερφάμενος, ἐπείεις συναγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι.
5 τέλος δὲ καταληφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τῆς
Ἀλγυπτοῦ, ὁ μὲν Ταχὼς καταπλαγεὶς ἐτόλμησε
διά τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ
συγγνώμην ἤξιον δοθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων·
ὁ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε τῶν
ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπεδέιξε τοῦ
πρὸς Ἀλγυπτίους πολέμου.

93. Μετ’ ὀλγον δὲ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν
ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἐτη τρία πρὸς τοὺς τεταρά-
κοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διεδέχοτο. Ὡχος ὁ μετ-
ονομασθεὶς Ἀρταξέρξης, καὶ ἐβασιλεύσειν ἐτη τρία
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκὼσι. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρταξέρξου καλὸς
βεβασιλευκότος καὶ γενομένου παντελῶς εἰρηνικοῦ
καὶ ἐπιτυχοῦς, τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύοντας
μετωνόμαιζον καὶ τὴν τοῦτον προσηγορίαν ἔχειν
2 προσέτατον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Ταχὼ ἐπανελθόν-
tος πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀγησιλαοῦ, Νεκτανεβώς

1 Since Xerxes II and Darius II intervened between Artaxerxes I (465/4-425/4, see Books 11. 69. 6 and 12. 64. 1) and
Artaxerxes II (405/4-362/1, see Book 13. 108. 1), this state-
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the armament had gone far afield and was encamped near Phoenicia, the general left in charge of Egypt revolted from the king, and having thereupon sent word to his son Nectanebôs prevailed upon him to take the kingship in Egypt, and thereby kindled a great war. For Nectanebôs, who had been appointed by the king commander of the soldiers from Egypt and had been sent from Phoenicia to besiege the cities in Syria, after approving of his father’s designs, solicited the officers with bribes and the common soldiers with promises, and so prevailed upon them to be his accomplices. At last Egypt was seized by the insurgents, and Tachôs, panic-stricken, made bold to go up to the King by way of Arabia and beg forgiveness for his past errors. Artaxerxes not only cleared him of the charges against him but even appointed him general in the war against Egypt.

93. Shortly after, the King of Persia died, having ruled forty-three years, and Ochus, who now assumed a new name, Artaxerxes, succeeded to the kingdom and ruled twenty-three years;—for since the first Artaxerxes had ruled well and had shown himself altogether peace-loving and fortunate, the Persians changed the names of those who ruled after him and prescribed that they should bear that name.¹ When King Tachôs had returned to the army of Agesilaüs,²

¹ Diodorus’s account of Agesilaüs in Egypt differs considerably from the other accounts: Xenophon, Agesilaüs, 2, 28-31; Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 36-40; and Nepos, Agesilaüs, 8. Plutarch appears to be the most reliable. In particular Agesilaüs is elsewhere reported to have changed allegiance from Tachôs to Nectanebôs. According to Olmstead (History of the Persian Empire, 417, 419-420) Agesilaüs served in Egypt from 360 to 358.

² The name Artaxerxes seems not to have been used for Arses and Darius III.
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ἦθοις στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταχῶ, καὶ προεκαλεῖτο περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαγωνισσαθαι. ὡς μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ὄρων τῶν βασιλέων καταπεπληγμένων καὶ μὴ τολμώντα διακινδυνεύειν, παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν· τῆς γὰρ νίκης τυγχάνειν οὐ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος προέχοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας πρωτεύωντας· οὐ προσέχοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ συνηγαγκάσθη μετ’ αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς τινὰ πόλιν εὖ· 3 μεγέθη. οἱ δ’ Αιγύπτιοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐπολιώρκουν τοὺς συγκεκλεισμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς πειραχαῖς ἀπέβαλον, τείχει καὶ τάφρῳ περιελάμβανον τὴν πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἐργῶν συντελουμένων διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαναλωθέντων, ὡς Ταχῶς ἀπέγνω τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος παρακαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις, διέσωσεν 4 ἀπαντάς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνελπίστως. ἐπιδιωκόντων δὲ τῶν Αιγύπτιων καὶ τῶν τόπων ὄντων πεδινῶν, οἱ μὲν Αιγύπτιοι διέλαβον τῷ πλήθει κεκυκλώσαν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πάντας ἄρδην ἀναρήσειν, ὃ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος κατάλαβόμενος τόπον ὅς εἶχεν ἐξ ἔκατερον μέρους διώρυγα ποταμοῦ χειροποίητον, ὑπέμεινε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδουν. 5 ἐκτάξας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν οὐκεῖως τοῖς τόποις, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡείθρως ᾠχυρώσας τὴν στρατιάν, συνήψε μάχην. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους τοῖς Αιγύπτιοι ἀχρήστου γενομένου, ταῖς ἀρεταῖς προέχοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Αιγύπτιων, 6 τοὺς δὲ λυποὺς φεύγειν ἦμάγκασαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὃ μὲν Ταχῶς ράδιως ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν κατ’
Nectaneboš, who had collected more than a hundred thousand men, came against Tachōs and challenged him to fight a battle for the kingship. Now Agesilaus, observing that the king was terrified and lacked the courage to risk a battle, bade him take heart. "For," said he, "it is not those who have the advantage of numbers who win the victory, but those who excel in valour." But since the king paid no heed to Agesilaus, he was obliged to withdraw with him to a large city. The Egyptians at first started to assault them once they were shut in it, but when they had lost many men in their attacks on the walls, they then began to surround the city with a wall and a ditch. As the work was rapidly nearing completion by reason of the large number of workers, and the provisions in the city were exhausted, Tachōs despaired of his safety, but Agesilaus, encouraging the men and attacking the enemy by night, unexpectedly succeeded in bringing all the men out safely. And since the Egyptians had pursued close on their heels and the district was now flat, the Egyptians supposed that they had the enemy surrounded by superior numbers, and would utterly destroy them, but Agesilaus seized a position which had on each side a canal fed by the river and thus halted the enemy’s attack. Then having drawn up his force in conformity with the terrain and protected his army by the river channels, he joined battle. The superior numbers of the Egyptians had become useless, and the Greeks, who surpassed them in courage, slew many Egyptians and forced the rest to flee. Afterwards Tachōs easily recovered the

Διοδώρος των Σικήλων, ο δ’ Άγγελας ώς μόνος κατωρθωκώς τήν βασιλείαν ἐτιμήθη προσκούσαις δωρεάν. ἐπαινών ἐν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ Κυρήνης ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τοῦ σώματος εὖ μέλιτι κομοδέντος εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τούτων προέβη κατὰ τούτων τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν.

94. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τοῖς Ἀρκάδις γενομένης εἰρήνης κοὐήσας μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαυτινείᾳ μάχην, ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἐμμείναντες τοῖς ἄρκοις πᾶλιν κατέστησαν τὸν1 πόλεμον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄρκοις ἦν γεγραμμένον ἐκάστους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπείναι πατρίδα μετὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπῆρχον αἱ περιουκούσαι πόλεις μετακισμέναι καὶ δυσχερῶς φέρουσαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μετάστασιν. διὸ ἀυτῶν ἐπανελθόντων εἰς τὰς προγεγενημένας πόλεις, οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται 2 συνηνάγκαζον ἐκλυπεῖν τὰς πατρίδας. διὰ δὲ ταύτη τὴν τὴν αὐτῇ γενομένης διαφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολισμάτων ἥξιον αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν Μαυτινεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τινῶς,2 ἐτι δὲ Ἡλείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τοῖς Μαυτινείσι συμμαχότας· οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται τοὺς Θηβαίους3 παρεκάλουν συμμαχεῖν. οἷς ἀπέστειλαν συντόμως ὁπλίτας μὲν τρισχίλιους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους,

3 ὃν τὴν στρατηγικὰν εἴχε Παμμένης. οὕτως δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν, καὶ τῶν πολισμάτων ἃ

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1 τῶν MSS., except PALK which omit; εἰς τὸν Wesseling; εἰς Vogel.
2 τινῶς added by Capps.
3 So Dindorf (cp. Book 16. 34. 1, 39. 2): 'Ἀθηναίους.

1 Contrary to Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 38. 1 and 40. 1, who
Egyptian kingship, and Agesilaüs, as the one who single-handed had restored his kingdom, was honoured with appropriate gifts. On his journey back to his native land by way of Cyrenė Agesilaüs died, and his body packed in honey was conveyed to Sparta where he received kingly burial and honour.

So far did events in Asia progress to the end of the year.

94. In the Peloponnese, though the Arcadians had agreed on a general peace after the battle of Mantinea, they adhered to their covenant only a year before they renewed the war. In the covenant it was written that each should return to his respective native country after the battle, but there had come into the city of Megalopolis the inhabitants of neighbouring cities who had been moved to new homes and were finding transplantation from their own homes difficult to bear. Consequently when they had returned to the cities which had formerly been theirs, the Megalopolitans tried to compel them to abandon their homelands. And when for this reason a quarrel arose, the townsfolk asked the Mantineians and certain other Arcadians to help them, and also the Eleians and the other peoples that were members of the alliance with the Mantineians, whereas the Megalopolitans besought the Thebans to fight with them as allies. The Thebans speedily dispatched to them three thousand hoplites and three hundred cavalry with Pammenes as their commander. He came to Megalopolis, and by seems more reliable. Tachős fled, Agesilaüs established Nectanebûs and left with gifts from the latter.

2 Contrary to Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 40. 3: “... enclosed his dead body in melted wax, since they had no honey ...” (Perrin, L.C.L.). Nepos, Agesilaüs, 8. 7 agrees with Plutarch.

3 For the founding of Megalopolis see chap. 72. 4.
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πέντε, μίαν δὲ Πεπαρηθίαν εἶλε, καὶ σωμάτων
3 ἐκυρίευσεν ἐξακοσίων. οὐ δὲ Ἄθηναῖοι παροξυνθέντες τοῦ μὲν Λεωσθένου ὡς προδότου βάλατον κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐδήμευσαν, ἐλόμενοι δὲ στρατηγὸν Χάρητα καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν δὸντες ἐξέπεμψαν. οὖτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους εὐλαβούμενος, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει. καταπλεύσας γὰρ εἰς Κόρκυραν συμμαχία πόλιν, στάσεις ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλας ἐκώνησεν ἐξ ὧν συνέπεσε γενέσθαι σφαγὰς πολλὰς καὶ ἀρπαγάς, διὸ ἀς συνέβη τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἄθηναίων διαβληθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις. δὲ μὲν ὅτι Χάρης καὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα παρανομῶν ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν διεπράξατο, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι διαβολάς.

4. Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Διονυσίδωρος¹ καὶ "Ἀνάξιος οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἱστορίαν² εἰς τοὺς τὸν ἐναυτὸν κατεστρόφας τὰς συντάξεις. ἧμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως πράξεις διεληλυθότες, ταύτην μὲν τὴν βύβλου κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν, τὴν δὲ ἑχομένην ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλίππου παραλήψεως τῆς βασιλείας ἀρξάμενοι πάσας διέξειμεν τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου πράξεις μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, συμπεριλαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς γεγενημένας³ ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένους μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης.

1 So Dindorf: Διονυσίδωρος.
2 Dindorf deletes τὴν ... ἱστορίαν (cp. Book 14. 117. 8).
3 So editors: παραγράφομεν.
4 So PAJL, γενομένας cet.
triremes and one Peparethian, and took six hundred captives. The Athenians, enraged, condemned Leostenes to death as a traitor and confiscated his property, then choosing Chares \(^1\) as general in command and giving him a fleet, they sent him out. But he spent his time avoiding the enemy and injuring the allies. For he sailed to Corecyra, an allied city, and stirred up such violent civil strife in it that many murders and seizures took place, with the result that the Athenian democracy was discredited in the eyes of the allies. So it turned out that Chares, who did many other such lawless acts, accomplished nothing good but brought his country into discredit.

The historians Dionysodorus and Anaxis,\(^2\) Bocotians, closed their narrative of Greek history with this year. But we, now that we have narrated the events before the time of King Philip, bring this book to a close here in accordance with the plan stated at the beginning.\(^3\) In the following book which begins with Philip's accession to the throne, we shall record all the achievements of this king to his death, including in its compass those other events as well which have occurred in the known portions of the world.

\(^1\) For Chares and Corecyra see Aeneas Tacticus, II. 13 ff. Demosthenes notes the hostility of Corecyra in 24. 202 and 18. 234.

\(^2\) These Bocotian historians are to us mere names. No fragments exist.

\(^3\) See chap. 1. 6.
MANUSCRIPTS

P. Codex Patmius, 10th or 11th century.
X. Codex Venetus S. Marci, 14th or 15th century.

R. Codex Parisinus, 12th century.
V. Codex Vaticanus, 15th or 16th century.

F. Codex Florentinus Laur., 14th or 15th century.
M. Codex Venetus S. Marci, 15th century.

The designations of the MSS. are those of the Preface to the fourth volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer.
BOOK XVI
Τάδε ἐνεστών ἐν τῇ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βιβλίων

'Ως Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν.
'Ως Ἀργαῖον ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς βασιλείας ἐνέκηρεν.
'Ως Ἰλλυρίων καὶ Παύονας καταπολεμήσας ἐκτίσσατο τὴν προγόνον ἀρχὴν.
Περὶ τῆς ἀνανδρίας τοῦ νεώτερου Διονύσιου καὶ τῆς Διώνος φυγῆς.
Κτίσεις Ταυρομενίου κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν.
Τὰ πραξθέντα κατὰ τὴν Ἐιδοβιαν καὶ κατὰ τῶν συμμαχικῶν πόλεμον.
Πολιορκία Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑπὸ Φίλιππου καὶ Ἀλκαίος.
'Ως Φίλιππος τοὺς Πυθναίους ἐξανδραποδισάμενος τὰ χρύσεια μέταλλα κατεσκέψας.
'Ως Διὸν ἐλευθερώσας τοὺς Συρακούσιους Διονύσιον κατεπολέμησαν.
'Ως ἐκπεσόν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος πάλιν ἀνεκτίσσατο τὸς Συρακούσας.
Κατάλυσις συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου.
Συνδρομῇ τριῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.
'Ως Φιλόμηλος ὁ Φωκεύς τοὺς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καταλαβόμενος τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐξέκασεν.

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CONTENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK
OF DIODORUS

How Philip, son of Amyntas, succeeded to the Macedonian throne (chaps. 1-2).

How he defeated Argaeus, pretender to the throne (chap. 3).

How, having subdued the Illyrians and the Paeonians, he acquired the empire of his fathers (chap. 4).

On the pusillanimity of Dionysius the Younger and the flight of Dion (chaps. 5-6).

The founding of Tauromenium in Sicily (chap. 7. 1).

Events in Euboea and in the course of the Social War (chap. 7. 2-end).

Siege of Amphipolis by Philip and its capture (chap. 8. 1-2).

How Philip, having reduced to slavery the people of Pydna, developed the gold mines (chap. 8. 3-end).

How Dion, having liberated the Syracusans, defeated Dionysius (chaps. 9-15).

How, after being expelled from his native land, he again got control of Syracuse (chaps. 16-20).

Conclusion of the Social War (chaps. 21-22. 2).

Combination of three kings against Philip (chap. 22. 3).

How Philomelus the Phocian, having seized Delphi and its oracle, kindled the Sacred War (chaps. 23-25).
Περὶ τῆς ἡξ ἄρχῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ μαντείου.
Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως ἦττα καὶ θάνατος.
'Ονομάρχου παράληψις τῆς ἄρχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴ πρὸς
πόλεμον.
'Ως Βουωτός 'Αρταβάζω βοηθήσαντες ἐνίκησαν τοὺς
βασιλέως σφάλις.
'Ως Ἀθηναίους Χερρονήσου κρατήσαντες κατεκληροῦ-
χησαν αὐτήν.
'Ως Φίλιππος Μεθώνην ἐλὼν κατέσκαψεν.
'Ως Φίλιππος Φωκεῖς νικήσας εξεβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Ἡτ-
ταλίας.
'Ως 'Ονόμαρχος δὲ Φωκεῖς Φίλιππον δυσὶ μάχας νικήσας
εἰς τοὺς ἵππους-κινδύνους ἦγαγεν.
'Ως 'Ονόμαρχος Βουωτός νικήσας Κορώνειαν ἐφελεν.
'Ως 'Ονόμαρχος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ παραταξάμενος πρὸς Φί-
λιππον καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἴπτῆθη.
'Ως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκρεμασθῆ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεποντίσθησαν
ὡς ἐφόσον λοι.
'Ως Φάυλλος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἄρχην πολλά τῶν
ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κατέκουσεν.
'Ως τὰς μυσθοφορίας ἀναβιβάσας ἠρήσωσε μυσθο-
φόρων πλῆθος.
'Ως τεταπεινωμένα τὰ τῶν Φωκεῶν πράγματα διωρθώ-
σατο.
'Ως χρήμασι διαφθείρων τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς προστη-
κότας αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς προσελάβετο συμμάχους.
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On the original discovery of the oracle (chap. 26).
The defeat and death of Philomelus the Phocian (chaps. 27-31).
Onomarchus' succession to the command and his preparations for war (chaps. 32-33).
How the Boeotians, having come to the assistance of Artabazus, defeated the satraps of the Great King (chap. 34. 1-2).
How the Athenians, having gained the mastery of the Chersonesus, colonized it (chap. 34. 3-4).
How Philip, having captured Methonê, razed it (chap. 34. 4-end).
How Philip, having defeated the Phocians, drove them from Thessaly (chap. 35. 1).
How Onomarchus the Phocian, having defeated Philip in two battles, brought him into extreme peril (chap. 35. 2).
How Onomarchus, having defeated the Boeotians, seized Coroneia (chap. 35. 3).
How Onomarchus, in a pitched battle with Philip and the Thessalians in Thessaly, was defeated (chap. 35. 4-5).
How Onomarchus himself was hanged and the rest of his faction were drowned in the sea as temple-robbers (chap. 35. 6).
How Phaïllus, having succeeded to the command, coined into money many of the silver and gold dedications at the shrine (chap. 36. 1).
How, having raised the rate of pay, he gathered a multitude of mercenaries (chap. 36).
How he raised the fortunes of the Phocians when they were at their lowest ebb (chap. 37. 1).
How, by corrupting the cities and their chief men with bribes, he won many allies (chap. 37. 2-3).
"Ως οἱ τῶν Φεραίων τύραννοι παραδόντες Φιλίππης τὰς Φεράς Φωκέων ἐγένοντο σύμμαχοι.
Μάχη Φωκέων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς περὶ Ὄρχωμεν καὶ ἦττα Φωκέων.
"Ἀλλαὶ μάχαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Κηφισίων καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ νίκη Βοιωτῶν.
"Ως Φάννλλος στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Δικρίνα πολλὰς πόλεις ἐχειρώσατο.
"Ως Φάννλλος νόσῳ περιπεισάνθιν θηναδίδι τῶν βίων ἐπιπόνως κατέστρεψεν.
"Ως Φάλαικος διαθέξαμεν τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ ἀγεννὸς διοικῶν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπετεν.
"Ως οἱ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπενεγκαλίσαν.
"Ως Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἡχος ἀνεκτήσατο Ἀἰγυπτοῦ καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον.
"Ως Φιλίππος τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις προσαγαγόμενος τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην πόλιν κατέσκαψεν.
Ζητήσεις τῶν ἀναλωθέντων ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ κόλασις τῶν νοσφοράμενων,
"Ως οἱ καταφηγόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Φωκεᾶς ὁππός πεντακόσιοι παραδόξως ἀπαντεὶ ὑπὸ πυρὸς διεφθάρρησαν.
"Ως ο Φωκικὸς πόλεμος κατελύθη.
"Ως οἱ μετασχόντες τῆς ἱεροσυλλίας τοὺς Φωκεῖσιν ἀπαντεὶ ὑπὸ θείας τινὸς ἐνεργείας ἐκολαύσθησαν.
Τιμολέοντος κατάπλους εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ αἱ πρᾶξεις αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.

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How the tyrants of the Pheraeans, having betrayed Pherae to Philip, became allies of the Phocians (chap. 37. 3).

Battle of the Phocians with the Boeotians near Orchomenus and defeat of the Phocians (chap. 37. 4-5).

Other battles of the same peoples by the Cephissus and Coroneia and victory of the Boeotians (chap. 37. 5-6).

How Phaëllus, having made an expedition into Locris, captured many cities (chap. 38. 1-5).

How Phaëllus, having fallen ill of a wasting sickness, died a painful death (chap. 38. 6).

How Phalaccus, having succeeded to the command, conducted the war disgracefully, and was driven into exile (chaps. 38. 6-end and 59).

How the peoples of the Peloponnese broke out in civil strife (chap. 39).

How Artaxerxes, commonly called Ochus, again got possession of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Cyprus (chaps. 40-52. 8).

How Philip, having won the Chalcidian cities to his side, razed their most important one (chaps. 52. 9-55).

Investigation of the expenditure of the sacred monies and punishment of the pillagers (chaps. 56-57).

How those who took refuge at the shrine of Apollo, Phocians all, five hundred in number, were miraculously to the last man burned to death (chap. 58).

How the Phocian war was concluded (chaps. 59-60).

How those who had participated with the Phocians in the pillaging of the shrine were all punished by some sort of divine agency (chaps. 61-64).

The voyage of Timoleon to Sicily and his fortunes up to his death (chaps. 65-90 passim).
Περίνθου καὶ Βυζαντίου πολιορκία ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.
Φιλίππου παράταξις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐν Χαϊρωνείᾳ καὶ ἦττα Ἀθηναίων.
"Ως οἱ Ἑλληνες αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγῶν εἶλοντο Φιλίππου.
"Ως Φιλίππος μέλλων διαβάινειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀν-γρέθη.
CONTENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK

The siege of Perinthus and Byzantium by Philip (chaps. 74-77).

Philip's battle with the Athenians at Chaeroneia and the defeat of the Athenians (chaps. 84-88).

How the Greeks chose Philip as their generalissimo (chap. 89).

How Philip was assassinated as he was about to cross into Asia (chaps. 91-95).
ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΚΚΛΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Ἔν πάσας μὲν ταῖς ἱστορικαῖς πραγματείαις καθήκει τοὺς συγγραφεῖς περιλαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς βιβλίοις ἢ πόλεων ἢ βασιλέων πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς ἢ ἄρχῃς μέχρι τοῦ τέλους· οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα διαλαμβάνομεν τὴν ἱστορίαν εὐμνημόνευτον καὶ 2 σαφῆ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀναγνώσκοντι. αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμιτελεῖς πράξεις οὐκ ἔχουσαι συνεχὲς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ πέρας μεσολαβοῦσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν φιλανα-

γυνωστούντων, αἰ δὲ τὸ τῆς διηγήσεως συνεχὲς περι-

λαμβάνουσι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπηρτομένη τὴν τῶν πράξεων ἐχουσῶν ἀπαγγελίαν. ὅταν δὲ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῆς τῶν πραξικῶν συνεργῆ τοῖς συγγρα-

φεῖσι, τὸτε ἔδυν παντελῶς οὐκ ἀποστατέον ταῦτης

3 τῆς προαιρέσεως. δύσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμβούντο πράξεις πειρασόμεθα τούτων τῶν μεσολαβῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βιβλίῳ. οὕτως γὰρ εἰκοσὶ μὲν καὶ τέταρτα ἔτη τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐβασάλευσιν, ἐλαχίστως δὲ ἀφορμαίς χρησάμενος μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐσφράην ὀνυστίναν κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἠδίαν βασι-

λείαν καὶ παραλαβῶν τὴν Μακεδονίαν δουλεύοντες Ἰλλυριοῖς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων

1 In Book 1. 3 Diodorus sets forth his design for the History. Inasmuch as it is a "universal history," the fortunes of a single man, e.g. Philip, might well be spread over

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BOOK XVI

1. In all systematic historical treatises it behooves the historian to include in his books actions of states or of kings which are complete in themselves from beginning to end; for in this manner I conceive history to be most easy to remember and most intelligible to the reader. Now incomplete actions, the conclusion of which is unconnected with the beginning, interrupt the interest of the curious reader, whereas if the actions embrace a continuity of development culminating naturally, the narrative of events will achieve a well-rounded perfection. Whenever the natural pattern of events itself harmonizes with the task of the historian, from that point on he must not deviate at all from this principle. Consequently, now that I have reached the actions of Philip son of Amyntas, I shall endeavour to include the deeds performed by this king within the compass of the present Book. For Philip was king over the Macedonians for twenty-four years, and having started from the most insignificant beginnings built up his kingdom to be the greatest of the dominions in Europe, and having taken over Macedonia when she was a slave to the Illyrians, made her mistress of many a considerable compass, since the author pursues the chronological order. The fortunes of Philip have a particular advantage, in that Diodorus can deal with them compactly—he says here in a single book—and still maintain his chronological plan,
κυρίαν ἔποιησε. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τῆς μὲν Ἕλλαδος ἀπάσις παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκουσίως τῶν πόλεων ὑποταττομένων, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἔν Δελφοῖς ἵερὸν συλήσαντας καταπολεμήσας καὶ τῷ μαντείῳ βοηθήσας μετέσχε τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν ἑπαθλοῦν ἐλαβεῖ τὰς ψήφους τῶν κρατηθέντων Φω-δ'5 κέων. Ἰλλυριοῦς δὲ καὶ Παίόνας καὶ Ὀρᾶκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησιόχωρα τούτοις ἥθην καταπολέμησας τὴν Περσῶν βασιλείαν ἐπεβάλετο καταλύσαι καὶ δυνάμεις μὲν εἰς τὴν Ὁσίαν δια-βιβάσας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἥλευθερον, μεσο-λαβηθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πεπραμένης τηλικαύτας καὶ τουαύτας δυνάμεις ἀπέλυτεν ὅστε τὸν ιῶν Ὁλέξ-ανδρον μὴ προσδεθήσῃν συμμάχων εἰς τὴν κατά-λυσιν τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν οὐ διὰ τύχην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν. γέγονε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕτος ἀγχωνοία στρατηγικὴ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ λαμπρότητι ψυχῆς διαφέρων. ἦν δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου προλαμβάνωμεν αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις, ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχές τῆς ἱστορίας πορευόμεθα, βραχέα τὰ χρόνια προσαναδροῦμεν. 2. Ὑπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθηνησίου Καλλιμήδους' ὠλυμπιάς μὲν ἦθη πέμπτη πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατὸν καὶ ἡν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παύρος Κυρηναῖος, Ὁραμαῖοι δὲ κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γναῖον Γενύκιον καὶ Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντων υἱός, Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τοῦ Πέρσας καταπολεμήσαντος πατήρ παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν διὰ

1 See Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 8035. Καλλιμήδους ΡΧ.

The events in this chapter are taken up in the later narrative where proper annotations will appear.

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powerful tribes and states. And it was by his own valour that he took over the supremacy of all Hellas with the consent of the states, which voluntarily subordinated themselves to his authority. Having subdued in war the men who had been plundering the shrine at Delphi and having brought aid to the oracle, he won a seat in the Amphietyonic Council, and because of his reverence for the gods received as his prize in the contest, after the defeat of the Phocians, the votes which had been theirs. Then when he had conquered in war Illyrians, Paeonians, Thracians, Scythians, and all the peoples in the vicinity of these, he planned to overthrow the Persian kingdom, and, after transporting his armaments into Asia, was in the act of liberating the Greek cities; but, cut short by Fate in mid-career, he left armies so numerous and powerful that his son Alexander had no need to apply for allies in his attempt to overthrow the Persian supremacy.\footnote{1} And these deeds he accomplished, not by the favour of Fortune, but by his own valour. For King Philip excelled in shrewdness in the art of war, courage, and brilliance of personality. But, not to anticipate his achievements in my introduction, I shall proceed to the continuous thread of the narrative after first briefly retracing his early period.

2. When Callimedes was archon at Athens, the one 360/59 B.C. hundred fifth celebration of the Olympian games was held at which Porus of Cyrenē won the stadion race, and the Romans elected as consuls Gnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius. During their term of office Philip, the son of Amyntas and father of Alexander who defeated the Persians in war, succeeded to the Macedonian throne in the following manner. After
Diodorus of Sicily

2 toiaútais aitías. Ἡμντον καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰλλυρίων καὶ φόρους τοῖς κρατήσασι τελεῖν ἀναγκασθέντος οἱ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ λαβόντες εἰς ὁμηρίαν Φίλιππον τὸν νεώτατον τῶν νιῶν παρέδεντο τοῖς Θηβαίοις. οὐδεὶ δὲ τῷ Ἕπαμεινώνῳ πατρὶ παρέδεντο τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ προσέταξαν ἀμα τηρεῖν ἐπιμελεῖς τὴν παρακαταθῆκην καὶ προστατεύεις τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ ποιμείας. τοῦ δ’ Ἕπαμεινώνῳ Πυθαγόριοι ἔχοντος φιλόσοφον ἐπιστάτην συντρεφόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος μετέσχεν ἐπὶ πλείων τῶν Πυθαγόριων λόγων. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν προσενεγκαμένων φύσιν τε καὶ φιλοσοφιῶν ὑπήρξαν ἐκάτεροι διαφέροντες ἀρέτῃ· διὸ Ἕπαμεινώνδας μὲν μεγάλους ἀγώνας καὶ κινδύνους υπομείνας τῇ πατρίδι παραδόξως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος περίεσθεν, δὲ Φίλιππος τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφορμάθις χρησάμενος οὐκ ἀπελεύθη τῆς Ἕπαμεινώνῳ δόξῃς. 4 μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἡμντον τελευτήν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν νιῶν διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν. τοῦτον

1 This defeat occurs on two occasions according to Diodorus, at the beginning of his reign (Book 14. 92. 3-4) and again about 383 (Book 15. 19. 2). Beloch (Griechische Geschichte2, 3. 2. 58) thinks the first mention erroneous.

2 Since Philip was born about 383 he was an infant when given to the Illyrians. Justin (7. 5. 1) states that he was ransomed by Alexander II and later sent by him as hostage to Thebes. Diodorus likewise has Alexander send him to Thebes (Book 15. 67. 4) as does Plutarch (Ptolomidas, 26. 4). Modern historians, e.g. Beloch (op. cit. 3. 1. 182, note), Glotz (Hist. gr. 3. 297), and the author of the article on Philip in P.-W. (Realencyclopadie, 19. 2266) agree that Ptolemy of Alorus, paramour and later husband of Eurydice, widow of Amyntas III, was the monarch who sent Philip to Thebes, basing their account on Aeschines (False Embassy, 26 ff.), 236
Amyntas had been defeated by the Illyrians and forced to pay tribute to his conquerors, the Illyrians, who had taken Philip, the youngest son of Amyntas, as a hostage, placed him in the care of the Thebans. They in turn entrusted the lad to the father of Epameinondas and directed him both to keep careful watch over his ward and to superintend his upbringing and education. Since Epameinondas had as his instructor a philosopher of the Pythagorean school, Philip, who was reared along with him, acquired a wide acquaintance with the Pythagorean philosophy. Inasmuch as both students showed natural ability and diligence they proved to be superior in deeds of valour. Of the two, Epameinondas underwent the most rigorous tests and battles, and invested his fatherland almost miraculously with the leadership of Hellas, while Philip, availing himself of the same initial training, achieved no less fame than Epameinondas. For after the death of Amyntas, Alexander, the eldest of the sons of Amyntas, succeeded to the throne.

who places Philip at the court of Ptolemy when he succeeded Alexander II (369). Philip was probably in Thebes 368–365. His adoption of the "oblique order of battle" from Epameinondas is probably the most striking result of his sojourn in Thebes (see Wilcken, Alexander the Great, translated by G. C. Richards, 30).

Lysis of Tarentum (see Nepos, Epaminondas, 2. 2). But Wesseling quotes Plutarch, De Genio Socratis, 584 b, to show that Lysis died shortly before the deliverance of Thebes. For the education of Epameinondas see Book 15. 39. 2. According to Plutarch (Pelopidas, 26. 5), Philip was a hostage in the house of Pammemes (see Books 15. 94. 2 and 16. 34. 1–2) and not in the house of Epameinondas' father, whose name was Polyumnus (Nepos, op. cit. 1. 1). Certainly Epameinondas had passed his student days when Philip was a hostage, since he had already won the battle of Leuctra.

See Book 15. 60. 3.
Diodorus of Sicily

δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης δολοφονήσας παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τούτων ὁμοίως Περδίκκας ἐπανέλομένος ἐβασίλευσεν. τούτων δὲ παρατάξει μεγάλη λειψανία πρὸ τῆς Ιλλυρίων καὶ πεσόντος ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς διαδράσε ἐκ τῆς ὑμηρίας ὃ παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν κακῶς διακειμένης. ἀνήρτητο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρατάξει Μακεδόνων πλείους τῶν τετρακοσιάχων, οἱ δὲ λυποὶ καταπεπληγμένοι τὰς τῶν Ιλλυρίων δυνάμεις περίφοροι καθειστή-θειαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ διαπολέμειν ἀθώμως εἶχον. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν πλησίον τῆς Μακεδονίας οἰκοῦντες ἐπόρθουσιν τὴν χώραν καταφρονοῦντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἰλλυρίοι δὲ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἔβασιν καὶ στρατεύοντες ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίαν παρεσκευάζοντο, Παυσανίας δὲ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἑγεμόνειας κοινωνῶν ἐπεβάλλετο διὰ τοῦ Ἐρακίδος βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονικήν βασιλείαν κατέλαβεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀρηνάρκης πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀργαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπεστάλκειαν Μαντίαν ἔχοντα τρισχιλίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, ναυτικῶς δὲ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον.

3. Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες διὰ τῇ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συμφορᾶν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῇ μεγίστῃ καθειστήκεισαν. ἄλλ' ὅμως τηλικοῦτων φόβῳ καὶ κινδύνων ἐφε-

1 See Book 15. 71. 1. 2 See Book 15. 77. 5. 3 Bardylis was the name of their formidable king (Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 205). 4 He was only ἐπίτροπος, regent, for Perdiccas’ son Amyntas III (P.-W. Realencyclopaedie, 19. 2266-2267). Under Perdiccas, after his return from Thebes, he had administered a district of Macedonia. (See Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 204.)

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BOOK XVI. 2. 4—3. 1

But Ptolemy of Alorus¹ assassinated him and succeeded to the throne and then in similar fashion Perdiccas² disposed of him and ruled as king. But when he was defeated in a great battle by the Illyrians³ and fell in the action, Philip his brother, who had escaped from his detention as a hostage, succeeded to the kingdom,⁴ now in a bad way. For the Macedonians had lost more than four thousand men in the battle, and the remainder, panic-stricken, had become exceedingly afraid of the Illyrian armies and had lost heart for continuing the war. About the same time the Paeonians, who lived near Macedonia, began to pillage their territory, showing contempt for the Macedonians, and the Illyrians began to assemble large armies and prepare for an invasion of Macedonia, while a certain Pausanias,⁵ who was related to the royal line of Macedon, was planning with the aid of the Thracian king⁶ to join the contest for the throne of Macedon. Similarly, the Athenians too, being hostile to Philip, were endeavouring to restore Argaenus⁷ to the throne and had dispatched Mantias as general with three thousand hoplites and a considerable naval force.

3. The Macedonians because of the disaster sustained in the battle and the magnitude of the dangers pressing upon them were in the greatest perplexity. Yet even so, with such fears and dangers threatening

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¹ See Aeschines, False Embassy, 26-27. He had striven for the crown at the death of Alexander II. (See F. Geyer, Makedonien bis zur Thronsbesteigung Philipps II, Beiheft 19 der Historischen Zeitschrift, 1930, 132.)
² Berisades (?), Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 1. 225, note 1.
³ See Book 14. 92. 4 and Beloch, l.c., also p. 102. Also Geyer, op. cit. 139.
Diodorus of Sicily

στώτων ὁ Φίλιππος οὖς κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προσδοκιμένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Μακεδονίας ἐν συνεχέσιν ἐκκλησίαις συνέχων καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι προτερότητος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν εὐθαρσείας ἐποίησε, τὰς δὲ σтратιωτικὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον διορθωσάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅπλοις δεόντως κοσμήσας, συνεχεῖς ἐξοπλασίας 2 καὶ γυμνασίας ἐναγωγίους ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος πυκνότητα καὶ κατασκευήν, μμησάμενος τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ τῶν ἤρωών συνασπισμὸν, καὶ πρῶτος συνεστήσατο τὴν Μακεδονικήν 3 φάλαγγα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις πρόσηνής ἦν καὶ διά τε τῶν δωρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν εἰς τὴν μεγίστην εὐνοίαν τὰ πλήθη προφήτητο, πρὸς τε τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων εὐστάχιος ἀντιεμφάνωσε. θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς 'Ἀμφίπολος ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν πάσαν φιλοτιμίαν εἰσφερομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατάγοντας τὸν Ἀργαίον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρησε 4 τῆς πόλεως, ἀφεὶς αὐτὴν αὐτόνομον. πρὸς δὲ

1 For the reorganization of the Macedonian army see Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 205. The addition of foot-soldiers to form the famous “Phalanx” and the provision of a long pike, sarissa, were the most important military reforms. See also Wileken, Alexander the Great (trans.), 31-32.

2 See Homer, Iliad, 13. 131 ff.

“Spear crowded spear,
    Shield, helmet, man press’d helmet, man and shield;
The hairy crests of their resplendent casques
    Kiss’d close at every nod, so wedged they stood.”

(Cowper’s translation.)

These lines are quoted of the phalanx by Polybius, 18. 28. 6 and Curtius Rufus, 3. 2. 18.

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them, Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians in a series of assemblies and exhorting them with eloquent speeches to be men, he built up their morale, and, having improved the organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with weapons of war, he held constant manoeuvres of the men under arms and competitive drills. Indeed he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx, imitating the close order fighting with overlapping shields of the warriors at Troy, and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx. He was courteous in his intercourse with men and sought to win over the multitudes by his gifts and his promises to the fullest loyalty, and endeavoured to counteract by clever moves the crowd of impending dangers. For instance, when he observed that the Athenians were centring all their ambition upon recovering Amphipolis and for this reason were trying to bring Argaeus back to the throne, he voluntarily withdrew from the city, after first making it autonomous. Then

Amphipolis was coveted by the Athenians (who had lost it to Brasidas in the Peloponnesian War) because of its commanding position by the Strymon River, giving access to the plains of Macedonia, and its nearness to forests needed in shipbuilding and to the gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangaeus. Between this occasion when Amphipolis was declared autonomous to thwart Argaeus, who had promised to hand it over to Athens if they made him king, and Philip's capture of the town (see chap. 8. 2 ff.), a secret treaty was made by which Philip promised to procure Amphipolis for Athens if he were assured of a free hand in Pydna, formerly Macedonian but then in the Athenian League. See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* 3. 1. 225-226; Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 203-204. Compare Polyænus, 4. 2. 17; Justin, 7. 6; Demosthenes, 23. 121; 2. 6 f.; and Theopompus, fr. 165 (Oxford).
Diodorus of Sicily

Piæovnas diápresebvenámévenes kai touς mvn ðwreás
diaphéiras, touς δ' èpagnéliais filanbropois
peísas kath tò paròn èríhín ògenw pròs autòús
sünèthetan. òmovois de kai touν Paunsanian ápésthsé
thè káthodò tòn katanégw mélonta basileá dw-
5 reás peísas. Mántias δ' ó tòn 'Athenaiwn stra-
tngos katapléúas eis Méðówn autòs mvn èntaihha
catémewè tòn 'Argoiôn de méta tòn mívðhórfw
èpi tòs Aigías ápéstilelèn. ovòs de prosèlthw
thì pòlei parèkalei touς èn tòs Aigàis pròsòde-
èsi sw tòn káthodò kai gevósth thès autòv1 basi-
élías árhghous. ouvdénos δ' autòw pròsèkontos ó
mvn anékaptten eis thèn Mésthwn, ó de Filippos
épìfaneis méta stratiwòtò kai syvámas máchh
collous mvn anéle tòn mívðhórfw, touς de loí-
pous eis tìa lòfou katafugíontas úpoostrónous
áfíkev, labwv par' autòv èkdotous touς fúgadas.

Filippos mvn ón thàút ths pròtò máchh vnkhò
ènthasesthous épsois eis Makedónav pros touς
7 èphèzh ògínav. òma de touς pròtòmenvous
Thásioi mvn ðkùswv tòs ònñoamásménas Krynídas,
òs ústernò básielwv òf' éaunòv ònñoamásw Filipp-
pous òplhírwswen oikotórfwv.

8 Tòw de syggráphiwv Theópmptov ó Xìos tìn

1 autòv Dindorf: autòv.

1 The Thracian king mentioned chap. 2. 6.
2 See chap. 2. 6. Methoné is above Pydna near the Macedonian border.
3 Old capital of Macedon, considerably inland.
4 Some of these were Athenians whose losses he made good and through whom he tried to arrange an alliance with Athens. See Demosthenes, 23. 121.
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he sent an embassy to the Paeonians, and by corrupting some with gifts and persuading others by generous promises he made an agreement with them to maintain peace for the present. In similar fashion he prevented the return of Pausanias by winning over with gifts the king \(^1\) who was on the point of attempting his restoration. Mantias, the Athenian general, who had sailed into Methone,\(^2\) stayed behind there himself but sent Argaeus with his mercenaries to Aegae.\(^3\) And Argaeus approached the city and invited the population of Aegae to welcome his return and become the founders of his own kingship. When no one paid any attention to him, he turned back to Methone, but Philip, who suddenly appeared with his soldiers, engaged him in battle, slew many of his mercenaries, and released under a truce\(^4\) the rest, who had fled for refuge to a certain hill, after he had first obtained from them the exiles, whom they delivered to him.

Now Philip by his success in this first battle encouraged the Macedonians to meet the succeeding contests with greater temerity. While these things were going on, the Thasians settled the place called Crenides,\(^5\) which the king afterward named Philippi for himself and made a populous settlement.

Among the writers of history Theopompus of

\(^5\) North-east of Mt. Pangaeus in Thrace. "Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi." Appian, *Civil Wars*, 4. 105, translated by White (*L.C.L.*). Datus was the older name found in Herodotus, 9. 75. Κρηνίδες is found in *IG*, 2\(^2\), 127 of the year 356/5. This seems to be the first instance of the practice, later so common, of naming cities for a king.
Διοδορός της Σικυώνης

4. Ἔπεις ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθηναίων Εὐχαρίστου Ῥωμαίοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόντων Σερβούλιου καὶ Κόντον Γενούκιου. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Φιλιππος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψας εἰς Ἀθηνάς ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν συνεδρεῖα διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτει 2 προσποιεῖται τὴν Ἁμφίπολιν. ἀπολυθεὶς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πολέμου καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παιόνων Ἀγνω τετελευτηκέναι ὑπέλαβε καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Παιόσων. στρατεύσεις οὖν εἰς τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ παρατάξει τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας ἡνάγκασε τὸ ἔθνος πεπαρχεῖν 3 τοῖς Μακεδόσων. ὑπολειπομένων δὲ πολεμίων τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ τούτους καταπολεμήσαι. εὐθὺς οὖν συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οἰκείους λόγους προτρεψάμενος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυρίων χώραν, πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων οὐκ ἐλάπτους μυρίων, ἵππεῖς δὲ ἔξωκο- 4 σίους. Βάρδυλις δ' ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυρίων βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν περὶ διαλύσεως ἐφ' ὅτι κυρίος ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι τῶν τότε κυριευο-μένων πόλεων· τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου φήσαντος ἐπι- θυμεῖν μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης, μὴ μὲντοι γε ταύτῃ συγχωρήσειν ἐδώ μὴ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν πόλεων

1 So MSS., Δεύκιον Stephanus marg. and Fasti Consulares followed by Dindorf, Bekker (cp. Livy, 7. 4 L. Genucius).
2 Βάρδυλις PX, Βάρδυλις RV (cp. Plutarch, Pyrrhus, 9); Βαρδύλης Arrian, 1. 5. 1.

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Chios\(^1\) began his history of Philip at this point and composed fifty-eight books, of which five are lost.

1. When Eucharistus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Quintus Servilius and Quintus Genucius. During their term of office Philip sent ambassadors to Athens and persuaded the assembly to make peace with him on the ground that he abandoned for all time any claim to Amphipolis.\(^2\) Now that he was relieved of the war with the Athenians and had information that the king of the Paeonians, Agis, was dead, he conceived that he had the opportunity to attack the Paeonians. Accordingly, having conducted an expedition into Paeonia and defeated the barbarians in a battle, he compelled the tribe to acknowledge allegiance to the Macedonians. And since the Illyrians were still left as enemies, he was ambitious to defeat them in war also. So, having quickly called an assembly and exhorted his soldiers for the war in a fitting speech, he led an expedition into the Illyrian territory, having no less than ten thousand foot-soldiers and six hundred horsemen. Bardylis,\(^3\) the king of the Illyrians, having learned of the presence of the enemy, first dispatched envoys to arrange for a cessation of hostilities on the condition that both sides remained possessed of the cities which they then controlled. But when Philip said that he indeed desired peace but would not, however, concur in that proposal unless the Illyrians should withdraw

\(^1\) Of this work, the longest history published till then, two hundred seventeen fragments remain. Theopompos' admiration for Philip is reflected by Diodorus, who must have relied heavily on his account. For the contents of the Philippica see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte\(^2\), 3. 9. 18-24.

\(^2\) See note on chap. 3. 3.

\(^3\) For the power of this king see chap. 3. 5.
Διοδόρος της Σικελίας

άπασῶν ἐκχωρήσωσιν Ἰλλυριοὶ, οἱ μὲν πρόσβεις ἐπανήλθον ἀπρακτοί, οὗ δὲ Βάρδυλας πιστεύων ταῖς τε προγεγενημέναις νίκαις καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀπήγα γα τοῦς πολεμίους μετα τῆς δυνάμεως· εἶχεν δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπιλέκτους, 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς πεντακόσιον. ὡς δὲ ἡγούμενον ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς πολλῆς συνέργασίας εἰς τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν Φιλίππος ἐχθὼν τὸ δεξίον κέρας καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Μακεδόνων συναγωνιζόμενους τοῖς μὲν ἐπιτεθεί παρήγγειλεν παραπενθοῦς καὶ πλαγίους ἐμβαλείν τοῖς βαρβάροις, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ στόμα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιπεσὼν καρτερὰν 6 συνεστήσατο μάχην. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ συντάξαντες ἐκατοντάς εἰς πλιθῖνον ἐρρωμένους συνεστήσαντο τὸν κίνδυνον. καί τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἦν ἱσόρροπος ἡ μάχη διὰ τὴν ὑπέρβολήν τῆς παρ᾽ ἀμφότεροι ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀναρουμένων ἐπὶ δὲ πλείονος τυτρωσκομένων ὁ κίνδυνος δεύτερο κάκειτο τὰς ῥοπὰς ἐλαμβάνειν, ταλαντευόμενος αἰεὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀγωνιζόμενων ἀρεταῖς· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῶν ἐπιπέων ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ κατὰ νῦστον βιαζόμενων, τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου μετὰ τῶν ἀριστῶν ἠρωκῶς ἀγωνισμένου συναγκάσθη τὸ πλῆθος 7 τῶν Ἰλλυρίων πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἀναρεβέντων ὁ μὲν Φιλίππος ἀνακαλεσάμενος τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ στῆσας τρόπαιον ἔθαψεν τῶν ἱδίων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ διαπρεσβευόμενοι καὶ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐτυχον τῆς

1 So MSS. here and Book 15. 86. 1; Fischer reads ὀπεστ., cp. Wesseling and Book 12. 61. 3.

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from all the Macedonian cities, the envoys returned without having accomplished their purpose, and Bardylis, relying upon his previous victories and the gallant conduct of the Illyrians, came out to meet the enemy with his army; and he had ten thousand picked infantry soldiers and about five hundred cavalry. When the armies approached each other and with a great outcry clashed in the battle, Philip, commanding the right wing, which consisted of the flower of the Macedonians serving under him, ordered his cavalry to ride past the ranks of the barbarians and attack them on the flank, while he himself falling on the enemy in a frontal assault began a bitter combat. But the Illyrians, forming themselves into a square, courageously entered the fray. And at first for a long while the battle was evenly poised because of the exceeding gallantry displayed on both sides, and as many were slain and still more wounded, the fortune of battle vacillated first one way then the other, being constantly swayed by the valorous deeds of the combatants; but later as the horsemen pressed on from the flank and rear and Philip with the flower of his troops fought with true heroism, the mass of the Illyrians was compelled to take hastily to flight. When the pursuit had been kept up for a considerable distance and many had been slain in their flight, Philip recalled the Macedonians with the trumpet and erecting a trophy of victory buried his own dead, while the Illyrians, having sent ambassadors and withdrawn from all the Macedonian cities, obtained peace. But

1 See chap. 8. 1; Justin, 7. 6. 7 and Frontinus, Strategemata, 2. 3. 2. Beloch has a critical account of this battle, which he places near Monastir, in Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 226, note 2. He believes that the plan of battle was Parmenio’s.
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eἰρήνης. ἀνηρεθησαν δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυρίων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν ἐπτακισχιλῶν.

5. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔπει τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίκην καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διήλθομεν, μεταβησόμεθα πρὸς τὰς ἐτερογενεῖς πράξεις. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος δὲ νεώτερος παρεληφὼς μὲν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω καιροῖς, ἀπρακτὸς δὲ ὁν καὶ πολὺ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδεέστερος προσεποιεῖτο διὰ τὴν ἀπραγιάν εἰρήνης 2 νικὸς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτος τὸν τρόπον. διότι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους διαδεδεγμένος τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς τε τούτους εἰρήνην συνέθετο καὶ πρὸς Λευκανοὺς ὅμοιος διαπολεμήσας ἄργως ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον καὶ ταῖς τελευταίαις μάχαις ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γενόμενος ἀσμένως πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατελύσατο τὸν πόλεμον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν δύο πόλεις ἐκτισε βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς πλέονσι τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον ποιήσας. οἱ γὰρ τὴν παραθαλάσσιον οἰκονόμες βάρβαροι ληστρίζουσι πολλαῖς πλέοντες ἀπλουν τοῖς ἐμπόροις παρεσκεύαζον πάσαν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀδριαν 3 θάλασσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα δοὺς ἐαυτὸν εἰς βίον εἰρηνικὸν ἐξέδυσε μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς γυμνασίας, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστείαν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λεγομένην ἀδάμαντες ἁδεσθαι

1 So Fischer (ep. Books 17. 2. 3; 18. 42. 2): πολεμίους ῥχ, πολέμους cet.

1 For the succession of Dionysius II see Book 15. 74. 5.
2 For the character of Dionysius II see Plutarch, Dion, 7. 3-4 and Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 272-273.

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more than seven thousand Illyrians were slain in this battle.

5. Since we have finished with the affairs of Macedonia and Illyria, we shall now turn to events of a different kind. In Sicily Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of the Syracusans, who had succeeded to the realm in the period preceding this but was indolent and much inferior to his father, pretended because of his lack of enterprise to be peacefully inclined and mild of disposition. Accordingly, since he had inherited the war with the Carthaginians, he made peace with them and likewise pursued war listlessly for some time against the Lucanians and then, in the latest battles having had the advantage, he gladly brought to a close the war against them. In Apulia he founded two cities because he wished to make safe for navigators the passage across the Ionian Sea; for the barbarians who dwelt along the coast were accustomed to put out in numerous pirate ships and render the whole shore along the Adriatic Sea unsafe for merchants. Thereafter, having given himself over to a peaceful existence, he relieved the soldiers of their drills in warfare and though he had succeeded to the greatest of the realms in Europe, the tyranny that was said by his father to be bound

3 The cessation of activities against Carthage is noted in Book 15. 73. 4.

4 No mention is made previously of this war with the Lucanians. In Book 14. 100. 5 Dionysius I is said to have made an alliance with the Lucanians and his policy of supporting them against the Italiot Greeks is clearly shown in chapter 101 of that Book. This seems to be the war mentioned in Plutarch, Dion, 16. 3 and Plato, Epistles, 3. 317 a. For this war see Costanzi, "De bello Lucanico quod Dionysius minor recens ab imperio composuerit," Rivista di Filologia, 26 (1898), 450 ff.
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tyrannida dia ta tin idiain anavrdian paradeoxos api-
ebaion. tas de aitias ta his katalus eos kai tas
cata meros praxeis anagraphein peirasomèda.

6. "Ep" arxontos gar 'Athínesi Khrisodóton
'Rwmaioi katesthnían upáthous Gáion Landinon kai
Gáion Soultikion. epí de touton Díwon ó 'Ippa-
rínon, Surakosión upárkhon épifanéstatos, efugien
ek tis Sicélias kai dia ta lamprótita ta psuchhís
implethérwse Surakosión kai toutis allous Sike-
2 lióstas dia tounástas tinas aitías. ó presbúteros
Dionúsiou ek duvein gynaiak ón pevaidopoihieménos,
ek mén tis próthi Lókridos outhi to génos Diovó-
siou ton diadezámenvn tìn tyrannída, ek de tís
devéras 'Ipparárno thynatros outhi, evnikem-
tatou Surakosión, duo pайдas, 'Ipparárno kai
3 Nysáion.1 étugxave de tís devéras gynaiakós
adelephos ón Díwv, aní én philofofia megálhn Íxhwn
prokopti kai kat anéreian kai straghián polù
4 proéchón ton kat' autón Surakosión. outhos de
dia tìn evngêneian kai tìn lamprótita tís psuchhís
eis upoiían Ïlthe tis tyránwv, Íxhes áxióchreus
éina katalusai tìn tyrannída. fobosmeves oín
auton ó Diovúsios ékrinein ékpodhíon poiónostu tón
ándra, svllabov épi thánatw. ó de Díwov aiódó-
menos to me prówton ékrýfghi para tisw ton
fílon, metá de taítta efugien ek tis Sicélias eis

1 So Wesseling (cp. Theopompus, frs. 179 and 187 (Ox-
ford); Plutarch, Timoleon, 1; Nepos, Dion, 1; Aelian,
Varia Historia, 2. 41): Nysaion PX, Nysaion cet.

1 This phrase is found in chap. 70. 2, in Plutarch, Dion, 7. 3
and 10. 3, and in Aelian, Varia Historia, 6. 19.

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fast by adamantine chains, yet, strange to say, he lost it all by his pusillanimity. The causes for its dissolution and the various events I shall attempt to record.

6. When Cephasdotus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Licinius and Gaius Sulpicius. During their term of office Dion, son of Hipparchus and the most distinguished of the Syracusans, escaped from Sicily and by his nobility of spirit set free the Syracusans and the other Sicilian Greeks in the following manner. Dionysius the Elder had begotten children of two wives, of the first, who was a Locrian by birth, Dionysius, who succeeded to the tyranny, and of the second, who was the daughter of Hipparchus, a Syracusan of great renown, two sons Hipparchus and Nysaeus. It chanced that the brother of the second wife was Dion, a man who had great proficiency in philosophy and, in the matter of courage and skill in the art of war, far surpassed the other Syracusans of his time. Dion, because of his high birth and nobility of spirit, fell under suspicion with the tyrant, for he was considered powerful enough to overthrow the tyranny. So, fearing him, Dionysius decided to get him out of the way by arresting him on a charge involving the death penalty. But Dion, becoming aware of this, was at first concealed in the homes of some of his friends, and

2 According to Plutarch, Dion, 14. 5, Dion was placed on a boat by Dionysius and sent to Italy (Nepos says to Corinth, Dion, 3 f.). This must have happened considerably earlier as Plato (Epistles, 7. 329 c) says that it happened three months after his arrival in 367. Diodorus has evidently compressed the earlier details into this year.

3 For the association of Plato and Dion see Plato, Epistles, 7. 327 a; Anth. Pal. 7. 99 (L.C.L. 2. 60).
Diodorus of Sicily

Πελοπόννησου, ἔχων μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἄδελφον Μεγακλῆν καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. καταπλεύσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον τοὺς μὲν Κόρινθους ἦξιον συναπλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν Συρακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ μυσθοφόρος συνῆγε καὶ πανοπλίας συνήθροιζε. ταχὺ δὲ πολλῶν ὑπακούοντων πανοπλίας τε παρεσκευάζετο καὶ μυσθοφόρως συναφός καὶ φορτηγοὺς δύο ναῦς μυσθωσάμενος τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς μυσθοφόρους ἐνθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ταῦτας τὰς φορτίδας ἔχων ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ Ζακύνθου τῆς πρὸς Κεφαλληνίαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, Ἡρακλείδην δὲ ἀπέλυπεν τριήρεις τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρας φορτηγοὺς ἀξόντα κατόπιν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας.

7. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης, Τιμᾶιον μὲν τοῦ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφαντος πατήρ ὁ, πλοῦτω δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διαφέρων ἤθροισε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Νάξου τῆς κατασκαφείσης ὑπὸ Διονυσίου περιλειφθέντας. οἰκίσας δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Νάξου λόφον τὸν ὄνομαζόμενον Ταῦρον καὶ μείωσας κατ’ αὐτὸν πλείω χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἑπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου μονῆς ὀνόμασε Ταυρο-

1 So Simson and Wesseling (cp. chap. 16. 2 and Plutarch, Dion, 12, 32; Nepos, Dion, 5): Χαρικλείδην.
2 Fischer (cp. chap. 10. 3): ἐλευθερίας.
3 Ἡρακλείδη ΡΧ, Χαρικλείδην οὐ -δὴ δεῖ.
4 So MSS.; Fischer conjectures τριήρεις εἴκοσι (cp. chap. 16. 2) καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρας φ.

1 Corinth was probably selected, not only because of its favourable location, but because it was the mother-city of 252
then escaped from Sicily to the Peloponnese in the 258/7 B.C. company of his brother Megacles and of Heracleides who had been appointed commandant of the garrison by the tyrant. When he landed at Corinth, he besought the Corinthians¹ to collaborate with him in setting free the Syracusans, and he himself began to gather mercenary troops and to collect suits of armour.² Soon many gave ear to his pleas and he gradually accumulated large supplies of armour and many mercenaries,³ then, hiring two merchantmen, he loaded on board arms and men, while he himself with these transports sailed from Zacynthus, which is near Cephallenia, to Sicily, but he left Heracleides behind to bring up later some triremes and other merchantmen to Syracuse.

7. While these things were going on, Andromachus of Tauromenium,⁴ who was the father of Timaeus, the author of the Histories, and distinguished for his wealth and nobility of spirit, gathered together the men who had survived the razing of Naxos by Dionysius. Having settled the hill above Naxos called Tauros and remained there a considerable time, he called it Tauromenium from his "remaining on Syracuse and very possibly favoured the oligarchy Dion planned to set up (see Plutarch, Dion, 53).

¹ Dion spent about ten years in Greece, 366–357 (Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 275), in close touch with the Academy. For preparations see Nepos, Dion, 5.

² Diodorus says 1000 (chap. 9. 5), to which if 1500 under Heracleides (chap. 16. 2) are added the number 3000 is approximated (chap. 17. 3 and Anaximenes, De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum, 8. 3. 1429 b). For other details of the expedition see Plutarch, Dion, 22–24. For a critical account see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 257 and note 3, followed by Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 277.

³ See chap. 68. 8 and Plutarch, Timoleon, 10. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

μένιον. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίδοσιν λαμβανοῦσας
οἱ μὲν οἰκήτορες μεγάλους περιποιησάντο πλού-
τους, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἄξιολογον ἄξιώμα περιποιησάμενη
tὸ τελευταῖον ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίῳ Καίσαρος
ἀναστήσαντο τοὺς Ταυρομενίτας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος
tῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκιάν ἔδεξατο.

2 "Αμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους οἱ τὴν Ἕβοοιαν
κατοικοῦντες ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῶν
μὲν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τῶν δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπι-
καλεσαμένους συνεστή πόλεμος κατὰ τὴν Ἕβοοιαν.
γενομένου δὲ πλειόνων συμπλοκῶν καὶ ἀκροβο-
λισμῶν ὅτε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι προετέρουν ὅτε δ’ οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νίκην ἀπεφέροντο. μεγάλη μὲν οὖν
παράταξις οὐδεμιὰ συνετελέσθη τῆς δὲ νῆσου διὰ
tῶν ἐμφύλιων πόλεμον καταφθαρείσης καὶ πολλῶν
ἀνθρώπων παρ’ ἀμφότεροι διαφθαρέστων μόνις
ταῖς συμβοραῖς νουθετήθεις εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἣλθον
καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συνεβεθνὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βοιωτοὶ τὴν εἰς οἴκον ἐπάνοδον ποι-
3 ησάμενοι τὴν ήσυχίαν ἤγον. οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι Χίων

1 For a different story see Book 14. 59. 2. Naxos (three miles from Tauromenium) was destroyed by Dionysius in 403 (Book 14. 15. 2) and its territory assigned to neighbouring Siculi (ibid. 3). These occupied the hill of Taurus to the north of Naxos and gave it the name Tauromenium. The Siculi in 394 warded off a surprise winter attack of Dionysius (Book 14. 87-88). By the peace of 392 Dionysius regained Tauromenium, expelled the Siculi, and settled his mercenaries on the spot (Book 14. 96. 4). Probably this present settlement by Andromachus is to be regarded as a new foundation. See Wesseling’s note on Book 14. 59.

2 Since Tauromenium had been a stronghold of Sextus Pompey, Augustus, as a precautionary measure and because of its strong position commanding the coast road between Syracuse and Messenè, expelled the former inhabitants to 254
Tauros.” And as the city made quick progress, the inhabitants laid up great wealth, and the city, which had won considerable repute, finally in our own lifetime, after Caesar had expelled the inhabitants of Tauromenium from their native land, received a colony of Roman citizens.

While these things were going on, the inhabitants of Euboea fell into strife among themselves, and when one party summoned the Boeotians to its assistance and the other the Athenians, war broke out over all Euboea. A good many close combats and skirmishes occurred in which sometimes the Thebans were superior and sometimes the Athenians carried off the victory. Although no important pitched battle was fought to a finish, yet when the island had been devastated by the intestinal warfare and many men had been slain on both sides, at long last admonished by the disasters, the parties came to an agreement and made peace with one another.

Now the Boeotians returned home and remained quiet, but the Athenians, who had suffered the revolt make room for new colonists. It may have been one of the Sicilian cities colonized by Augustus in Dio Cassius, 54. 7. 1 (21 B.C.).

Diódoros has placed the Euboean war wrongly in the archonship of Cephisodotus (358/7). The war lasted only thirty days according to Aeschines, In Clasiphonta, 85 and occurred under Agathocles (357/6). Diocles was the Athenian commander (Demosthenes, 21. 174) and he was general in 357/6 (Dittenberger, Syllogé, 13. 190. 23 and note 9). The treaty of peace is also dated under the archonship of Agathocles (ibid. 20 = IG, 23, 194). That the Social War had already begun is proved by the intentional erasure of Chabrias’ (chap. 7. 3) name from this inscription. He was no longer general when the treaty was signed since he had fallen at Chios. For discussion see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 258 and 3. 1. 238, note 2.
kaì Ἡρόδων καὶ Κάρων, ἐτὶ δὲ Βυζαντίων ἀποστάντων ἐνέπεσον εἰς πόλεμον τὸν ὄνομαθέντα συμμαχικόν, ὅς διέμενεν ἐπὶ τρία. ἔλομενοι δὲ στρατηγοὺς Χάρητα καὶ Χαβρίαν ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ δυνάμεως. οὗτοι δὲ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Χίου κατέλαβον παραγεγυνότας συμμάχους τοὺς Χίους παρὰ Βυζαντίων καὶ Ἡρόδων καὶ Κάρων, ἔτι δὲ Μαυσώλου τοῦ Καρῶν δυνάστου. ἐκτάξαντες δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκοιν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ γῆν ἀμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Χάρης τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος κατὰ γῆν προσῆκε τοὺς τείχες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχυθέντας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν διηγωνιζότα; ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας προσπλεύσας τῷ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν καρτερὰν συνεστήσατο καὶ τῆς νεῶς τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρραγείσης κατεπονεῖτο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων νεῶν εἶχαντες τῷ καιρῷ διεσώθησαν, ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἥττης ἀλλαξάμενος τοὺς εὐκλεὰ βάναυσον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς νεῶς καὶ τρωθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε.

8. Περὶ δὲ τούτων αὐτοὺς καὶροὺς Φιλίππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μεγάλη παρατάξει νευκηκός τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους καὶ πάντας τοὺς μέχρι τῆς Λυχνίτιδος καλουμένης λίμνης κατοικούντας ὑπηκόους πεποιημένος ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, συντεθεμένος ἐνδοξοῦ εἰρήνην πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλλυρίους,

1 ἐκ added by Kallenberg.

1 Again Diodorus is wrong in the dating of the Social War. The war opened with the attack on Chios in which Chabrias fell. For reasons given in the preceding note this must be the year 357/6. Diodorus (chap. 22. 2) closes the war in the year of Elpines, 356/5, after it has lasted "four" years. Dionysius (De Lydia Judicium, 12, p. 480) placed the 256
of Chios, Rhodes, and Cos and, moreover, of Byzantium, became involved in the war called the Social War which lasted three years. The Athenians chose Chares and Chabrias as generals and dispatched them with an army. The two generals on sailing into Chios found that allies had arrived to assist the Chians from Byzantium, Rhodes, and Cos, and also from Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria. They then drew up their forces and began to besiege the city both by land and by sea. Now Chares, who commanded the infantry force, advanced against the walls by land and began a struggle with the enemy who poured out on him from the city; but Chabrias, sailing up to the harbour, fought a severe naval engagement and was worsted when his ship was shattered by a ramming attack. While the men on the other ships withdrew in the nick of time and saved their lives, he, choosing death with glory instead of defeat, fought on for his ship and died of his wounds.

8. About the same time Philip, king of the Macedonians, who had been victorious over the Illyrians in a great battle and had made subject all the people who dwelt there as far as the lake called Lychnitis, now returned to Macedonia, having arranged a noteworthy peace with the Illyrians and won great acclaim

Social War in the years of Agathocles and Elpines (357/6 and 356/5), which seems to be the correct dating. For discussion see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2. 260-262.

2 Mausolus was the prime instigator of the Social War (see Demosthenes, 15. 3). Yet Byzantium, Rhodes, and Chios had joined forces previously when stirred up by Epameinondas (see Book 15. 79. 1).


4 See chap. 4.

5 Western border of Macedonia by Lyncestis and Orestis.
περιβόητος τε ὑπάρχων παρὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ 2 τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείαν κατωρθωμένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκοῖς τῶν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διατεθέντων καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων εἰς πόλεμον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἁξιολόγων δυνάμει. προσαγωγῶν δὲ τοῖς τείχεσι μηχανᾶς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐνεργοὺς καὶ συνεχεῖς πονησάμενος κατέβαλε μὲν τοῖς κριοῖς μέρος τῷ τείχῳ, παρεισέλθω ὃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοῦ πτώματος καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦν τοιούτων πόλεις καταβαλῶν ἐκυρίευσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακείμενους ἐφυγάδευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη. ἦ δὲ πόλις αὐτῇ κειμένη κατὰ τῆς Ὁράκης καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τοπίων εὐφυῶς πολλὰ συνεβάλετο τῷ Φιλίππῳ πρὸς αὐξήσαι. εὐθὺ γὰρ τὴν μὲν Πύδναν ἐκερώσατο, πρὸς δὲ Ὁλυμβίους συμμαχίαν ἔθετο καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ὁμολογησε περιποιήσειν αὐτοὺς, ὑπὲρ ἦς Ὁλυμβίου πολλήν ἐσπούδην ἐσχον κυριεύσαι τῆς πόλεως. τῶν δὲ Ὁλυμβίων βαρεῖαν πόλιν οἰκοῖτων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἐνοικοῖτων πολλῆν ἐχόντων ὔστιν εἰς τοῦ πόλεμου περιμαχητῶς ἢ ἡ πόλις τοῖς ἡγεμονίας μείζωνος δρεγαμένως. διὸ περὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Φιλίππως διεφθορυμοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς τῶν Ὁλυμβίων συμμαχίας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὃ

1 So Cobet: πολιορκίας.
2 εν ταύτῃ Capps: ταύτην, which Hertlein would delete.

1 See chap. 3. 3 and explanatory note; also 4. 1.
2 See Wilcken, Alexander, 33.
3 A good account of Philip's seizures of Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, and Crenides is found in Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 207-208. This account omits, 258
among the Macedonians for the successes due to his 358/7 B.C. valour. Thereupon, finding that the people of Amphipolis ¹ were ill-disposed toward him and offered many pretexts for war, he entered upon a campaign against them with a considerable force. By bringing siege-engines against the walls ² and launching severe and continuous assaults, he succeeded in breaching a portion of the wall with his battering rams, whereupon, having entered the city through the breach and struck down many of his opponents, he obtained the mastery of the city and exiled those who were disaffected toward him, but treated the rest considerately. ³ Since this city was favourably situated with regard to Thrace and the neighbouring regions, it contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of Philip. Indeed he immediately reduced Pydna, ⁴ and made an alliance with the Olynthians ⁵ in the terms of which he agreed to take over for them Potidaea, a city which the Olynthians had set their hearts on possessing. Since the Olynthians inhabited an important city and because of its huge population had great influence in war, their city was an object of contention for those who sought to extend their supremacy. For this reason the Athenians and Philip were rivals against one another for the alliance with the Olynthians. However that may as does Diodorus, Athens’ declaration of war on Philip’s retention of Amphipolis, which is attested by Isocrates, Philip, 2; Aeschines, False Embassy, 21, 70, 72, Against Ctesiphon, 54; and IG, 2². 127 (πόλεμος πρὸς Φιλιπποῦ) of the year 356. For Amphipolis see also note on chap. 3. 3; Theopompos, fr. 43 (Oxford); Demosthenes, 1. 8; 9. 6; 7. 27-28; and on the exiles also Dittenberger, Sylloge, 1. 194. ⁴ For Pydna see Demosthenes, 20. 63; 1. 5. ⁵ For the alliance between Philip and Olynthus see Demosthenes, 23. 108; 2. 14; 6. 20; also Robinson, Transactions of the American Philological Association, 65 (1934), 108-122.
Φίλιππος Ποτίδαιαν ἐκπολιορκήσας τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουρῶν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτῇ προσενεγκάμενος ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς ᾿Αθήνας (σφόδρα γὰρ εὐλαβεῖτο τὸν δῆμον τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως). τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξανδραποδίσαμενος παρ’ ἐδώκε τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις, δωρησάμενος ἁμα καὶ τὰς 6 κατὰ τὴν χώραν κτήσεις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέλθον ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρηνίδας ταύτην μὲν ἐπαυξῆσας οἰκητόρων πλήθει μετωνόμασε Φίλιππος, ἀφ’ ἕαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν χρύσεια μετάλλα παντελῶς διότα λυτὰ καὶ ἀδόξα ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γνῆσιν ὡστε δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτῷ πρόσοδον πλεῖον ἡ ταλάντων χιλίων. 7 ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταχὺ σωφρεῦσας πλοῦτον, αἰεὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων εἰς ὑπεροχὴν μεγάλην ἠγαγε τὴν Μακεδονικὴν βασιλείαν νόμισμα γὰρ χρυσοῦν κόψας τὸ προσαγορεύθην ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνου Φιλίππειον μισθοφόρων τε δύναμιν ἀξίολογον συνεστήσατο καὶ τῶν ᾿Ελλήνων πολλοὺς διὰ τούτου προετρέψατο προδότας γενέσθαι τῶν πατρίδων. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων αἱ κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἐκαστὰ δηλώσουσιν, ἥμεισ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις μεταβιβάζομεν τὸν λόγον.

9. ᾿Επ’ ἀρχοντος γὰρ ᾿Αθηναίων Ἀγαθοκλέους Ρωμαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκου Φάβιον καὶ

1 πόλιν Gemistus; so Wesseling, Fischer: Πόλιν.
2 χώραν] πόλιν PX.  
3 πράξεις] τάξεις P.

1 On Crenides see chap. 3. 7 and note.
2 Worth about $6.25. According to Seltman, Greek Coins,
be, Philip, when he had forced Potidaea to surrender, 358/7 B.C., led the Athenian garrison out of the city and, treating it considerately, sent it back to Athens—for he was particularly solicitous toward the people of Athens on account of the importance and repute of their city—but, having sold the inhabitants into slavery, he handed it over to the Olynthians, presenting them also at the same time with all the properties in the territory of Potidaea. After this he went to the city of Crenides, and having increased its size with a large number of inhabitants, changed its name to Philippi, giving it his own name, and then, turning to the gold mines in its territory, which were very scanty and insignificant, he increased their output so much by his improvements that they could bring him a revenue of more than a thousand talents. And because from these mines he had soon amassed a fortune, with the abundance of money he raised the Macedonian kingdom higher and higher to a greatly superior position, for with the gold coins which he struck, which came to be known from his name as Philippeoi, he organized a large force of mercenaries, and by using these coins for bribes induced many Greeks to become betrayers of their native lands. But concerning these matters the several events, when recorded, will explain everything in detail, and we shall now shift our account back to the events in the order of their occurrence.

9. When Agathocles was archon at Athens, the 357/6 B.C. Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gaius 200-201, the issue of Philippi bore the name of the town ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ (see Plate XLVI 7) and only after 348 began the issue of Philippeoi. See also West, "The Early Diplomacy of Philip II of Macedon Illustrated by his Coins," Numismatic Chronicle, 3 (1923), 169 ff.
Diodorus of Sicily

Γάιον Πόπλιον. 1 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δίων ὁ Ἰσπαράντου κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν καταλύσων τὴν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα, ἐλαχίστας δὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν πάντων χρησάμενοι ἀφορμαῖς μεγίστην δυναστείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην κατέλυσαν ἀνελπίστως.

2 τίς γὰρ ἄν πιστεύσειν ὅτι δυσὶ φορτηγοῖς ναυσὶ καταπλέυσας περιεγένετο δυνάστου ναῦς μὲν μακρὰς ἔχοντος τετρακοσίας, στρατιώτας δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν εἰς δέκα μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ μυρίους, ὁπλίς δὲ καὶ σῖτου καὶ χρημάτων τοσοῦτον παρασκευῆν ὅτιν εἰκὸς ἦστιν 2 κεκτήσαντα τὸν μέλλοντα χορηγήσεως δαμαλίως ταῖς προειρήμεναις δυνάμεσις, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων πόλιν μὲν ἔχοντα μεγίστην τῶν Ἐλληνῶν, λιμένας δὲ καὶ νεώρια καὶ κατεσκευα- σμένας ἀκροπολεῖς ἀναλώτους, ἐτὶ δὲ συμμάχων 3 δυνατῶν ἔχοντα πλῆθος; αἰτία δὲ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Δίωνι τῶν πρωτερημάτων μᾶλιστα μὲν ἡ ἱδία λαμπρότης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἄνδρεα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐλευθεροδοθοῦ μελλόντων εὔνοια, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων μεῖζον ἡ τε ἀναδρομῆς τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχιμένων πρὸς αὐτῶν μίσος· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς ἑνὰ καιρὸν συνδραμόντα παραδόξως τὰς ἀπιστομένας πράξεις πρὸς τέλος ἤγαγεν.

4 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀφέμενοι τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος πεπραγμένων τρεφόμεθα. Δίων γὰρ ἐκ Ζακύνθου τῆς πρὸς Κεφαλ-

1 So MSS. (Πεταλον Stephanus marg.) ; Ποτηλον Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 7. 11 ; Fusti Consularès).
2 ἦν R.F, followed by Dindorf.
BOOK XVI. 9. 1-4

Poplius. During their term of office, Dion son of 337/6 B.C. Hipparinus sailed to Sicily intending to overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, and with slenderer resources than those of any conqueror before his time he succeeded contrary to all expectation in overthrowing the greatest realm in all Europe. Who, indeed, would have believed that, putting ashore with two merchantmen, he could actually have overcome the despot who had at his disposal four hundred ships of war, infantry numbering nearly one hundred thousand, ten thousand horse, and as great a store of arms, food, and money as one in all probability possessed who had to maintain lavishly the aforesaid forces; and, apart from all we have mentioned, had a city which was the largest of the cities of Hellas, and harbours and docks and fortified citadels that were impregnable, and, besides, a great number of powerful allies? The cause for Dion's successes was, above all others, his own nobility of spirit, his courage, and the willing support of those who were to be liberated, but still more important than all these were the pusillanimity of the tyrant and his subjects' hatred of him; for when all these characteristics merged at a single critical moment, they unexpectedly brought to a successful close deeds which were considered impossible.

But we must forgo these reflections and turn to the detailed narrative of the events as they severally occurred. Dion, having sailed from Zacynthos, which

2 Confirmed by chap. 70. 3; Plutarch, Dion, 14. 2; Aelian, Varia Historia, 6. 12. Nepos, Dion, 5. 3 gives "cingentis longis navibus."

3 Of Ortygia and Epipolae, the work of Dionysius I. See Book 14. 7. 1-3, 5; and Book 14. 18 for these and other constructions.

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ληνίαιν δυσὶ φορτίσι ναυσὶν ἀναχθεὶς κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἀκραγαντώνης εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μίνωαν. αὐτῇ δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μίνωος ἐκτίθη τοῦ βασιλέως Κρητῶν, καθ’ ὅν καιρὸν ζητῶν Δαίδαλον ἐπεξενώθη Κωκάλω τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Σικανῶν· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἢ μὲν πόλις αὐτῇ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑπῆκουσαν, ὡς δ’ ἐπιστάτης αὐτῆς, ὅνομα Πάραλος, φίλος ὃν Δίωνος προθύμως ὑπεδέξατ’ αὐτὸν. ὡς δὲ Δίων ἔξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν φορτηγῶν πανοπλίας πεντακισχιλίας τῷ Παράλῳ παρέδωκεν καὶ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἀμάξας παρακομίσαι πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μεθοφόρους παραλαβὼν, ὡς χιλίους, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας. ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ τοὺς τῇ Ἀκραγαντώνους καὶ Γέλωνος καὶ τινὰς τῶν τῆς μεσόγειον οἰκοντων Σικανῶν τε καὶ Σικελῶν, ἔτι δὲ Καμαρναίους πείσας συνελευθερώσας τοὺς Συρακοσίους προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ τυράννου. πολλῶν δὲ πάντων συνρεῖντοι μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τὰς πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων στρατιωτῶν ἠθροίσθησαν. οὐδὲν δ’ ἦττον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἐλλήνων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετεπέμφθησαν καὶ πάντες σὺν πολλῆς προθυμία κατὰ σπουδὴν ἤκον. 10. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀροῖς τῆς Συρακοσίας ὁ Δίων ἦν, ἀπήντα πρὸς αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἀνόπλων ἀν—

1 Dindorf: ὑπῆκουσαν.
2 After Καμαρναίους MSS. have καί Μαθωαιους, deleted by most editors.
3 So Hertlein: τοῖς ὀροῖς.

1 For this myth see Book 4, 77-79. There is no mention of “founding” Mino in chap. 79.
2 Plutarch, Dion, 25-26. 3, gives a more detailed account of Dion’s voyage and his landing at Minoa. Synalus (ibid. 264.
lies by Cephalenia, with two merchantmen, put in at 357/6 B.C. the harbour of Aceragas named Minoa. This had been founded of olden time by Minos, king of the Cretans, on the occasion when, in his search for Daedalus, he had been entertained by Cocalus, king of the Sicanians,¹ but in the period with which we are concerned this city was subject to the Carthaginians, and its governor, named Paralus,² who was a friend of Dion, received him enthusiastically. Dion, having unloaded from the merchantmen five thousand suits of armour, handed them over to Paralus and requested him to transport them on wagons to Syracuse, while he himself, taking along the mercenaries ³ numbering a thousand, led them against Syracuse. On the march he persuaded the peoples of Aceragas, Gela, and some of the Sicanians and Sicels who dwelt in the interior, also the people of Camarina, to join in the liberation of the Syracusans, and then advanced to overthrow the tyrant. Since many men with their arms streamed in from all sides, soon more than twenty thousand soldiers were gathered. Likewise many also of the Greeks from Italy and of the Messenians were summoned, and all came in haste with great enthusiasm.⁴

10. When Dion was on the borders of the Syracusan territory, there came to meet him a host of men with-

²⁵. ⁵) is there the name given to the Carthaginian commander, Dion’s friend. It is very possible that Carthage favoured Dion’s project since it gave every indication of weakening the military power of Syracuse (see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte⁵, 3. 1. 258).
³ These seem to be the mercenaries he had brought, not new ones (see chap. 6. 5).
⁴ See the account in Plutarch, Dion, 26-27 and Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 278.
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θρώπων ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἀπίστως γὰρ διακειμένος ὁ Διονύσιος πρὸς τοὺς Συρακούσιους 2 πολλῶν τὰ ὁπλα παρήρητο.1 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὃ μὲν τίραννος περὶ τὰς νεοκτίστους πόλεις κατὰ τὸν Ἀδριάν διετριβε μετὰ πολλῶν δυνάμεων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἀπολει- φθέντες ἤγεμόνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειρώντο μετα- καλεῖσθαι τοὺς Συρακούσιους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ἀκατασχέτον δὲ τῆς δρμῆς τῶν ὄχλων ὑπὲρ ἀπο- γνώντες2 τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ δυνάστου φρονοῦντας ἥθελον καὶ τὰς τάξεις πληρώσαντες 3 τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσις ἐπιθέσθαι διέγνυσαν. Δίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀνόπλοις τῶν Συρακουσίων διέδωκε τὰς πεντακοσίλια πανοπλίας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν τοὺς παρατυχοῦσιν ὅπλοις συνεσκεύασεν. συναγαγὼν δὲ ἀπαντασ εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπε- φάνετο μὲν ἐαυτόν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, παρεκάλει δὲ στρατηγοὺς αὐτοῖς αἱρέσθαι τοὺς εὐθέτους πρὸς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς αὐτο- νομίας καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὁλης τυραννίδος. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὠσπερ ἀπὸ μᾶς φωνῆς ἀνεβόησε στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν τε Δίωνα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 4 αὐτοῦ Μεγακλῆν αὐτοκράτορας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν προσήγη τῇ πόλει. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἀντιποιομένου τῶν ὑπάθρων ἀδεως εἰσήλθεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους καὶ διὰ τῆς

1 So Gemistus: παρήρητο.

1 That Dionysius was in Italy is attested by Plutarch, Dion, 26. 1 and Nepos, Dion, 5. 4. If Plutarch is correct in placing him at Caulonia (ibid. 26. 4) as Diodorus does in chap. 11. 3, 266
out arms both from the countryside and from the city; for Dionysius, being suspicious of the Syracusans, had disarmed many of them. About this time the tyrant was sojourning in the newly founded cities along the Adriatic with large forces, and the commanders who had been left in charge of the garrison of Syracuse at first attempted to summon back the Syracusans from their revolt, but when the impulse of the mobs could not be checked they gave up in despair and gathered mercenaries and those who favoured the cause of the tyrant, and having filled their ranks decided to attack the insurgents. Dion distributed the five thousand suits of armour to such of the Syracusans as were unarmed, and equipped the rest of the able-bodied with weapons that came to hand. Then having brought them all to a general assembly, he disclosed that he had come for the liberation of the Greeks of Sicily, and he urged them to elect as generals those men who were well qualified to effect the restoration of their independence and the dissolution of the entire tyranny. The crowd as with one voice cried out that it chose Dion and his brother Megacles as generals with absolute power. Accordingly he drew up his army in line of battle immediately at the close of the assembly and advanced upon the city. Since no one disputed with him the open country, he entered fearlessly within the walls, and making his way through

he could not have been by the Adriatic. Caulonia, on the east coast of Bruttium, was destroyed by Dionysius the Elder in 389 B.C., its inhabitants removed to Syracuse, and its territory given to the Locrians for settlement (see Book 14. 106. 3). In this sense it might be called a new foundation.

2 See chap. 6. 5. 3 See chap. 6. 4.

4 See the interpretation of this manœuvre by Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 279.
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Ἀχραδινῆς πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν κατεστράτο-
5 πέδευσεν, οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος ἐπεξειρέατοι. ὁ δὲ σύμ-
πας ἀριθμὸς ἦν τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος στρατιωτῶν οὐκ
ἐλάττουσ τῶν πεντακισιμιρίων. οὖτοι δὲ πάντες
ἐστεφανωμένοι καθῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν προηγοῦ-
μένου τοῦ τε Δίωνος καὶ τοῦ Μεγακλέους καὶ μετὰ
τούτων πριάκοντα Συρακοσίων, οἱ μόνοι τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Πελοπόννησον φυγάδων Συρακοσίους μετασχεῖν
τῶν κυνδύων1 ἤθελησαν.

11. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πάσης μετημφυεσμένης ἀντὶ
τῆς δουλείας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σκυθρώπων τῆς
τυραννίδος εἰς πανηγυρικὴν Ἑλαρότητα τῆς τύχης
ἀγούσης πάσα οἰκία θυσίων καὶ χαρᾶς ἔγεμε, τῶν
ἰδιωτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱδίαις ἑστίαις θυμιάσεως καὶ περὶ
μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἁγαθῶν εὐχαριστοῦντων τοῖς
θεοῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων εὐχὰς ἁγαθὰς ποιοῦ-
μένων. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς
ἀνεπίστοις εὐθυροιοις ὀλολυγῳδὸς πολὺς καὶ καθὴ
2 ἀπασαν τὴν πόλιν συνδρομαί. οὕδεις δὴ ἡν ἐλεύ-
θερος, οὐ δοῦλος, οὐ δένος, ὡς οὐκ ἔσπευδεν ἴδειν
τὸν Δίωνα, καὶ τὴν ἄρετὴν τοῦ ἄνδρὸς πάντες
ἀπεδέχοντο μειζόνως ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον. καὶ τοῦτ’
eὐλόγως ἔπασχον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ παράδοξον
τὴς μεταβολῆς· πεντηκονταετοῦς γὰρ δουλείας πε-
περιμένοι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐπι-
λελησμένοι δὲ ἐνὸς ἄνδρος ἄρετὴν ἀπελύθησαν τῆς
συμφορᾶς.
3 Διονύσιος δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς αὐτὸς

1 See Plutarch’s account in Dion, 28-29. Achradina (ibid. 29. 1) is an extension of the city, covering the eastern part of the plateau of Epipolae.
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Achradina first encamped in the market-place, no one daring to come out against him. The whole number of the soldiers with Dion was not less than fifty thousand. All of these with garlands on their heads came down to the city under the leadership of Dion and Megacles and with them thirty Syracusans who alone of the exiles in the Peloponnese were willing to share the battles with their fellow Syracusans.

11. Now that all the city had put on the garb of freedom in exchange for that of slavery and that fortune had changed the sullen looks of the tyranny to festival gaiety, every house was filled with sacrificing and rejoicing, as the citizens burnt incense on their own hearths, thanked the gods for their present blessings, and offered hopeful prayers for blessings to come. The women too raised great shouts of joy for the unexpected good fortune and gathered together in throngs throughout the whole city. There was no freeman, no slave, no stranger who did not hasten to gaze upon Dion, and all applauded the man’s valour in terms too exalted for a mere mortal. And they had good reason for such feelings because of the magnitude and unexpected nature of the change; for after having experienced fifty years of slavery and forgotten the meaning of freedom through the lapse of time, they were suddenly released from their misfortune by the valour of a single man.

Dionysius himself at this time chanced to be

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2 See Plutarch, Dion, 27. 3, who says five thousand, which is undoubtedly too low an estimate as Diodorus’ is too high. See Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 278.

3 Twenty-five is the number given by Plutarch, Dion, 22. 4.

4 ὡστερ ἑραν τινα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πομπήν (Plutarch, Dion, 28. 3) and προστρεπομένων ὡστερ θεῶν κατευγαίς (ibid. 29. 1).

5 Forty-eight in Plutarch, Dion, 28. 3, 405-357 B.C.
μὲν ἔτυχε διατρίβων περὶ Καυλωνίαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, Φιλίστων δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὄντα μετεπέμβατο μετὰ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ προσέταξε πλείν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀμφοτέρων δ’ εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐλθεῖν σπευδὸντων ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος ἦκεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἡμέρας ὕστερα 4 ρον ἐπτὰ τῆς Δίωνος καθόδου. εὐθὺς οὖν κατα- στρατηγήσας βουλόμενος τοὺς Συρακοσίους περὶ διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβέσετο καὶ πολλὰς ἐμφάσεις ἐδίδοι παραδώσεων τὴν τυραννίδα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῆς δημο- κρατίας ἀλλάξεσθαι1 τιμᾶς ἀξιολόγους· ἥξιον τε πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλα τὸν αὐτῶν, μεθ' ὁν συν- ὅ εδρεύσασα καταλύσηται τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Συρακόσιοι μετεωρισθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐξαπέστει- λαν πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιολογεῖτος τῶν ἄνδρῶν· ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τούτοις μὲν φυλακὴν περιστήσας ἀνεβάλετο τὴν ἐντευξίαν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὀρθῶν τοὺς Συ- ρακοσίους δια τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰρήνης τὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ῥαθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ τὰ πρὸς μάχην ἀπαρασκεύασαν ἄφων τὰς πῦλας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον ἀκροπόλεως ἀνοίξας ἐξεχύθη συντεταγμένη τῇ δυνάμει.

12. Τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων κατεσκευάκοτον ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλαταν διατείχισμα αὐτῶν2 προσ- έπεσον οἱ μισθοφόροι τῷ τείχει μετὰ πολλῆς βοής καὶ καταπλῆξεν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν φυλάκων ἀνείλον, τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἐντὸς γενόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς

1 ἀλλάξεσθαι cdd.: ἀλλάξασθαι.
2 So Post: διατείχισμα αὐτῶν Ρ; διατείχισμα αὐτῶν Χ; δια- τείχισμα cdd.

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sojourning near Caulonia in Italy, and he sent for his general, who was cruising the Adriatic, to come with his fleet and ordered him to sail to Syracuse. Both men made haste to reach the same spot, but Dionysius arrived seven days after the return of Dion. Immediately, then, on his arrival, desirous of outmanoeuvring the Syracusans, he sent an embassy to make peace, and gave many indications that he would surrender his power as tyrant to the people and would accept of the people's government important privileges in exchange. He requested them to dispatch envoys to him so that he might sit in conference with them and bring the war to an end. The Syracusans, accordingly, elated with hopes, dispatched as envoys the most important of their men; but Dionysius, having placed them under guard, postponed the conference and, observing that the Syracusans because of their hope of peace were lax in the matter of garrisons and unprepared for a battle, suddenly opened the gates of the citadel on the Island, and issued forth with his army in battle array.

12. Since the Syracusans had constructed a cross-wall of their own from sea to sea, the mercenaries fell upon the wall with a loud and terrifying outcry, massacred many of the garrison and, getting inside

1 See chap. 10. 2 and note.
2 This is the historian (see Book 15. 89. 3 and 94. 4) who aided Dionysius the Elder to secure his tyranny (Book 13. 91. 4), was driven into exile by him and presently recalled (Book 15. 7. 3-4).
3 See Plutarch, Dion, 30. 1-3.
4 The island of Ortygia, which is actually attached to the mainland, stretches south, leaving a narrow passage of twelve hundred yards as the mouth of the Great Harbour between itself and Plemmyrium. Ortygia had been strongly fortified by Dionysius the Elder.
2 ἐκβοηθοῦντας διηγωνίζοντο. ὁ δὲ Δίων ἀνελπίστως παρεσπονδημένος μετὰ τῶν ἁρίστων στρατιωτῶν ἀπῆντα τοῖς πολεμίως καὶ συνάφας μάχῃ πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. ἐν σταδίῳ γὰρ ὁσπερ, τῷ ὀλίγῳ δὴ διαστήματι τῆς διατεχίσεως, μάχης οὐσίας συνεδραμε πλήθος στρατιωτῶν εἰς στενοὺς τόπου.

3 διὸ καὶ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους οἱ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις πρωτεύοντες συγκατέβησαν εἰς τὸν κόμινον· καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῦ Διονυσίου μισθοφόρων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων, τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσα ψυχωμαίαν ἐκτραπέντων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἵσσορροπος ἤν η ἡ μάχη, τῆς παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους ἀρετῆς οὐσίας ἰσομάχου, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπιπτον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ κατετρώκοντο πάσαι τὰς πληγὰς ἐναντίας λαμβάνοντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρωτοστάται τὸν ὑπέρ τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον ὑπέμενον εὐφύχως, οἱ δὲ ἐπιπεταγμένοι τοὺς πίπτοντας ὑπερασπίζοντες καὶ τοῖς δευοῖς ἐγκαρπεροῦντες τοὺς ἐσχάτους

4 κυνικούς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἀνεδέχοντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δίων μὲν ἀριστεύσαι βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σπεύδων δὲ ἐαυτοῦ περιποιήσασθαι τὴν νίκην εἰς μέσους ἐβιβάζετο τοὺς πολεμίους· ἥρωικώς δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενος πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσε, τὴν δὲ ὀλίγην σύνταξιν τῶν μισθοφόρων δικαίως ἐναπελήφθη μόνος τῶν πλήθει· πολλῶν δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν μυθέντων βελῶν εἰς τῇ ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος ταῦτα μὲν ἐξέφυγε διὰ τὴν ὅπλων κατασκευὴν, εἰς δὲ τὸν δεξιῶν βραχίονα τρῳδεὶς συγκατηρέχθη τῷ βάρει τῆς πληγῆς καὶ τοῖς πολεμίως παρ᾽ ὀλίγων ὑποχείλισι προσ ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι δείσαντες ὑπὲρ

1 γὰρ ὁσπερ, τῷ added by Post.
2 δὴ Post: δὲ.
the wall, engaged in a struggle with those who were coming out to the rescue. Dion, being unexpectedly tricked by the violation of the truce, came to meet the enemy with his best soldiers and joining battle wrought extensive slaughter. For when fighting took place, as if in a stadium, within the narrow interval afforded by the crosswall, a multitude of soldiers collected in a contracted space. For this reason on both sides men outstanding in gallantry met in the action and since Dionysius' mercenaries, by the size of the promised rewards, and the Syracusans, by the hope of freedom, were wrought up to a high pitch of rivalry, at first the battle stood equally poised, as the valour of both sides in the fight was equal. Many fell, and not a few were wounded, receiving all the blows in front; for on the one hand those in the front rank courageously met death defending the rest, and those arrayed behind them covering them with their shields as they fell and holding firm in the desperate peril took the most dangerous risks to win the victory. After this engagement Dion, wishing to display his valour in the battle and eager to win the victory by his own deeds, forced his way into the midst of the enemy and there in an heroic encounter slew many and having disrupted the whole battle line of the mercenaries was suddenly cut off and isolated in the crowd. Many missiles hurled at him fell upon his shield and helmet, but he escaped these owing to the protection of his armour, but receiving a wound on his right arm he was borne down by the weight of the blow and barely escaped capture by the enemy. The Syracusans, fearing for their general's safety, dashed

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3 So Post: ἀπετειχενεν ταὶς. 4 Stephanus: ἐναπελεύθη.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tῆς κατὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν σωτηρίας ἐπέρραζαν τοῖς μισθοφόροις βαρείᾳ τῇ συντάξει καὶ τὸν μὲν Δίωνα καταπονούμενον ἔξηρπασαν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους βιασάμενοι φυγεῖν ἡνάγκασαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον τόπον τοῦ τείχους προτερούντων τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ τοῦ τυράννου μισθοφόροι συνεδρώχθησαν ἐντὸς πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Νῆσῳ. ἐπιθανεῖ δὲ μάχη νικήσαντες οἱ Συρακοσίοι καὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν βεβαιῶσι κτησάμενοι τράπαιν έστησαν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου.

13. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν ἔπταικὼς καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ἀπογυμνάσκων ἤδη ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι ἀπέλυσε φρουρᾶς ἀξιολόγους, αὐτῶς δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ὀκτακισίους ὄντας, λαβὼν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἔθαψε λαμπρῶς, χρυσοῖς μὲν στεφάνοις ἐστεφανωμένους, πορφυρίσει δὲ καλαίς περιβεβλημένους· ἢλπιζε γὰρ διὰ τῆς τούτων σπουδῆς προτρέψειθαι τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὸ προθύμως κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος· τοὺς δὲ ἀνδραγαθήσαντας μεγάλαι δωρεάς ἐτίμησε. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Συρακοσίους διεπέμπετο περὶ διαλύσεων.

2 ὥ δὲ Δίων περὶ μὲν τῶν πρεσβείων αἰεὶ τινας εὐλόγους προφάσεις ποριζόμενος ἀνεβάλλετο, ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τείχους κατασκευάσας μεθ᾽ ἡσυχίας τότε τὰς πρεσβείας μετεσπεμπτε, κατεστράτηγηκός τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίσι. γενομένων δὲ λόγων περὶ συλλύσεων ὁ Δίων ἀπεκρίθη τοῖς πρεσβείσι μίαν εἶναι σύλλυσιν, εὰν ἀποθέμενος τῇ τυραννίδᾳ βούληται τυχεῖν τιμῶν τινων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ύπερηφάνου τῆς

1 For this battle see Plutarch, Dion, 30. 4-8.

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into the mercenaries in heavy formation and rescued the distressed Dion from his perils, then overpowering the enemy, forced them to flee. Since likewise in the other part of the wall the Syracusans had the superiority, the tyrant's mercenaries were chased in a body inside the gates of the Island. The Syracusans, who had now won victory in a significant battle and had securely recovered their freedom, set up a trophy to signalize the tyrant's defeat.¹

13. After this, Dionysius, who had failed and by now despained of his tyranny, left a considerable garrison in his citadels, while he himself, having secured permission to take up his dead, eight hundred in number, gave their bodies a magnificent burial, causing them to be crowned with golden crowns and wrapped in fine purple; for he hoped by his solicitude for them to incite the survivors to fight spiritedly in defence of the tyranny; and those who had behaved gallantly he honoured with rich gifts. And he kept sending messengers to the Syracusans to confer about terms of a settlement. But Dion in the matter of his embassies, by constantly offering plausible excuses, kept making postponements, and, when he had meanwhile constructed the remainder of the wall at his leisure, he then called for the embassies, having outmanoeuvred the enemy by encouraging their hopes of peace. When discussion arose concerning the terms of settlement, Dion replied to the ambassadors that only one settlement was possible, namely that Dionysius should resign his position as tyrant and then deign to accept certain privileges. But Dionysius,

² Diodorus alone mentions ruses of Dion. Plutarch (Dion, 31-32, 1) and Polyænus (5, 2, 8) note only those of Dionysius.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἀποκρίσεως γενομένης συναγαγών τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο πῶς χρῆ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀμύνασθαι. 3 πάντων δὲ εὐπορῶν πλὴν σιτοῦ καὶ βαλαττοκρατῶν ἐξήστευε τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ τῶν προνομῶν κακῶς ποριζόμενος ἐξαπέστειλε ναῦς φορτίδας καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν τοῦ σιτοῦ καταγο-ρασμὸν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ναῦς μακρὰς πολλὰς ἔχοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους ἐπιφανο-μενοι πολλὴν τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζομένης ἀγορᾶς παρηρροῦντο.


1 So Hertlein: δ᾽ ἐπανελθὼν.
BOOK XVI. 13. 2—14. 2

since Dion's reply had been arrogant, assembled his 357/6 B.C. commanders and began to deliberate on the best means of defending himself against the Syracusans. Having plenty of everything but grain and being in control of the sea, he began to pillage the countryside and, finding it difficult to provide subsistence from his foraging parties, he dispatched merchantmen and money to purchase grain. But the Syracusans, who had many ships of war and kept putting in an appearance at opportune places, made off with many of the supplies which were being brought in by the traders.

This was the situation of affairs in Syracuse.

14. In Greece Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, was assassinated by his own wife Thebē and her brothers Lycophron and Tisiphonus.¹ The brothers at first received great acclaim as tyrannicides, but later, having changed their purpose and bribed the mercenaries, they disclosed themselves as tyrants, slew many of their opponents, and, having contrived to make their forces imposing, retained the government by force. Now the faction among the Thessalians called Aleuadae, who enjoyed a far-flung reputation by reason of their noble birth, began to oppose the tyrants. But not being of sufficient strength to fight by themselves they took on Philip, the king of the Macedonians, as ally. And he, entering Thessaly, defeated the tyrants and, when he had vindicated the independence of their cities, showed himself very friendly to the Thessalians.

¹ Diodorus has this event one year too late. It should be 358/7, counting eleven years from Book 15. 61. 2 (see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 2. 83-84). For the story see Xenophon, Hell. 6. 4. 35 ff.; Plutarch, Pelopidas, 35; Cicero, De Officiis, 2. 7. 25; Valerius Maximus, 9. 13, ext. 3. Peitholaitis, the third brother, here omitted, is mentioned chap. 37. 3.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ένεδείξατο διόπερ ἐν ταῖς μετά ταῦτα πράξεσιν ἀεὶ συναγωνιστᾶς ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Δημόφιλος μὲν ὁ Ἐφόρου τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου υἱὸς τὸν παραλειφθέντα πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁμομαθέντα δὲ ἱερὸν, συντεταγμένοι ἔντευθεν ἦρκταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς συλήψεως τοῦ μαντείου ὑπὸ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως· ἐγένετο δ’ ὁ πόλεμος αὕτως ἐτή ἐνδεκα ἕως τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν διανεμα-

4 μένων τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὴν τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἱστοριάν γέγραφεν ἐν βύβλως δέκα καὶ κατέστροφεν εἰς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ παρανομίαν Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως.

5 Δίυλλος δ’ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἦρκται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλήψεως καὶ γέγραφε βύβλους εἰκοσι καὶ ἕξιν, συμπεριλαβὼν πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτων γενομένας πράξεις περὶ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν.

15. 'Επ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἐπίτινου Ὁραφίου ἤρκται την ἱστορίαν της Ἱστορίας.

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1 From chap. 76. 5 we learn that the work of Ephorus was in thirty books and that it closed with the capture of Perinthus. What Demophilus probably wrote was book 30, since books 28 and 29 (fr. 149-150) contained the history of the West and book 27 (fr. 148) contained the early years of Philip's reign. See Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 2. 25 and Athenaeus, 6. 282 d.

² Compare for the beginning and end chaps. 23. 1 (355/4) and 59. 1 (346/5). The Sacred War is accended ten years 278
Wherefore in the course of subsequent events not 337/6 B.C. merely Philip himself but his son Alexander after him had the Thessalians always as confederates.

Among historians Demophilus, the son of the chronicler Ephorus, who treated in his work the history of what is known as the Sacred War, which had been passed over by his father, began his account with the capture of the shrine at Delphi and the pillaging of the oracle by Philomelus the Phocian. This war lasted eleven years until the annihilation of those who had divided amongst themselves the sacred property. And Callisthenes wrote the history of the events in the Hellenic world in ten books and closed with the capture of the shrine and the impious act of Philomelus the Phocian. Diylus the Athenian began his history with the pillaging of the shrine and wrote twenty-six books, in which he included all the events which occurred in this period both in Greece and in Sicily.

15. When Elpines was archon at Athens the Romans 356/5 B.C.

by Aeschines (2. 131; 3. 148); Pausanias (9. 6. 4); was said to be closed in the tenth year by Duris (fr. 2); Pausanias (10. 3. 1).

a Of Olynthus, the nephew and pupil of Aristotle. He wrote the history of the Sacred War probably as a sequel to his Hellenica (see Book 14. 117. 8). Cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 25 and 12. He was war reporter to Alexander.

b Much uncertainty reigns as to the number and arrangement of the books of his history. The usual reading of the editors here, 27, conflicts with 26 in Book 21. 5. Beloch (op. cit. 3. 2. 26) believes 27 in this passage correct and 26 in Book 21. 5 a scribal error. Rühl in Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie, 137 (1888), 123 ff. thinks Diylus wrote a history in three parts, awrá̂gos of 27 books, nine in each part, beginning with the Sacred War and ending with the death of Cassander.
Diodorus of Sicily

μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκου Πόπλιου Λαυνάτην καὶ Γναίου Μαυμίλου Ἰμπερίωσον, ὠλυμπιᾶς δὲ ἦχθη ἔκτη πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατόν, καθ’ ἡν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πόρος Μαλιεύς. ἔπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠθρώσαθε περὶ τὴν Λευκάνιαν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων πανταχόθεν μιγάδων, πλείστων δὲ δοῦλων δραπετῶν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ληστρικὸν ἐνεστησάντω βίον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγραυλίαις καὶ καταδρομαῖς συνήθειαν ἔσχον τριβὴν καὶ μελέτην τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων, διὸ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγώση προτεροῦντες τῶν ἐγχυρίων εἰς 2 αὐξήσας ἀξιολογότεραν κατέστησαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Τέρμων¹ πόλιν ἐκπολυρκήσαντες διήρπασαν, ἐπειτα Ἰππόνιον² καὶ Θουρίους καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας χειρωσάμενοι κοινὴν πολυτείαν συνέθεντο καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν Βρέττιοι διὰ τὸ πλείστους εἶναι δούλους: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐγχυρίων διάλεκτον οἱ δραπέται βρέττιοι προσηγορεύοντο.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν Βρέττιων πλῆθος οὕτω συνέστη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

16. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Συκελίαν Φιλίστος μὲν ὁ Διονυσίου στρατηγὸς πλεύσας εἰς Ῥήγινον διεκόμισε τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἰς Συρακούσας, ὡς τὰ πλείους τῶν πεντάκοσιον. προσβῆσαν δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς τῇ ἀλλοις πλεύονας καὶ πεζοὺς διαχείλους έστρατευσαν ἐπὶ.

¹ So Fischer (ep. Polyaeon, 2. 10. 1): Τέρων PX, Τερίων RF; Τερίων Dindorf.
² ἐπειτα Ἰππόνιον Cluverius: ἐπὶ ταρπάνιον P, ἐπειτα ταρπάνιον X, Stephanus marg., ἐπειτά ἄρπάνιον RVF, ἐπειτα ταρ- πάνιον M.

¹ These names appear in Livy, 7. 12. 1 as Marcus Popilius Laenas and Gnaeus Manlius.

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BOOK XVI. 15. 1—16. 1

elected as consuls Marcus Poplius Laenas and Gnaeus Maemilius Imperiosus, and the one hundred sixth celebration was held of the Olympian games, at which Porus the Malian won the stadion race. During their term of office, in Italy there gathered in Lucania a multitude of men from every region, a mixture of every sort, but for the most part runaway slaves. These at first led a marauding life and as they habituated themselves to out-of-door life and making raids they gained practice and training in warfare; consequently, since they regularly had the upper hand with the inhabitants in their battles, they reached a state of considerably increased importance. First they took by siege the city Terina and plundered it completely; then, having taken Hipponium, Thurii, and many other cities, they formed a common government and were called Bruttians from the fact that most of them were slaves, for in the local dialect runaway slaves were called “bruttians.”

Such, then, was the origin of the people of the Bruttians in Italy.

16. In Sicily Philistus, Dionysius’ general, sailed to Rhegium and transported to Syracuse the cavalry, more than five hundred in number. When he had added to these other cavalry more numerous and two thousand infantry, he made an expedition against

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3 Cp. chap. 2. 1.
3 A city on the west coast of Bruttian peninsula probably founded by Croton.
4 Sybaris on the Traïs is mentioned in Book 12. 22. 1.
5 Perhaps Oscan. Yet other legends have Brettos (Stephanus of Byzantium, Bérttòs), son of Hercules and Valentia, as eponymous hero, and still others Brettia (Justin, 23. 1. 12), as eponymous heroine. But the term Brettios is older than the date of this passage (see Aristophanes, fr. 629 Kock).
6 See Justin, 23. 1. 3-14; Strabo, 6. 1. 4.

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Λεοντίνους ἀφεστηκότας ἀπὸ Διονυσίου, νυκτὸς δὲ παρεισπεσῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς πόλεως. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἱσχυρᾶς καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων βοηθησάντων ἦττηθεῖσα ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ 2 τῶν Λεοντίνων. Ἦρακλείδης δὲ ὁ καταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Δίωνος ναύαρχος τῶν μακρῶν ναυῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διὰ τινας χειμώνας ἐμποδισθεῖς ὑστέρησε τῆς καθόδου τῶν περὶ τοῦ Δίωνα καὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐλευθερώσεως νῦν δὲ ἄγων ναῦς μὲν μακρὰς εὐκοσι, χιλίους δὲ στρατιώτας καὶ πεντακοσίους. ὅν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐπισημότατος καὶ δόξας ἄξιος ὑπάρχειν ἤρεθη ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ μετὰ Δίωνος τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγε-3 μονίας διεπολέμει πρὸς Διονύσιον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φίλιστος ἀποδείχθεις στρατηγὸς καὶ καταρτίσας τριήρεις ἐξήκοντα πρὸς Συρακοσίους ἐναυμάχησεν ἔχοντας ναύς παραπλησίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν. γενο-μένου δὲ ἄγους καρτεροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίστου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῆς ἕδας ἀνδραγαθίας προτεροῦντος, ὑστεροῦν δὲ ἀποληφθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι πανταχόθεν κυκλώσαντες τὰς ναύας ἐφι-λοτιμοῦντο ζωγρίᾳ λαβεῖν τὸν στρατηγόν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιστος εὐλαβηθεῖς τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν ἐαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, πλείστας μὲν καὶ μεγίστας χρείας παρεσχημένος τοῖς τυράννοις, πιστὸτατος δὲ τῶν 4 φίλων τοῖς δυνάσταις γεγονός. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Φιλίστου διαμερίσαντες καὶ δὲ οἷς τῆς πόλεως ἐλκύσαντες ἀπαφοῦ ἐξέρρυσαν, Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρακτι-282
Leontini, which had revolted from Dionysius, and having succeeded in entering the walls by night captured a portion of the city. A sharp engagement ensued, and the Syracusans came to the aid of the Leontinians, so that he was defeated and was driven out of Leontini. Heracleides, who had been left behind by Dion as commander of his men-of-war, having been hindered by storms in the Peloponnese, was too late for Dion’s return and the liberation of the Syracusans, but he now came with twenty men-of-war and fifteen hundred soldiers. Being a man of very great distinction and considered worthy of the position, he was chosen admiral by the Syracusans, and, having been assigned to the supreme command of the armed forces along with Dion, he participated in the war against Dionysius. After this Philistus, who had been appointed general and had fitted out sixty triremes, fought a naval battle with the Syracusans, who had about the same number. As the fight became sharp Philistus at first was superior because of his own gallantry, but later on, when he was intercepted by the enemy, the Syracusans, encircling the ships from all sides, put forth strenuous efforts to capture the general alive, but Philistus, with apprehensions of torture after his capture, slew himself after having performed a great many very important services to the tyrants and having proved himself the most faithful of their friends to the men in power. The Syracusans, after they had won the naval battle, dismembered the body of Philistus, dragged it through the whole city, and cast it forth unburied; and Diony-

1 See chap. 6. 5.

1 After τεταγμένος Fischer adds ἐπὶ τῆς ἱγεμονίας (cp. Book 11. 15. 2, etc.).

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κἂν τῶν φίλων ἀποβαλὼν καὶ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτερον ἄξιοχρεων οὐκ ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου βάρος ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἀρχῆς παραδιδοῦσι, ὑστερον δὲ βουλόμενος ἄλλην ἐγχειρίζεσιν.

17. Τούτῳ δὲ Δίωνος ἀποκριθέντος ὅτι τοῖς Συρακοσίοις δίκαιον ἐστι παραδίδοναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέσεσι χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς, ο μὲν Διονύσιος ἐτοιμὸς ἦν παραδίδοναι τὴν ἀκραν τῷ δήμῳ ὡστε τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβόντα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μεταστήναι, ὁ δὲ Δίων συνεβούλευε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ δήμος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκαίρων δημηγόρων πεισθεὶς ἀντείπει, νομίζων κατὰ κράτος ἐκπολιορκη-καὶ κατήρευεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίοι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐστασίασαν, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων δεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν ἐχειρίζεσιν Ἰρακλείδῃ διὰ τὸ τούτον δοκεῖν μηδέποτ' ἂν ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι, τῶν δὲ ἀποφασισμένων τὸν Δίωνα δεῖν ἔχεν τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτους πολλῶν ὀφειλομένων μισθῶν τοὺς Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ξένους τοῖς ἱλευθερωκοί τὰς Συρακούσας καὶ χρημάτων ἱπατίσεις τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν μισθοφόροι τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστεροῦμενοι συνεστράφησαν, ἄντες πλείους τῶν τρισχίλιων πάντες δὲ ἐπιλεκτοὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀθλησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων διαπεπονημένοι πολὺ
sius, who had lost the most efficient of his friends and had no other general of repute, being himself unable to sustain the burden of the war, sent out ambassadors to Dion, first offering him the half of his power, but later consenting to place the whole of it in his hands.

17. But when Dion replied that it was only fair to surrender to the Syracusans the acropolis with the reservation of certain property and privileges, Dionysius was ready to surrender the citadel to the people on the condition that he took his mercenaries and his property and went abroad to Italy, and Dion counselled the Syracusans to accept his offer. But the people, persuaded by their inopportune demagogues, refused, believing that they could forcibly make the tyrant surrender by siege. Thereafter Dionysius left the best of his mercenaries to guard the citadel, while he himself, putting his possessions and all his royal paraphernalia on board ship, sailed off secretly and put ashore in Italy. But the Syracusans were divided into two factions, some being of the opinion that they should entrust the generality and supreme power in the state to Heracleides because it was believed that he would never aim at tyrannical power, and the others declaring that Dion should have the supremacy over the entire government. Furthermore, large sums for wages were due to the Peloponnesian mercenaries who had liberated Syracuse and the city was short of funds, so the mercenaries, deprived of their money, banded together in excess of three thousand, and since all had been selected for meritorious conduct and because of their training in actual warfare were hardened veterans, they were far

1 Fischer would prefer ἐπὶ τινῶν.
Diodorus of Sicily

4 τοὺς Συρακοσίους ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβάλλοντο. ὃ δὲ Δίων ἁξιοῦμενος ὑπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων συναποστήματός καὶ παρὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ὡς κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περιστάσεως προσεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονία τῶν ξένων καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου ταχθὲς ἀνέζευξεν ἑπὶ τοὺς Λεον-5 τίνος. οί δὲ Συρακοσίοι συστραφέντες ἐδίωκον τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὅδουποιαν συνάψαντες μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Δίων λαμπρὰ μάχῃ νικήσας οὐδὲν ἐμνησικάκησε τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀποστειλέαν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναρέσεως τῆς τε τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσεν ἔδωκε καὶ τοὺς ἄλον-τας πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν ἀνεὶ λύτρων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ μέλλοντες φονεύοντος διηγόμενος ἔσωτος ἐξαιτεύετο τὰ Δίωνος φρονοῦντων καὶ πάντες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτίαν ἔξεφυγον τὸν βάπατον.

18. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν στρατηγὸν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας Νῆσιον τὸν Νεα-πολίτην, ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσεις στρατηγικῆ διαφέ-ροντα: συνεξέσπευσε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ φορτηγὰ πλοῖα σῖτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγορᾶς γέμοντα. οὕτως μὲν ὁ λοιπῶν ἀναχθεῖσα ἔτελε τὸν εἰς Συρακούσας 2 πλοίων. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μισθοφόροι τοῦ τυράννου, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καίρον ἐπιλιπόντος τοῦ σῖτου, καὶ τῇ ὁπινία τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεινῶς πιεόμενοι, μέχρι μὲν τῶν ὑπέμενον εὐφύχως τὴν ἐνδειαν, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἢττω-
more than a match for the Syracusans in valour. As 356/5 B.C. for Dion, when he was asked by the mercenaries to join their revolt and to take vengeance upon the Syracusans as a common enemy, he at first refused, but later, under compulsion of the critical circumstances, he accepted the command of the mercenaries, and with them marched off to Leontini. The Syracusans in a body set out to pursue the mercenaries, and, having engaged them on the way and lost many men,\(^1\) retreated. Dion, who had defeated them in a brilliant battle, harboured no grudge toward the Syracusans, for when they sent him a herald to arrange for the removal of the dead he granted them permission and set free without ransom the captives, who were numerous. For many who were on the point of being slain in their flight declared that they were on Dion’s side and all for this reason escaped death.\(^2\)

18. After this Dionysius dispatched to Syracuse as general Nypsius \(^3\) the Neapolitan, a man who excelled in valour and in sagacity of generalship; and with him he sent merchantmen laden with grain and other supplies. Nypsius then set sail from Locri and completed the voyage to Syracuse. The tyrant’s mercenaries, stationed on the acropolis, as their supply of grain failed at this time, were in dire distress for want of supplies, but for a time endured in good spirits their lack of food; then, when human nature succumbed to

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\(^1\) Cp. Plutarch, *Dion*, 39. 3: “with the loss of a few men.”

\(^2\) Compare the narrative of chaps. 16-17 with Plutarch, *Dion*, 32-39.

\(^3\) That Nypsius was from Campanian Neapolis is proved by his Oscean name (properly written Νῦψιος as on the inscription from Lacco on Ischia, *IG*, 14. 894). See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3, 1. 260, note 1.
μένης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπογνωσκομένης συνδραμόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν νυκτὸς ἐψηφίσαντο παραδοῦναι τὴν ἄκροπολιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Συρακοσίοις 3 ἀμὴ ἡμέρα. ἤδη δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ληγούσης οἱ μὲν μισθοφόροι κήρυκας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους περὶ τῆς διαλύσεως, δὲ Νύψιος διαφασμαννώσης ἤδη τῆς ἠμέρας κατέπλευσε μετὰ τοῦ στόλου καὶ καθωμέρισθη περὶ τὴν 'Αρέθουσαν. διόπερ τῆς ἐνδείας παραχώμα μεταβαλούσης εἰς πολλῆς δασφιλειάν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁ μὲν στρατηγὸς Νύψιος ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας, κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς οἰκείως τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ προθύμους κατεσκέυασε πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας κωδίνους. η μὲν οὖν ἄκροπολις ἤδη παραδιδομένη τοῖς Συρακοσίοις τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀνελπιστῶς 4 διεφυλάχθη, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πληρώσαντες ἀπάσας τὰς τριήρεις ἐπέπλευσαν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τῆς ἀγορᾶς διαπρίσμουν. ἀπροσδοκήτου δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου γενομένης καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄκροπολιν μισθοφόρων τεθορυμημένως ἀντιταχθέντων ταῖς πολεμίαις τριήρεισι, ἐγένετο ναιμαχία καθ' ἢν οἱ Συρακόσιοι προετέρησαν, καὶ τινὰς μὲν τῶν νεών κατέδυσαν, τινῶν δὲ ἐγκρατεῖς κατέστησαν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς πρὸς τὴν γῆν κατεδώκεν. μετεωρισθέντες δ' ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυναν ἐπινίκαι, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς ἐνυχθίας καὶ πότοις ἐκτραπέντες, καταφρονοῦντες τῶν ἠττημένων ῥαβδύμως εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς.

19. Νύψιος δ' ὁ τῶν μισθοφόρων στρατηγὸς ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἦτταν νυκτὸς ἐκτεταγμένη τῇ δυνάμει παραδόξως προσ-288
necessity and they despaired of saving their lives, they came together in an assembly at night and voted to surrender the citadel and themselves to the Syracusans at dawn. Night was just drawing to a close as the mercenaries sent heralds to the Syracusans to make terms, but, as dawn was just breaking, Nypsius sailed in with his fleet and anchored off Arcehusa. Consequently, now that the scarcity had suddenly changed into a great abundance of supplies, the general Nypsius, after disembarking his soldiers, held a joint assembly, presented arguments suitable to the occasion and won the support of the men to meet the perils in store. Now the acropolis which was already on the point of being given over to the Syracusans was unexpectedly preserved in the aforesaid manner, but the Syracusans, manning all their triremes, sailed against the enemy while they were still occupied in unloading the supplies. Since the attack was unexpected and the mercenaries in the citadel could only be drawn up in confused fashion against the enemy triremes, a naval battle took place in which the Syracusans had the superiority, in fact they sank some of the ships, gained possession of others, and pursued the remnant to the shore. Elated by their success they offered magnificent sacrifice to the gods in honour of the victory, and, turning to banqueting and drink, with contempt for the men they had defeated, were negligent about their guards.

19. Nypsius, the commander of the mercenaries, wishing to renew the battle and retrieve the defeat, with his army which had been marshalled during the

¹ A fountain on the island of Ortygia on the slope toward the Great Harbour.

¹ So Dindorf: πολεμικάις.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐπεσε τῷ κατεσκευασμένῳ τείχει. εὐρὺν δὲ τοὺς φῦλακας διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ μέθην εἰς ὑπὸν τετραμμένους προσέθηκε τὰς παρασκευασμένας κλι-2 μακας πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. διὰ δὲ τούτων οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος καὶ τοὺς φῦλακας φονεύσαντες ἀνέωξαν τὰς πύλας. εἰσπε-σόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκ τῆς μέθης ἀνα-νήφοντες2 ἐπειρώντο βοηθείαν, ἐμποδίζομενοι δὲ τὰς ὀρμάς3 διὰ τῶν ὀξύων οἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐφυ-γον. κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως στρατιωτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπάντων εἰσπεσόν-των ἐντὸς τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν ἄταξιαν ἐκπεπληγμένων 3 πολὺς ἔγινε το φόνος. τῶν δὲ τοῦ τυράννου στρα-τιωτῶν πλειόνων ἡ μυρίων ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων καλῶς οὐδεὶς τὸ βάρος αὐτῶν ὑπομείναι δυνατός ἦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς τοραχῆς, ἕτε δὲ ἀναρχίας τοὺς ἐλαττουμένους ἐμποδίζοντο. 4 κρατηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων; εὐθὺς ἔπι τὰς οἰκίας οἱ νευκηκότες ἀρμῆσαν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα διεφορεῖτο, οὐκ ὄλγα δὲ σώ-ματα γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, ἕτε δὲ οἰκετῶν ἐξηνδρα-ποδίζετο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὀδοὺς ἀντιταττομένων Συρακοσίων ἐγίνοντο συν-εχεῖς συμπλοκαὶ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον οὐκ ὄλγοι δὲ τραύματι περίεπιπτον. τὴν μὲν οὐν νῦκτα διετέλεσαν ἀλλήλους ἀναιροῦντες ὡς ἐτυχὲ διὰ τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς τόπους νεκρῶν ἔγεμυν.

1 Fischer would supply προσφάτως after τῷ (cp. chap. 13. 2).
2 So Madvig (cp. chap. 93. 8): μεθοντες.
3 So Fischer (cp. Book 5. 3. 2): ταῖς ὀρμαῖς.

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night unexpectedly attacked the wall which had been constructed. And, finding that the guards through contempt and drunkenness had betaken themselves to sleep, he placed against it the ladders that had been constructed in case they were needed. The bravest of the mercenaries climbed on the wall with these, slaughtered the guards, and opened the gates. As the men poured into the city, the generals of the Syracusans, becoming sober after their drunkenness, tried to bring aid, but, their efforts being hampered by the wine, some were slain and some fled. When the city had been captured and almost all the soldiers from the citadel had rushed inside the circuit-walls, since the Syracusans were panic-stricken by the suddenness and confusion of the attack, a great slaughter took place. The soldiers of the tyrant numbered more than ten thousand and their lines were so well marshalled that no one was able to withstand their sheer weight, inasmuch as the din and disorder and, furthermore, the lack of a commander, impeded the Syracusans in their hour of defeat. Once the market-place had come into possession of the enemy, the victors straightway attacked the residences. They carried off much property and took off as slaves many women and children and household servants besides. Where the Syracusans formed to meet them in narrow alleys and other streets, continuous engagements occurred and many were killed and not a few wounded. So they passed the night slaying one another at random in the darkness, and every quarter teemed with dead.
20. "Ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα τὸ μὲν τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος συνεωράθη, οἵ δὲ Συρακώσιοι, μίαν ἔχοντες σωτηρίαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δίωνος βοήθειαν, ἐξεπέστειλαν ἐπείς εἰς Λεοντίνους, δεόμενοι τοῦ Δίωνος μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν πατρίδα δοριάλωτον γινομένην καὶ τῶν μὲν ἁμαρτημένων δοῦναι συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ παρούσας δυστυχίας ἐλεησαντα διορθώταται σασθαί τὴν τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰν. ὁ δὲ Δίων λαμπρὸς ὄν τὴν ψυχήν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παιδείαν ἐξημερωμένος τοὺς λογισμοὺς οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησε τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσθοφόρους πείσας παραχρῆμα ἀνέζευξε καὶ διανύσας ὁδέως τὴν εἰς Συρακούσσας ὁδὸν ἦκε πρὸς τὰ Ἑξάπυλα.  

3 ἐνταῦθα δὲ διαστάξας τοὺς στρατιώτας προσῆγε κατὰ τάχος καὶ κατέλαβεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους· οὗτοι δὲ πάντες ἀπαντῶντες μετὰ δακρύων ἴκετευον ἀμίναι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀληθῆς. οἵ δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολεως μυσθοφόροι κεκρατηκότες ἦδη τῆς προβάντες τὰς μὲν περὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν οἰκίας διαρκάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ὁμὴρας δυνατεύετες τὰς ἐν ταῖς κτήσεις. καθ’ ὅν δὴ καὶ τὸν Δίων κατὰ πλείαν τόπους εἰσπεσὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς ἁσχολουμένοις ἐπιθέμενοι πάντας τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας ἐκτεινοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμίων παινοδαπὰς κατασκευάζουσιν. διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς παρούσας καὶ τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῶν διαφοροῦντων τὰς κτήσεις εὐχέρως ἀπαντὸς ἐχειροῦντο. τέλος δὲ πλειόνων ἡ τετρακυκλὺς φοινυθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τῶν δ’ ἐν ταῖς
20. At daybreak the magnitude of the disaster was seen in its entirety, and the Syracusans, whose one hope of survival lay in help from Dion, sent horsemen to Leontini begging Dion not to suffer his native city to be captured by the spear point of the enemy, to forgive them the mistakes they had made, and in pity for their present misfortunes to come and retrieve his country's disaster. Dion, a man noble in spirit and civilized in his judgements because of his philosophical training, did not bear a grudge against his fellow citizens, but, after winning the mercenaries over, straightway set out and, having quickly traversed the road to Syracuse, arrived at the Hexapyla.\(^1\) After drawing up his soldiers at that point he advanced with all speed and encountered, fleeing from the city, children, women, and old men in excess of ten thousand. All of these as they met him besought him with tears to avenge their own misfortunes. The mercenaries from the citadel, having already obtained their objective, after plundering the houses by the market-place set them on fire and now, attacking the remaining residences, were in the act of plundering the possessions in these. At this very moment Dion, rushing into the city in several places and attacking the enemy as they were busily engaged in their looting, slew all whom he met as they were lugging furnishings of various sorts off on their shoulders. And because of the unexpectedness of his appearance and the disorder and confusion, all of those who were making off with their plunder were easily overpowered. And finally, after more than four thousand had been slain, some in the houses, and others in the streets, the rest fled in a

\(^1\) Entrance on the north to Tyche, a populous quarter of the city.
5 Διών δὲ κάλλιστον τῶν προγεγενημένων ἔργων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διαπραξάμενος τὰς μὲν καιομένας οἰκίας διέσωσε κατασβέσας τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ περιτελ-χώμα καλῶς κατασκευασάμενος μιᾶς πράξει τὴν τε πόλιν ὦχύρωσε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποτελίσας εἰρήξε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξόδου. καθαρὰν δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ποιήσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρόπαιον στῆσας ἐξυσιωτός ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας. συναχθείσης δ’ ἐκκλησίας ὁ μὲν δήμος εὐχαριστών αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν ἔχειρολόνησεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τιμᾶς ἀπένεμεν ήρωικάς, δ’ δὲ Δίων ἀκολούθως τοὺς πεπραγμένους ἐπιεικῶς τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἀπαντᾶς ἐπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παρα-μυθησάμενος εἰς κοινὴν ἡγαγεν ὁμόνοιαν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πανδήμοις ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀποδοχάς με-γάλαις ἐτίμων τὸν εὐφρένητην ὡς μόνον σωτῆρα γεγονότα τῆς πατρίδος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Χίων καὶ Ροδίων καὶ Κώνων, ἐτὶ δὲ Βυζαντίων διαπολεμοῦσιν πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἀμφότεροι μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι ναυμαχία κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Χάρητα μὲν μετὰ νεῶν ἐξήκοντα προαπεσταλκότες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνω καιροῖς, τότε δὲ ἄλλας ἐξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, ἐξαπέστειλαν

1 The enemy, in the citadel on the Island, were prevented by the walls from crossing to the main part of the city on Achradina.

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body to the citadel and closing the gates escaped the danger.

Dion, having accomplished the finest of all the deeds ever performed by him, preserved the burning houses by extinguishing the flames, and, by restoring to good condition the circuit-wall, at one stroke fortified the city and by walling off the foe blocked their egress to the mainland.\(^1\) When he had cleansed the city of the dead and had erected a trophy of victory, he offered sacrifices to the gods for the deliverance of the city. An assembly was summoned, and the people, as an expression of their gratitude to him, elected Dion general with absolute power and accorded him honours suited to a hero, and Dion in harmony with his former conduct generously absolved all his personal enemies of the charges outstanding against them and having reassured the populace brought them to a state of general harmony. The Syracusans with universal praises and with elaborate testimonials of approval honoured their benefactor as the one and only saviour of their native land.\(^3\)

Such was the condition of affairs in Sicily.

21. In Greece proper, where the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and also the Byzantians were continuing the Social War against the Athenians, both sides were making great preparations, for they wished to decide the war by a naval battle. The Athenians had previously\(^3\) sent Chares forth with sixty ships, but now, manning sixty more and placing as generals in command the most distinguished of their citizens, Iphicrates and Timotheus, they dispatched this expedition

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\(^1\) Compare the narrative of chaps. 18-20 with Plutarch, *Dion*, 41-48.

\(^3\) See chap. 7. 3-4.
κοινή μετὰ Χάρητος διαπολεμεῖν τοὺς ἀφεστηκόσι
2 τῶν συμμάχων. οὶ δὲ Χίοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυ-
ζάντιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐκατόν ναῦς πληρώ-
σαντες Ἰμβρον μὲν καὶ Λήμνον οὖσας Ἀθηναίων
ἐπορθησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμου πολλῇ δυνάμει στρατεύ-
σαντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδήμωσαν τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐπο-
λιόρκου κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· πολλὰς δὲ
καὶ ἄλλας νῆσους οὐσας ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοις κακοποιή-
σαντες χρήματα ἤθροισαν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
3 χρείας. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πάντες
ἀθροισθέντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο πολιορκή-
σαι τὴν τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῶν
Χίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν τῆς
Σάμου λυσάντων ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν βοήθειαν τοῖς Βυζα-
ντίοις τρεπομένων συνηθροίσθησαν πάντες οἱ στόλοι
περὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον. μελλούσης δὲ γίνεσθαι τῆς
ναυμαχίας μέγας ἀνεμος ἐπιπεσὼν διεκώλυσεν αὐ-
4 τῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν. τοὺ δὲ Χάρητος παρὰ φύσιν
βουλομένου ναυμαχεῖν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην
καὶ Τιμόθεον ἐναντιομένων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ
κλάδωνος δὲ μὲν Χάρης ἐσμαρτυρόμενος τοὺς στρα-
τιῶτας διεβαλε τοὺς συνάρχοντας ὡς προδότας
καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐγραψε περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐγκατα-
λελουπτῶν ἐκουσίως τὴν ναυμαχίαν, οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι
παροξυνθέντες καὶ κρίσιν τῷ Ἰφικράτῃ καὶ Τιμο-
θέῳ προθέντες ἐξημίωσαν αὐτοὺς πολλοὺς ταλάν-
τοις καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπέστησαν.

1 So Dindorf: οὖσαν.
2 So Wesseling (op. Book 2. 18. 1): τοῖς στρατιῶταις.
BOOK XVI. 21. 1-4

along with Chares to continue war upon their allies who had revolted. The Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantians together with their allies manned one hundred ships and then sacked Imbros and Lemnos, Athenian islands, and having descended on Samos with a large contingent laid waste the countryside and besieged the city by land and by sea; and by ravaging many other islands that were subject to Athens they collected money for the needs of the war. All the Athenian generals now met and planned at first to besiege the city of the Byzantians, and when later the Chians and their allies abandoned the siege of Samos and turned to assist the Byzantians, all the fleets became massed in the Hellespont. But just at the time when the naval battle was about to take place a great wind fell upon them and thwarted their plans. When Chares, however, though the elements were against him, wished to fight, but Iphicrates and Timotheus opposed on account of the heavy sea, Chares, calling upon his soldiers to bear him witness, accused his colleagues of treason and wrote to the assembly about them, charging that they had purposely shirked the sea-fight. And the Athenians were so incensed that they indicted Iphicrates and Timotheus, fined them many talents, and removed them from the generalship.

1 See Nepos, Timotheus, 3. Menestheus, son of Iphicrates and son-in-law of Timotheus, was also associated with the command and later brought to trial. A battle was actually begun, the battle of Embata, not in the Hellespont, but near Erythrae. See Nepos, l.c.: "hinc male re gesta, com-pluribus amissis navibus"; Polyainus, 3. 9. 29; Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Eubaros.

2 See Nepos, Timotheus, 3. 5; Iphicrates, 3. 3; Isocrates, Antidosis, 199; Polyainus, 3. 9. 29; Deinarchus, Against Demosthenes, 14 and Schaefer, Demosthenes, 17. 175 ff. For an interesting appraisal of these generals see chap. 85. 7.
22. Χάρης δὲ παραλαβῶν παντὸς τοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ σπείρων τῆς δαπάνης ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἐπεχείρησε πράξει παραβόλω. 'Αρταβάζου γὰρ ἀποστάντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μέλλοντος ὀλύους στρατιώτατοι πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας διαγωνίζεσθαι μυριάδας ἐπὶ τὰ στρατιωτῶν ἔχοντας, συμμαχήσαντος αὐτῶ Χάρητος πάση τῇ δυνάμει καὶ νυκήσαντος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν 'Αρταβάζου ἀποδείδον τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριτας ἐδωρήσατο πλῆθος χρημάτων, εἰ δὲ δυνατὸν ἢ 2 πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν ὄψωνιάζεσθαι, οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναίοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεδέξαντο τῆς πράξεως τοῦ Χάρητος, ὦστερον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλαντος καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Χάρητος τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐσχον γνώμην διεδόθη γὰρ λόγος ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν 'Αθηναίων βασιλεὺς ἐπηγγείλατο τριακοσίαι ναυοῖ συγκαταπολεμήσει τοὺς 'Αθηναίους. ταῦτ' ὅπως ἔδει οἱ δῆμοι ἐνλαμβανόντως ἐκρίνει καταλύσασθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας πόλεμον εὑρῶν δὲ κακεύνον ἐπιθυμούντας τῆς εἰρήνης ῥαδίως πρὸς αὐτούς διελύσατο.

Ο μὲν οὖν συμμαχικός ὄνομασθεὶς πόλεμος τοῖς οὔτοιν ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, διαμεῖνας ἔτη τέτταρα. 3

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τρεῖς βασιλεῖς συνετήσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλίππον, ὃ τοὺς Ὁρκῶν καὶ Παιώνων καὶ Ἰλλυρίων. οὕτως γὰρ διεῖτο δημορία τοῖς Μακεδοσί καὶ τὴν αὐξήσας ὑφορώμενοι τού

1 So Wesseling (cp. chap. 34. 1; also Demosthenes, 4. 24, 23. 154; Polyaeus, 7. 33. 2 and Cospus): Φαρναβάζου (similarly below).
2 τέτταρα] τρία Wesseling (cp. Cospus and chap. 7. 3).

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22. Chares, now that he had succeeded to the command of the whole fleet and was eager to relieve the Athenians of its expense, undertook a hazardous operation. Now Artabazus had revolted from the Persian King and with only a few soldiers was on the point of joining combat with the satraps who had more than seventy thousand. Chares with all his forces took part with Artabazus in a battle and defeated the King’s army. And Artabazus, out of gratitude for his kindness, made him a present of a large sum of money, with which he was able to furnish his entire army with supplies. The Athenians at first approved Chares’ action, but later, when the King sent ambassadors and denounced Chares, they changed their minds; for word had been spread abroad that the King had promised Athens’ enemies that he would join them in their war against the Athenians with three hundred ships. The assembly, accordingly, taking a cautious attitude, decided to bring to a close the war against their revolted allies; and finding that they too desired peace they easily came to terms with them.

So the Social War, as it was called, came to such a close after lasting four years. In Macedon three kings combined against Philip,—the kings of the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians. For these peoples, inasmuch as they bordered upon Macedonia, eyed with suspicion the aggrandizement

1 See chap. 34. 1; Isocrates, Areopagiticus, 8, 10, 81; Plutarch, Aratus, 16; Papyrus frag. in Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld, 100; Schol. Demosthenes, 4. 19.
2 See Demosthenes, 15. 26; Isocrates, Peace, 16 et passim. Diodorus fails to state that Chios, Cos, and Rhodes were allowed to withdraw from the League and the independence of Byzantium was recognized. See Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 210-212.
Diodorus of Sicily

Φιλίππου καθ’ έαυτος μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι προηττημένοι, κοινὴ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ύπελαβον ῥάδιως αὐτοῦ περιεσσεραί. διὸπερ ἄθροιζόντων τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιφανεῖς ἀσυντάκτους καὶ καταπληξάμενος ἦνάγκασε προσθέσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιοι.

23. Ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος δ’ Ἀθήνησοι Καλλιστράτου Ρωμαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Γάιον Πλύτιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ κληθεὶς ἱερὸς πόλεμος συνέστη καὶ διέμεινεν ἑτη ἐννέα. Φιλομήλος γὰρ ὁ Φωκεὺς, ἀνὴρ θράσει καὶ παρανομίᾳ διαφέρων, κατελάβετο μὲν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν ἐξέκασαν δὲ τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς 2 αἰτίας. Λακεδαίμονίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς διαπολεμησάντων τὸν Λευκτρικὸν πόλεμον καὶ καταπολεμηθέντων οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Καδμείας δίκας μεγάλας ἐπαγαγόντες τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις ἐν Ἀμφικτύσι κατεδίκασαν αὐτοὺς πολλοὶ λοίς χρήμασιν, οἱ δὲ Φωκεὺς ἐπεργασάμενοι πολλὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τῆς οἰνομαζομένης Κυρραίας δίκας ὑπέσχον ἐν Ἀμφικτύσι καὶ πολλοῖς ταλάντοις κατεκρίθησαν. οὐκ ἐκτινόντων δ’ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀφλήματα οἱ μὲν ἱερομνήμονες ἐν Ἀμφικτύσι κατηγόρουν τῶν Φωκεῶν καὶ τὸ συνεδρίον ἡξίουν ἐὰν μὴ τὰ

1 Gaius in Livy, 7. 12. 6 and Fasti Consulares.

1 See Justin, 12. 16. 6; Plutarch, Alexander, 3. 5 and discussion in Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 1. 231 and notes.
2 Should probably read "ten" years as in chap. 59. 1. See chap. 14. 3 and notes. For an account of the beginnings of the Sacred War see Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 213 ff.
3 Originally the Council of the Amphictyonic League, an association which had the care of the temple and oracle of Delphi. Thebans and Thessalians with the aid of small neighbouring tribes controlled the vote in the Council.

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of Philip; singly, however, they were not capable of sustaining a combat, each having suffered defeat in the past, but they supposed that, if they should join their forces in a war, they would easily have the better of Philip. So it was that, while they were still gathering their armies, Philip appeared before their dispositions were made, struck terror into them, and compelled them to join forces with the Macedonians.¹

23. When Callistratus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gaius Plautius. During their term of office the Sacred War, as it was called, began and lasted nine years.² For Philomelus the Phocian, a man of unusual audacity and lawlessness, seized the shrine in Delphi and kindled the Sacred War for reasons somewhat as follows. When the Lacedaemonians had fought the Leucadian War with the Boeotians and been defeated, the Thebans brought a serious charge against the Lacedaemonians in the Amphictyonic Council ³ because of their seizure of the Cadmeia and obtained a judgement against them for a large indemnity; and the Phocians for having cultivated a large portion of the consecrated territory named Cirrhean,⁴ were arraigned in the Council and were fined a large number of talents. When they did not discharge the assessments, the hieromnemones ⁵ of the Amphictyons brought charges against the Phocians and demanded

¹ The plain near Cirrha on the Corinthian Gulf consecrated to Apollo of Delphi and so not supposed to be cultivated (cp. Aeschines, Against Ctesiphon, 107-112). Other causes for fining the Phocians are given in Pausanias, 10. 2. 1 and Justin, 8. 1, but this fine is mentioned in Pausanias, 10. 15. 1. See chap. 29. 2-3.

⁵ Recorders or officers in charge of sacred business at meetings of the Amphictyonic Council, two from each nation.
χρήματα τῷ θεῷ ἀποδόσων οἱ Φωκεῖς καθερῶσαι τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀποστεροῦντων τὸν θεόν· ὡμένως δὲ ἐφασαν δεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς καταδικασθέντας ἐκτίνευν τὰ ὄφλήματα, ἐν οἷς υπήρχον καὶ Λακεδαίμονιοι· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούωσιν, κοινῆ ὑπὸ 4 τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισοπονηρίας ἀξιοῦσθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων συνεπικυροῦντων τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἀμψικτυόνων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας μελλούσης καθεροῦσθαι οἱ Φιλόμηλος, μέγιστον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Φωκείσι καὶ ἱερικοῦμα, διελέχθη τοῖς ὁμοεννέασι, διδάσκων ὡς ἐκτίνασε μὲν οὐ δύνανται τὰ χρήματα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς καταδίκης, περιοράν δὲ καθερομένη τὴν χώραν οὐ μόνον ἀνανδρόν ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάνδυον ἐπιφέρειν τῇ τῶν ἀπάντων τού βίου 5 ἀνατροπῆς. ἔπερερατο δὲ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τῶν Ἀμψικτυόνων ἄδικους δεικνύσαι κατὰ τὸ δυνάτον· μικρὰς γὰρ παντελῶς χώρας κατεργασθείσης μεγάλας ἧμισας τεθείσαι, συνεβούλευσαν οὖν ταύτας ἀκιρνος ποιήσαι καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς ἔχειν ἀπεφαινετο τοὺς Φωκείς κατὰ τῶν Ἀμψικτυόνων· γὰρ παλαιὰ τοῦ μαντείου τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ προστασίαν ἐσφυγκαίναι τούτους· καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν ἀρχαιότατον καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ποιητῶν Ὁμηρὸν παρείχετο λέγοντα

αὐτὰρ Φωκείων Σχεδίος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον, οἱ Κυπάρισσοι ἦχον Πυθώνα τε πετρήσαν.

6 διὸπερ ἐφη δεῖν ἀμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ μαντείου

1 τῇ... ἀνατροπῇ ΡΧ· καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀπάντων βίῳ ἀνατροπήν est. Fischer suggests τῆς τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνατροπῆς.

1 Town near Delphi.
of the Council that if the Phocians did not pay the
money to the god, they should lay under a curse the
land of those who were cheating the god. Likewise
they declared that the others against whom judg-
ments had been passed should discharge their fines,
the Lacedaemonians being in this category, and if
they did not obey, they should incur the common
hatred of the Greeks for their knavery. When the
Greeks all ratified the decisions of the Amphictyons
and the territory of the Phocians was about to be
placed under the curse, Philomelus, who had the
highest reputation among the Phocians, harangued his
fellow countrymen, explaining that they were unable
to pay the money on account of the magnitude of the
fine, and that to allow the territory to be cursed was
not only cowardly but involved them in danger since
it was the destruction of the means by which they
all lived. He endeavoured also to prove that the
judgements of the Amphictyons were unjust in the
highest degree, since they had inflicted huge fines
for the cultivation of what was a very small parcel of
land. Accordingly he advised them to treat the fines
as null and void and declared that the Phocians had
strong grounds for their case against the Amphic-
tyons: for in ancient times they had held control
and guardianship of the oracle. As witness he offered
the most ancient and greatest of all poets, Homer,
who said:

"Now over Phocians Schedius ruled and e’en Epis-
trophus,
They dwelt in Cyparissus¹ and in Pytho² land
of rocks."³

On this account he said they should enter a claim for

¹ Homeric name for Delphi.
² Iliad, 2. 517, 519.
24. Τῶν δὲ Φωκέων διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς καταδίκης φόβον ἔλομένων αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν τὴς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς καὶ κύριον.¹

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¹ Fischer suggests placing καὶ κύριον after στρατηγὸν.
² Wesseling suggests ἀκυρώσαι.
³ Hertlein would delete either μισθοφόρους or ξένους.

1 See Polyaeus, 5. 45.
the guardianship of the oracle on the ground that this belonged to the Phocians as an inheritance from their fathers. He promised that he would succeed with the enterprise if they would appoint him general with absolute power for the entire programme and give him complete authority.

24. When the Phocians out of fear of the judgment elected him general with absolute power, Philomelus set about energetically to fulfil his promise. First he went to Sparta, where he conversed in private with Archidamus king of the Lacedaemonians, representing that the king had an equal interest in the effort to render null and void the judgements of the Amphictyons, for there existed serious and unjust pronouncements of that Council to the injury of the Lacedaemonians also. He accordingly disclosed to Archidamus that he had decided to seize Delphi and that if he succeeded in obtaining the guardianship of the shrine he would annul the decrees of the Amphictyons. Although Archidamus approved of the proposal, he said he would not for the present give assistance openly, but that he would co-operate secretly in every respect, providing both money and mercenaries. Philomelus, having received from him fifteen talents and having added at least as much on his own account, hired foreign mercenaries and chose a thousand of the Phocians, whom he called peltasts. Then, after he had gathered a multitude of soldiers and had seized the oracle, he slew the group of Delphians called Thracidae who sought to oppose him and confiscated their possessions; but, observing that

2 Unknown. Wesseling thinks they may be the Φοίβου Δελφοί θεραπεῖς, noble attendants of the shrine, cp. Euripides, Ion, 94.
καταπεπληγμένους παρεκάλει διαβοηθείς δε τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καταλήψεως Λοκροὶ μὲν οἱ πλησίων οἰκούντες παραχρῆμα ἐστράτευσαν ἔπει τῶν Φιλόμηλον. γενομένης δὲ περὶ Δελφῶν μάχης οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ λευθέντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν οἰκέλαιν, ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος ἐπαρθένος τῇ νίκῃ τὰς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἀποφάσεις ἐκ τε τῶν στηλῶν ἔξεκοψε καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν κατα-5 δικῶν γράμματα κατέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διεδώκει λόγον ὡς οὔτε συλῶν τὸ μαντεῖον διέγνωσεν οὔτ’ ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν παράνομον πράξιν συντελεῖν βεβούλτευται, τῆς δὲ προγονικῆς προστασίας ἀμφισβητῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἄδικους ἀποφάσεις ἀκυρώσας βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις τῶν Φωκέων.

25. Οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιθησάντο βοηθεῖν τῷ μαντεῖῳ καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψαν. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὁ Φιλόμηλος τεῖχός τε περιβάλετο τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ μυσθοφόρους ἥθροιζε πολλούς, ἀναβιβάζας τοὺς μυσθοὺς καὶ πυθὰς ἡμιολίους, καὶ τῶν Φωκέων ἐπιλέγων τοὺς ἀρίστους κατέγραφε καὶ ταχὺ δύναμιν ἄξιολογον ἥθροιζεν· οὐκ ἔλαττους γὰρ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ἕχων προεκάθητο τῶν Δελφῶν, φοβερὸς οὖν ἰδίῃ τοῖς πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν 2 βουλομένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς πολεμίας γῆς

1 Wesseling conjectures ἐξεκόλαψε (cp. Cobet, p. 246, Demosthenes, 57. 64 and 59. 98).

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the others were terror-stricken, he exhorted them to be of good cheer since no danger would befall them. When news of the seizure of the shrine was noised abroad, the Locrians, who lived near by, straightway took the field against Philomclus. A battle took place near Delphi and the Locrians, having been defeated with the loss of many of their men, fled to their own territory, and Philomclus, being elated by his victory, hacked from the slabs the pronouncements of the Amphictyons, deleted the letters recording their judgements, and personally caused the report to be circulated that he had resolved not to plunder the oracle nor had he purposed to commit any other lawless deed, but that in support of the ancestral claim to the guardianship and because of his desire to annul the unjust decrees of the Amphictyons, he was vindicating the ancestral laws of the Phocians.

25. The Bœotians, coming together in an assembly, voted to rally to the support of the oracle and immediately dispatched troops. While these things were going on, Philomclus threw a wall around the shrine and began to assemble a large number of mercenaries by raising the pay to half as much again, and selecting the bravest of the Phocians he enrolled them and quickly had a considerable army; for with no less than five thousand troops he took up a position in defence of Delphi, already a formidable adversary for those who wished to make war upon him. Later on, having led an expedition into the territory of the Locrians and laid waste much of the enemy’s land, he

1 Near Amphissa. The account of the battle is repeated chap. 28. 3.

2 βοηθεῖν Fischer βοηθεῖ.
δηώσας κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο πλησίον ποταμοῦ τινος ρέοντος παρὰ φρούριον ὁχυρῆν. τούτῳ δὲ προσβολόντα ποιησάμενος καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν τῆς μὲν πολιορκίας ἀπέστη, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Δοκροὺς συνάψας μάχην ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐίκοσι καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐ δυνήθης κρατῆσαι τὴν ἄναρθρον αὐτῶν διὰ κήρυκος ἦττόσατο. οἱ δὲ Δοκροὶ τὴν ἄναρθρον οὐ συγχωροῦντες ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς „Ελληνες κοινὸς νόμος ἔστιν ἀτάφονος· μέσπερ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους. ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος χαλινώς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκός συνήθει μάχην τοῖς Δοκροῖς καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενοι φιλοτιμίαν ἀνείλε τις τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κυρεύσας ἠνάγκασε τοὺς Δοκροὺς ἄλλαγὴν ποιήσασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν. κρατῶν δὲ τῶν ὑπαίθρων καὶ πολλὴν πορθήσας τῆς Δοκριδος ἑπανήλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐμπεπληκός ὠφελείας τοὺς στρατιώτας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περί τοῦ πολέμου βουλόμενος χρήσασθαι τῷ μαντεῖῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἠνάγκασεν ἀναβάσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα δοῦναι τὸν χρησίμην.

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐμνήσθην, οὐκ ἄκαρον προσαναλαβεῖν ἡγούμαι τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδεμένην ἱστορίαν. λέγεται γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν αἰγαὶ εὑρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον· οὐ χάριν αἰξί μάλιστα 2 χρηστηριαζόμενα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοὶ. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς εὐρέσεως γενέσθαι φασὶ τοιοῦτον. ὅπετος χάσματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθ' ὠν ἐστὶ νῦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἄδυτον, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο γενομένων αἰγῶν, διὰ τὸ μῆπω κατοικεῖον τοὺς Δελφοὺς, αἰεὶ τὴν προσωποῦσαν τῷ χάσματι καὶ προσβλέφασαν αὐτῶ σκιρτάνθαι θαυμαστῶς καὶ προ-

1 So Rhodoman: γενομένων.
encamped near a river that flowed past a stronghold. 555/4 B.C. Though he made assaults upon this, he was unable to take it and finally desisted from the siege, but joining battle with the Loerians he lost twenty of his men, and not being able to get possession of their bodies, he asked through a herald the privilege of taking them up. The Loerians, refusing to grant this, gave answer that amongst all the Greeks it was the general law that temple-robbers should be cast forth without burial. Philomelus so resented this that he joined battle with the Loerians and, bending every effort, slew some of the enemy, and having got possession of their bodies compelled the Loerians to make an exchange of the dead. As he was master of the open country, he sacked a large portion of Loeris and returned to Delphi, having given his soldiers their fill of the spoils of war. After this, since he wished to consult the oracle for the war, he compelled the Pythian priestess to mount her tripod and deliver the oracle.

26. Since I have mentioned the tripod, I think it not inopportune to recount the ancient story which has been handed down about it. It is said that in ancient times goats discovered the oracular shrine, on which account even to this day the Delphians use goats preferably when they consult the oracle. They say that the manner of its discovery was the following. There is a chasm at this place where now is situated what is known as the “forbidden” sanctuary, and as goats had been wont to feed about this because Delphi had not as yet been settled, invariably any goat that approached the chasm and peered into it would leap about in an extraordinary fashion and utter a sound

2 τῷ χάσματι τὴν προσοδοσαν RF.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ίσσαφι φωνῆν διάφορον ἢ πρότερον εἰσώθει φθέγ-3 γαισσαὶ. τὸν δ’ ἐπιστατοῦντα ταῖς αἰξὶ θαυμᾶσαι τὸ παράδοξον καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ χάσματι καὶ κατιδόντα οἶόντερ ἢν ταῦτο παθεῖν ταῖς αἰξὶν· ἐκεῖνας τε γὰρ ὅμοια ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐνθουσιάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς φήμης παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις διαδοθείσης περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῶν προσιόντων τῷ χάσμῳ πλεῖον ἀπαντῶν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, διὰ δὲ τὸ παρά-δοξον πάντων ἀποπειρωμένων τοὺς αἱ πλησία-ζοντας ἐνθουσιάζειν. δι’ αἰτίας θαυμαστωθήναι1 τε τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ νομισθῆναι τῆς Γῆς εἰναι τὸ 4 χρηστήριον. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τῶν τοὺς βουλομένους μαντεύεσθαι προσιόντας τῷ χάσμῳ ποιεῖθαι τὰς μαντεῖαις ἀλλήλοις· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῶν καθαλ- λομένων εἰς τὸ χάσμα διὰ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ πάντων ἀφανιζομένων δόξαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι περὶ τὸν τόπον, ὡς μηθεὶς κυνωνεύη, προφητὶν τε μίαν πάσι καταστῆσαι γυναῖκα καὶ διὰ ταῦτης γίνεσθαι τὴν χρησμολογίαν. ταύτη δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι μηχανῆν ἐφ’ ἡν ἀναβαίνουσαν ἀσφαλῶς ἐνθουσια-ζεύς καὶ μαντεύεσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις. εἶναι δὲ τὴν μηχανῆν τρεῖς ἔχουσαν βάσεις, ἀφ’ ὧν αὐτὴν τρίποδα κληθῆναι· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντας τοῦτον τοῦ κατασκευάσματος ἀπομιμήματα γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐτί καὶ νῦν κατασκευαζόμενος χάλκοὺς τρίποδας. ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον εὑρέθη τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ δι’ αἰτίας ὁ τρίπος κατασκευάζηθε ἴκανος εἰρήσθαι νομίζω.

1 θαυμαστωθήναι Χ.: θαυμασθήναι σετ.
quite different from what it was formerly wont to emit. The herdsman in charge of the goats marvelled at the strange phenomenon and having approached the chasm and peeped down it to discover what it was, had the same experience as the goats, for the goats began to act like beings possessed and the goatherd also began to foretell future events. After this as the report was bruited among the people of the vicinity concerning the experience of those who approached the chasm, an increasing number of persons visited the place and, as they all tested it because of its miraculous character, whosoever approached the spot became inspired. For these reasons the oracle came to be regarded as a marvel and to be considered the prophecy-giving shrine of Earth. For some time all who wished to obtain a prophecy approached the chasm and made their prophetic replies to one another; but later, since many were leaping down into the chasm under the influence of their frenzy and all disappeared, it seemed best to the dwellers in that region, in order to eliminate the risk, to station one woman there as a single prophetess for all and to have the oracles told through her. And for her a contrivance was devised which she could safely mount, then become inspired and give prophecies to those who so desired. And this contrivance has three supports and hence was called a tripod, and, I dare say, all the bronze tripods which are constructed even to this day are made in imitation of this contrivance. In what manner, then, the oracle was discovered and for what reasons the tripod was devised I think I have told

1 See Plutarch, De defectu oraculorum, 42; Justin, 24. 6.
2 Schol. on Aristophanes, Plutus, 9.

2 πάντας τούτου τοῦ Capps: παντὸς τοῦ.
6 Θεσπυριδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἄρχαίον λέγεται παρθένους διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδιάφθορον καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ὅμοιον ταύτας γὰρ εὐθεῖαν πρὸς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῶν χρησμῳδουμένων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις φασίν Ἑχεκράτη τὸν Θετταλῶν παραχερομένον εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ θεασάμενον τὴν χρησμολογοῦσαν παρθένου ἔρασθην διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ συναρπάσαντα βιάσασθαι. τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος εἰς τὸ λουπόν νομοθετῆσαι μικρέτερον παρθένου χρηστηρίζεται, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα προσβυτέραν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν χρησμολογεῖν κοσμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν παρθενικὴ σκέψῃ, καθάπερ ὑπομνήματι τῆς πολλαῖς προφήτευσι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ μαντείου μυθολογοῦμεν τοιαύτ' ἐστιν· ἦμεις δὲ εἰπὼν ἔπει τὰς Φιλομῆλον πράξεις.

27. Οὗτος γὰρ κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου προσέτατε τῇ Πυθία τὴν μαντεῖαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἀποκρυμμένης δ' αὐτῆς ὅτι τοιαύτα οὐκ ἐστι τὰ πάτρια διηπειλήσατο καὶ συννάγκασε τὴν ἀνάβασιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα. ἀποφθεγμένης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ βιαζομένου ὅτι ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ πράττειν ὦ βουλεῖτα, ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα χρησμὸν ἔχειν ἀπεφαίνετο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἐγγραφὸν ποιήσας καὶ προβείς εἰς τὸ ὑμβανεῖς ἄπασιν ἐποίησε φανερὸν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ 2 διδὼν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ὦ τι βουλεῖται. συναγαγὼν δ' ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν μαντεῖαν τοῖς πλήθεσι δηλώσας καὶ παρακαλέσας ἔφερεν ἐτρέπετο πρὸς

1 So Rhodoman: ἔπανξομεν.
2 τοιαύτα P, οὐκ added by Rhodoman: ταύτα P, ταύτα X.
at sufficient length. It is said that in ancient times virgins delivered the oracles because virgins have their natural innocence intact and are in the same case as Artemis; for indeed virgins were alleged to be well suited to guard the secrecy of disclosures made by oracles. In more recent times, however, people say that Eche克拉tes the Thessalian, having arrived at the shrine and beheld the virgin who uttered the oracle, became enamoured of her because of her beauty, carried her away with him and violated her; and that the Delphians because of this deplorable occurrence passed a law that in future a virgin should no longer prophesy but that an elderly woman of fifty should declare the oracles and that she should be dressed in the costume of a virgin, as a sort of reminder of the prophetess of olden times.

Such are the details of the legend regarding the discovery of the oracle; and now we shall turn to the activities of Philomelus.

27. When Philomelus had control of the oracle he directed the Pythia to make her prophecies from the tripod in the ancestral fashion. But when she replied that such was not the ancestral fashion, he threatened her harshly and compelled her to mount the tripod. Then when she frankly declared, referring to the superior power of the man who was resorting to violence: "It is in your power to do as you please," he gladly accepted her utterance and declared that he had the oracle which suited him. He immediately had the oracle inscribed and set it up in full view, and made it clear to everyone that the god gave him the authority to do as he pleased. Having got together an assembly and disclosed the prophecy to the multitude and urged them to be of good cheer, he turned to
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΣ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ

tάς τοῦ πολέμου πράξεις. ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
σημεῖον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἀρετὸς γὰρ
ὑπερπετῶμενος τοῦ ναῦ1 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συγκυκλοθεῖς
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὰς πρεσβυένας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιστερᾶς
ἐδήσεν, ἀν ἐνίας αὐτῶν ἤρπαζε τῶν βωμῶν.
τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἔφασαν οἱ περὶ ταύτης ἀσχολούμενοι
σημαίνει τῷ Φιλομήλῳ καὶ τοῖς Φωκεύσι κρατήριοι
3 σεν τῶν περὶ Δελφοῦς πραγμάτων. ἐπαρθεῖς οὖν
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπέλεξε τῶν φίλων τοὺς εὐθετωτάτους
eis tás presbeías kai tóutw tón µèn eis tás
Ἀθήνας, toús δ' eis Δακεδαίμονα, toús δ' eis tás
Θῆβας ἐξεπεμήνεν· ὁµοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς tás ἄλλα
tás ἑπισημοτάτα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα πόλεων
ἀπέστειλεν, ἀπολογούμενος ὅτι κατελήσται τοὺς
Δελφοὺς οὐ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασιν ἐπιβουλεύων, ἄλλα
τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστασίας ἀμφισβητῶν· εἶναι γὰρ
Φωκέων αὐτὴν ὑδίαν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ἀπο-
4 deδειγμένην. tῶν δὲ χρημάτων τοῦ λόγου ἐφη
πάσι τοῖς Ἐλλησιον ἀποδώσει και τὸν τε σταθμὸν
καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔτοιµος εἶναι
παραδόναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξετάζειν. ηζίου δὲ,
ἀν τις δ' ἔχθραν ἡ φθόνον πολεμὴ Φωκεύς,
μάλιστα µὲν συμμαχεῖν, εἰ δὲ µὴ γε, τὴν ἡσυχίαν
5 ἄγειν. tῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τὸ προσταχθὲν πραξάντων
Ἀθηναίων µὲν καὶ Δακεδαιμόνων καὶ τινὲς ἄλλοι
συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν συνέβηντο καὶ βοηθήσιες
ἐπηγείλαντο, Βοιωτὶ δὲ καὶ Δοκροὶ καὶ τινὲς
ἐτεροί τάναντα τούτοις ἐφισίσαντο καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκεῖς ἐπανείλαντο.
Ταύτα µὲν οὖν ἐπράξθη κατὰ τούτων τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν.

1 So Χ: νεόν P, νεόν cet.
the business of the war. There came to him an omen as well, in the temple of Apollo, namely an eagle which, after flying over the temple of the god and swooping down to earth, preyed upon the pigeons which were maintained in the temple precincts, some of which it snatched away from the very altars. Those versed in such matters declared that the omen indicated to Philomelus and the Phocians that they would control the affairs of Delphi. Elated accordingly by these events, he selected the best qualified of his friends for the embassies, and sent some to Athens, some to Lacedaemon, and some to Thebes; and he likewise sent envoys to the other most distinguished cities of the Greek world, explaining that he had seized Delphi, not with any designs upon its sacred properties but to assert a claim to the guardianship of the sanctuary; for this guardianship had been ordained in early times as belonging to the Phocians. He said he would render due account of the property to all the Greeks and expressed himself as ready to report the weight and the number of the dedications to all who wished an examination. But he requested that, if any through enmity or envy were to engage in war against the Phocians, these cities should preferably join forces with him, or, if not, at least maintain peaceful relations.\(^1\) When the envoys had accomplished their appointed mission, the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and some others arranged an alliance with him and promised assistance, but the Boeotians, Locrians, and some others passed decrees to the contrary intent and renewed the war in behalf of the god upon the Phocians.

Such were the events of this year.

\(^1\) See chap. 33. 2.
28. ἔρχοντο δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Διοτίμου Ἡρώματι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Μάρκιον καὶ Γναίον Μάλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φιλόμηλος μὲν προσδομένος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου μισθοφόρων τε πλῆθος ἥρωις, τῶν τε Φωκεῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους 2 κατέλεγεν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν. τοὺ δὲ πολέμου προσδομένου χρημάτων τῶν μὲν ιερῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπείχετο, τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας ἐπράξατο πλῆθος χρημάτων ἵκανον εἰς τοὺς τῶν ξένων μισθούς. κατασκευάζας οὖν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν προῆγαγεν εἰς ὑπάθρον καὶ φανέρος ἦν ἐτοίμως ἔχων διαγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τοὺς 3 ἄλλοτροίς διακειμένους τοὺς Φωκείους. τῶν δὲ Λοκρῶν στρατευσάντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔγενε τὸ μάχη περὶ τὰς Φαιδριάδας καλομένας πέτρας, ἦν νικήσας ὁ Φιλόμηλος πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλε τῶν πολεμιῶν οὐκ ὅλους δὲ ἐξώγρησε, τινὰς δὲ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας συνηνάγκασεν ἐαυτοὺς κατακρημίσασί. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταῦτην οἱ μὲν Φωκεῖς ἐπήρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι διὰ τὴν εἰμηρίαν, οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ ταπεινωθέντες πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰςΘῆβας ἄξιοιντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ 4 θεῷ. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὰς τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων κρίσεις βεβαιὰς εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπρέσβευσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 'Αμφικτύων ἄξιοιντες κοινὴ πολεμήσαν τοῖς Φωκείσι. ψηφισμένων δὲ τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων τῶν πρὸς Φωκεῖς πολέμου πολλὴ ταραχὴ καὶ διάσταισις ἢν καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔκριναν

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28. When Diotimus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Marcius and Gnaeus Manlius. During their term of office Philomelus, foreseeing the magnitude of the war, began to gather a multitude of mercenaries and to select for active duty those of the Phocians who were fit. Although the war required additional funds, he kept his hands off the sacred dedications, but he did exact from the Delphians, who were exceptionally prosperous and wealthy, a sufficient sum of money to pay the mercenaries. Having accordingly prepared a large army, he led it into the open country and was obviously holding himself ready to join issue with any who were hostile to the Phocians. And when the Locrions took the field against him a battle was fought near the cliffs called Phaedriades, \(^1\) in which Philomelus won the victory, having slain many of the enemy and taken not a few alive, while some he forced to hurl themselves over the precipices. After this battle the Phocians were elated by their success, but the Locrions, being quite dejected, sent ambassadors to Thebes asking the Boeotians to come to their support and the god’s. The Boeotians because of their reverence for the gods and because of the advantage they gained if the decisions of the Amphictyons were enforced, sent embassies to the Thessalians and the other Amphictyons demanding that they make war in common against the Phocians. But when the Amphictyons voted the war against the Phocians much confusion and disagreement reigned throughout the length and breadth of Greece. For some decided to stand by the god and

\(^1\) A semicircular range of rocks on Mt. Parnassus facing south, hence “Resplendent.” Aesop is said to have been precipitated from the eastern rock Hyampeia (see Suidae, s.v. Αἴαμπεια).
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βοηθείων τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῶν Φωκέων ὡς ἱεροσύλους κολάξεων, οί δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φωκέων βοηθείαν ἀπέκλινον.

29. Σχεδομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων αἰρέσεως τῷ μὲν ἱερῷ βοηθείων ἐγνωσαν Βουικόλι καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Θέσσαλοι καὶ Περραιβοί, πρὸς δὲ τούτων Δωριέως καὶ Δόλοπες, ἔτι δὲ 'Αθαμάννες καὶ 'Αχαιοὶ Φθιώται καὶ Μάγνητες, ἔτι δὲ Αἰγαίοι καὶ τίνες ἐτεροί, τοῖς δὲ Φωκεύσι συνεμάχουσι 'Αθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τίνες ἐτεροί τῶν

2 Πελοποννησίων. προσβλήτατα δὲ συνέπραττον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ πολέμῳ Ὁμβαίοι καταπολεμήσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους δίκην ἐπήνεγκαν εἰς 'Αμφικτύνονα κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν, ὧν Φοιβίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης κατελάβετο τὴν Καδμείαν, καὶ διετημήσαντο τὸ ᾠδικημα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. καταδικασθέντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν δίκην οὐκ ἐκτυνόντων κατὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καίρον οἱ Θεοβαίοι πάλιν δίκην ἐπήνεγκαν διπλῶς τοῦ ᾠδικήθης ματος. τῶν δ' 'Αμφικτύνων χλίους ταλάντων καταδικασάντων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ὀφλήματος ὁμοίας τοῖς Φωκεύσι τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιούντο, λέγοντες ᾠδίκως ύπο τῶν 'Αμφικτύνων καταδικάσατο. διὸπερ κοινῷ οὐντος τοῦ συμφέροντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ' ἱδίαν μὲν ὁμονοῦν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταδίκης ἀρασθαί πόλεμον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ

1 So Wesseling : 'Αχαιοὶ καὶ Φθιώται.
2 So Wesseling : οἱ Λακ. καὶ τίνες ἐτεροί.

1 Chapters 27-28 cover much the same ground as 23-24.

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punish the Phocians as temple-robbers, while others 354/3 B.C. inclined toward giving the Phocians assistance.¹

29. As tribes and cities were divided in their choice, the Boeotians, Locrians, Thessalians, and Perrhaebians decided to aid the shrine, and in addition the Dorians and Dolopians, likewise the Athamanians, Achaeans of Phthiotis, and the Magnesians, also the Aenianians and some others; while the Athenians,² Lacedaemonians, and some others of the Peloponnesians fought on the side of the Phocians. The Lacedaemonians co-operated most eagerly for the following reasons. In the Leuctrian War ³ the Thebans, after defeating the enemy, brought suit before the Amphictyons against the Spartans, the charge being that Phoebidas the Spartan had seized the Cadmeia,⁴ and the Amphictyons assessed a fine of five hundred talents for the offence. Then when the Lacedaemonians had had judgement entered against them and failed to pay the fine during the period set by the laws, the Thebans again brought suit, this time for double damages. When the Amphictyons set the judgement at a thousand talents, the Lacedaemonians, on account of the large amount of the fine, made declarations similar to those of the Phocians, saying that an unjust judgement had been rendered against them by the Amphictyons. Wherefore, though their interests were now common, the Lacedaemonians hesitated to begin war by themselves on account of the adverse judgement, but thought that it was more

Diodorus, chaps. 23-40, is the principal source for the Sacred War. Short sketches appear in Pausanias, 10. 2 and in Justin, 8. 1-2.

² See Demosthenes, 19. 61.
³ Book 15. 53-56.
⁴ See Book 15. 20. 2.
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προσώπου τῶν Φωκέων εὐσχημονεστερον ἐκρινον ἀκυρώσαι τὰς κρίσεις τῶν Ἀμφικτυῶν. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐτοιμὸτα πανεμάχουν τοῖς Φωκεῖσι καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συγκατ-εσκεύαζον αὐτοῖς.

30. Φανερῶ δὲ ὠντος ὅτι Βοιωτοῖς μεγάλη δυνάμει στρατεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖσι ὁ Φιλόμηλος ἐκρινε μισθοφόρων ἄθροιζεν πλήθος. προσδεομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου χρημάτων πλείων ἡναγκάζετο τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χειρας καὶ συλλά τὸ μαντεῖον. ὑποστηρισμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ξένοις μισθοὺς ἡμιολίους ταχύ πλῆθος ἡθροίσθη μισθο-φόρων, πολλῶν ὑπακουόντων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν 2 διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν. τῶν μὲν οὐν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεὶς ἀπεγράφατο πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, οἱ δὲ πονηρῶτατοι καὶ θεών διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν καταφρονοῦντες προ-θύμως συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Φιλόμηλον καὶ ταχῦ δύναμις ἰσχυρὰ συνέστη τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν 3 δρμωμένων. οὐ μὲν οὐν Φιλόμηλος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐπορίας ταχῦ δύναμιν ἀξίωξεν κατεσκεύα-σατο. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν χώραν ἔχων στρατιώτας ἐπείξε σὲ καὶ πεζοὺς πλείους τῶν μυρίων. ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν βοηθησάντων τοῖς Λοκροῖς ἐπιμαχία συνέστη, καθ’ ὑπ’ προετέρησαν οἱ Φω- 4 κεῖσι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ μετὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων συμμάχων ἄθροιζεντες εἰς ἐξαικισχυ- λίους ἦκον εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ συνάμφοτες μάχην τοῖς Φωκεῖσι περὶ λόφων Ἀργόλαν ὀνομαζόμενον

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seemly to annul the judgements of the Amphictyons through the agency of the Phocians. For these particular reasons they were very ready to fight on the side of the Phocians and they co-operated in securing for them the guardianship of the sanctuary.

30. When it was clear that the Boeotians would take the field with a large army against the Phocians, Philomelus decided to gather a great number of mercenaries. Since the war required ampler funds he was compelled to lay his hands on the sacred dedications and to plunder the oracle. By setting the base pay for the mercenaries at half as much again as was usual he quickly assembled a large number of mercenaries, since many answered the summons to the campaign on account of the size of the pay. Now no men of honourable character enrolled for the campaign because of their reverence for the gods, but the worst knaves, and those who despised the gods, because of their own greed, eagerly gathered about Philomelus and quickly a strong army was formed out of those whose object it was to plunder the shrine. So Philomelus, because of the magnitude of his resources, soon had prepared a considerable army. He immediately advanced into the territory of the Locrians with soldiers both foot and horse amounting to more than ten thousand. When the Locrians marshalled their forces to meet him and the Boeotians came to the support of the Locrians, a cavalry battle ensued in which the Phocians had the superiority. After this the Thessalians together with the allies from neighbouring districts, having assembled to the number of six thousand, arrived in Locris and joining battle with the Phocians met with a defeat by a hill called

1 For a contrary statement see chap. 56. 5.
The text is a translation of a passage from Diodorus Siculus. It discusses the events of the Peloponnesian War, specifically mentioning the actions of the Corinthians and the Athenians. The text includes several numbered paragraphs:

2. Unmentioned elsewhere.

The passage is rich in historical detail, describing the strategies and actions of various Greek city-states during a critical period of ancient history.
Argolas. When the Boeotians put in an appearance with thirteen thousand men and the Achaeans from the Peloponnesus came to the support of the Phocians with fifteen hundred, the armies encamped over against one another, both assembled in one place.

31. After this the Boeotians, who had taken captive on foraging parties a good many mercenaries, brought them out in front of the city and made an announcement by heralds that the Amphiictyons were punishing with death these men present who had enlisted with the temple-robbers; and immediately, making the deed follow the word, shot them all down. But the mercenaries serving with the Phocians were so enraged by this that they demanded of Philomelus that he mete out the like punishment to the enemy, and then, when, bending every effort, they had taken captive many men who were straggling up and down the countryside where the enemy were, they brought them back and all these Philomelus shot. Through this punishment they forced the opposite side to give up their overweening and cruel vengeance. After this, as the armies were invading another district and were making a march through heavily wooded rough regions, both vanguards suddenly became intermingled. An engagement took place and then a sharp battle in which the Boeotians, who far outnumbered the Phocians, defeated them. As the fight took place through precipitous and almost impassable country many of the Phocians and their mercenaries were cut down. Philomelus, after he had fought courageously and had suffered many

* The decisive battle was fought at Neon (see Pausanias, 10. 2. 4). A good description of the campaign is given by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 1. 250, note 1, and by Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 215 ff.
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τραύμασι περιπεσόν εἴς τινα κρημνώδη τόπον συν-
εκλείσθη. ούκ ἔχων δὲ διεξόδον καὶ φοβούμενος
τὴν ἑκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκιὰν ἑαυτὸν κατεκρῆ-
μνεσε καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον δοὺς τῷ δαιμόνιῳ
δίκας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ συνάρχων αὐτῶ
οι στρατηγὸς Ὀνόμαρχος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἠγεμ-
νίαν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνασυζομένης δυνάμεως ἀναχω-
ρήσας ἀνελάβανε τοὺς ἕκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανότας.

6 Ἀμα δὲ τοὺτοις πραττομένοις Φιλίππος ὁ τῶν
Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Μεθώνην μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας
καὶ διαρτάσας κατέσκαψε, Πάγασας ἃ ἐξερωτα-
μένοις ἤναγκασεν ὑποταγήναι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πόντον
Λεύκων ὁ τοῦ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν
ἀρξας ἐτὴ τεσσάρακοντα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχήν διαδεξά-
μενος Σπάρτακος ὁ νῦν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτὴ πέντε.

7 Ἡρώμαλοι δὲ πρὸς Φαλίσκους συνέστη πόλεμος
καὶ μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄξιον μνήμης ἐπετελέσθη,
καταδρομαὶ δὲ καὶ πορθησεὶς τῆς χώρας τῶν Φα-
λίσκων ἐγίνοντο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Δίωνος
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ Ζακυνθίων τινῶν
μυσθοφόρων τῆς ἠγεμονίας διεδέξατο Κάλλιππος ὁ
τούτοις πρὸς τὸν φόνον παρασκευάσας καὶ ἠρξὲ
μῆνας τρεισκαίδεκα.

1 So Gemistius: Πάγασ.
2 Σπάρτακος regularly in Diodorus: Σπαρτάκης X. Proper-
ey Σπάρτακος (see note below).
3 So Dindorf: τῶν.

1 The last city on the coast of Philip's possessions still
belonging to Athens. Diodorus repeats the notice of its
capture in chap. 34. 4 f. For the date see Beloch, op. cit.
3. 2. 269 and Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient His-
tory, 6. 219.
2 The correct spelling is Spartoces (Σπάρτοκες) according
wounds, was driven into a precipitous area and there hemmed in, and since there was no exit from it and he feared the torture after capture, he hurled himself over the cliff and having thus made atonement to the gods ended his life. Onomarchus, his colleague in the generalship, having succeeded to the command and retreated with such of his force as survived, collected any who returned from the flight.

While these things were going on, Philip, king of the Macedonians, after taking Methone by storm and pillaging it, razed it to the ground, and having subdued Pegasae forced it to submit. In the region of the Black Sea Leucon, the king of the Bosporus, died after ruling forty years, and Spartaeus, his son, succeeding to the throne, reigned for five years. A war took place between the Romans and Faliscans and nothing important or memorable was accomplished; only raids and pillaging of the territory of the Faliscans went on. In Sicily after Dion the general had been slain by some mercenaries from Zacynthos, Callippus, who had procured them for the assassination, succeeded him and ruled thirteen months.

to Latyschew, Inser. Ant. Oros Sept. Ponti Eux. p. xviii. Diodorus is probably wrong as to the dates of these reigns. For a discussion see Beloch, op. cit. 3. 2. 91 ff., with whom Cary, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 71 disagrees.

3 See Livy, 7. 16. 2-6.

4 Callippus was a member of Plato's Academy (cf. Athenaeus, 11. 508 b; Diogenes Laertius, 3. 46; Suidas; only "an Athenian" in Plato, Ep. 7. 333 b, quoted by Plutarch, Dion, 54) who accompanied his friend Dion to Syracuse. Claiming that Dion was substituting one tyranny for another but actually wishing to get power himself, Callippus effected his assassination. (See Beloch, op. cit. 3. 1. 261 and note, and Hackforth, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 284 f.) Parallel accounts are Plutarch, Dion, 54-57; Nepos, Dion, 8-10 (Callicrates sic).
39. Ἔπ' ἀρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνης Θουδήμου ἸΡω-μαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Πόπλιον καὶ Μάρκον Φάβιον. ἔπὶ δὲ τούτων Βοωτοὶ νεικηκό-τες τοὺς Φωκείς καὶ νομίζαντες τὸν αὐτιώτατον τῆς ἱεροσυλίας Φιλόμηλον ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπων κε-κολασμένον ἀποτρέψει τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόιας 2 κακίας ἀνέξευξαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. οἱ δ' Φωκεῖς ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπανήλθον εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ συνελθόντες μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς κοινήν ἐκκλησίαν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιπεκέστατοι πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔρροπον, οἱ δ' ἀναβείσι καὶ τόλμη καὶ πλεονεξία διαφέροντες ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐναντία καὶ περιεβλέποντο ἐξοπλοῦντες τῶν συνηγορήσοντα τὰς σφετέρας παρανομίας.

3 Οὐνόμαρχος δὲ πεφροντισμένον λόγων διελθὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥητῶν τὴν εἰς ἄρχής προαίρεσιν προετρέπατο τὰ πλήθη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτω τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος προνοθείς, ὡς τὸ ἰδιὸν λυσιτελὲς προ-κρίνας πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ μεγάλας δῖκαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυών ἢν καταδεδιασμένος δημοκρῖτος τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τὰ ὀφελήματα οὐκ ἐκτετοκός. διόπερ ὥρῶν αἰρετῶτερον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ὄντα τῆς εἰρήνης εὐλόγως τοὺς Φωκείς καὶ συμμάχους παρ-4 ὥσπερ τηρεῖν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Φιλομήλου. αἰρε-θείς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ μισθοφόρων τε πλήθος ἥθοισκε καὶ τὰς τῶν στελευτηκότων τάξεως ἀναπληρώσας καὶ τῶν πλήθει τῶν ἐνενοληθέντων αὐξήσας τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλας παρασκευάς ἑποιεῖτο

1 Θουδήμου Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 7248 : Ἐβδήμου.
2 Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Μάρκον Πόπλιον (ср. chap. 15, 1) RF ; all MSS. have Πόπλιον, but Popilius Livy, 7. 17. 1.
3 αὐτῷ Bekker : αὐτῷ.
32. When Thudemus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Poplius and Marcus Fabius. During their term of office, now that the Boeotians had won a victory over the Phocians and were of the opinion that the fate of Philomelus, who was chiefly responsible for the plundering of the temple and who had been punished by gods and men, would deter the rest from like villainy, they returned to their own country. But the Phocians, now freed from the war, for the present returned to Delphi and there meeting with their allies in a common assembly deliberated on the war. The moderate party inclined toward the peace, but the irreligious, the hot-headed and avaricious were of the opposite opinion and were looking around to find the proper spokesman to support their lawless aims. When Onomarchus arose and delivered a carefully argued speech urging them to adhere to their original purpose, he swung the sentiment of the gathering toward war, though he did so not so much with the intention of consulting the common welfare as with a view to his own interests, for he had been sentenced frequently and severely by the Amphictyons in the same manner as the rest and had not discharged the fines. Accordingly, seeing that war was more desirable for himself than peace, he quite logically urged the Phocians and their allies to adhere to the project of Philomelus. Having been chosen general with supreme command, he began to collect a large number of mercenaries, and, filling the gaps in his ranks caused by the casualties and having increased his army by the large number of foreigners enrolled, he set about making great preparations of
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συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον χρησίμων.

33. Ἕπηρε δ' αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταύτην ὁνειρὸς ἐμφασιν διδοὺς μεγάλης αὐξήσεως τε καὶ δόξης: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ὕπνον ἐδοξεῖ τὸν κολοττόν τὸν χαλκοῦν ὃν ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ἕρωτ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ἀναπλάττειν εἰς ὑψὸς ταῖς ὀδίας χερσὶ καὶ πονησάω πολὺ μείξωνα. ὑπελάβεν οὖν αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐξήσεως δόξης ἐσεθαι διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ 1 στρατηγίας· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὖχ οὕτως εἰς, τοῦναντίον δὲ παρεσμαίνετο. διὰ τὸ τούς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐκ τοῦ ζημιῶματος ἀναθεῖναι, 2 τῶν Φωκέων εἰς τὸ ἔρωτ παρανυμησάντων καὶ διὰ τούτο ζημιωθέντων, σημαίνετο ἡ ζημία τῶν Φωκέων αὐξήσων ἀπολήψεσθαι ταῖς τοῦ 'Ονομάρχου χερσῖν· ὀπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. δ' οὖν 3 Ὁνόμαρχος στρατηγὸς 4 αὐτοκράτωρ ἤρημενός εκ μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ συδήρου κατεσκεύασεν ὀπλῶν πλῆθος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου νόμῳ κόφας ταῖς τε συμμαχοῦσιν πόλεσι διεδίδοι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς προεστηκότας ἑδωροῦκε. διεθέμερε δὲ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς, οὓς μὲν συμμαχεῖ πείθων, οὓς δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν. πάντα δὲ ὀδίστως ἐπετέλει διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φιλαργυρίαν· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, μέγιστον ἔχοντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀξίωμα, δωροδοκήσας ἐπεισε τὴν ἡσυχίαν

1 So Dindorf: αὐτῶν.
2 ἀναθεῖναι added by Post. Fischer proposed τῶν κολοττῶν αναστάτευκαν παρεσμαίνετο after ζημιωθέντων with omission of παρεσμαίνετο above.
3 So Hertlein: ὀ οὖν.
4 στρατηγὸς added by Fischer (cp. chaps. 32. 4, 52. 2, etc.).

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allies and of everything else that is serviceable for \(353/2\) B.C. war.

33. He was greatly encouraged in this undertaking by a dream which gave intimation of great increase of power and glory. In his sleep, namely, it seemed that he was remodelling with his own hands the bronze statue ¹ which the Amphictyons had dedicated in the temple of Apollo, making it much taller and larger. He accordingly assumed that a sign was being given to him from the gods that there would be an increase of glory because of his services as general. But the truth turned out to be otherwise, rather the contrary was indicated because of the fact that the Amphictyons had dedicated the statue out of the fines paid by the Phocians who had acted lawlessly toward the shrine and had been fined for so doing. What was indicated was that the fine of the Phocians would take on an increase at the hands of Onomarchus; and such turned out to be the case. Onomarchus, when he had been chosen general in supreme command, prepared a great supply of weapons from the bronze and iron, and having struck coinage from the silver and gold distributed it among the allied cities and chiefly gave it as bribes to the leaders of those cities. Indeed he succeeded in corrupting many of the enemy too, some of whom he persuaded to fight on his side, and others he required to maintain the peace. He easily accomplished everything because of man's greed. In fact he persuaded even the Thessalians, who were held in highest esteem amongst the allies, by bribes to

¹ No mention of a “colossus” has been found. Pausanias (10. 15. 1) mentions a statue of Apollo dedicated by the Amphictyons from the fines levied upon the Phocians.
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έχειν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Φωκέων τοὺς ἐναντιομένους συλλαμβάνων ἀνήρει καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευεν. εἰς δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβαλὼν Ὄρονιον μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας ἔξηνδραποδίσατο, Ἀμφισσείς δὲ καταπληξάμους ἴμαγκασεν ὑποστάτεσθαι. τὰς δὲν Δωριεῦν τολείς πορθήσας τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔδήμωσεν. εἰς δὲ τὴν Βωστίαν ἐμβαλὼν Ὄρομευνον μὲν εἶλεν, ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ ἐκπολιορκεῖν τὴν Θηβαίαν καὶ ἠπηθεὶς ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαιν.

34. "Ἀμα δὲ τούτως πραττομένως Ἀρτάβαζος, ἀποστάτης ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως, διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σατράπας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμμαχοῦντος αὐτῷ Χάρητος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ ἐρρωμένως ἀντετάττετο τοὺς σατράπας, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἀπελθόντος μονοθέεις ἔπεισε τοὺς Θηβαίους συμμαχών αὐτῷ πέμψαι. οἱ δὲ Παμμένης στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι καὶ δόντες αὐτῷ στρατιώτας πεντακισχιλίους ἐξε-2 πέμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὔ δὲ Παμμένης βοηθήσας Ἀρταβάζῳ καὶ τοὺς σατράπας μεγάλους μάχαις δυοὶ νικήσας περιεποίησατο μεγάλην δόξαν ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς Βουωτοῖς. ἐφάνη γὰρ θαμμαστὸν εἰ Βουωτοὶ τῶν μὲν Θετταλῶν ἐγκατελεύτησον, τοὔ δὲ Ἐφεσικοῦ πολέμου μεγάλους ἐπιφέροντος κινδύνους διαποντίσως δυνάμεις εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξεπέμπουν καὶ προετέρουν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις.

1 So Capps: ἐκ πολιορκεῖν.
maintain the peace. In his dealings with the Phocians he also he arrested and executed those who opposed him and confiscated their property. After invading the territory of the enemy he took Thronion by storm and reduced its inhabitants to slavery, and having intimidated the Amphissans by threats he forced them to submit. He sacked the cities of the Dorians and ravaged their territory. He invaded Boeotia, captured Orchomenus, then, having attempted to reduce Chaeroneia by siege and being defeated by the Thebans, he returned to his own territory.

34. While these things were going on, Artabazus, who had revolted from the Persian King, continued the war against the satraps who had been dispatched by the King to take part in the war against him. At first when Chares the Athenian general was fighting with him, Artabazus resisted the satraps courageously, but when Chares had gone and he was left alone he induced the Thebans to send him an auxiliary force. Choosing Pammenes as general and giving him five thousand soldiers, they dispatched him to Asia. Pammenes, by the support he gave to Artabazus and by defeating the satraps in two great battles, won great glory for himself and the Boeotians. Now it seemed an amazing thing that the Boeotians, after the Thessalians had left them in the lurch, and when the war with the Phocians was threatening them with serious dangers, should be sending armies across the sea into Asia and for the most part proving successful in the battles.

3 In Ozolian Locris. Cp. Plutarch, Mulierum Virtutes, 249 E, F.
4 See Strabo, 9. 4. 11.
5 See chap. 22. 1-2.
6 For this campaign see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 250-251; Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 217-218; Glotz, Hist. gr. 3. 265.
3 "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις συνέστη πόλεμος Ἄργελοις πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ γενομένης μάχης περὶ πόλεως ὂρνεάς ἐνίκων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τὰς Ὄρνεας ἑκκολορκήσαντες ἑπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. Χάρης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς εἰσπλεύσας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Σηματον πόλιν ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν ἧδωντας ἀπέσφαξεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἑξηνδραποδίσατο. Κερασβλέπτου δὲ τοῦ Κότυσος διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους φιλίαν ἐγχειρίσαντος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πόλεις πλὴν Καρδίας ἀπέστειλεν ὁ δήμος κληρούχοις εἰς τὰς πόλεις. Φίλιππος δὲ ὅρων τοὺς Μεθυσναίους ὁμομητήριον παρεχομένους τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑαυτοῦ πολιορκίαν συνεστήσατο. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος οἱ Μεθυσναιοὶ διεκαρτέρουν, ἔπειτα καταχυσάμενοι συνηγκάσθησαν παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τῷ βασιλεὺς ὅστε ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐκ τῆς Μεθυσίνης ἔχοντας ἐν ἰμάτιον ἐκαστὸν. ὅ δὲ Φίλιππος τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατέσκαψε τὴν δὲ χώραν διένεμε τοὺς Μακεδόνις. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ταύτῃ συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν πληγέντα τοξεύματι διαφθάρνῃ τὴν ὀρασίαν.

35. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν μετακληθεὶς ἤκειν εἰς Θετταλίαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Λυκόφρονα τῶν Φερῶν τύραννον διεπολέμει βοηθῶν τοῖς Θεττα-

1 A city in Argolis. See chap. 39. 4 for repetition of this event with greater detail of narrative. (Cp. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 272.)

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While these things were going on, war broke out between the Argives and the Lacedaemonians, and in a battle that took place near the city of Ornea, the Lacedaemonians won, and after they had taken Ornea by siege, returned to Sparta. Chares the Athenian general sailed to the Hellespont, captured Sestus, slew its adult inhabitants, and enslaved the rest. And when Cersobleptes, son of Cotys, because of his hostility to Philip and his alliance of friendship with the Athenians, had turned over to the Athenians the cities on the Chersonese except Cardia, the assembly sent out colonists to these cities. Philip, perceiving that the people of Methone were permitting their city to become a base of operations for his enemies, began a siege. And although for a time the people of Methone held out, later, being overpowered, they were compelled to hand the city over to the king on the terms that the citizens should leave Methone with a single garment each. Philip then razed the city and distributed its territory among the Macedonians. In this siege it so happened that Philip was struck in the eye by an arrow and lost the sight of that eye.

35. After this Philip in response to a summons from the Thessalians entered Thessaly with his army, and at first carried on a war against Lycophon, tyrant of Pherae, in support of the Thessalians; but later,

3 Cleruchs or holders of allotments of land. See IG, 2. 795.
4 See Justin, 7. 6. 13-16; Demosthenes, 4. 35; and chap. 31. 6; also IG, 92. 1. 130.
6 See chap. 33. 3 and Polyaeus, 4. 2. 19.
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λοῖς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Δυκόφρονος μεταπεμψαμένου παρὰ τῶν Φωκεῶν συμμαχίαν ἀπεστάλη Φάννλλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνομάρχου μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπτακισγώλων. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς Φωκεῖς νυκτῷ·

2 σας ἐξῆβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας. Ὅνομαρχος δ’ ἀναλαβὼν πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ νομίζων δλης τῆς Θετταλίας κυριεύσεων ἤκεν ἐν τάχει βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δυκόφρονα. τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππου μετὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἀντιπαραταξαμένου τοῖς Φωκεῖσι. Ὅνομαρχος ὑπερέχων τοῖς πληθείς δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνέθε. Φίλιππος δ’ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κυνόδους περικλεισθεῖς καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν καταλυπότων αὐτὸν παραβαρυνάς τὸ πλῆθος μόνις ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς εὐπειθεῖς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δ’ Φίλιππος μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Ὅνομαρχος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ πόλιν εἰς Κορώνειαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Θετταλίαν Φίλιππος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀρτὶ κατηνηκώς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λυκόφρονα τῶν Φερῶν τύραννον. οὕτος δ’ οὐκ ὃν ἀξίωμαχος μετεπέμψατο συμμαχίαν παρὰ Φωκεῶν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος συγκατασκευάσεως αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν. διόπερ Ὅνομάρχου σπουδή βοηθήσαντος μετὰ πεζῶν δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων δ’ μὲν Φίλιππος πείσας τοὺς Θετταλοὺς κοινῇ τῶν πόλεμον ἀραθαι συνήγαγε τοὺς πάντας πεζοὺς μὲν ύπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους, ἤπεις δὲ τρισχιλίων. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἱσχυρᾶς καὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων τῷ πλῆθει καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς

1 So Sherman, σπουδῆ πάση Capps: πεζή (deleted by Reiske).

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when Lycophron summoned an auxiliary force from his allies the Phocians, Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, was dispatched with seven thousand men. But Philip defeated the Phocians and drove them out of Thessaly. Then Onomarchus came in haste with his entire military strength to the support of Lycophron, believing that he would dominate all Thessaly. When Philip in company with the Thessalians joined battle against the Phocians, Onomarchus with his superior numbers defeated him in two battles and slew many of the Macedonians. As for Philip, he was reduced to the uttermost perils and his soldiers were so despondent that they had deserted him, but by arousing the courage of the majority, he got them with great difficulty to obey his orders. Later Philip withdrew to Macedonia, and Onomarchus, marching into Bocotia, defeated the Boeotians in battle and took the city of Coroneia. As for Thessaly, however, Philip had just at that time returned with his army from Macedonia and had taken the field against Lycophron, tyrant of Pherae. Lycophron, however, since he was no match for him in strength, summoned reinforcements from his allies the Phocians, promising jointly with them to organize the government of all Thessaly. So when Onomarchus in haste came to his support with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, Philip, having persuaded the Thessalians to prosecute the war in common, gathered them all together, numbering more than twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. A severe battle took place and since the Thessalian cavalry were

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1 At Hermeneum, cp. Ephorus, fr. 153, and Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, 3. 8. 9, 1116 b.
2 On the chronology of these events see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2. 267-270.
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diaferonton enikeken o Filippos. tois de peri ton 'Onomarchon katafynontan elis thn thalattan kai tuchikos parapleontos tou Athnainou Xartos metap pollon truphron pollus egenveto phos tonon Fowkon. ois gar feuyontes baimantes tas panopliai dienichontos pros tas trupheis, en ois en kai autous 6 'Onomarchos. telos de tonon Fowkon kai musofoiron anapethsau men uper tous exakusilous, en ois en kai autous o strateths,1 elousan de ouk elastous tonon truxilous. de oth Filippos ton ton 'Onomarchon ekreimase, tous de allaous ois ierousulous kateuponisen.

36. Metà de thn 'Onomarchon televthen dievedeto thn Fowkon ygeumoni an adelphos Fainllos. autous de thn ygeunymeini sumphoran diorbuvmenos musofoiron te plathos ythropize, diplasiasas tous eisbota musous, kai para tonon summakhon botheiwm metapemfato kateaskevazo de kai opsion plathos kai nomisma katekofe xrusou te kai argyroyn.

2 'Upo de tous autous kairopous Mausolos o Karis dinasths eteleuptsen arxas eti eikosi tesara, thn de arxh en iadeiaine 'Aristemai o adelph 3 kai glynh eduvasteusen eti duo. Klearchos de o 'Hrakleias turaunos Dionysiwn onton eti thean badizoun anithereth, arxas eti dekaduo2. thn de arxh

1 Madvig places en ois en kai autous o strateths after truxilous.
2 So IX; diekeka RV, duokakideka F'M.

1 Beloch thinks it highly improbable that Chares happened to be sailing by in the Gulf of Pagasae where this action is placed. He thinks that the Athenians sent Chares to prevent Philip from taking Pagasae but that Chares arrived too late (Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 476 and note 3). See chap. 34. 3.

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superior in numbers and valour, Philip won. Because Onomarchus had fled toward the sea and Chares the Athenian was by chance sailing by with many triremes, a great slaughter of the Phocians took place, for the men in their effort to escape would strip off their armour and try to swim out to the triremes, and among them was Onomarchus. Finally more than six thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were slain, and among them the general himself; and no less than three thousand were taken captives. Philip hanged Onomarchus; the rest he threw into the sea as temple-robbers.

36. After the death of Onomarchus his brother Phaëllus succeeded to the command of the Phocians. In an attempt to retrieve the disaster, he began to gather a multitude of mercenaries, offering double the customary pay, and summoned help from his allies. He got ready also a large supply of arms and coined gold and silver money.

About the same time Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria, died after ruling twenty-four years, and Artemisia, his sister and wife, succeeded to the throne and reigned for two years. Clearchus, the tyrant of Heracleia, was slain during the festival of Dionysus as he went to witness the spectacle, after ruling twelve years, and

2 Contrary to chap. 61. 2 and Pausanias, 10. 2. 5, who states that he was shot down (or "drowned," if we read κατεπνικάδη) by his own men. If Onomarchus is the "general" referred to, as he seems to be, then Philip must have crucified his dead body. For still another account of Onomarchus' death (by drowning as he was being carried out to sea on a frightened horse) see Philo Judaeus in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 8. 14. 33.

3 See chap. 7. 3.

4 See Book 15. 81. 5. On his death see Justin, 16. 5. 12 to end and Mennon (FlIG, 3), 1. 4.
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μὲν πεντακοσιάλλους, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους, ὥν ἦν στρατηγὸς Ναυσικάλης. οἱ δὲ τῶν Φεραίων τύραννοι Λυκόφρων καὶ Πειθόλαος μετὰ τὴν 'Ονο-
μάρχου τελευτήν ἔρημοι συμμάχων ὄντες τὰς μὲν Φερᾶς παρέδοσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ-
στονδοὶ γενόμενοι συνήγαγον τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὄντος διοχιλίους καὶ μετὰ τοῦτων φυγόντες πρὸς
4 Φάγιλλον συμμάχοις τοῖς Φωκείσι. ἔβοηθήσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλαττὸνοι πόλεων οὐκ ὄλγαν τοῖς
Φωκείσι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διαδιδομένων χρη-
mάτων. δὲ γὰρ χρυσὸς τὰς πλευνείας τῶν ἀνθρώ-
pων ἐκκαλούμενος ἤναγκασεν αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς τὴν
5 ἑκ τοῦ κέρδους λυσιτέλειαν. δ' ὅς οὖν Φάγιλλος μετὰ 
τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν καὶ 
περὶ πόλιν 'Ορχομενοῦ ἦττηθεὶς μάχη πολλοὺς τῶν 
στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλης γενο-
mένης μάχης παρὰ τὸν Κηφισίον ποταμὸν ἐνίκησαν 
πάλιν Βουωτοῖ καὶ ἀνείλον τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ τοὺς 
πεντακοσίους,1 ἐξώγγησαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν 
6 τετρακοσίων.2 ὄλγας δ' ὅστορν ἡμέραις γενο-
mένης μάχης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἐνίκησαν οἱ Βουωτοὶ 
καὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν ἀνείλον τῶν Φωκέων, ἐκατὸν 
δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐξώγγησαν.

Ἱμεῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ Βουωτοὺς καὶ Φωκεῖς διελη-
lυθότες ἐπάνυμεν ἐπὶ τῶν Φιλίππων.

38. Ὅστος γὰρ νυκτῶς τὸν 'Ονομάρχου ἐπιφανεῖ 
παρατάξει τὴν τ' ἐν Φεραῖς τυραννίδα καθεῖλε καὶ 
τῇ πόλει τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ἁπόδωσι καὶ τὰλλα τὰ 
κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καταστήσας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς 
2 Πύλας πολεμόσων τοὺς Φωκείσι. κωλυσάντων δὲ 
τῶν Ἀθηναίων διελθεὶν τὰς παρόδους ἐπανήλθεν

1 τετρακοσίοις RF. 2 ἐξώγγησαν δ' εἰς πεντακοσίους RF.
four hundred horse with Nausicles as their general. 352/1 B.C. The tyrants of Pherae, Lycophron and Peitholaüs,¹ who were destitute of allies after the death of Onomarchus, gave Pherae over to Philip, while they themselves, being protected by terms of truce, brought together their mercenaries to the number of two thousand, and, having fled with these to Phaéllus, joined the Phocians as allies. Not a few of the lesser cities as well actively supported the Phocians because of the abundance of money that had been distributed; for gold that incites man’s covetousness compelled them to desert to the side which would enable them to profit from their gains. Phaéllus accordingly with his army carried the campaign into Boeotia, and, suffering defeat near the city of Orchomenus, lost a great number of men. Later in another battle that took place by the Cephisus River the Bocotians won again and slew over five hundred of the enemy and took no fewer than four hundred prisoners. A few days later, in a battle that took place near Coroneia, the Bocotians were victorious and slew fifty of the Phocians, and took one hundred thirty prisoners.

Now that we have recounted the affairs of the Boeotians and Phocians we shall return to Philip.

38. Philip, after his defeat of Onomarchus ² in a noteworthy battle, put an end to the tyranny in Pherec,² and, after restoring its freedom to the city and settling all other matters in Thessaly, advanced to Thermopylae, intending to make war on the Phocians. But since the Athenians prevented him from penetrating the pass,⁴ he returned to Macedonia, having

¹ So chap. 39. 3, but Pytholaüs in Plutarch, Pelopidas, 35. 3.
² See chap. 35. 4-6.
³ See chap. 37. 3.
⁴ See Justin, 8. 2. 8-12 and Demosthenes, 19. 84.
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eis Macedonia, ἡ τὴν βασιλείαν ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ βεῖν εὐσεβείᾳ. 3 Φάυλλος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς Δοκρούς τοὺς ὀνομαζόμενους Ἑπικηνιμίους τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἑχειρώσατο πάσας, μίαν δὲ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Νάρυκα διὰ προδοσίας νυκτὸς παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐξέπεσε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν οὐκ ἐλάττως τῶν 4 διακοσίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατοπεδεύοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Ἀβασι βοιωτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Φωκεῖσι ἀνέπλουν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὄλιγους· ἔπαρθεντες δὲ τῷ προτερήματι παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν Φωκεῶν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς πορθῆ-5 σαντες ἡθοισαν λαφύρων πλῆθος. ἔπαινοντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ Ναρυκαίῳ πόλει πολιορκουμένη βοηθοῦσιν ἐπιφανεῖς δ' Φάυλλος τούτους μὲν ἐτρέφατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔλαυν κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε 6 καὶ κατέσκαφεν. αὐτὸς δὲ περιπεσὼν νόσῳ φθειραὶ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρρωστήσας ἐπισώπως καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας οἴκεισι κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, καταληπτών τῶν Φωκεῶν στρατηγὸν Φάλακον τὸν Ὀομάρχου νιὸν τοῦ τῶν ἵππων πόλεμον ἐκκαύσαντος, ἀντίπαδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα· παρακατέστησε δ' αὐτῷ ἐπί-τροπον ἁμα καὶ στρατηγὸν Μνασέαν, ἔνα τῶν 7 ἐαυτοῦ φίλων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Φωκείσι τὸν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Μνασέαν ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς διακοσίους. μετ' ὄλιγον δ' ἰππομαχίας γενομένης

1 So most MSS. (cp. Book 11. 83. 2), ὀνομαζομένους FM.
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enlarged his kingdom not only by his achievements but also by his reverence toward the god. Phaëllus, having made a campaign into the Locris known as Epicnemidian, succeeded in capturing all the cities but one named Naryx, which he had taken by treachery at night but from which he was expelled again with the loss of two hundred of his men. Later as he was encamped near a place called Abae, the Boeotians attacked the Phocians at night and slew a great number of them; then, elated by their success, they passed into Phocian territory, and, by pillaging a great portion of it, gathered a quantity of booty. As they were on their way back and were assisting the city of the Naryaeans, which was under siege, Phaëllus suddenly appeared, put the Boeotians to flight, and having taken the city by storm, plundered and razed it. But Phaëllus himself, falling sick of a wasting disease, after a long illness, suffering great pain as befitted his impious life, died, leaving Phalaecus, son of the Onomarchus who had kindled the Sacred War, as general of the Phocians, a stripling in years, at whose side he had placed as guardian and supporting general Mnaseas, one of his own friends. After this in a night attack upon the Phocians the Boeotians slew their general Mnaseas and about two hundred of his men. A short while later in a cavalry battle which

1 On the border of Phocis.
2 See Pausanias, 10. 2. 6 and for an alternative story Philo Judaeus in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 8. 14. 33.
3 According to Pausanias, 10. 2. 7, Phalaecus was the son of Phaëllus.
4 Said of Philomelus, chap. 23. 1.

Nάρυκα Gronovius (cp. Book 14. 82. 8, Strabo, 9. 4. 2):
*Αρυκαν ΠΧ, Ἀρύκαν RVFM.
5 Ἀρυκαλον PXRV.
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peri Χαιρώνειαν ὁ Φάλαιρος ἠττηθεῖς ἀπέβαλε τῶν ἵππεων οὐκ ὀλίγους.

39. Ἀμα δὲ τούτους πραττομένους καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔγενοντο ταραχαὶ καὶ κινήσεις διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας διαφερόμενοι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατέδραμον Ἀρχιδάμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος· οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολίται παροξυνθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πραχθεὶς καὶ καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι παρά τῶν 2 συμμάχων μετεπέμψαντο βοήθειαν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι παιδημεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθησαν, Ὀθηβαῖοι δὲ ἀπέστειλαν πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισχίλιους, ἵππεις δὲ πεντακοσίους, στρατεύοντας Κηφισίωνα. Μεγαλοπολίται μὲν οὖν μετά τῶν συμμάχων ἐκστρατεύσαντες κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ 'Αλφειοῦ ποταμοῦ· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τρισχίλιους μὲν πεζοὺς παρὰ Φωκέων προσελήφθησαν ἵππεις δὲ ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα παρὰ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Πειθόλαος τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φερᾶς τυραννίδος· συντησάμενοι δὲ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον κατεστράτωσαν περὶ Μαντίνειαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὀρνέας τῆς Ἀργείας καταντήσαντες ἔφθασαν αὐτὴν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες πρὸ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων παροικίας, οὕσαν σύμμαχον τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν, ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων συνάβαντες μάχην ἐνίκησαν καὶ πλείους τῶν διακοσίων ἀπέκτειναν. 5 τῶν δὲ Ὀθηβαίων ἐπιφανέντων καὶ τῶν μὲν πλήθει διπλασίων ὄντων ταῖς δὲ εὐταξίαις λειτουρεῖν συνέστη μάχη καρτερά· καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδόξου γενομένης οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι τὴν εἰς
took place near Chaeroneia, Phalaecus was defeated \( 352/1 \) B.C. and lost a large number of his cavalry.

39. While these things were going on, throughout the Peloponnese also disturbances and disorders had occurred for the following reasons. The Lacedaemonians, being at variance with the Megalopolitans, overran their country with Archidamus in command, and the Megalopolitans,\(^1\) incensed over their actions but not strong enough to fight by themselves, summoned aid from their allies. Now the Argives, Sicyonians, and Messenians in full force and with all speed came to their assistance; and the Thebans dispatched four thousand foot and five hundred horse with Cephsion placed in charge as general. The Megalopolitans accordingly, having taken the field with their allies, encamped near the headwaters of the Alpheius River, while the Lacedaemonians were reinforced by three thousand foot-soldiers from the Phocians and one hundred fifty cavalry from Lycophron and Peitholaüs, the exiled tyrants of Pherae, and, having mustered an army capable of doing battle, encamped by Mantinea. Then having advanced to the Argive city of Orneae,\(^2\) they captured it before the arrival of the enemy, for it was an ally of the Megalopolitans. When the Argives took the field against them, they joined battle and defeated them and slew more than two hundred. Then the Thebans appeared, and since they were in number twice as many though inferior in discipline, a stubborn battle was engaged; and as the victory hung in doubt, the Argives and their allies withdrew.

\(^1\) They even sent ambassadors to Athens begging help. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered his speech, "On the Megalopolitans" (q.v. 16). See also Pausanias, 8. 27. 9-10.

\(^2\) Cp. chap. 34. 3.
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tάς οἰκείας πόλεις ἐπάνωδον ἐποιήσαντο, Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐμβαλόντες καὶ πόλιν
Ἑλισσοῦντα κατὰ κράτος ἔλοντες καὶ διαρράσασαν
tε ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. μετὰ δὲ των χρόνων
οἱ Ἡβαίοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνίκησαν τοὺς
πολέμιους περὶ Τέλφους καὶ συνήνω ἀνελόντες
ἐξωγρήσαν Ἀνάξανδρον τε τὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων πλείους τῶν ἔξηκοντα. μετ’ οὖν ἔλυσαν δὲ
χρόνον ἄλλας δυσὶ μάχαις προετήρισαν καὶ τῶν
7 ἐναντίων οὐκ ὁλίγους κατέβαλον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀξιολογῆσαν μάχη νικησάντων,
aὶ δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις
ἐπανήλθον. ἐπείτα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιησα-
μένων ἀνοχὰς πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐπανήλθον
8 εἰς τὴν Βουστίαν οἱ Ἡβαίοι. Φάλαικος δὲ περὶ
tὴν Βουστίαν διατρίβων Χαρίωνειαν εἰς καὶ τῶν
Ἦβαίων ἐπιβοσθησάντων ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
ἐπεὶ δὲ μὲν Βουστοὶ πολλὴ δυνάμει οὐρανοῦ ὑποτευσάντες
εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τὴν πλεῖον πάντων αὐτὴς ἐπορθήσαν
καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κτίσεις ἔδησαν ἐνὶα
δὲ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν πολισμάτων ἐλόντες καὶ λα-
φύμων πλῆθος ἀθροίσαντες ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν
Βουστίαν.

40. Ἐπὶ άρχοντος δ’ Ἀθηνησοῦ Θεέλλου Ὀμ-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκου Φάβιου καὶ
Τίτον Κουνιοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἡβαίωι κάμποντες
τῷ πρὸς Φωκίδας πολέμῳ καὶ νομιμάτων ἀπορου-
μένου πρὸς βασίλειας ἐξεπεμψαν πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν
βασιλεὰ παρακαλοῦσας εἰσευπορῆσαι τῇ πόλει χρή-

1 Cp. Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 6541: Ἡθοσαλό ΜSS. 346
to their own cities, while the Lacedaemonians, after invading Arcadia and taking the city Helissus by storm and plundering it, returned to Sparta. Some time after this the Thebans with their allies conquered the enemy near Telphusa and after slaying many took captive Anaxander, who was in command, along with more than sixty others. A short time later they had the advantage in two other battles and felled a considerable number of their opponents. Finally, when the Lacedaemonians proved victorious in an important battle, the armies on both sides withdrew to their own cities. Then when the Lacedaemonians made an armistice with the Megalopolitans the Thebans went back to Bocotia. But Phalaeus, who was lingering in Bocotia, seized Chaeroneia and when the Thebans came to its rescue, was expelled from that city. Then the Bocotians, who now with a large army invaded Phocis, sacked the greater portion of it and plundered the farms throughout the countryside; and having taken also some of the small towns and gathered an abundance of booty, they returned to Boeotia.

40. When Theellus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Titus Quintius. During their term of office the Thebans, growing weary of the war against the Phocians and finding themselves short of funds, sent ambassadors to the King of the Persians urging him to furnish the

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1 For these Arcadian cities see Pausanias, 8. 3. 3 (Έλισσών) and 8. 25. 1-3 (Θέλπουσα).

except PX Θεσσάλων. All Attic inscriptions give Θέλλος as archon; also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Epistle to Ammæus, i. 4, p. 726. 1; Θέλλος Dionysius, Deinarchus, 11, p. 655. 1; Θεσσαλός Dionysius, Deinarchus, 9, p. 648. 5 and 11, p. 656. 7; [Θεσσαλός Oxyrhynchus Papyri in Philologus 58. 559 (col. i. 11).
2 ματα δ' ὁ δ' Ἀρταξέρξης προθύμως ὑπακούσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δωρεάν ἄργυριον τάλαντα τριακόσια. τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς Φωκεῖσιν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μὲν καὶ χώρας καταδρομαὶ συνέστησαν, πράξεις δὲ κατὰ τούτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν άξιας μνήμης οὐ συνετελέσθησαν.

3 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίων πολλοῖς πλῆθεσι στρατιωτῶν ἀπέτυχε, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καρυῶς πάλιν ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις καὶ πράξεις ἀξιολόγους κατεργασάμενος διὰ τῆς ἱδίας ἐνεργείας τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεκτήσατο καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον. ὲνα δὲ σαφῆ τὴν περὶ τούτων ἱστορίαν ποιήσωμεν τὰς αὐτικὰς τοῦ πολέμου προκεκθησόμεθα μικρὸν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους. τῶν γὰρ Ἀιγυπτίων ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἀποστάντων κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω χρόνους Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ ἔπικληθεὶς Ὀχος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὑπὸ φιλοπόλεμος ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἐμενεν, ἀποστέλλων δὲ δυνάμεις καὶ στρατηγοὺς πολλάκις ἀπετύχας διὰ τὴν κακὰν καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡγεμόνων. διὸ καὶ καταφρονθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡναγκάζετο καρτερῶς διὰ τὴν ἄργυριαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας εἰρηνικόν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καρυῶς τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέων μιμησαμένων τοὺς

1 Beloch (Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 483, note 1) suggests that these gifts were not made to the Boeotians for their "schönen Augen," but for help in the Egyptian expedition (cp. chap. 44. 2).

2 Diodorus has misplaced the conquest of Egypt by Ochus, which occurred in the year 344 or 343. He slurs over here a previous defeat of Ochus which probably belongs to this year (351/0) and is attested by chaps. 44. 1, 48. 1 ; Demos-348
city with a large sum of money. Artaxerxes, readily acceding to the request, made a gift to them of three hundred talents of silver.\(^1\) Between the Boeotians and the Phocians skirmishes and raids on each other's territory occurred but no actions worth mentioning took place during this year.

In Asia the King of the Persians, who had in the period treated above made an expedition into Egypt with vast multitudes of soldiers and was unsuccessful, in the period with which we are now dealing again made war on the Egyptians and, after carrying out some remarkable feats by his own forceful activity, regained possession of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Cyprus.\(^2\) To make clear the history of these events I shall set forth first the causes of the war by reviewing again briefly the period to which these events properly belong. We recall that, when the Egyptians revolted from the Persians in the earlier period, Artaxerxes, known as Ochus,\(^3\) himself unwarlike, remained inactive, and though he sent out armies and generals many times, failed in his attempts because of the cowardice and inexperience of the leaders. And so, though regarded with contempt by the Egyptians, he was compelled to be patient because of his own inertia and peace-loving nature. But in the period now under discussion, when the Phoenicians and the kings in Cyprus had imitated the Egyptians and in contemp-

\(^{1}\) Possibly Diodorus has Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) in mind (cp. Book 15, 90 ff.), for both Demosthenes and Isocrates state that Ochus conducted in person the unsuccessful expedition.
Αλγυπτίους καὶ διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπό-
στασιν ὁμολογῶν παροξυνθέεις ἔκρινε πολέμευν
τός αὐτής καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀπεδοκίμασε, δι᾿ ἐαυτοῦ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς
βασιλείας ἁγώνας ποιήσασθαι διέγνω. διὸ ἄσπερ ὁ πλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ δυνάμεως μεγάλας
παρασκευὰς ποιησάμενος ἥθροος πεζῶν μὲν τριά-
κοντα μυριάδας, ἵππων δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ
tριακόσιας, φορτηγοῦς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς τῆς
ἀγορᾶν κομιδούσας πεντακόσιας.

41. "Ἡράκτω δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φοίνικας πολέμευν διὰ
tοιαύτας τυχάς αὐτίς. κατὰ τὴν Φοίνικην ἐστὶ
πόλις ἄξιολογος ὅνοματι Τρίπολις, οἰκεῖαν ἔχουσα
τῇ φύσει τὴν προσηγορίαν τρεῖς γὰρ εἶσθαν ἐν αὐτῇ
πόλεις σταδίακην ἀπ᾿ ἀλλὴλον ἔχουσαι διάστημα:
ἐπικελεῖται δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν Ἀραδίων, ἡ δὲ Σιδώ-
νίων, ἡ δὲ Τυρίων. ἄξιωμα δ᾿ ἔχει μέγιστον αὐτὴ
tῶν κατὰ τὴν Φοίνικην πόλεων, ἐν ἂν συνεβαινε
tοῦς Φοίνικας συνέδριον ἔχει καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ
2 τῶν μεγίστων. τῶν δὲ σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν
ἐν τῇ Σιδώνιων διατριβῶντων καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐπιταγὰς ὑβριστικῶς καὶ ὑπερηφά-
νως προσφερομένων τοῖς Σιδώνιοι τοῖς κακούμενοι
τὴν ἐπήρειαν χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐγνωσαν ἀποστή-
3 ναὶ τῶν Περσῶν. πείσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
Φοίνικας τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀντέχεσθαι διεπρεβεύ-
σαντο πρὸς τὸν Αλγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεκτανεβὼς,
πολέμων ὅταν Περσῶν, καὶ πείσαντες παραλαβεῖν
αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ
4 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. τῆς δὲ Σιδώνος εὐδαιμονίας δια-
φεροῦσης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας μεγά-

1 So MSS.; προσταγμάτων vdd.
tuous disregard of him made a move to revolt, he became enraged and decided to make war upon the insurgents. So he rejected the practice of sending out generals, and adopted the plan of carrying out in person the struggles to preserve his kingdom. Wherefore, having made great provision of arms, missiles, food, and forces, he assembled three hundred thousand foot-soldiers, thirty thousand horsemen, three hundred triremes, and five hundred merchant-men and other ships to carry the supplies.

41. He began to make war also on the Phoenicians for the following reasons. In Phoenicia there is an important city called Tripolis, whose name is appropriate to its nature, for there are in it three cities, at a distance of a stade from one another, and the names by which these are called are the city of the Aradians, of the Sidonians, and of the Tyrians. This city enjoys the highest repute amongst the cities of Phoenicia, for there, as it happens, the Phoenicians held their common council and deliberated on matters of supreme importance. Now since the King’s satraps and generals dwelt in the city of the Sidonians and behaved in an outrageous and high-handed fashion toward the Sidonians in ordering things to be done, the victims of this treatment, aggrieved by their insolence, decided to revolt from the Persians. Having persuaded the rest of the Phoenicians to make a bid for their independence, they sent ambassadors to the Egyptian king Nectanebôs, who was an enemy of the Persians, and after persuading him to accept them as allies they began to make preparations for the war. Inasmuch as Sidon was distinguished for its wealth and its private citizens

Diodorus of Sicily

λοὺς περιπεποιημένων πλούτους ταχὺ τριήρεις τε πολλαὶ κατεσκευάσθησαν καὶ μισθοφόρων πλῆθος ἥθροισθη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὀπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ σῖτος καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον χρήσιμα συν-5 τὸμως κατεσκευάσθη. κατάρχοντες δὲ τῆς ἐχθρᾶς τὸν μὲν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἐν ὕ τὸς καταλύσεις οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰόθεισαν ποιεῖσθαι, δενδροτομήσαντες διεφθειράν· ἐπεντα τὸν ἠθροισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν σατράπων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς ὑποῖς χόρτων ἐνέπρησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τοὺς τὰς ὑβρεῖς ἐπιτελεσάμενοι Πέρσας συλλαβόντες ἐτυμωρῆ-6 σαντο. τοὺς δὲ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ταύτην τὴν καταρχὴν λαβόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς πυθό-μενος τὰ τετολμημένα τοῖς ἀποστάταις πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς Φοίνικεσ ἔπειλε, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Σιδωνίοις.

42. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι συνηθροούκος τὰς πεζικὰς καὶ ἐπικάς δυνάμεις εὐθὺς ἀναλαβῶν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας· ἐν οἷς δ' οὕτος κατὰ τὴν ὑδατ-πορίαν ἐβάδιζε, Βέλεσυς ὁ τῆς Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Μαζαίος ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχων συνελθόντες 2 ἐπολέμουν τοὺς Φοίνικας. Τέννης δ' ὁ τῆς Σιδωνίως βασιλεὺς προσελάβετο παρ' Ἀγγυπτίων στρατιώ- τας μισθοφόρους Ἐλλήνας τετρακισχιλίους, ὡς ἢ στρατηγὸς Μέντωρ ὁ Ῥόδιος. μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς προειρημένοις σατράπαις συμβαλῶν ἐνίκησεν καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Φοίνικης.

3 Ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν Κύ- προν συνέστη πόλεμος, συμπεπλεγμένας ἔχων τὰς 4 πράξεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων πολέμων. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἦσαν ἁξιόλογοι μὲν ἑννέα, ὡς δὲ ταύτας ὑπήρχε τεταγμένα μικρὰ πολύσημα τὰ
had amassed great riches from its shipping, many triremes were quickly outfitted and a multitude of mercenaries gathered, and, besides, arms, missiles, food, and all other materials useful in war were provided with dispatch. The first hostile act was the cutting down and destroying of the royal park in which the Persian Kings were wont to take their recreation; the second was the burning of the fodder for the horses which had been stored up by the satraps for the war; last of all they arrested such Persians as had committed the acts of insolence and wreaked vengeance upon them. Such was the beginning of the war with the Phoenicians, and Artaxerxes, being apprised of the rash acts of the insurgents, issued threatening warnings to all the Phoenicians and in particular to the people of Sidon.

42. In Babylon the King, after assembling his infantry and cavalry forces, immediately assumed command of them and advanced against the Phoenicians. While he was still on the way, Belesys, the satrap of Syria, and Mazaeus, the governor of Cilicia, having joined forces, opened the war against the Phoenicians. Tennes, the king of Sidon, acquired from the Egyptians four thousand Greek mercenary soldiers whose general was Mentor the Rhodian. With these and the citizen soldiery he engaged the aforementioned satraps, defeated them, and drove the enemy out of Phoenicia.

While these things were going on, a war broke out in Cyprus also, the actions in which were interwoven with the war we have just mentioned. For in this island were nine populous cities, and under them were ranged the small towns which were suburbs of the

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\[1\] *706* added by Hertlein.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

προσκυροῦντα ταῖς ἐννέα πόλεσιν. ἡκάστη δὲ τοὺτων εἶχε βασιλέα τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀρχοντα, τῶν δὲ 5 βασιλέων ἡμᾶς ὑποτεταγμένον. ὁτού πάντες συμφρονοῦσαντες καὶ μημῆσαμενοι τοὺς Φοινίκας ἀπέστησαν καὶ παρασκευάσαμεν τὰ πρὸς τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοκράτορας τὰς ἱδίας βασιλείας ἐποίησαν. ἐφ' οἷς παροξυσθεὶς ὁ 'Ἀρταξέρξης ἐγραμμένος πρὸς τὸν Ἰδρεάν τὸν τῆς Καρίας δυνάστην, ἀρτι μὲν παρειληφότα τὴν ἀρχὴν, φίλον δ' ὄντα καὶ σύμμαχον Περσῶν ἐκ προγόνων, ἀθροίσαι δύναμιν πεικήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν τὴν διαπολεμήσουσαν τοῖς 7 ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεύσεωι. δ' δ' δέξεως παρασκευασάμενος τριήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα στρατιώτας δὲ μικροφόρους ὀκτακισχίλιους ἐξέπεμψει εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἐπιστήσας στρατηγοῦς Φωκίωνα τὸν Ἀθηναίον καὶ Ἐυαγόραν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπανω χρόνοις 8 βεβαισιλευκότα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. οὕτως μὲν οὖν καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Κύπρον εὕθει ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάστην τῶν πόλεων Σαλαμίνα τὴν δύναμιν ἤγαγον. βαλόμενοι δὲ χάρακα καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁχυρώσαντες ἐπολιορκοῦν τοὺς Σαλαμίνους κατὰ γῆν ἀμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τῆς δὲ νῆσου πάσης ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολὺν χρόνον γενομένης καὶ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονούσης οἱ στρατιώται κρατοῦσαν τῶν ὑπ᾽ 9 αἴθρων πολλὰς ωφελείας ἦθροισαν. τῆς δὲ τούτων εὐπορίας διαβοσθείσης πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς περαιάς Συρίας τε καὶ Κιλικίας συνέρρεον ἐθελοῦντες στρατιῶται πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κέρδους. τέλος δὲ διπλασιασθείσης τῆς μετ᾽ Ἐυαγόρου καὶ Φωκίωνος δυνάμεως οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ μεγίστους φόβους ἐνέπιπτον.
nine cities. Each of these cities had a king who governed the city and was subject to the King of the Persians. All these kings in common agreement and in imitation of the Phoenicians revolted, and having made preparations for the war, declared their own kingdoms independent. Incensed at these actions, Artaxerxes wrote to Idrieus, despot of Caria, who had just acquired his office and was a friend and ally of the Persians by inheritance from his ancestors, to collect an infantry force and a navy to carry on a war with the kings in Cyprus. Idrieus, after making ready immediately forty triremes and eight thousand mercenary soldiers, sent them to Cyprus, having placed in command as their generals Phocion the Athenian and Evagoras, who had in the former period been king in the island. So these two, having sailed to Cyprus, at once led their army against Salamis, the largest of the cities. Having set up a palisade and fortified the encampment, they began to besiege the Salaminians by land and also by sea. Since all the island had enjoyed peace for a long time and the territory was wealthy, the soldiers, who had possession of the open country, gathered much booty. When word of their affluence got abroad, many soldiers from the opposite coast of Syria and Cilicia flocked over voluntarily in the hope of gain. Finally, after the army with Evagoras and Phocion had been doubled in size, the kings throughout Cyprus fell into a state of great anxiety and terror.

1 This expedition to Cyprus is placed by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 2. 285-287 in the year 344. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 152-153 is in agreement.

1 So Cospus: *(᾿Αρσενα ΠΧΦΜ, Γαρσέα RV (cp. chaps. 45. 7, 69. 2)).
Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

43. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἔκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τὴν ἀνάζευξιν ποιησάμενος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φοινίκην· ὁ δὲ τῆς Σιδῶνος δυνάστης Τέννης ἱπποδημοῦ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως καὶ νομίσας τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ ἀξιομάχοντα εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἱδίᾳ πορίζειν ἔκρινεν. Διόπερ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπόντων τὸν πιστότατον Θεσσαλίωνα λάθρα, τῶν Σιδωνίων ἐξεπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν Σιδῶνα παραδώσειν τὴν δ᾽ Αἰγυπτοῦ συνεκπολεμήσειν, μεγάλα δ᾽ αὐτῷ συνεργήσειν ἐμπειρὸν ὅτα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ τόπων καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀποβάσεις ἀκριβῶς εἴδότα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοῦ Θεσσαλίωνος τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἴσθη διαφερόντως καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσειν ἐφη τῶν Τέννης,2 πράξαντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ καθωμολογίμενα μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν ἐπηγγέλατο. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Θεσσαλίωνος ὡς καὶ δεξίαν λαβεῖν ὁ Τέννης3 ἔξωσεν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν βασιλεύς ὄργυσθε εἰς τὸν ἐπιτεθεὶς ώς εἰ πιστευόμενος παρέδωκε τὸν Θεσσαλίωνα τοὺς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προσέταξεν ἀφελεῖν τὴν κεφαλήν· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἀπαγόμενος ὁ Θεσσαλίων ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι ἄν μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, πράξεις ὁ θέλεις, ο μέντοι Τέννης4 δυνάμενος ἀπαντά καταπράξει διὰ τὸ μὴ δουλεῖ σε τὴν πλήθος οὐδὲν μὴ συντελέσει τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων, πάλιν ἀκούσας

1 So corrector in R: Τέννης Μέντωρ ΡΧ.; Μέντωρ cet. See note 2 opposite.
2 So corrector in R: Μέντορα.
3 So corrector in R: Τέννη Μέντωρ ΡΧ., ὁ μέντωρ cet.
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Such was the situation in Cyprus.

43. After this the King of the Persians, who had begun his journey from Babylon, marched with his army against Phoenicia.\(^1\) The ruler of Sidon, Tennes,\(^2\) who was informed of the great size of the Persian army and thought that the insurgents were incapable of fighting against it, decided to provide for his personal safety. Accordingly, without the knowledge of the people of Sidon, he sent the most faithful of his own henchmen, Thettalion, to Artaxerxes with the promise that he would betray Sidon to him, would assist him in vanquishing Egypt, and would render him great service, since he was acquainted with the topography of Egypt and knew accurately the landing-places along the Nile. The King on hearing from Thettalion these particulars was extremely pleased and said that he would free Tennes of the charges relative to the revolt, and he promised to give him rich rewards if he performed all that he had agreed upon. But when Thettalion added that Tennes wished him also to confirm his promise by giving his right hand, thereupon the King, flying into a rage at the thought that he was not trusted, handed Thettalion over to his attendants and gave orders to take off his head. But when, as Thettalion was being led off to his punishment, he simply said: "You, O King, will do as you please, but Tennes, though he is able to achieve complete success, since you refuse the pledge, will assuredly not perform any of his promises," the

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1 Cp. chap. 42. 2; Trogus, Prol. 10.
2 For Tennes in this chapter the MSS. consistently read Mentor.

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4 So edd.: ὁ μὲν τοι Μέντωρ most MSS., ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέντωρ X.
Diodorus of Sicily

tou̱tov̱ṉ me τενό̱σε καλ̱ µετακαλεςάμενος τούς υπη̱ρ̱- κατάς αθεί̱ναι προσέταξε καρ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐδωκε τῷ Θεσσαλίων. ἦστι δ’ ἡ πίστις αὐτῆς βεβαιοτάτη παρὰ τοὺς Πέρσας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν παρελθὼν εἰς Σιδώνα τὰ πεπραγμένα τῷ Τήνη̱ 1 λάβρα τῶν Σιδωνίων ἀπήγγειλεν.

44. Ὅς δὲ Βασίλεως ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενος τὸ κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐλάττωμα προσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων, ἀξίων συστρατεύσας τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτιος. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν φιλίαν ἐφάσαν τὴν πρὸς Πέρσας τηρεῖν, συμμαχίαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἀντέπαν. 2 Ὡθησαίοι δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι Λακράτην ἐξαπ- ἐστειλαν μετὰ χιλίων ὁπλιτῶν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τρισχι- λίους στρατιώτας ἐξεπέμψαν, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὲν οὐχ ἐλαντο, τοῦ δὲ Βασίλεως κατ’ ὀνόμα τὸν Νικόστρατον στρατηγὸν αὐτησαμένου συνεχόμεναν.

3 ἂν γὰρ ὁ ἄντιρ ὁδῶν ἀγαθὸς καὶ πράξει καὶ βου- λεύσασθαι, μεμηγμένην δ’ἐχων τῇ φρονήσει μανίαν τῇ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη διαφέρων ἐµ- μεῖτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα κατὰ τὰς στρατεύσις καὶ λεοντὴν 4 ἐφόρει καὶ ὀπολαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. ὅμοιος δὲ τούτοις οἱ τῇ παραβαλλότων τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκούντες “Ελληνες ἀπέστειλαν στρατιώτας ἐξακυσχιλίους, ὡστε τοὺς πάντας “Ελληνας γενέσθαι συμμάχους μυρίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας ὃ μὲν βασίλεως διεληλυθός τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ παραγενό-

1 Τήνη edd.: Μέντορο.
2 8’ suggested by Fischer: μεμηγμένην ἐχων.

1 See p. 348, note 2 and p. 349, note 3.

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King, hearing what he said, again changed his mind and recalling the attendants directed them to release Thettalion, and then he gave him his right hand, which is the surest pledge amongst the Persians. Thettalion accordingly returned to Sidon and reported what had happened to Tennes without the knowledge of the people of Sidon.

44. The Persian King, accounting it a matter of great importance, in view of his former defeat, to overthrow Egypt, dispatched envoys to the greatest cities of Greece requesting them to join the Persians in the campaign against the Egyptians. Now the Athenians and the Laecedaemonians replied that they continued to observe their friendship for the Persians, but were opposed to sending troops as allies. But the Thebans, choosing Locrates as general, dispatched him with a thousand hoplites. And the Argives sent three thousand men; they did not, however, choose a general themselves, but when the King requested Nicostratus specifically as general, they concurred. Now Nicostratus was good both in action and in counsel, but there was madness mingled with his intelligence; for since he excelled in bodily strength, he would imitate Hercules when on a campaign by wearing a lion’s skin and carrying a club in battle. Following the example of these states, the Greeks who inhabited the sea-coast of Asia Minor dispatched six thousand men, making the total number of Greeks who served as allies ten thousand. Before their arrival the Persian King, after he had traversed Syria

2 Cp. Isocrates, Panegyric, 161; Demosthenes, 10. 34 and Didymus, 8. 9 ff. on the passage; Philip's Letter to Demosthenes (Demosthenes, 12. 6). See also Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 535 and Hall, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 152.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μενος εἶς τὴν Φωνίκην ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὗ μακρὰν
5 τῆς Σιδώνος. οὐ δὲ Σιδώνων κεχρονικότος τοῦ
βασιλέως περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς σίτου τε καὶ ὀπλῶν
καὶ βελῶν πολλὴν ἐπιμελεῖαν ἐποιήσαντο.1 ὤμοιος
οὖν τὴν πόλιν τάφροις τριπλαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ τειχῶν
6 ὑψηλῶν κατασκευαῖς περιειλήφθεισαν. εἶχον δὲ καὶ
στρατιωτῶν ἰκανὸν πλῆθος πολιτικῶν ἐν γυμνα-
σίαις2 καὶ πόνοις ἐνθηληκός καὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων
εὔεξίαις καὶ βόμβαις διαφέρον. πλοῦτω δὲ καὶ ταῖς
allas χορηγίαις ἡ πόλις πολύ προεῖχε τῶν κατὰ
tὴν Φωνίκην πόλεων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τριήρεις καὶ
πεντήρεις εἶχε πλείως τῶν ἑκατῶν.

45. Ὅ δὲ Τέννης3 κοινωσάμενος τὴν προδοσίαν
Μέντορι τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου μισθο-
φόρων τοῦτον μὲν ἄπελπις τηροῦντα μέρος τῆς
πόλεως καὶ συνεργοῦντα τοὺς περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν
ἐγχειρομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντα-
κασίων προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, προσποιούμενος
ἑπὶ κοινὴν τῶν Φωνίκων σύνοδον ἀπαντῶν· ἦγε
δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν
2 ἑκατόν ὡς συμβουλίου. ἔπει δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν τοῦ
βασιλέως, συναρπάσας τοὺς ἑκατόν παρέδωκε τῷ
'Ἀρταξέρξῃ. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν
ὡς φίλον τοὺς μὲν ἑκατόν ὡς αὐτίκος ὅντας τῆς
ἀποστάσεως κατηκότως, πεντακόσιων δὲ τῶν
πρῶτων Σιδώνων μεθ' ἐκείρημα ἀπαντησάντων
ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸν Τέννην καὶ ἐπηράτησεν εἰ δύναται
tὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι σφόδρα γὰρ ἐσπευδῇ
μὴ δὲ ὤμολογίας τὴν Σιδώνα παραλαβεῖν, ὅπως
ἀπαραιτήτους συμφοράς περιβαλλόν τοὺς Σιδω-
νίους τῇ τούτων τιμωρίᾳ καταπλῆξηται τὰς ἄλλας

1 Fischer suggests ἐπεσοῦτο.
and reached Phoenicia, encamped not far from Sidon. As for the Sidonians, while the King had been slow to move, they attended assiduously to the preparation of food, armour, and missiles. Likewise they had encompassed their city with huge triple ditches and constructions of lofty walls. They had also an ample number of citizen soldiers well trained in exercises and hard work and of superior bodily condition and strength. In wealth and in other resources the city far excelled the other cities of Phoenicia and, most important of all, it had more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes.

45. Tennes, having confided his scheme for betrayal to Mentor the commander of the mercenaries from Egypt, left him to guard a portion of the city and to act in concert with his agents handling the betrayal, while he himself, with five hundred men, marched out of the city, pretending that he was going to a common meeting of the Phoenicians, and he took with him the most distinguished of the citizens, to the number of one hundred, in the rôle of advisers. When they had come near the King he suddenly seized the hundred and delivered them to Artaxerxes. The King, welcoming him as a friend, had the hundred shot as instigators of the revolt, and when five hundred of the leading Sidonians carrying olive branches as suppliants approached him, he summoned Tennes and asked him if he was able to deliver the city to him; for he was very eager not to receive Sidon on the terms of a capitulation, since his aim was to overwhelm the Sidonians with a merciless disaster and to strike terror into the

1 Cp. chap. 42. 2.

2 So Fischer (cp. Pollux, 10. 30. 4): γυμνασίως.
3 Τένης Μέντωρ Χ, which omits Μέντωρ.
3 πόλεις. τού δὲ Τέννου διαβεβαιωσαμένου παρα-
δώσεως τὴν πόλιν ὁ βασιλέας, φυλάττων τῇ ὄργῃ ἀπαράβτητον, ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἔχοντας 
tὰς ἱκετηρίας κατηκόντωσεν. εἰθὰ́ δὲ μὲν Τέννης 
προσελθὼν τοῖς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μυσθοφόροις ἔπεισεν 
αὐτοὺς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τε καὶ 
4 τὸν βασιλέα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Σιδῶν διὰ τοιαύτης προ-
δοσίας ὑποχείριους ἐγένετο τοῖς Πέρσαις. ὁ δὲ 
βασιλεὺς υπολαβὼν τὸν Τέννην μηκέτι χρῆσιμον 
ὑπάρχειν ἀνέλευ. οὐ δὲ Σιδῶνοι πρὸ μὲν τῆς 
παρουσίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἔνεπρησαν ἀπάσας τὰς ναοὺς, 
ὅπως μηδεὶς δύνηται τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπλεύσας 
ιδίαν σωτηρίαν πορίζεσθαι: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν πόλιν 
ἐξώριν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατειλημμένα καὶ πολλὰς 
μυριάς στρατιωτῶν περιεχόμενα, συγκλείσαντες 
ἔαντος καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς οἰκίας 
5 ἐνέπρησαν. φασὶ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τότε δια-
φθαρέντας σὺν τοῖς οἰκετικοῖς σώματι γεγονέναι 
πλείους τῶν τετρακισμιρῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πά-
θους περὶ τοὺς Σιδωνίους γεγομένου καὶ τῆς πόλεως 
ὅλης μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφαν-
σθείσης τὴν πυρκαῖδον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέδωσεν πολλῶν 
6 ταλάντων· διὰ γὰρ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῶν ἐνωκήκο-
των εὐρέθη πολὺς ἄργυρος τε καὶ χρυσός ὑπὸ τοῦ 
πυρὸς κεχωνευμένος. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Σιδῶνα 
συμβάντα δυστυχήματα τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν κατα-

1 So Wesseling: iδίαν.

was cynically executed by Ochus, and Mentor with equal 
cynicism taken into his service," with the doubts expressed 
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other cities by their punishment. When Tennes assured him that he would deliver up the city, the King, maintaining his merciless rage, had all five hundred shot down while still holding the supplicant branches. Thereupon Tennes, approaching the mercenaries from Egypt, prevailed upon them to lead him and the King inside the walls. So Sidon by this base betrayal was delivered into the power of the Persians; and the King, believing that Tennes was of no further use to him, put him to death.\(^1\) But the people of Sidon before the arrival of the King burned all their ships so that none of the townspeople should be able by sailing out secretly to gain safety for himself. But when they saw the city and the walls captured and swarming with many myriads of soldiers, they shut themselves, their children, and their women up in their houses and consumed them all in flames. They say that those who were then destroyed in the fire, including the domestics, amounted to more than forty thousand. After this disaster had befallen the Sidonians and the whole city together with its inhabitants had been obliterated by the fire, the King sold that funeral pyre for many talents, for as a result of the prosperity of the householders there was found a vast amount of silver and gold melted down by the fire. So the disasters which had overtaken Sidon had such an

by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 1. 535, note 2: "Tennes' Hinrichtung lässt es zweifelhaft erscheinen, ob er wirklich ein Verräter gewesen ist und nicht vielmehr bloss eine Kapitulation abgeschlossen hat, die dann nicht gehalten worden ist."

\(^2\) Beloch doubts (*Griechische Geschichte*, 3. 1. 535, note 2) if the catastrophe at Sidon could have been as complete as Diodorus reports, since Sidon twelve years later (at the time of Alexander) was a large powerful city. Cp. Arrian, *Alexander*, 2. 20 ff. and Curtius, 4. 1. 15.
στροφήν, αἰ δ’ ἄλλαι πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσ- 
εχώρησαν τοὺς Πέρσας.

7 Ἡρακλῆς δὲ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἀρτέμισία 
μὲν ἡ Καρίας δυναστεύουσα μετήλλαξεν ἀρχαὶ 
ἐτη δύο, τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν Ἰδρεὺς ὁ ἄδελφός 
διεδέχετο καὶ ἦρξεν ἐτη ἐπτά. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰτα- 
λίαν Ὁρμαῖοι πρὸς μὲν Πρασινίτους ἀνοχάς, 
πρὸς δὲ Σαμνίτας συνθήκας ἐπούξαντο, Ταρκυ- 
νίους δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ ἐξήκοντα δημοσίως 
ἐθανάτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 
Λεπτίνης καὶ Κάλλιττπος οἱ Συρακοσίοι δύναμιν 
ἐχοντες ἐξεπολιόρκησαν Ἡρίμιον φρουροῦμενον ὑπὸ 
Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ τὴν 
μὲν φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ Ὁρμαίον τὴν 
ἀυτονομίαν ἀπεκατέστησαν.

46. Ἔπε ἄρχοντος δ’ Ἀθηναίων Ἀπολλοδότου 
Ῥομαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέρου 
καὶ Γάιον Σουλπίκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν 
Κύπρον Σαλαμινῶν πολιορκοῦμένων ὑπ’ Ἑυαγόρου 
καὶ Φωκίδων οἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀπασάι τοῖς 
Πέρσαις ὑπετάγησαν, τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνος βασιλεύων 
2 Πυταγόρας ὑπέμεινε τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ’ 
Ἑυαγόρας πατρίδος ἀρχὴν τὴν Σαλαμινῶν ἀν- 
εκτάτο καὶ διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Πέρσων τὴν κάθ- 
οδον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐποιεῖτο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 
διαβληθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ τοῦ βασι- 
λέως βοηθοῦντος τῷ Πυταγόρᾳ δ’ μὲν Ἑυαγόρας

1 So Dindorf: ἐπολιόρκησαν (cp. chap. 33. 4).
2 So Wesseling: Πυταγόρας (Ῥο-Ρ) (cp. Book 15. 4. 3, 
where Vogel restores Πυτ- (MSS. Πυθ-)). Cp. also Cur-
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ending, and the rest of the cities, panic-stricken, went over to the Persians.

Shortly before this time Artemisia, who had held despotic rule over Caria, passed away after ruling two years, and Idrieus, her brother, succeeded to the despotism and ruled seven years. In Italy the Romans made an armistice with the people of Praeneste, and a treaty with the Samnites, and they put to death two hundred sixty inhabitants of Tarquinii at the hands of the public executioners in the Forum. In Sicily Leptines and Callippus, the Syracusans then in power, took by siege Rhegium, which was garrisoned by the tyrant Dionysius the younger, ejected the garrison, and restored to the people of Rhegium their independence.

46. When Apollodorus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius and Gaius Sulpicius. During their term of office, in Cyprus, while the people of Salamis were being besieged by Evagoras and Phocion, the rest of the cities all became subject to the Persians, and Pnytagoras, the king of Salamis, alone continued to endure the siege. Now Evagoras was endeavouring to recover his ancestral rule over the Salaminians and through the help of the King of the Persians to be restored to his kingship. But later, when he had been falsely accused to Artaxerxes and the King was backing Pnytagoras,

1 See chap. 42. 6-7.
2 Cp. Livy, 7. 19. 2-3, who gives 358 as the number executed.
3 Demolished by the Elder Dionysius but restored by the Younger according to Strabo, 6. 1. 6.
4 See chap. 42. 7-9.
5 Grandson of Evagoras I and son of Pnytagoras.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἀπογνώστη τὴν κάθοδον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολογητόμενος ἀλλὰς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθη κατὰ τὴν
3 Ἀσίαν μείζονος. κακῶς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄρχην διοικήσεις ἔφυγε πάλιν εἰς Κύπρον καὶ συνληθεῖσις
tιμωρίας ἡξιώθη. δὲ δὲ Πυταγόρας ἐκουσώσ
υποταγεῖς τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ λοιπὸν ἄδειος ἐβασίλευσ
τῆς Σαλαμῖνος.

4 ο δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν ἀλώσιν
tῆς Σιδὼνος, παραγενομένων αὐτῶ τῶν συμμάχων
ἐκ τῆς 'Αργοῦς καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
'Ελληνιδῶν πόλεων, ἀθροίσας πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν
5 προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ. καταντήσας δὲ ἐπὶ
tὴν μεγάλην λίμνην καὶ ἦν ἐστὶ τὰ καλούμενα
Βάραθρα, μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέβαλε διὰ τὴν
ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λίμνην
φύσεως καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς παραδόξου συμπτώ-
ματος προειρηκότες ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ τὸ διόργειν
6 περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν παράγομεν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ Βά-
ραθρα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦκεν πρὸς
tὸ Πηλούσιον. αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου
στόματος καὶ δὲν τόπου ὁ Νεῖλος ποιεῖται τὰς
ἐκβολάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν
ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τοῦ Πηλούσιον; οἱ δὲ
7 Ἑλληνες πρὸς αὐτῶ τῷ πολίσματι. οἱ δὲ Ἀἰγυ-
πτίοι, δεδωκότων αὐτοῖς τῶν Περσῶν πολὺν χρόνον
eis τὴν παρασκευήν, πάντα μὲν τὰ στόματα τοῦ
Νείλου καλῶς κατεσκευακότες ὑπῆρχον, μάλιστα
dὲ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Πηλούσιῳ διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι τοῦτο
8 καὶ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐκαίριος. ἐφορύσαν δὲ τὸ
χωρίον στρατιωταὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγοῦντος
Φιλόφρονος τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι

1 See note 2 on p. 364.
Evagoras, after having given up hope of his restoration and made his defence on the accusations brought against him, was accorded another and higher command in Asia. But then when he had misgoverned his province he fled again to Cyprus and, arrested there, paid the penalty. Pnytagoras, who had made willing submission to the Persians, continued thenceforth to rule unmolested as king in Salamis.

After the capture of Sidon and the arrival of his allies from Argos and Thebes and the Greek cities in Asia, the King of the Persians assembled all his army and advanced against Egypt. As he came to the great marsh where are the Barathra or Pits, as they are called, he lost a portion of his army through his lack of knowledge of the region. Since we have discoursed earlier on the nature of the marsh 1 and the peculiar mishaps which occur there in the first Book of our History, we shall refrain from making a second statement about it. Having passed through the Barathra with his army the King came to Pelium. This is a city at the first mouth at which the Nile debouches into the sea. Now the Persians encamped at a distance of forty stades from Pelium, but the Greeks close to the town itself. The Egyptians, since the Persians had given them plenty of time for preparation, had already fortified well all the mouths of the Nile, particularly the one near Pelium because it was the first and the most advantageously situated. Five thousand soldiers garrisoned the position, Philophron the Spartiate being the general in command.

1 See Book 1, 30, 4-9 and Book 20, 73, 3.

2 πάντα μὲν τὰ ματά P, n. μ. τὰ πολίσματα X.
3 So Hertlein, 2, 1, p. 24: στρατηγοῦ.
σπεύδοντες ἀριστοὶ φανήσαι τῶν συστατευομένων Ἑλλήνων πρώτοι καὶ μόνοι διὰ στενῆς τινος καὶ βαθείας διώρυγος ἐτολμήσαν διαβήναι παραβόλως. 9 διαβάντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσβαλλόντων τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ φρουροῦντες τὸ Πηλοῦσιον ἐκχυθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συνήθηναν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους: μεγάλου δὲ ἀγώνος γενομένου διὰ τὰς παρ’ ἀμφότεροις φιλοτιμίαις τότε μὲν ἐν τῷ κωδώνω διημερεύσατο ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς διελύθησαν.

47. Τῇ δ’ ύστεραιᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν μερίσαντος ἐκάστῃ μερίς εἰχε στρατηγὸν Ἑλληνα καὶ τούτῳ παρακάθεσαν μὲν ἡγεμόνα Πέρσην, ἄνδρα δὲ προκεκριμένον ἐπὶ 2 ἀρετῇ τε καὶ εὐνοίᾳ. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην τάξιν ἐπείχον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἐχοντες Λακράτην τῶν Θηβαίων, ἡγεμόνα δὲ Πέρσην Ῥωσάκην: ὀντὸς δὲ ἀπόγονος μὲν ἡν ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπτὰ Περσῶν τῶν τοὺς μάγους καταλυσάντων, σατράπης δὲ Ἰωνίας καὶ Λυδίας: συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολλῇ μὲν ὀπός οὐκ ὀλίγῃ δὲ πεζῷ στρατιά τῶν βαρβάρων. 3 δευτέρα δὲ ἦν μερίς ἡ τῶν Ἀργείων Νικοστράτου στρατηγοῦντος καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ Πέρσου συνάρχοντος Ἀρισταζάνου: ὀντὸς δ’ ἦν εἰσαγγελεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πιστότατος τῶν φίλων μετὰ Βαγῶν: προσωρίζοντας δ’ αὐτῷ στρατιῶν μὲν ἐπιλέκτου πεντα-4 κωχιλίοι, τριήρεις δὲ ὀγδοίκοντα. τῆς δὲ τρίτης μερίδος ἐστράτηγε Μέντωρ ὁ τὴν Σιδώνα παρα-

1 καὶ προσβαλλόντων added by Fischer (cp. Book 15. 65. 4): αὐτῶν (τοῖς τείχεσι RX) οἱ φρ.
2 Πέρσην, ἄνδρα Carrs: ἄνδρα Πέρσην.
3 ἐνὸς added by Reiske (cp. Book 19. 40. 2).
The Thebans, being eager to show themselves the best of the Greeks that were taking part in the expedition, were the first to venture, unsupported and recklessly, to make a crossing through a narrow and deep canal. They had passed through it and were assaulting the walls when the garrison of Pelusium sallied forth from the city and engaged in battle with the Thebans. As the engagement proved severe because of the intense rivalry on both sides, they spent the whole of that day in the battle and were separated only by the night.

47. Then on the next day, as the King divided the Greek army into three contingents, each contingent had a Greek general, and stationed along beside him a Persian officer, a man preferred above the others for valour and loyalty. Now the forward position was held by the Boecotians, who had as general the Theban Lacrates and as Persian officer Rhosaces. The latter was a descendant of one of the seven Persians who deposed the Magi; he was satrap of Ionia and Lydia, and he was accompanied by a large force of cavalry and no small body of infantry composed of barbarians. Next in line was the Argive contingent of which Nicostratus was general and with him as Persian colleague Aristazanes. The latter was an usher of the King and the most faithful of his friends after Bagoas; and assigned to him were five thousand élite soldiers and eighty triremes. Of the third contingent Mentor was general, he who had betrayed

1 See the famous account in Herod. 3. 76-79.
2 It was the duty of an usher to make announcements to the King, and introduce ambassadors of foreign nations and others who required an audience with the King. Only those seven who had slain the Magi were permitted to enter the royal presence ἱπποφοίτης (ep. Herod. 3. 84).
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δούς, ἔχων τοὺς προὐπάρχοντας αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους· συνεστρατεύετο δ' αὐτῷ Βαγώας, ὥς μάλιστα βασιλεὺς ἐνεπίστευε, τόλμη καὶ παρανομία διαφέρων· εἰχε δ' ὅτατος τοὺς τού βασιλέως Ἑλληνας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱκανὸν πλῆθος καὶ ναῖς οὕκ ὀλίγας. δ' αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἔχων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς οἷοις πράγμασιν. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς διαμέρεσεως γενομένης παρὰ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅ μὲν τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Νεκτανεβώς οὖτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμιῶν οὖτε τὴν ὅλην διάταξιν τῶν Πέρσων κατεπλάγη, 6 καίπερ πολὺ λειπόμενος τοῦ πλῆθους. εἰχε γὰρ Ἑλληνας μὲν μισθοφόρους δισμύριους, Λίβνας δὲ παραπλησίους τούτους, Ἀιγυπτίους δὲ τοὺς μαχιμοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὠνομαζόμενους ἐξακισμύριους, πρὸς δὲ τούτους πλοίων ποταμίων πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νείλον μάχας καὶ συμπλοκὰς εὐθέτων ἀπεστατοῦν 7 πλῆθος. ὁχύρωτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἦ ρὸς τὴν Ἄραβιαν νεόουσα πλευρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πεπυκνωμένη πολίσμασιν, ἔτι δὲ τείχες καὶ τάφρους πάσα διεισήμενη. ἔχων δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρασκευάς πάσας πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανὰς, διὰ τὴν ἱδιὰν ἀβουλίαν ταχὺ τοῖς οἷοῖς ἐπταισθεν.

48. Αἰτία δ' ἐγένετο τῆς ἤττης μάλισθ' ἡ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρία καὶ τὸ προνεκκύσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ὅπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης γεγενημένην 2 στρατείαν. ἐσχήκως γὰρ τοὺς τότε στρατηγοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ διαφέροντας ἀρετῇ τε καὶ
BOOK XVI. 47. 4—48. 2

Sidon, having the mercenaries that were formerly under his command; and associated with him on the expedition was Bagoas, whom the King trusted most, a man exceptionally daring and impatient of propriety; and he had the King's Greeks and an ample force of barbarians and not a few ships. The King himself with the remainder of the army held himself in reserve for the whole operation.¹ Such being the distribution of the army on the Persian side, the king of the Egyptians, Nectanebôs, was dismayed neither by the multitude of the enemy nor by the general disposition of the Persian forces, though his numbers were far inferior. In fact he had twenty thousand Greek mercenaries, about the same number of Libyans, and sixty thousand Egyptians of the caste known amongst them as "The Warriors", and besides these an incredible number of river-boats suited for battles and engagements on the Nile. The bank of the river facing Arabia had been strongly fortified by him, being a region crowded with towns and, besides, all intersected by walls and ditches. Although he had ready also all the other preparations which were adequate for the war, yet because of his own poor judgement he soon met with complete disaster.

48. The reason for his defeat was chiefly his lack of experience as a general and the fact that the Persians had been defeated by him in the previous expedition. For he had then had as his generals men who were distinguished and superior both in valour

¹ As an ἐφεδρος, the third pugilist or wrestler, who sat by to take on the winner; in this case as a reserve if the issue was at stake. Cp. chap. 48. 3 τῶν ἐκκαιροτάτων τῶν ἐνβολῶν ἐφηδρευν.

¹ τῆς PX (cp. chap. 48. 3); other MSS. omit.
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ἀγχινοίᾳ στρατηγικῇ, Διόφαντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λάμιον τῶν Σπαρτιάτην, διὰ τούτων ἀπαντᾷ κατ- ὁρθώς· τότε δ’ ὕπολαμβάνων ἐαυτὸν ἰκανὸν εἶναι στρατηγὸν οὐδὲν τῆς ἰγκεμονίας μετεδίδου καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν οὐδὲν ἢδύνατο πράττειν τῶν ἐν τῷ 3 πολέμῳ χρησίμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολίσματα φρουραῖς ἀξιολόγοις διαλαβὼν παρεφύλαττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν Ἁγιντίων ἔχων τρισμυρίους, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλή- νων πεντακισχίλιων, τῶν δὲ Λιβύων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ταῖς εὐκαριστάταις τῶν εὐβολῶν ἐφήδρευεν. το- αὐτῆς δὲ παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους οὕτης τῆς διωτάξεως Ἱππόστατος μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἄργειῶν στρατηγὸς ἔχων ἰγκεμόνας Ἁγιντίους ἢν ἦσαν ὁμορρ παῖδες παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ γυναῖκες, παρέπλευσε μετὰ τοῦ οὐτοῦ διὰ τόν διώρυγον εἰς τόπον κεκρυμμένον, ἐκβιβάσας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ παρεμβολῆν 4 ὀχυρωσάμενος κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἳ δὲ τῶν πλη- σίον τόπον παραφύλλοντος μισθοφόροι τῶν Ἁγι- ντίων ὡς ἢθικοτο τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρουσίαν εὐθὺς ἐξεβοήθουν, ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἐπτα- 5 κυχλίων. ἔχων δ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἰγκεμονίαν Κλείνος ὁ Κόης συνέταξε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην. ἀντι- ταχθέντων δὲ τῶν καταπεπλευκότων ἐγένετο καρ- τερὰ μάχη καθ’ ὅν οἱ μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν Ἑλληνες ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τὸν τε στρατηγὸν Κλείνον ἐφόνευσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν κατέκοψαν 6 πλείους τῶν πεντακισχίλιων. Νεκτανεβῶς δ’ ὁ τῶν Ἁγιντίων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπώλειαν κατεπλάγη, νομίζας καὶ τὴν λυπήν τῶν 372
and in sagacity in the art of war, Diophantus 1 the Athenian and Lamius the Spartan, and it was because of them that he had been victorious in all respects. At this time, however, since he supposed that he himself was a competent general, he would not share the command with anyone and so, because of his inexperience, was unable to execute any of the moves that would have been useful in this war. Now when he had provided the towns here and there with considerable garrisons, he maintained a strict guard there, and having in his own command thirty thousand Egyptians, five thousand Greeks, and half the Libyans, he held them in reserve to defend the most exposed approaches. Such being the disposition of the forces on both sides, Nicostratus, the general of the Argives, having as guides Egyptians whose children and wives were held as hostages by the Persians, sailed by with his fleet through a canal into a hidden district and, disembarking his men and fortifying a site for a camp, encamped there. The mercenaries of the Egyptians who were keeping a strict guard in the neighbourhood, observing the presence of the enemy, straightway made a sally in number not less than seven thousand. Cleinius the Coan, their commander, drew up his force in line of battle. And when those who had sailed in were drawn up opposite, a sharp battle ensued in the course of which the Greeks serving with the Persians, fighting brilliantly, slew the general Cleinius and cut down more than five thousand of the rest of the soldiers. Nectanebôs the Egyptian king, on hearing of the loss of his men, was terror-stricken, thinking that the rest of the Persian army

1 Cp. Isocrates, Letters, 8. 8. Diophantus was still absent from Athens at the time of this letter, 350 B.C.
Περσῶν δύναμιν ῥαδίως διαβήσεσθαι τοῖν ποταμών.
7 ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἥξειν τὴν Μέμφιν ἔκρωτε ταύτης
μάλιστα προνοήσασθαι. οὖτος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τῆς
περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιάς ἑπανελθὼν εἰς Μέμφιν τὰ
πρὸς τὴν πολυορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο.

49. Ὅ δὲ τῆς πρώτης1 μερίδος ἀφηγούμενος
Λακράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πηλούσιον πο-
λυρκίαν ἀφρίμησεν· ἀποστρέφας δὲ τῆς διώρυγος
τὸ βεῦμα πρὸς ἑτέρα μέρη καὶ τὸν ἀναξιρανθέντα
τότον χώσας μηχανὰς προσήγαγε τῇ πολεί. ἐπὶ
πολὺ δὲ μέρος πεζῶν τῶν τειχῶν οἱ τὸ Πηλού-
σιον φρουροῦντες δὲ ἐξέως ἀντικοδόμησαν ἑτέρα καὶ
2 πύργους ἔυλωσιν ἀξιολόγους ἀνέστησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ
τινὰς ἡμέρας συνεχῶς γινομένης τῆς τειχομαχίας
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον Ἕλληνες
ἐρρωμένως ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολυορκοῦντας· ὡς δὲ
ἐπιθύμοντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναχώρησιν εἰς Μέμφιν
3 καταπλαγέντες περὶ διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβεύοντο.
τού δὲ Λακράτους δόντος αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὁρκῶν πίστεις
ὅτι παραδόντων αὐτῶν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀποκουμισθή-
σουται πάντες εἰς τὴν Ἕλλαδα μὲθ’ ὁν ἄν ἐξ-
4 ενέγκωσι, παρέδωκαν τὸ φρουρίον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα
ὁ μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης ἀπέστειλε Βαγων μετὰ στρα-
τιωτῶν βαρβάρων παραληψόμενον τὸ Πηλούσιον,
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται παρίσταντες εἰς τὸ χώριον τῶν
ἐξεύρων Ἕλληνων ἀφηγοῦντο πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐ-
5 τῶν ἐκκομμουμένων. ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ τῶν ἀδι-
κουμένων καὶ θεοῦς τοὺς ἐπόπτας τῶν ὁρκῶν
ἐπιβομμένων παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Λακράτης τροπῆν
ἐποίησε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τινὰς καταβαλὼν ἐπι-

1 So most MSS., supported by chap. 47. 2: δευτέρας ΡΧ.

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also would easily cross the river. Assuming that the enemy with their entire army would come to the gates of Memphis, he decided first and foremost to take precautionary measures to protect the city. Accordingly he returned to Memphis with the army he had retained and began to prepare for the siege.

49. Lacrates the Theban, who was in command of the first contingent, hastened to begin the siege of Pelusium. First he diverted the stream of the canal to other directions, then when the channel had become dry he filled it with earth and brought siege engines against the city. When a large portion of the walls fell, the garrison in Pelusium quickly built others to oppose the advance and reared huge towers of wood. The battle for the walls continued for several days running and at first the Greeks in Pelusium vigorously warded off the besiegers; but when they learned of the king's withdrawal to Memphis they were so terror-stricken that they sent envoys to arrange for a settlement. Since Lacrates gave them pledges backed by oaths to the effect that if they surrendered Pelusium they would all be conveyed back to Greece with whatever they could carry on their backs, they delivered over the citadel. After this Artaxerxes dispatched Bagoas with barbarian soldiers to take over Pelusium, and the soldiers, arriving at the place as the Greeks were issuing forth, seized upon many of the articles they were carrying out. The victims of this injustice in their anger called loudly upon the gods who were guardians of their oaths, whereupon Lacrates became incensed, put the barbarians to flight, slaying a number of them, thus
6 ἐκούρησε τοῖς παρασπονδουμένοις. τοῦ δὲ Βαγώνος φυγόντος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λακράτους ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἐκρινε δίκαια πεπονθέναι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βαγώνα καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς αὐτίους τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν Πηλούσιον τούτων τὸν τρόπον παρεδόθη τοῖς Πέρσαις.

7 Μέντωρ δὲ ὁ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους ἡγούμενος Βούβαστον καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας πόλεις χειρωσάμενος ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ δι’ ἐνὸς στρατηγήματος. πασῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων φρουρουμένων ὑπὸ δυνέων ἑθνῶν, Ἐλλήνων, τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ Μέντωρ διέδωκε λόγον εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης τοὺς μὲν ἐκουσίως παραδίδοντι τὰς πόλεις φιλανθρώπως χρῆσασθαι διέγνωκε, τοῖς δὲ βίᾳ κρατηθεῖσα τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονέμειν τιμωρίαν ἵνα περὶ τῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπέστησεν καὶ τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὰς πύλας παρῆγγειλεν εὰν τοὺς βουλομένους

8 παρ’ αὐτῶν αὐτομολεῖν. διόπερ ἀκολούθως τῶν Ἡλωκότων Αἰγυπτίων ἀπίοντας ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ταχέως εἰς ὅπασας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων πόλεις ὁ λόγος ὁ προειρημένος διεσπάρθη. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ μισθοφόροι πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχώριους πανταχῆ διεφεροῦσι καὶ στάσεως αἱ πόλεις ἐπληροῦντο. ἐκάτεροι γὰρ ἴδια διεφιλοτιμοῦντο παραδίδοναι τὰ φρούρα καὶ τῆς χάριτος ταύτης ἰδίας ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδας ἠλάττωντο. ὡσ περὶ πρώτην τὴν Βούβαστον συνέβη γενέσθαι.

50. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέντωρα καὶ Βαγώνα πλησίον αὐτῆς κατεστρατοπεδεύσαν, οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοι λάθρα τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐξεύρεσαν τινὰ πρὸς

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1 So Reiske: Ἐλλήνων.
2 So Stephanus: ἐλπίδος ἠλάττωντο.
standing by the Greeks, the sufferers from the broken pledges. But when Bagoas fled to the King and brought accusation against Lacerates, Artaxerxes decided that Bagoas' contingent had met with their just deserts and put to death the Persians who were responsible for the robbery. So it was in this fashion that Pelusium was delivered over to the Persians.

Mentor, who was in command of the third contingent, captured Bubastus and many other cities and made them subject to the King by a single strategic device. For since all the cities were garrisoned by two peoples, Greeks and Egyptians, Mentor passed the word around to the soldiers that King Artaxerxes had decided to treat magnanimously those who voluntarily surrendered their cities, but to mete out the same penalty to those who were overcome by force as he had imposed on the people of Sidon; and he instructed those who guarded the gates to give free passage to any who wished to desert from the other side. Accordingly, since the captured Egyptians were leaving the barracks without hindrance, the aforementioned word was quickly scattered amongst all the cities of Egypt. Immediately, therefore, the mercenaries were everywhere at variance with the natives and the cities were filled with strife; for each side was privately endeavouring to surrender its posts and nursing private hopes of gain in exchange for this favour; and this is what actually happened in the case of the city of Bubastus first.

50. When, namely, the forces of Mentor and Bagoas were encamped near Bubastus, the Egyptians, without the knowledge of the Greeks, sent an envoy
τὸν Βαγώαν ἐπαγγελλόμενον παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν ἕαν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν συγχωρήσωσιν. οἷς ἔνθα Ἐλλήνης αἰσθόμενος τὸ γεγονὸς κατεδίωξαν τὸν ἀπεσταλμένον καὶ φόβον ἐπικρεμάσαντες ἥκουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἐφ' οἷς παραξυνθέντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τινὰς δὲ τραυματίας ποιήσαντες τοὺς λυσός συνήλασαν εἰς τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. οἷς ἡμηθέντες δηλώσαντες τῷ Βαγώα τῷ γεγονός ἥξιον κατὰ τάχος ἐλθόντα παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν παρ' αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἐλλήνων πρὸς τὸν Μέντορα λάβα αἰκηρυκευσαμένως ὁ Μέντωρ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς, ὅταν Βαγώας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέλθῃ, τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοῦ Βαγώου μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν εἰσιόντος ἀνευ τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων συγκαταθέσεως καὶ μέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰσελήλυθότοι οἱ μὲν Ἐλλήνης ἁφινὶ τὰς θύρας κλείσαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ὑπάρχουσι καὶ πάντας ἀνελόντες τὸν Βαγώαν αὐτὸν ἐξώ-

γρήσαν. ὁ δὲ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπίθοις ὀρῶν ἐν τῷ Μέντορι κειμέναι ἐδείχθη σῶσαι καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν κατεπηγγείλατο μὴ θέν πράξειν ἀνευ τῆς ἕκεινου γνώμης. ὁ δὲ Μέντωρ πείσας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἁφεῖναί τὸν Βαγώαν καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν παράδοσιν τῇ μὲν ἐπιγραφήν τοῦ προτερήματος αὐτὸς ἀπεννέκατο, τῷ δὲ Βαγώα τῆς σωτηρίας ἄτιος γενόμενος συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν κουνοπραγιάν καὶ δους ὀρκοὺς καὶ λαβὼν περὶ τούτων διετέλεσε τὴν σύνθεσιν φιλάττων μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. διὸ καὶ συνέβη τούτως παρὰ βασιλεῖς συμφρονοῦντας ὅστερον πλείστον ἱσχύσαι τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν τῶν παρ' Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ
to Bagoas offering to deliver the city if he would consent to their safety. The Greeks, having knowledge of the mission, overtook the envoy and by dire threats extracted the truth, whereat they were much enraged and attacked the Egyptians, slew some, wounded others, and herded the rest into a quarter of the city. The discomfited men, having notified Bagoas of what had taken place, asked him to come with all speed and receive the city from themselves. But the Greeks had been privately treating with Mentor, who gave them secret encouragement, as soon as Bagoas should enter Bubastus, to attack the barbarians. Later on, when Bagoas with the Persians was entering the city without the sanction of the Greeks and a portion of his men had got inside, the Greeks suddenly closed the gates and attacked those who were inside the walls, and, having slain all the men, took Bagoas himself prisoner. The latter, seeing that his hopes of safety lay in Mentor, besought him to spare his life and promised in future to do nothing without his advice. Mentor, who now prevailed upon the Greeks to set Bagoas free and to arrange the surrender through himself, won credit himself for his success, but, having become responsible for Bagoas’ life, he made an agreement with him for common action, and after an exchange of pledges on this matter kept the agreement faithfully till the end of his life. The result of this was that these two by their co-operation in the service of the King attained later on to the greatest power of all the friends and relatives

1 So Stephanus: ἀναγραφήν.
μὲν γὰρ Μέντωρ ἐν τοῖς παραθαλασσίοις μέρεσι
tῆς Ἀσίας ἥγεμων μέγιστος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῷ
βασιλεὶ μεγάλας παρεῖχετο χρείας ἐκ μὲν τῆς
Ἐλλάδος μισθοφόρους ἀθροίζων καὶ πέμπων πρὸς
Ἀρταξέρξην, κατὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις ἀνδρείως καὶ
8 πιστῶς ἀπαντᾷ διοικών· ὁ δὲ Βαγώνας ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
σατράπελαίς ἀπαντὰ τῷ βασιλεὶ δισκηκώς1 τοσοῦτον
ἐσχυσε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Μέντορα κοινωνίαν
tῶν πράξεων ὡστε τῆς βασιλείας κύριον εἶναι καὶ
μηδὲν πράττειν τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἀνευ τῆς ἑκείνου
γνώμης. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑκείνου τελευτήν τοὺς δια-
δόχους αἰεὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὗτος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ
πάντα βασιλέως εἰχε πλῆν τῆς προσηγορίας. ἀλλὰ
περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις
χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

51. Τότε δὲ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Βουβάστου παράδοσιν
ἀλλοτριαὶ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρ-
εδόθησαν τοῖς Πέρσαις. ἐν δὲ τῇ Μέμφει δια-
τρίβων οἱ βασιλεὺς Νεκτανεβὼς καὶ θεωρῶν τὴν
τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν3 ὄρμην οὐκ ἐτόλμη-
σεν ὑποστῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κυνίων.
ἀπογνώσει οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν
χρημάτων ἀναλαβὼν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.

2 Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ παραλαβὼν πάσαν τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἄξιολογοτάτων πόλεων τὰ τείχη περιλέικὸν
τα μὲν ἑρὰ συλήσας ἰθροευν ἀρχύρου τε καὶ
χρυσοῦ πλῆθος, ἀπήγγει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
ἄρχαιν ἵερων ἀναγραφάς, ὅς ὀστερον Βαγώνας

1 So Stephanus: ἀπαντὰ δισκηκώς τῷ βασιλεῖ τοσοῦτον

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at Artaxerxes' court. In fact Mentor, having been appointed to the chief command in the coastal districts of Asia, performed great services to the King in gathering mercenaries from Greece and sending them to Artaxerxes, and in the course of his activities administering all his duties courageously and loyally. As for Bagoas, after he had administered all the King's affairs in the upper satrapies, he rose to such power because of his partnership with Mentor that he was master of the kingdom, and Artaxerxes did nothing without his advice. And after Artaxerxes' death he designated in every case the successor to the throne and enjoyed all the functions of kingship save the title. But of these matters we shall record the details in their proper chronological sequence.

51. At the time under consideration, after the surrender of Bubastus, the remaining cities, terror-stricken, were delivered to the Persians by capitulation. But King Nectanebōs, while still tarrying in Memphis and perceiving the trend of the cities toward betrayal, did not dare risk battles for his dominion. So giving up hope of his kingship and taking with him the greater part of his possessions, he fled into Aethiopia. Artaxerxes, after taking over all Egypt and demolishing the walls of the most important cities, by plundering the shrines gathered a vast quantity of silver and gold, and he carried off the inscribed records from the ancient temples, which later on

1 In the interior. Bagoas was commander of the King's bodyguard. He arranged the succession by the use of poison (cp. Book 17. 5. 3-4) and was himself its victim.
πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπελύτρωσε· τοὺς ἑρεθιν κίνων
3 Αἰγυπτίων. τοὺς δὲ συνοπτικά διεκδήκω τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκαστὸν δωρεαίς ἄξιολογοὺς
tιμήσας ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας· τῆς δὲ Ἀιγυ-
πτου σατράπης καταστήσας Φερενδάτην ἐπανήλθεν
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βαβυλώνα πολλὰ μὲν
χρήματα καὶ λάφυρα κομίζων δόξαν δὲ μεγάλην
ἐκ τῶν κατορθομάτων περιπεποιημένοις.

52. Ἔπ' ἀρχοντὸς δ' Ἀθήνης Καλλιμάχου Ῥω-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκιον· Γάιον καὶ
Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης
ὀρῶν μεγάλας ἑαυτῷ παρεσχημένον χρείας εἰς τῷ
πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πολέμῳ Μέντορα τὸν στρατηγὸν
2 προῆγεν αὐτῶν μάλιστα τῶν φίλων. τιμήσας δὲ
ἀριστείους τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ ἀργυρίῳ
μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῆς δ' ἄλλης πολυτελοῦς κατα-
σκευὴς τῆς κρατίστης· ἀπέδειξε δὲ σατράπην τῆς
κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραλίας καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφ-
εσθηκότας πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορα στρα-
3 τηγὸν ἀποδείξας. δ' δὲ Μέντωρ ἔχων οἰκεῖοτητα
πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ Μέμνονα τοὺς Διαπεπολεμη-
κότας μὲν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐν τοῖς ἑπάνω χρόνοις τότε
δὲ πεφευγότας ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διατρίβοντας
παρὰ Φιλίππων, δεσθεὶς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπεισεν αὐτῶν
ἀπολύσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. εὖθὺς δὲ
καὶ μετεπέμψατο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους μεθ'

1 So Stephanus: ἀπελύτρωσε Π, ἀνελύτρωσε (-σαι Π) cet.
BOOK XVI. 51. 2—52. 3

Bagoas returned to the Egyptian priests on the payment of huge sums by way of ransom. Then when he had rewarded the Greeks who had accompanied him on the campaign with lavish gifts, each according to his deserts, he dismissed them to their native lands; and, having installed Pherendates as satrap of Egypt, he returned with his army to Babylon, bearing many possessions and spoils and having won great renown by his successes.

52. When Callimachus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Marcius and Publius Valerius. During their term of office Artaxerxes, seeing that Mentor the general had performed great services for him in the war against the Egyptians, advanced him over and above his other friends. Esteeming him worthy of honour for his gallant actions, he gave him a hundred talents of silver and also the best of expensive decorations, and he appointed him satrap of the Asiatic coast and placed him in charge of the war against the rebels, having designated him general in supreme command. And since Mentor was related to Artabazus and Memnon, both of whom had warred against the Persians in the preceding period and at the time now under consideration were fugitives from Asia residing at the court of Philip, he requested the King and prevailed upon him to dismiss the charges against them. Immediately afterwards he also summoned them both to come to his presence

1 Artabazus was his brother-in-law, Memnon his brother (see below). (Cp. Demosthenes, 23. 157: ὁ Μέμνων καὶ ὁ Μέντωρ, οἱ κηδεσται τοῦ Ἄρταβαζου).

* See chaps. 22. 1 and 34. 2.

2 C. Martius Rutilius Livy, 7. 21; Fasti Consulares; chap. 28. 1: Μάρκος.
4 ολης της συγγενειας ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρταβάζω γεγονότες ἐκ τῆς Μέντωρος καὶ Μέμνωνος ἀδελφῆς υἱοί μὲν ἐνδέκα, θυγατέρες δὲ δέκα. ψυχαγωγούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τέκνων ὁ Μέντωρ προήγε τοὺς παῖδας, παραδίδουσ αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας εἴν τοὺς στρατιωτικοῖς ἡγεμονίας. ἐστρατεύσατο δὲ ἐπὶ πρῶτον Ἂρμιαν τοῦ Ἀταρνέως τύραννον, ἀφεστηκότα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πολλῶν ὁχυρωμάτων καὶ πόλεων κυριεύοντα. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δὲ αὐτῷ πέσειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσαι συνήλθεν εἰς λόγους καὶ παρακρούσαμεν αὐτὸν συνέλαβε. κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ γράφας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὅτι διήλλακται τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ Μέντωρος καὶ σφαγισάμενος τῶν ἐπιστολὰς τῷ τοῦ Ἀρμιανοῦ δακτυλίῳ συνεξέπεμψε τοὺς παραλησμούσας τὰ χωρία. οἱ δὲ εὕν ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύσαντες τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπητῶς προσδέξαμεν παρέδωκαν πάντες τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις. Μέντωρ μὲν οὖν δὲ ἀπάτης ταχὺ παραλαβὼν ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν πολίσματα μεγάλῃς ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύχε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, δόξας δύνασθαι στρατηγεῖν πραγματικῶς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας τοὺς

1 So Fischer (cp. Xenophon, Respub. Lac. 12. 7): στρατιώταις.
3 καὶ αὐτὸν Sherman (cp. § 3): καὶ. (See note in Wessen).
with all their families; for there had been born to Artabazus by the sister of Mentor and Memnon eleven sons and ten daughters. And Mentor was so enchanted with the large number of children born to the marriage that he promoted the lads, giving them the most distinguished commands in the armed forces. He made his first campaign against Hermias the tyrant of Atarneus, who had revolted from the King and was master of many fortresses and cities. Having promised Hermias that he would prevail upon the King to dismiss the charges against him too, he met him at a conference and then, playing him false, arrested him. After getting possession of his signet-ring and writing to the cities that a reconciliation had been effected with the King through Mentor's intervention, he sealed the letters with Hermias' ring, and sent the letters and with them agents who were to take over the districts. The populations of the cities, trusting the documents and being quite content to accept the peace, all surrendered their fortresses and cities. Now that Mentor through deception had quickly and without risk recovered the towns of the rebels, he won great favour with the King, who concluded that he was capable of performing the duties of general realistically. Similarly with regard to the other commanders

1 Some of their names are known (see P.-W. Realencyclopädie, s.v. "Artabazus," 3).

2 A philosopher, eunuch, and slave of Eubulus. Aristotle, who knew him through the Academy (cp. Plato, Epistle 6), lived with him, and after his death married his adopted daughter Pythias. The events of this chapter concerning the arrest of Hermias certainly occurred at a later date, since Aristotle is reported (Dionysius, Epist. ad Ammæum, ch. 5) to have spent three years at the court of Hermias after the death of Plato. Turnbull gives the date of Hermias' arrest as 343 (Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 23).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν βιασάμενος, τοὺς δὲ καταστρατηγήσας ἀπαντας ταχέως κατεπολέμησεν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

9 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Φίλιππος μὲν ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις Ζερείαν μὲν φρούριον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πολισμάτων ἔνα καταπληξάμενος ἠνέγκασεν ὑποτάττεσθαι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς Φερᾶς τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρελθὼν Πειθόλαον δυναστεύσας τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις πραττόμενοι ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Σπάρτακος ὁ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀρξας ἐν τῇ πέντε, τὴν δὲ ἠγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Παιρυσάδης ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τῇ πράκοντα ὄκτω.

53. Τοῦ δὲ ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ἦρξε Θεόφιλος, ἐν Ὁμήρῳ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὑπάτοι Γάιος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Κοῦντιος, ὀλυμπιάς δὲ ἥχθη ὅγδος πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατόν, καθ’ ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον

2 Πολυκλῆς Κυρηναῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος μὲν σπεύδων τὰς ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντων πόλεις χειρώσασθαι Μηκύθερνα μὲν καὶ Τορώνην χωρὶς κυνύρων διὰ προδοσίας παρέλαβεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν περὶ τῶν τόπων τούτων πόλεων "Ὀλυνθὸν στρατεύσας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νικήσας τοὺς Ὁλυνθίους δυοῦ μάχαις συνέκλεισεν εἰς πολιορκίαν, προσβολὰς δὲ συνεχεῖς ποιήμενος πολλοὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέβαλεν ἐν ταῖς τειχο-


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who were at odds with the Persians, whether by force or by stratagem, he soon subdued them all.

And this was the state of affairs in Asia.

In Europe Philip, the Macedonian king, marched against the cities of Chalcidice, took the fortress of Zereia by siege and razed it. He then intimidated some of the other towns and compelled them to submit. Then coming against Pherae in Thessaly he expelled Peitholaüs, who was in control of the city. While these things were going on, there occurred in Pontus the death of Spartacus king of Pontus after a rule of five years. His brother Paerisades succeeded to the throne and reigned for thirty-eight years.

53. When this year had elapsed, at Athens Theon Philippus was archon, and at Rome Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Quintius were elected as consuls, and the one hundred eighth celebration of the Olympian games was held at which Polycles of Cyrenë won the stadion race. During their term of office Philip, whose aim was to subdue the cities on the Hellespont, acquired without a battle Meczybera and Torone by treasonable surrender, and then, having taken the field with a large army against the most important of the cities in this region, Olynthus, he first defeated the Olynthians in two battles and confined them to the defence of their walls; then in the continuous assaults that he made he lost many of his men in encounters at the walls,

2 Inconsistent with chaps. 37, 38 unless Peitholaüs had recovered Pherae in the meantime.
3 For his death see Book 20. 22. 1.
4 Meczybera was the port of Olynthus, taken by Olynthus from Athens (cp. Book 12. 77. 5).
5 Torone was probably subject to Olynthus (cp. Book 15. 81. 6).
μαχέας· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον φθείρας χρήμασι τοὺς προστηκότας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, Εὐθυκράτην τε καὶ Λασθένην, διὰ τούτων προδοθέσαν τὴν Ὀλυνθίων

3 εἶλεν. διαρπάσας δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐλαφυροπάλησε. τούτῳ δὲ πράξας χρημάτων τε πολλῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐ-

πόρησε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς ἔναντιουμένας κατεπλήξατο. τοὺς δὲ ἀνδραγαθήσαντας τῶν στρα-

τιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀξίας δωρεάς τιμήσας καὶ χρημάτων πλήθος διαδοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἴσχύουσι πολλοὺς ἐσχε προδότας τῶν πατρίδων.

καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπεφαίνετο διὰ χρυσίου πολὺ1 μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ηὐξηκέναι τὴν ἑδίαν βασιλείαν.

54. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν αὔξησιν υφορώμενοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμούμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβοήθουν, πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τηρεῖν τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ὁρμῶντας τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ κολάζειν· ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ πάσι συμμαχήσειν καὶ

φανερῶς ἔαντοις πολεμίους ἀποδείξαντες τῷ βασι-

2 λεὶ διεπολέμουν πρὸς Φιλίππον. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς συναρέστηκε τῆς Ἐλλάδος Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ, δεινότατος ὁν τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρό-

νοὺς Ἐλλήνων. οὐ μὴν ἡ πόλις γε ἀναστῆλαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ὁρμῆς ἡδυνήθη τοὺς πολίτας.

1 So Wesseling: πολλοῦ R, πολλῶν PXF; πολλῷ conj. Rhodoman.

1 Euthycrates and Lasthenes became the stock examples of fifth columnists (see Demosthenes, 8. 40; 19. 265, 342; also, on Olynthus, Philochorus, fr. 132; Suidas, s.v. Κάρανος; 388
but finally bribed the chief officials of the Olyanthians, 348/7 B.C. Euthycrates and Lasthenes, and captured Olynthus through their treachery. After plundering it and enslaving the inhabitants he sold both men and property as booty. By so doing he procured large sums for prosecuting the war and intimidated the other cities that were opposed to him. Having rewarded with appropriate gifts such soldiers as had behaved gallantly in the battle and distributed a sum of money to men of influence in the cities, he gained many tools ready to betray their countries. Indeed he was wont to declare that it was far more by the use of gold than of arms that he had enlarged his kingdom.

54. Since the Athenians viewed with alarm the rising power of Philip, they came to the assistance of any people who were attacked by the king, by sending envoys to the cities and urging them to watch over their independence and punish with death those citizens who were bent on treason, and they promised them all that they would fight as their allies, and, after publicly declaring themselves the king’s enemies, engaged in an out-and-out war against Philip. The man who more than any other spurred them on to take up the cause of Hellas was the orator Demosthenes, the most eloquent of the Greeks of those times. Even his city was, however, unable to restrain its citizens from their urge toward treason, such was the crop,


2 For instances see Philochorus, I.e.

3 See Demosthenes, 18. 61: “In all the Greek states—not in some of them but in every one of them—it chanced that there had sprung up the most abundant crop of traitorous, venal, and profligate politicians ever known within the memory of mankind.” (Vince & Vince, *L.C.L.*)
τοιαύτη γὰρ φορά τις προδοτῶν ὑπήρξε τότε κατὰ
3 τὴν Ἑλλάδαν. διό καὶ φασὶ τὸν Φίλιππον βουλό-
μενον ἐλείν τινα πόλιν ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν,
εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνάλωτον
αὐτὴν ἐκ βίας υπάρχειν, ἐπερωτήσαι εἰ οὐδ’ ἦ
4 χρυσὸς τὸ τείχος υπερβήναι δυνατός ἐστιν. ἢν γὰρ
πείραν εὐληφώς ὅτι τὰ τοὺς ὀπλοὺς ἀδύνατα χειρω-
θήναι τῷ χρυσῷ ῥάδιον ἔστι καταπολέμησαι,
ἐγκατασκευάζων οὐν ἐν ταῖς πόλεις προδότας διὰ
τῆς διωροδοκίας καὶ τοὺς δεχομένους τὸ χρυσὸν
ξένους καὶ φίλους ὀμομάζων ταῖς ποιημαῖς ὀμιλίαις
dιέφθερε τὰ ἡθὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
55. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλώσιν τῆς Ὁλυνθοῦ Ὁλύμπια
ποιήσας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπινίκη μεγαλοπρεπῶς θυσίας
συνετέλεσεν· πανήγυρι δὲ μεγάλην συστησάμενος
καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀγάνακες ποιήσας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπι-
δημοῦτων ἑξένους ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις παρελάμβανε.
2 παρὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους πολλαῖς ὀμιλίαις χρώμενος
καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ποτήρια διδοὺς κατὰ τὰς προπό-
σεις, οὐκ ὀλόγοις δὲ δωρεᾶς ἀπονέμων, πάσι δὲ
μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίας εὐχαρίστως1 ποιούμενος πολ-
λοὺς ἐσοχέν ἐπεθυμητάς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας.
3 Καὶ δὴποτ’ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κατανοήσας Σάτυρον
τὸν ὑποκριτὴν σκυθρωπὸν οὐτ’ ἦρετο διὰ τὸ μόνος

1 So Meineke: εὐχαρίστως Herwerden: εὐχαρίστως.
2 oit’ added by Herwerden.

1 See Horace on the power of gold: “diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruet aemulos Reges muneribus”
(Odes, 3. 16. 13 ff.).
2 Σρ. φθείρωσιν ἦθι χρήσθ’ ὀμιλίαι κακαί (Euripides, fr.
1018, Menander, Thaïs, fr. 218 Kock and I Corinthians 15.
33).
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as it were, of traitors that had sprung up at that time \textsuperscript{348/7} B.C. throughout Hellas. Hence the anecdote that when Philip wished to take a certain city with unusually strong fortifications and one of the inhabitants remarked that it was impregnable, he asked if even gold could not scale its walls.\textsuperscript{1} For he had learned from experience that what could not be subdued by force of arms could easily be vanquished by gold. So, organizing bands of traitors in the several cities by means of bribes and calling those who accepted his gold “guests” and “friends,” by his evil communications he corrupted the morals of the people.\textsuperscript{2}

55. After the capture of Olynthus, he celebrated the Olympian festival\textsuperscript{3} to the gods in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices; and he organized a great festive assembly at which he held splendid competitions and thereafter invited many of the visiting strangers to his banquets. In the course of the carousals he joined in numerous conversations, presenting to many guests drinking cups \textsuperscript{4} as he proposed the toasts, awarding gifts to a considerable number, and graciously making such handsome promises to them all that he won over a large number to crave friendship with him.

At one time in the course of the drinking bout, noticing Satyrus,\textsuperscript{5} the actor, with a gloomy look on his face, Philip asked him why he alone disdained to

\textsuperscript{1} The Macedonian Olympia celebrated at Dium. See D. M. Robinson, \textit{T.sAPA} (1934), 117: εσ [το] ιερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[α] Ολυμπίου, and note.

\textsuperscript{2} Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 139: καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ’ ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσά προὔπων αὐτοῖς.

\textsuperscript{3} This episode about Satyrus is recounted by Demosthenes, 19. 193 ff.
οὐδὲν ἀξίοι μεταλαβεῖν τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· τοῦ δὲ εἶπόντος ὅτι βούλεται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν τινος δωρεᾶς δεδοικέναι δὲ μὴ ποτε δηλώσας τὴν προκεχειρισμένην ἐντευξίν ἀποτύχῃ, ὃ μὲν βασιλεὺς περιχαρῆς γενόμενος διεβεβαιώσατο πάν ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῆς ἐχαρίσαται· ὃ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ξένου τινὸς ἕαυτος δύο παρθένοι τὴν ἥλικίαν ἔχουσα γάμον τυγχάνουσιν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτους οὐσαί· ταῦτα ὅπεν βουλεύεται λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἣν λυσίτελειν τινα περὶ ποιήσῃ· τυχῶν τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἣν προκάθαρα ἀμφότερα συνοικίσῃ καὶ μὴ περίδθη μηδὲν παθοῦσα ἀνάξιον τῆς ἥλικίας. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὁ Φιλίππος ἀσμένως τὴν αὐτὴς προσδέξαμεν παραχρήμα τὰς παρθένους ἐδωρήσατο τῷ Σατύρῳ. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παντοδαπὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ δωρεὰς διασπείραν ἐκομίζετο τοῦς μισθοὺς πολλαπλασίους τῆς χάριτος· πολλοί γὰρ ταῖς τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐλπίσι προκληθέντες ἐφθάσαν ἀλλήλους προσεύμοντες ἐαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐγχειριζόντες.

56. Ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων Θεμιστοκλέους ἐν Ἡρώμη τὴν ὑπατικήν ἄρχην διεδέχατο Γάιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Ποπίλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Βοιωτοί πολλὴν τῆς Φωκίδος χώραν πορθήσαντες περὶ τὴν ὄνομαξομένην "Ταῖν πόλιν" ἐνίκησαν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατέβαλον αὐτῶν περὶ ἔβδομηκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιωτοὶ περὶ Κορώνειαν συμπλακέντες τοὺς Φωκέως ἤττηθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς ἄπεβαλον. ἐπειτα τῶν Φωκέων κατασχόντων ἢκανάς τινας πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατεύσαντες οἱ Βοιω-

1 So RV (cp. Livy, 7. 23): Πόπλιος ΡΧΦΜΟ.
2 So R (cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 3; CIG, ix. 94); Ἰάν πολών ΡΧΦ; generally Ἰάμπολων.

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partake of the friendly courtesy he offered; and when 348/7 B.C. Satyrus said that he wished to obtain a boon from him but he feared lest, if he disclosed the request he had decided upon, he should be refused, the king, exceedingly pleased, affirmed that he granted forthwith any favour he might ask. He replied that there were two virgin daughters of a friend of his who were of marriageable age among the captive women; these girls he wished to obtain, not in order to derive any profit if he were granted the gift, but to give them both a dowry and husbands and not permit them to suffer any indignity unworthy of their years. Thereupon Philip gladly acceded to his request and immediately made a present of the girls to Satyrus. And by dispensing many other benefactions and gifts of every kind he reaped returns many times greater than his favour; for many who were incited by hopes of his beneficence outstripped one another in devoting themselves to Philip and in delivering their countries to him.

56. When Themistocles was archon at Athens, at 347/6 B.C. Rome Gaius Cornelius and Marcus Popilius succeeded to the consular office. During their term of office the Bocotians, after sacking much of the Phocian territory about the city named Hya, defeated their enemies and slew about seventy of them. After this the Boeotians, having come to grips near Coroneia with the Phocians, were defeated and lost many men. When the Phocians now seized several cities of considerable size in Bocotia, the Boeotians took the field and

1 A town, usually called Hyampolis, situated at the entrance to Phocis from Thessaly and Bocotia; cp. Herod. 8. 28.

3 So Fischer: κατεχόντων.
Diodorus of Sicily

tοῦ καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων
φθείραντες κατὰ τὴν ἑπάνωδον ἥττηθησαν. ἀμα
dὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Φάλαικος μὲν ὁ τῶν Φω
cέων στρατηγός, διαβληθεὶς ὁτι πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν
χρημάτων κέκλοφεν, ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀντὶ
dὲ τούτου στρατηγῶν αἰρεθέντων τριῶν, Δευνοκρά
tους καὶ Καλλίου καὶ Σωφάνους, ἐγένετο ζήτησις
tῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ λόγου τοῦς κεχειρικότας
οἱ Φωκείς ἀπῆτον· ἂν δὲ πλείστα δισκηνίως Φίλων.

4 οὕτως δ’ ὁ δυνάμενος ἀποδοῦναι τὸν λόγον κατ
edικαίαθα καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς
μετέχοντας τῆς κλοπῆς ἐμήνυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς
ἐσχάταις αἰκίαις περιπεσὼν οὐκείαν τῆς ἀσβείας
5 ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν. οἷς δὲ νοσφισά
μενοι τὰ χρήματα τὰ σωζόμενα καὶ περιόντα τῶν
ἐκ τῆς κλοπῆς ἀπέδωκαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθανατώθησαν
ὡς ἱερόσυλοι. τῶν δὲ προγεγενημένων στρατηγῶν
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀρξας Φιλόμηλος ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἀνα
θημάτων, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, προσαγορευόμενος μὲν
Ὀνόμαρχος, ἀδελφὸς δ’ ὁ Φιλομήλου, πλείστα
τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων κατεδαπάνησε, τρίτος δὲ
Φάυλλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὦνομάρχου στρατηγῆσας οὐκ
ὅλα γὰρ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατέκοψεν εἰς τὰς τῶν
6 ἔξων μισθοφοράς. τὰς γὰρ ἀνατεθέσας ὑπὸ Κροί
σου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως χρυσᾶς πλίθους, οὕτως
ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσὶ δυσαλάντους, κατέκοψεν εἰς νό
μιμα, φιάλας δὲ χρυσᾶς τριακοσίας καὶ ἔξηκοντα

1 See Pausanias, 10. 2. 7.
2 Diodorus is inconsistent regarding Philomelus. In chap.
28. 2 he makes the same statement as here; in chap. 30. 1
he says the opposite.

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destroyed the grain in enemy territory, but were defeated on the return journey. While these things were going on, Phalaecus, the general of the Phocians, who was accused of stealing many of the sacred properties, was removed from his command. Three generals having been chosen to replace him, Deinocrates, Callias, and Sophanes, an investigation into the sacred property took place and the Phocians called upon those who had administered it to render an accounting. The man who had been in charge of most of it was Philon. Since he was unable to render a proper accounting, he was adjudged guilty, and after being tortured by the generals disclosed the names of his accomplices in the theft, while he himself, after being subjected to the utmost torments, obtained the kind of death that suited his impiety. Those who had diverted the properties to their own use restored whatever balance they still possessed of the stolen property and were themselves put to death as temple-robbers. Of the generals who had been in office previously, the first to hold the office, Philomelus, had kept his hands off the dedications, but the second, named Onomarchus, brother of Philomelus, squandered much of the god’s money, while the third, Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, when he became general, struck into coin a large number of the dedications in order to pay the mercenaries. For he coined for currency one hundred twenty gold bricks which had been dedicated by Croesus, king of the Lydians weighing two talents each, and three hundred sixty golden goblets weighing two minae each, and

διμυκίας καὶ λέοντα χρυσοῦν καὶ γυναῖκα, τριάκοντα ταλάντων χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἀγόντων τῶν πάντων. οὕστε τὸ πᾶν κατακοπεῖν χρυσὸν εἰς ἄργυρίον λόγον ἀναγομένων τῶν χρημάτων εὐρίσκεσθαι τάλαντα τετρακασικῶλα. τῶν δὲ ἄργυρων ἀναθημάτων τῶν τε ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνατεθείσων τοὺς πάντας στρατηγοὺς δεδαπανηκέναι τάλαντα πλεῖω τῶν ἔκαστοις, προστιθεμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ 7 μύρια τάλαντα. ἔνοι καὶ τῶν συγγραφέων φασιν οὐκ ἐλάττω γενέσθαι τὰ συληθέντα τῶν ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς θησαυροῖς ὡς Ἀλέξανδρου κατακτιζόντων. ἐπεκείρησαν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Φάλαικον στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸν ικόν δρύττειν, εἰπόντος τῶν ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ θησαυρὸς εἰς πολὺν ἔχουν ἄργυρον τε καὶ χρυσόν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔστιαν καὶ τὸν τρίποδα φιλοτήμως ἀνέσκαπτον. δὲ μηνύσας τὸν θησαυρὸν μάρτυρα παρεῖχετο τὸν ἐπιφανεστατὸν καὶ ἀρχιαίταν τῶν οὖσιν ὡς λέγει οὖδ᾽ ὅσα λάνωσ εὐφήμερος ἐντὸς ἔργει Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοὶ ἐνε πετρηθεσεν.

8 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐγχειροῦντων σκάπτεται τὰ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι γενόμενοι τοῖς Φωκεῖσι φόβον ἐπέστησαν, φανερῶς δὲ τῶν θεῶν προσημαίνοντων τὴν κατὰ τῶν ιεροσύλων κόλασιν ἀπέστησαν τῶν ἔργων. δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ταύτης ἡγεμόνων Φίλων ὡς προειρημένοι ταχὺ τῷ δαμιόνιος τὰς προσηκούσας δίκας ἔξετισε.

57. Τῆς δὲ τῶν ιερῶν χρημάτων φθορᾶς τὴν μὲν ἐπιγραφήν ἔσχον Φωκεῖς, μετέσχον δὲ τῆς

1 Fischer would supply φασι or the like after δεδαπανηκέναι.
golden statues of a lion and of a woman, weighing in \( \frac{3}{2} \text{ b.c.} \) all thirty talents of gold, so that the sum total of gold that was coined into money, referred to the standard of silver, is found to be four thousand talents, while of the silver offerings, those dedicated by Croesus and all the others, all three generals had spent more than six thousand talents' worth, and if to these were added the gold dedications, the sum surpassed ten thousand talents. Some of the historians say that the pillaged property was not less than the sums acquired by Alexander \(^1\) in the treasure chambers of the Persians. The generals on the staff of Phalæcus took steps even to dig up the temple, because some one said that there was a treasure chamber in it containing much gold and silver, and they zealously dug up the ground about the hearth and the tripod. The man who gave information about the treasure offered as witness the most famous and ancient of poets Homer, who says in a certain passage \(^2\):

"Nor all the wealth beneath the stony floor that lies Where Phoebus, archer god, in rocky Pytho dwells."

But as the soldiers attempted to dig about the tripod, great earthquakes occurred and roused fear in the hearts of the Phocians, and since the gods clearly indicated in advance the punishment they would visit upon the temple-robbers, the soldiers desisted from their efforts. The leader of this sacrilege, the aforementioned Philon, was promptly punished as he deserved for his crime against the god.

57. Although the loss of the sacred property was ascribed entirely to the Phocians, the Athenians and

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\(^1\) See Book 17. 66 and 71.

\(^2\) Iliad, 9. 404-405.
αἱρέσεως Ὁθηναίοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχήσαντες τοῖς Φωκεύσι καὶ οὗ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκπεμπομένων στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μισθούς λαβόντες. 2 οὖτω δὲ τοῖς Ὁθηναίοις ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἦν εἰκονίαν ἐκ- αμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ δαμόνιον ὡστε μικρὸν ἀνώτερον τῶν Δελφικῶν καὶ ρῶν Ὁθικράτους διατρίβοντος περὶ Κόρκυραν μετὰ ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Διονυ- σίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου δυνάστου πέμψαντο εἰς Ὁλυμπίαν καὶ Δελφοὺς ἀγάλματα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος δεδημουργημένα περιτυχὼν ταῖς κομι- ζούσαις αὐτὰ ναυσὶν ὁ Ὁθικράτης καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν διεπέμβατο πρὸς τὸν ἔπερωτὸν Ἰππίρ πράττειν; οἱ δ᾽ Ὁθηναίοι προσέταξαν αὐτῷ μὴ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἑξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ὁκοπεῖν ὡσπὸς τούς 3 στρατιώτας διαθρέψει.¹  Ὁθικράτης μὲν οὖν ὑπο- ακούσας τῷ δόγματι τῆς πατρίδος ἐλαφυροπούλησε τὸν τῶν θεῶν κόσμον: οὐ δὲ τύραννος ὅργυσθείς τοῖς Ὁθηναίοις ἐγραψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστολήν τοιαύ- ὁτιν."  "Διονύσιος Ὁθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ εὖ 4 μὲν πράττειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον ἐστὶ γράφει, ἐπεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἰερο- συλείτε καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεσταλμένα παρελομένοι κατεκόμπατε καὶ περὶ τοὺς μεγάλους τῶν θεῶν ἑσεβήκατε, περὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὁλύμπιον."  

¹ So Dindorf: διαθέψη.
the Lacedaemonians, who were fighting on the side of the Phocians and received pay out of all proportion to the number of soldiers they sent out, shared in the seizure. This period brought it to pass for the Athenians that they sinned against the divine powers to such an extent that, shortly before the Delphian affair, as Iphicrates was tarrying near Coreyra with a naval force and Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse had shipped to Olympia and to Delphi statues cunningly wrought in gold and ivory, Iphicrates, chancing to fall in with the ships that were conveying these statues, seized them and sent word to the Athenian people inquiring what he should do with them; whereat the Athenians instructed him not to raise questions about what concerned the gods but to give his attention to seeing that his soldiers were well fed. Now Iphicrates, obeying the decision of his country, sold as booty the works of art belonging to the gods. The tyrant, filled with rage at the Athenians, wrote them a letter of the following tenor:

"Dionysius to the Senate and Assembly of the Athenians: It is inappropriate to wish you to do well since you are committing sacrilege against the gods both on land and on sea, and, having made off with the statues which had been sent by us to be dedicated to the gods, you have turned them into coin and have committed impiety toward the greatest of the gods, Apollo, whose abode is Delphi, and Olympian Zeus."

Such now was the conduct of the Athenians toward

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1 Perhaps on the occasion mentioned in Book 15. 47. 7.
2 An interesting complaint in view of Aelian, Var. Hist. 1. 20: Διονύσιος (the Elder?) ἔξ ἄπαντων τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις λεπτῶν ἐάνησε τα χρήματα. For the probable occasion of this letter see Book 15. 47. 7.
καὶ ταῦτα εὐχόμενοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῴον αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόγονον. Δακεδαμώνιοι δὲ τῷ περὶ Δελφοῦς μαντεῖος χρησάμενοι καὶ τὴν βαυμαζομένην παρὰ πάσι πολιτείαιν διὰ τούτου κτησάμενοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔτη καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν ἑπερωτώντες ἐτόλμησαν τοὺς τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσασι κοινωνήσαι τῆς παρανομίας.

58. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βουωτίαν οἱ μὲν Φωκεῖς τρεῖς πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀδυναμίαν, Ὀρχομενοῦν καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ Κορσίας, ἐκ τούτων ἐποιοῦτο τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βουωτοὺς στρατεύαν. εὐποροῦμενοι δὲ μισθοφόροι τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήσαν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθέσεις 2 καὶ συμπλοκὰς περιεγένοντο τῶν ἐγχηρῶν. διὸπερ οἱ Βουωτοὶ θλιβόμενοι μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολλεκότες, χρημάτων δὲ ἀποροῦμενοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον 3 ἀξιωντές βοηθῆσαι. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἦδεως ὅρων τὴν ταπείνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ βουλόμενος τὰ Λευκτρικὰ φρονήματα συστεῖλαι τῶν Βουωτῶν ὅλογος1 ἀπείστειλε στρατιώτας, αὐτὸ μόνον φιλαττόμενος τὸ 4 μὴ δοκεῖν2 περιορᾶν τὸ μαντεῖον σεσυλημένον. τῶν δὲ Φωκεῶν οἱ κοινοδομοῦντων φρούριον περὶ τὰς ὄνομαζομένας Αβας, καθ' ἂς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄγιον ἱερόν, ἐστάθησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Βουωτοὶ. εὐθὺ δ' αυτῶν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸς ἐγχύστα πόλεις φυγόντες διεσπάρθησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν νεώτερον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

1 perpauco Cosups: oûk oûgous.
2 So Post: dôkein μὴ.
3 So PR: νεών colt.

1 Through Ion, son of Apollo and Creusa.
2 See Plutarch, Ἰονικύρας, 5. 3, esp. καὶ καταψεῖν ἐφ' ἂν θεόν ἡ πολύ κρατίστη τῶν ἄλλων ἐστι πολιτείας.
the divine powers, and that too though they boasted that Apollo was their tutelary god and progenitor. And the Lacedaemonians, though they had consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and through it come to possess their constitution which is admired of all the world, though even now they still interrogate the god on matters of supreme importance, had the effrontery to become partners in crime of those who pillaged the sanctuary.

58. In Bocotia the Phocians, who held three strongly fortified cities, Orchomenus, Coroneia, and Corsiae, conducted from these their campaign against the Bocotians. Being well supplied with mercenaries they pillaged the country and in their thrusts and engagements proved superior to the inhabitants of the place. As a consequence the Bocotians, feeling the pinch of war and the loss of great numbers of their men, but having no financial resources, sent envoys to Philip with a request for assistance. The king, pleased to see their discomfiture and disposed to humble the Boeotians' pride over Leuctra, dispatched few men, being on his guard against one thing only—lest he be thought to be indifferent to the pillaging of the oracle. As the Phocians were engaged in building a fortress near the place named Abae, at which is a holy shrine of Apollo, the Boeotians took the field against them. Some of the Phocians straightway fled to the nearest cities and dispersed, while others took refuge in the

4 A town sometimes included in Opuntian Locris, called Korou in Demosthenes, 19. 141; in Theopompus Korolai, FHIΣ, 1. 310.
5 A town of Phocis near the frontiers of the Opuntian Locrians.
καταφυγόντες εἰς πεντακοσίους ἀπώλοντο. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα θέα τοῖς Φωκεῖς συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, μάλιστα δὲ τό μέλλον λέγεσθαι. οἱ γὰρ εἰς τὸν νεῶ καταφυγόντες ὑπέλαβον διὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας σωθῆσθαι, τούναντιν δὲ θεία τινὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς προσηκούσης τοῖς ἱεροσύλους τιμωρίας ἐπιχοῦν πολλῆς γὰρ οὕσις στιβάδος περὶ τὸν νεῶν ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς τῶν πεθευγότων ἀπολελειμμένου συνέβη τῆς στιβάδος ἐκκαυθείσης τοσαύτην ἐξαφθήναι φλόγα παραδόξως ὡστε τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοὺς καταπεθευγότας εἰς αὐτὸν Φωκεῖς ζῶντας καταφλεχθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἱεροσύλους ἠδοξεῖ τὸ θεῖον μὴ διδόναι τῇ ἐκ τῆς ἴκεσίας συγχωρουμένην ἀσφάλειαν.

59. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνην Ἐρχίου 'Ρωμαίοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκου Αιμίλιον καὶ Τίτου Κούνκτιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Φωκεῖς πόλεμος, διαμεῖνας ἐτη δέκα, κατελύθη τόκινδε τὸν τρόπον. Βουστῶν καὶ Φωκέων τεταπευνωμένων διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πολέμου Φωκεῖς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ βοηθείας, Σπαρταῖται δὲ χίλιους ὀπλίτας ἐξέπεμψαν στρατηγοῦν ἐπιστήμην ἀνατείνας τοῦτο τὸν τρόπον; Βουστῶν δὲ παραπλησίως τούτους διαπρεπεσυμβενόν πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ συμμαχίας ὁ Φίλιππος παραλαβὼν τοὺς Θεσσαλούς ἤκειν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα μετὰ πολλῆς δύνα-

1 So PRF : νεῶν οὖν.
2 Κούνκτιον PXR, Κώντον FO] Livy, 7. 24; Fasti Consularis (see note 2 opposite).

1 What Diodorus attributes to chance and providence, 402
temple of Apollo and perished to the number of five 347/6 B.C. hundred. Now many other divine visitations fell to the lot of the Phocians about this period, and in particular the one that I am about to relate. The men who had taken refuge in the temple supposed that their lives would be saved through the intervention of the gods, but on the contrary through some divine Providence they met with the punishment temple-robbers well deserve. For there was a quantity of rushes about the temple, and a fire had been left behind in the tents of the men who had fled, with the result that the rushes caught fire and such a great conflagration was touched off so miraculously that the temple was consumed and the Phocians who had fled to it for refuge were burned alive. Indeed it became apparent that the gods do not extend to temple-robbers the protection generally accorded to suppliants.

59. When Archias was archon at Athens, the 346/5 B.C. Romans elected Marcus Aemilius and Titus Quinctius consuls. During their term of office the Phocian War, after lasting for ten years, was terminated in the following manner. Since the Bocotians and the Phocians were utterly dejected by the length of the war, the Phocians dispatched envoys to Lacedaemon asking for reinforcements, and the Spartans sent a thousand hoplites in charge of whom as general they placed their king Archidamus. Similarly the Bocotians sent an embassy to Philip proposing an alliance, and Philip, after taking over the Thessalians, entered Lo-

Pausanias, 10. 35. 3, lays upon the Thebans: αὐτοὺς τε οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἱερὰς καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ . . . ἔδωκαν πυρί.

2 Livy, 7. 24 gives L. Furius Camillus and Appius Claudius Crassus. The latter is named in the Fasti Consulares.

3 Cp. chaps. 14. 3 and 23. 1.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μεσω. καταλαβὼν δὲ Φάλαικον πάλιν τῆς στρατηγίας ἥξιωμένον καὶ τὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχοντα πλῆθος παρεσκευάζετο παρατάξει κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον· ὦ δὲ Φάλαικος ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ διατρίβων καὶ θεωρῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίωμαχον ὡντα διεπρεσβεύσατο 3 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ διαλύσεων. γενομένης δ' ὁμολογίας ἣστε τὸν Φάλαικον μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελθεῖν ὅποιος βουλοῦτο, οὕτος μὲν ὑπόσπονδος εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπεχώρησε· μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅτων ὄκτακισχίλιων, οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς συντριβέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ· 4 ὦ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνευ μάχης ἀνελπίστως καταλύσας τὸν ἱέρον πόλεμον συνήδρευε μετὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεττάλων. ἕκρυνεν οὖν συναγάγειν τὸ τῶν 'Αμφικτυόνων συνέδριον καὶ τούτῳ τήν περὶ τῶν ὅλων διάγνωσι ἐπιτρέψαι.

60. "Εδοξεν οὖν τοὺς συνέδριος μεταδοῦναι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ τῆς 'Αμφικτυονίας καὶ δύο ψήφους ἔχειν, ὡς πρῶτον οἱ καταπολεμηθέντες Φωκεῖς εἰχον· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Φωκεῦσι᾽

1 τὸ τῶν deleted by Dindorf; Fischer suggests ἱκανὸν.
2 So Schäfer: ὅπου RF, ὁπότε PX.
3 So Hertlein: ἀνεχώρησε.
4 So Hertlein and Madvig (cp. Book 17. 4. 2): συνκατάγεις P, συγκατάγεις σεβ.
5 So Sherman; ὑπὸ Φωκεῦσι Φείσκε; τῶν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Schäfer: τῶν δ' ἐν Φωκεῦσι. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte², 3. 1. 512, note 1 would read τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι τριῶν [καὶ εἰκοσὶ].

¹ This town commanded the pass of Thermopylae.
² Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 230, who gives the figure 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. Diodorus omits all the details of the Peace of Philocrates and the embassy leading up to it. For 404
cris with a large army. And when he had overtaken Phalaeceus, who had again been granted the generalship and had the main body of the mercenaries, Philip prepared to decide the war by a pitched battle. But Phalaeceus, who was tarrying in Nicaea 1 and saw that he was no match for Philip, sent ambassadors to the king to treat for an armistice. An agreement was reached whereby Phalaeceus with his men should depart whithersoever he wished, and he then, under terms of the truce, withdrew to the Peloponnesian with his mercenaries to the number of eight thousand, 2 but the Phocians, whose hopes were now completely crushed, surrendered to Philip. The king, having without a battle unexpectedly terminated the Sacred War, sat in council with the Boeotians and the Thes- salians. As a result he decided to call a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council and leave to it the final decision on all the issues at stake.

60. The members of the Council then passed a decree admitting Philip and his descendants to the Amphictyonic Council and according him two votes which formerly had been held by the Phocians, 3 now defeated in war. They also voted that the three cities 4

an account of this see Pickard-Cambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 233 ff.

3 For the reorganization of the votes in the Amphictyonic League see P.-W. Realencyclopädie, 4. 2681 ff., and Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, 3. 1. 512, note 4; and PickardCambridge, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 241.

4 These seem to be the three Boeotian cities in the hands of the Phocians (cp. chaps. 56. 2 and 58. 1). The MSS. read "in the land of the Phocians" which is inconsistent with section 2 below and other accounts (e.g. Demosthenes, 19. 325, where two of the towns mentioned, Orchomenus and Coroneia, are said to have been enslaved). (Cp. also Pausanias, 10. 3.)
Diodorus of Sicily

τριῶν πόλεων περιελεῖν τὰ τεῖχη καὶ μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῖς Φωκέσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ συνεδρίου. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶς μήτε ἱπποὺς μήτε ὀπλα κτῆσασθαι, μέχρις ἂν οὐ τὰ χρήματα ἐκτύσωσι τῷ θεῷ τὰ σεσυνημένα. τοὺς δὲ πεφυγότας τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετεσχηκότων τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἐναγεῖς εἶναι καὶ 2 ἀγωγήμους πάντοθεν. τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀπάσας τῶν Φωκέων κατασκάψαι καὶ μετοικίσαι εἰς κώμας, ὅπως ἐκάστην μὴ πλεῖον ἔχειν οὐκιῶν πεντήκοντα, μηδὲ ἔλασσον διεστάναι σταδίου τὰς κώμας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἔχειν δὲ Φωκέσ τὴν χώραν καὶ φέρειν κατ' ἐναντίον τῷ θεῷ φόρον τάλαντα ἔξικοντα μέχρις ἂν ἐκτύσωσι τὰ ἀπογραφέντα χρήματα κατὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν. τιθέναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα τῶν Πυθίων Φιλίππον μετὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν διὰ τὸ Κορυθίους μετεσχηκέναι τοῖς Φωκέσι τῆς εἰς τὸ 3 θείον παρανομίας. τοὺς δὲ Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ τὸν Φιλίππον τὰ ὀπλα τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν μεθοφόρων καταπετροκοπῆσαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν κατακαύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἀποδόσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις διέταξαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τὰλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῖς Ἐλ-
4 λησσίῳ ἀνήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ τὰῦτα Φιλίππος μὲν τὰ δεδομένα τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι συγκαταστήσας καὶ

1 So Post: μηδὲ διεστάναι ἔλασσον.
2 No satisfactory explanation of the MSS. reading Ἀρουθίους has been offered. Wesseling suggests a lacuna before διὰ τὸ Ἀρουθίους, Fischer after. According to chap. 29. 1 406
in the possession of the Phocians should have their 346/5 B.C.
walls removed and that the Phocians should have no
participation in the shrine of Delphi or in the Council
of the Amphictyons; that they should not be permitted
to acquire either horses or arms until they should have
repaid to the god the monies they had pillaged; that
those of the Phocians who had fled and any others
who had had a share in robbing the sanctuary were to
be under a curse and subject to arrest wherever they
might be; that all the cities of the Phocians were to
be razed and the men moved to villages, no one of
which should have more than fifty houses, and the
villages were to be not less than a stade distant
from one another; that the Phocians were to possess
their territory and to pay each year to the god a
tribute of sixty talents until they should have paid
back the sums entered in the registers at the time of
the pillaging of the sanctuary. Philip, furthermore,
was to hold the Pythian games together with the
Bocotians and Thessalians, since the Corinthians had
shared with the Phocians in the sacrilege committed
against the god. The Amphictyons and Philip were
to hurl the arms of the Phocians and their mercenaries
down the crags and burn what remained of them and
to sell the horses. In similar tenor the Amphictyons
laid down regulations for the custody of the oracle
and other matters affecting due respect for the gods
and the general peace and concord of the Greeks.
Thereafter, when Philip had helped the Amphictyons
give effect to their decrees and had dealt courteously

240 ff.

Athenians, Lacedaemonians and "some others of the
Peloponnesians" sided with the Phocians.
πρὸς πάντας φιλοφρονηθεῖς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὗ μόνον δόξαν εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς στρατηγικῆς περιπετευμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐξήσιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μεγάλα προκατόπτευμενός. ἐπεθύμει γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποδεικθῆναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐξενεγκείνι πόλεμον ὑπὲρ καὶ συνεβη γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν, νῦν δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχές τῆς ἱστορίας τρεφόμεθα.

61. Δύκαιον δὲ εἶναι νομίζομεν πρῶτον ἀναγράφαι τὴν ἐκ θεῶν γενομένην τοῖς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον παρανομομένος κόλασιν. ὡς γὰρ οὗ μόνον τοῖς αὐθένταις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προσαφαμένοις μόνον τῆς παρανομίας ἀπαράκτητος ἐκ 2 τοῦ δαμονίου ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρία. δ’ ἐμὲν γὰρ ἀρχιτέκτων τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φιλόμηλος κατὰ τινα περίστασιν πολεμικῆν ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήττησεν, δ’ ἐδέλθος αὐτοῦ Ὁνόμαρχος διαδεξάμενος τὴν τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων στρατηγίαν μετὰ τῶν συμπαρατάξαμένων ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Φωκέων καὶ 3 μισθοφόρων κατακόπτεις ἑσταυρώθη. δ’ ἐδέ τρίτος καὶ πλείστα τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατακόψας Φάυλλος πολυχρωμίῳ νόσῳ νοσήσας οὐδ’ ἀπολυθήσαις συντόμως τῆς τιμωρίας ἠδυνήθη. δ’ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Φάλαικοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἀναλαβὼν ἐν πλάναις καὶ μεγάλοις φόβοις καὶ κυνύδους ἐφ’ ἰκανον χρόνον ἐβίωσεν, οὐχ ἦνα μακαριστερος γένηται τῶν συνασφησάντων, ἀλλ’ ἦνα πλείω χρόνον

1 πρὸς πάντας Kallenberg (cp. chap. 89. 2), πάντας Dindorf: πάντα.
2 So Dindorf: παρηνομηκός (except Π παρενομοκός).
with all, he returned to Macedonia, having not merely \(346/5\) B.C. won for himself a reputation for piety and excellent generalship, but having also made important preparations for the aggrandizement that was destined to be his. For he was ambitious to be designated general of Hellas in supreme command and as such to prosecute the war against the Persians. And this was what actually came to pass. But these events we shall record severally in their proper periods; we shall now proceed with the thread of our narrative.

61. But first it is only right, so we think, to record the punishment which was visited by the gods upon those who had committed the outrage on the oracle. For, speaking generally, it was not merely the perpetrators of the sacrilege but all persons who had the slightest connection with the sacrilege that were hounded by the inexorable retribution sent of Heaven. In fact the man who first schemed for the seizure of the shrine, Philomelus, in a crisis of the war hurled himself over a cliff,\(^1\) while his brother Onomarchus, after taking over the command of his people, now become desperate, was cut to pieces in a battle in Thessaly, along with the Phocians and mercenaries of his command, and crucified.\(^2\) The third in succession and the one who coined into money most of the dedications, Phayllus,\(^3\) fell ill of a lingering disease and so was unable even to secure a quick release from his punishment. And the last of all, Phalaecus, who had gathered the remnants of the pillaged property, passed his life for a considerable length of time wandering about in great fear and danger, though it was not Heaven’s intent that he should be happier than those who participated with him in the sacrilege, but that

\(^1\) See chap. 31. \(^2\) See chap. 35. \(^3\) See chap. 38.
στρεβλωθεῖς καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν ἄτυχίαν γενὸμενος

διὰ τὴν ὑμώρυχον περιβόητον ἔχει τὴν συμφοράν. οὕτος
gὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας φυγῆν μετὰ τῶν
μυσθοφόρων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διέτριβεν περὶ τὴν
Πελοπόννησον, συνέχους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν
ιεροσυλήστες λευσίων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐν Κο-
ρίνθῳ μισθωσάμενος πλοῖα φορτηγὰ μεγάλα καὶ
tέσσαρας ἕχων ἡμιολίαις παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὸν
ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πλοῖον, νομίζων ἐν τού-
τοις τοῖς τόποις ἢ καταλήψεσθαι των πόλιν ἢ τεῦ-
ξεσθαι μισθοφορίας· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ Λευκανοῖς πρὸς
Ταραντίνους συνεστηκὼς πόλεμος. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
συμπλέοντας ἔφη μετάπεμπτος πλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ
Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας.

69. Ἐκπλεύσαντος δὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ πελαγίου γενο-
μένου στρατιώται των τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πλοῖῳ
κομιζομένων, ὥπερ αὗτος ὁ Φάλαικος ἐνέπλειε,
λόγου ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν ὑπονοοῦντες μηδένα μετα-
πέμψασθαι σφός· οὕτε γὰρ ἡγεμόνας ἐσώρου ἀπὸ
tῶν ἐπικαλομένων συμπλέοντας οὐθ' ὁ πλοῖος ἦν
2 ὀλίγος, ἀλλὰ πολὺς ὑπέκειτο καὶ χαλεπός. διὸ
ἀπιστοῦντες ἃμα τοὺς λεγομένους καὶ φοβούμενοι
τὴν διαπόντιον στρατείαν συνίσταντο καὶ μάλισθ' ὁ
τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες τῶν μυσθοφόρων. τέλος
dὲ σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ καταπληξάμενοι τὸν
τὴν Φάλαικον καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἡνάγκασαν εἰς
tούπισῳ πάλιν ἀποπλεῖν. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν
tοῖς ἄλλοις πλοίοις κομιζομένων ποιησάντων κατ-
410
by being tortured longer and by becoming known to many for his misfortunes, his sad fate might become notorious. For when he had taken flight with his mercenaries following the agreement, he first sojourned in the Peloponnese, supporting his men on the last remnants of the pillaging, but later he hired in Corinth some large freighters and with four light vessels prepared for the voyage to Italy and Sicily, thinking that in these regions he would either seize some city or obtain service for pay, for a war was in progress, as it chanced, between the Lucanians and the Tarentines. To his fellow passengers he said that he was making the voyage because he had been summoned by the people of Italy and Sicily.

62. When he had sailed out of the harbour and was on the high seas, some of the soldiers who were in the largest ship, on which Phalaccus himself was a passenger, conferred with one another because they suspected that no one had sent for them. For they could see on board no officers sent by the peoples who were soliciting aid, and the voyage in prospect was not short, but long and dangerous. Accordingly, since they not only distrusted what they had been told but also feared the overseas campaign, they conspired together, above all those who had commands among the mercenary troops. Finally drawing their swords and menacing Phalaccus and the pilot they forced them to reverse their course. And when those who were sailing in the other boats also did the same, they

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1 See chap. 59. 3, which hardly justifies the phrase ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας.

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1 So Sherman (cp. chap. 59. 3); ἐκεχειρίας Capps: αἰχμαλωσίας.

2 πολὺς ὑπέκειτο Dindorf: πλοῦς ὑπέκειτο μέγας.
8 ἐπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀθροισθέντες δὲ εἰς Μαλέαν ἀκραν τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐκεῖ κατέλαβον ἐκ Κρήτης καταστελλομένος Κυνσσοῦς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ μισθοφόρων· διὸ διαλευκάδες τῶν Φαλαικῶν καὶ τοῖς ἥγεοι καὶ δόντων ἀξιολόγους τοὺς μισθοὺς μετὰ τούτων ἅπαντες ἐξέπλευσαν. κατάραντες δὲ τῆς Κρήτης εἰς Κυνσσόν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου πόλιν κατέλαβοντο τὴν καλουμένην Λύκτον.

4 τοῖς δὲ Λυκτίοις ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεπτωκόσι παράδοξος καὶ σύντομος ἐφάνη βοήθεια. περὶ γὰρ τούτων αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ταραντίνων διαπολεμοῦντων πρὸς Λευκανοῦς καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίως ἀνταρκτόντων εἱκότων πεμψάντων πρέσβεις περὶ βοήθειας οἱ μὲν Σπάρταῖοι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν προθύμως ἐχοντες συμμαχῆσαι ταχέως δύναμιν ἥθροιζον πεζικῆν τε καὶ ναυτικῆν καὶ ταύτης στρατηγῆν ἁπέδειξαν 'Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν βασιλέα· μελημένων δὲ ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἡξίωσαν οἱ Λύκτιοι πρῶτον αὐτοὺς βοηθῆσαι· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοι πεισθέντες καὶ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Κρήτην τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐνίκησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λυκτίοις ἀνέσωσαν τὴν πατρίδα.

63. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δὲ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ συμμαχήσας τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐν τοῖς μάχης διαγωνισμόνων λαμπρῶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ κατὰ μὲν τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐπανούμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Φωκεῖς συμμαχίαν μόνην βλασφημούμενος, ὡς μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς γεγονὼς 2 τῆς τῶν Δελφῶν καταλήψεως. Ὀρχίδαμος μὲν οὖν ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτή τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἶκοσι, τὴν δ' ἄρχην διαδεξάμενος Ἀγιασμ ο
put in again at a Peloponnesian harbour. Then they gathered at the Malean promontory in Laconia and there found Cnossian envoys who had sailed in from Crete to enlist mercenaries. After these envoys had conversed with Phalaecus and the commanders and had offered rather high pay, they all sailed off with them. Having made port at Cnossus in Crete, they immediately took by storm the city called Lyctus. But to the Lyctians, who had been expelled from their native land, there appeared a miraculous and sudden reinforcement. For at about the same time the people of Tarentum were engaged in prosecuting a war against the Lucanians and had sent to the Lacedaemonians, who were the stock of their ancestors, envoys soliciting help, whereupon the Spartans, who were willing to join them because of their relationship, quickly assembled an army and navy and as general in command of it appointed King Archidamus. But as they were about to set sail for Italy, a request came from the Lyctians to help them first. Consenting to this, the Lacedaemonians sailed to Crete, defeated the mercenaries and restored to the Lyctians their native land.

63. After this Archidamus sailed to Italy and joined forces with the Tarentines but lost his life fighting gallantly in battle. He was praised for his ability as general and for his conduct on the whole, though in the matter of the Phocian alliance alone he was severely criticized as the one who was chiefly responsible for the seizure of Delphi. Now Archidamus was king of the Lacedaemonians for twenty-three years, and Agis

1 An important Cretan city, neighbour of Cnossus and frequently engaged in war with Cnossus. The inhabitants of Lyctus called themselves colonists of Sparta; Aristotle, Politics, 1271 b 28.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

νῦν ἐβασίλευσεν ἐτη δεκαπέντε. ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν Ἀρχιδάμου μισθοφόροι μετασχηκότες τῆς τοῦ μαντείου συλήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν κατηκοντὶσθησαν, δὲ Φάλαικος ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς Λύκτου 3 Κυδωνίαν πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. κατασκευάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μηχανάς πολιορκητικὰς καὶ προσάγοντος τῇ πάλει κεραυνῶν πεσόντων αὖται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς κατεκλύθησαν, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων πολλοὶ παραβοηθοῦντες ταῖς μηχαναῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρμησαν· εὖ δὲ ἦν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς 4 Φάλαικος. ἦν οἱ δὲ φασι αὐτῶν προσκόψωσι τῶν τῶν μισθοφόρων ὑπὸ τούτου αφαγόναι. οἱ δὲ περιειθέντες τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀναληφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἡλείων φυγάδων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐπολέμωσαν πρὸς Ἡλείων. 5 Ἀρκάδων δὲ συναγωγοῦσαν τοὺς Ἡλείως καὶ μᾶχῃ νικησάντων τοὺς φυγάδας πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν μισθοφόρων αἰγρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ περιειθέντες εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἐξωγρήθησαν. διελομένων δὲ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες τοὺς ἁυτοὺς μερισθέντας ἀπαντᾶς ἐλαφυρομώλησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἡλεῖοι διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ μαντείας παρανομίας ἀπέσφαξαν.

64. Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱεροσυλίας μετασχήματος πολέον τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τιμωρίας ἠξιώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπισυμμότατα πόλεως κοινωνήσασι

1 Cp. chap. 88. 4, where nine years are allotted to Agis, as also in Book 17. 63. 4. The dates of the reigns are Archidamus III, 361-338; Agis II, 338-331. Agis fell in the battle of Megalopolis in the autumn of 331. The error of fifteen years seems to have arisen from the fact that in this passage (placed under year 346) Diodorus records the death of Archi-
his son succeeded to the throne and ruled for fifteen years. After the death of Archidamus his mercenaries, who had participated in plundering the shrine, were shot down by the Lucanians, whereas Phalaecus, now that he had been driven out of Lyctus, attempted to besiege Cydonia. He had constructed siege engines and was bringing them up against the city when lightning descended and these structures were consumed by the divine fire, and many of the mercenaries in attempting to save the engines perished in the flames. Among them was the general Phalaecus. But some say that he offended one of the mercenaries and was slain by him. The mercenaries who survived were taken into their service by Eleian exiles, were then transported to the Peloponnese, and with these exiles were engaged in war against the people of Elis. When the Arcadians joined the Eleians in the struggle and defeated the exiles in battle, many of the mercenaries were slain and the remainder, about four thousand, were taken captive. After the Arcadians and the Eleians had divided up the prisoners, the Arcadians sold as booty all who had been apportioned to them, while the Eleians executed their portion because of the outrage committed against the oracle.

64. Now the participants in the sacrilege met in this fashion with their just retribution from the deity. And the most renowned cities because of their part

damus (which occurred in 338) and the succession of Agis. From 346 to 331 would give fifteen years. (For a full discussion of the date of the battle of Megalopolis in relation to Alexander’s march see Beloch, 3. 2. § 130; also Tarn, Cambridge Ancient History, 6. 443-445.)

Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 260; Pausanias, 4. 28. 4 and 5. 4. 9. There seems to be no later reference in Diodorus to this war, which occurred about 343/2.
τῆς παρανομίας ὑπερευν τῷ Ἀντιπάτρω κατα-
πολεμηθεῖσαι τῆς ἤγεμονίαν ἀμα καὶ τῆν ἐλευθερίαν
2 ἀπέβαλον. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν Φωκείσιν ἤγεμόνων γυ-
ναῖκες περιθέμεναι τοὺς χρυσοὺς ἐκ Δελφῶν ὀρμοὺς
οἰκεῖας τῆς ἁσβείας τιμωρίας ἐτυχον. ἢ μὲν γὰρ
τῶν τῆς Ἐλένης γεγενημένον φορέσασα εἰς ἐπαυ-
ρικὴν αἰσχύνην ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὸ κάλλος προέβαλε
τοῖς ἐξεβρίζειν προαιρομένοις, ἢ δὲ τῶν τῆς Ἐρι-
φύλης περιθεμένη τῆς οἰκίας ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου
τῶν νιών ὑπὸ μανίας ἀμυντικοῦσις μετὰ ταῦτας
ζώσα κατεφλέχθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ δαμονίου κατα-
φουνεῖν τολμῆσαντες τὸν εἰρημένου τρόπον ὑπὸ τῶν
3 θεῶν τιμωρίας ἠξιώθησαν, ὃ δὲ τῶν μαντείων βοη-
θήσας Φίλιππος ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ μάλ-
λον αὐξόμενος τὸ τελευταῖον διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον
εὐσέβειαν ἡγεμόναν ἀπεδείχθη τῆς Ἐλλάδος πάσης
καὶ μεγίστην βασιλείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην
περιεπούσατο.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκοῦντος διεληλυθότες τὸν ἱερὸν
πόλεμον ἐπάνυμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑπετρογενεῖς πράξεις.

65. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακόσιοι οὐσιά-
ζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τυραννίσας πολλαῖς καὶ
πουκίλαις δουλεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐξ-
ἐπεμφανεὶς Κόρινθον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀποστεῖλαι
στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον τῆς πόλεως καὶ
καταλύσοντα τὴν τῶν τυραννῶν ἐπιβαλομένων πλεον-
2 εξίαν. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες δίκαιον εἶναι τοῖς ἀπόγονοις

1 τοῦτω before τῷ deleted by Dindorf.

1 Presumably refers to Antipater's invasion of the Peloponnesian and the defeat of Agis, cp. Book 17. 63. 1-3 and 73. 5-6, and also to the defeat of Athens after the Lamian War, cp. Book 18. 18. 1-6.
in the outrage were later defeated in war by Anti-
pater, and lost at one and the same time their leader-
ship and their freedom. The wives of the Phocian
commanders who had worn the gold necklaces taken
from Delphi met with punishment befitting their im-
piety. For one of them who had worn the chain
which had belonged to Helen of Troy sank to the
shameful life of a courtesan and flung her beauty
before any who chose wantonly to abuse it, and
another, who put on the necklace of Eriphylê, had
her house set on fire by her eldest son in a fit of mad-
ness and was burned alive in it. Thus those who had
the effrontery to flout the deity met just retribution
in the manner I have described at the hands of the
gods, while Philip who rallied to the support of the
oracle added continually to his strength from that
time on and finally because of his reverence for the
gods was appointed commander of all Hellas and
acquired for himself the largest kingdom in Europe.

Now that we have reported in sufficient detail the
events of the Sacred War, we shall return to events of
a different nature.

65. In Sicily the Syracusans, who were engaged
in civil strife and were forced to live as slaves under
many varied tyrannies, sent ambassadors to Corinth
with the request that the Corinthians should dispatch
to them as general a man who would administer their
city and curb the ambitions of those who aimed to
become tyrants. The Corinthians, concluding that it

² Wife of Amphiarãüs. She was bribed by a necklace
given her by Polyneices to induce her husband to take part
in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Amphiarãüs
met his death and she was slain in revenge by her son
Alemaeon.

³ Last mentioned chap. 45. 9.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

βοηθείν εὑρίσκαντο πέμπεσι στρατηγὸν Τιμολέοντα, Τιμακνέτου, πρωτεύοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ καὶ καθόλου πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένον. ἦδιον δὲ τι συνέβη περὶ τῶν ἄνδρα συμπεσεῖν, ὃ συνελάβετο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῆς στρατηγικῆς αἴρεσιν. Τιμοφάνης γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προέχων τῶν Κορινθίων πλούτῳ τε καὶ τόλμῃ πάλαι μὲν ἢν φανερὸς τυραννίδος ὑπεγίμην, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ πανοπλίας κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἔχον μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἄγοραν περιήλθει, οὐ προσποιούμενος ὅτι τύραννός ἦστι, τὰ δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔργα διαπραττόμενος. ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων ἀλλοτριώτατος ὃν μοναρχίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρη εἰς ἡπείρειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποστήναι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο τῇ τόλμῃ, ἄνωντῶν αὐτῶν λόγῳ διορθώσασθαι περιπατοῦντα κατὰ τὴν ἄγοραν ἀπέσταξεν. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν συνδραμόντων διὰ τέτο παράδοξον καὶ τὴν δεινότητα τῆς πράξεως στάσις ἐγένετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασαν δεῖν ὅσον ἐμφύλιον φόνον πεπραχότα τὸν Τιμολέοντα τυγχάνειν τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας, οἱ δὲ τούναντίον ἀπεφαινοντο δεῖν ἐπανεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ὅσι τυραννοκτόνον. τῆς δὲ γερουσίας συνεδρευόμης ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ

1 Τιμακνέτου Plutarch, Timoleon, 3; cp. Clasen, Timoleon, p. 13; Holm, Geschichte Siciliens, 2. 194, 464.
2 πανοπλίας Fischer.
3 Hertlein: περιπτατῶν (καὶ π. ΡΧ).
4 δεῖν added by Fischer (cp. Books 12. 55. 8; 16. 84. 5).

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was only right to assist people who were offshoots of themselves, voted to send as general Timoleon, son of Timaenetus, a man of highest prestige amongst his fellow citizens for bravery and sagacity as a general and, in a word, splendidly equipped with every virtue. A peculiar coincidence befell him which contributed toward his being chosen to the generalship. Timophonae, his brother, a man of outstanding wealth and effrontery amongst the Corinthians, had for some time past been clearly aiming at a tyranny and at the moment was winning the poor to his cause and laying up a store of suits of armour and parading about the market-place accompanied by a band of ruffians, not actually claiming to be tyrant but practising the arts of tyranny. Timoleon, who was much averse to the rule of one man, first attempted to dissuade his brother from his overt attempt, but when the latter refused to heed and continued all the more his headstrong career, Timoleon, being unable by reasoning with him to make him mend his ways, put him to death as he was promenading in the market-place. A scuffle ensued and a mob of citizens came surging up stirred by the surprising character and the enormity of the deed, and dissension broke out. One side claimed that as the perpetrator of a kin-murder Timoleon should receive the punishment prescribed by the laws, whereas the other party asserted just the opposite, that they should applaud him as a tyrannicide. When the senate met to deliberate in the

1 Syracuse was a Corinthian colony founded in 734.
2 According to Plutarch the murder of Timophonae (not by Timoleon’s own hand) occurred about twenty years before Timoleon’s departure for Syracuse. Diodorus’ account should be compared with Plutarch’s and Nepos’ Timoleon.
Diodorus of Sicily

τῆς περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐπὶ τὸ συνε-
δριον ἀναπεμφθείσης οἱ μὲν ἔχθροι τοῦ Τιμολέοντος
κατηγόρουν, οἱ δὲ χαριέστεροι συνηγοροῦντες συν-
7 εβούλευσαν σωζέως τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀκρίτων δὲ ἔτι τῆς
ζητήσεως οὖσης κατέπλευσαν ἐκ τῶν Συρακούσ-
σών οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰς ἐντολὰς
δηλώσαντες ἡξίουν τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀποστείλαι τὸν
8 στρατηγόν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πέμπειν τὸν
Τιμολέοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατορθώσαι τὴν πράξιν
ξένας τινὰς καὶ παραδόξους αἰρέσεις αὐτῶ προ-
έθηκαν· διεβεβαιώσαντο γάρ, ἕαν μὲν καλὸς ἄρξ[
7] τῶν Συρακούσων, κρίνειν αὐτὸν τυραννοκτόνον, ἕαν
9 δὲ πλεονεκτικῶτερον, ἀδελφοὺ φονέα. ὁ δὲ Τιμο-
λέων οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὸν ἐπικρεμασθέντα φόβον ὑπὸ
tῆς γερουσίας ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καλῶς καὶ συμ-
φερόντως προέστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πραγ-
μάτων. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν γὰρ κατεπολέμησε, τὰς
dὲ κατεσκαμένας ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἑλληνίδας
πόλεις ἀπεκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχὴς κατάστασιν, 1
πάσαν δὲ Σικελίαν ἡμεθέρωσε, καθάλου δὲ τὰς
Συρακούσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας 2 Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις
παραλαμβάνουν ἐρήμους ἐποίησε πολυανθρωπία
dιενεγκείν.

'Αλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν
ύστερον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν, νῦν
δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ιστορίας μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν
λόγον.

1 εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατάστασιν added by Fischer from Poly-
bius, 23. 17. 1 (L.C.L.) 2 ἄλλας added by Fischer.
council chamber and the matter in dispute was referred to the session, Timoleon's personal enemies denounced him, while those more favourably inclined rallied to his cause and counselled letting him go free. While the investigation was still unsettled there sailed into the harbour from Syracuse the ambassadors who, having made known their mission to the senate, requested them to dispatch with all speed the general they needed. The session accordingly voted to send Timoleon and, in order to ensure the success of the project, they proposed a strange and amazing alternative to him. They affirmed categorically that if he ruled the Syracusans fairly, they adjudged him a tyrannicide, but if too ambitiously, a murderer of his brother.¹ Timoleon, not so much in fear of the threat imposed on him by the senate as because of his native virtue, administered the government in Sicily fairly and profitably. For he subdued in war the Carthaginians, restored to their original state the Greek cities which had been razed by the barbarians, and made all Sicily independent; in a word, having found Syracuse and the other Greek cities depopulated when he took them over, he made them notably populous.

These matters, however, we shall record severally below in their proper periods; now we shall return to the thread of our narrative.

¹ Plutarch (Timoleon, 7. 2) puts this in the mouth of one Telecleides speaking before the assembly (δῆμος), not the senate.
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