**Xenophon, *History of My Times* (Penguin Classics) (ISBN-13: 978-0140441758)**

* 1.4.1–7; 1.5.1–3; 1.6.6–11; 2.1.7–14; 2.1.20–32

**Xenophon, 1.4. 1-7 (p.69-70) (Arrival of Cyrus, Alcibiades’ return to Athens 407 BC)**

The news of what had happened at Byzantium reached Pharnabazus and the ambassadors while they were spending the winter at Gordium in Phrygia. At the beginning of the spring they were on their way again to the king, but met with another party on its way back. These were the Spartan ambassadors, Boeotius and those with him, and the other messengers. Their report was that the Spartans had got everything they wanted from the King; also that Cyrus had been appointed to take command of the whole coastline and to help the Spartans in the war. Cyrus had a letter with him, bearing the King’s seal and addressed to all the inhabitants of the coastal areas. Among other things it contained the following words: ‘I am sending Cyrus down to the coast at *caranus* [a word which means “lord”] of those whose mobilization centre is Castolus.’

After the Athenian ambassadors had heard this news and had seen Cyrus himself, they wanted in the first place, and if it were possible to return home. Cyrus, however, did not want the Athenians at home to know what was going on and he told Pharnabazus either to leave the ambassadors in his charge, or at any rate not to let them go home yet. So Pharnabazus in order to avoid trouble with Cyrus, kept the ambassadors with time for the time being. Sometimes he pretended that he was just on the point of taking them to see the King and at other times that he was just getting ready to escort them home, adding ‘so you won’t have to blame me’. So three years went by. In the end Pharnabazus asked Cyrus to release them, saying that he had sworn an oath that he would take them back to the coast if could not take them to the King. So the ambassadors were sent to Ariobarzanes, who was instructed to escort them. Ariobarzanes conducted them to Cius, in Mysia, and then sailed from there to rejoin the Athenian army.

*Peloponnesian War, Athens-Sparta*

**Xenophon, 1.5. 1-3 (p.74) (Lysander, Athenian Defeat at Notium, Alcibiades deposed 406 BC)**

Not long before this the Spartans had sent out Lysander as admiral to replace Cratesippidas, whose term of office had expired. Lysander went to Rhodes, where he took over the ships stationed there and then sailed to Cos, Miletus and Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus arrived at Sardis. He then went inland to visit Cyrus and took with him the ambassadors from Sparta. They lost no time in telling Cyrus how badly in their opinion, Tissaphernes had behaved and they begged him to take a really serious and energetic part in the war. ‘That,’ said Cyrus ‘is exactly what my father has asked me to do and that is what I mean to do myself. I shall do all that I can.’ He told them that he had brought 500 talents with him. If that was not enough, he said that he would use his own money, which had been given him by his father, and if that also ran out, he would break up the throne of silver and gold on which he sat.

*Peloponnesian War, Athens-Sparta, Persia, money*

**Xenophon, 1.6. 6-11 (p.79-80) (Battle of Arginusae 406 BC)**

No one ventured to suggest any other course of action except that he should obey the authorities at home and carry on the work for which he had been appointed. He then went to Cyrus and asked h8im for the pay of the sailors, but Cyrus told him to wait two days. Callicratidas was furious at being put off and at having to keep behaving like a courtier. It was a sad day for the Greeks, he said, when they had to make up to foreigners for the sake of money, and he declared that if he got home safely he would do his best to make peace between Athens and Sparta.\* He then sailed away to Miletus and from there sent triremes to Sparta to ask for money. Next he called an assembly of the people of Miletus and addressed them as follows: ‘What I have to do, men of Miletus, is to obey my home government. As for you, I think that you ought to show the greatest possible willingness to help in this war, since you live surrounded by foreigners and you have suffered a great deal from them in the past. It is up to you to give a lead to the other allies and show them how we can do the most damage to the enemy in the shortest time, until my messengers return from Sparta. I sent them there to get money, since Lysander, before going away, gave back to Cyrus all the money he had as though we had enough already. I went to Cyrus, but he kept on avoiding an interview with me and I could not bring myself to hang around his court. But I promise you that I shall show a fitting gratitude in return for all successes that we win during the time that we are waiting for the money from Sparta. Let us then, with the help of heaven, show the foreigners that, even without paying excessive attention to them, we can still make our enemies suffer for what they have done.’

*Peloponnesian War, Athens-Sparta, Persia, Spartan war-effort and division, money*

**Xenophon, 2.1. 7-14 (p.98-99) (Recall of Lysander. Athenian disaster at Aegospotami, 406-405 BC)**

So the ambassadors were sent and were accompanied by messengers from Cyrus who supported their request. The Spartans sent Lysander out with the office of vice-admiral with Aracus as admiral. This was because they have a law forbidding the same man to be admiral twice. However, the ships were in fact under the command of Lysander.

The war had now lasted twenty-five years. It was in this year, too, that Cyrus put to death Autoboesaces and Mitraeus the sons of Darius’ sister (daughter of Xerxes, the father of Darius). He did this because when they met him they failed to push their hands through the *core* – a gesture that is made only in the presence of the king. (The *core* is a kind of sleeve, longer than the *cheiris*, and anyone with their hand inside it would be incapable of doing anything.) Hieramenes and his wife then told Darius that it would be a disgrace if he were to overlook such an act of violence and of arrogance, and Darius sent messengers to summon Cyrus, pretending that he was ill.

Next year was the year in which Archytas was ephor and Alexias was archon at Athens. Lysander arrived at Ephesus and instructed Eteonicus to meet him there with the fleet from Chios. He himself got together all of the ships that he could lay his hands on anywhere, and started refitting them and building others at Antandrus. He also went to see Cyrus and asked him for money. Cyrus pointed out that all the money supplied by the King had been already spent, and indeed a great deal more besides, and he gave him an account of the sums which each of the admirals had received. However, he did give him money and LYnsander, when he got it, appointed captains for each trireme and paid the sailors all the pay that was due to them. Meanwhile the Athenian generals at Samos were also getting their fleet ready for action.

Cyrus now sent for Lysander. The messenger had arrived from his father saying that he was ill and wanted to see him. At this time Cyrus was in Thamneria, in Media, near the territory of the Cadusians, who had revolted and against whom he had been marching. When Lysander arrived, Cyrus advised him not to fight any action with the Athenians unless he found himself with great numerical superiority. He pointed out that both the King and he himself had plenty of money, so that, so far as that was concerned, it would be possible to man a great many ships, He then allotted to Lysander all the tribute from the cities to which he personally was entitled and also gave him all the surplus which he had by him.\* After reminding him of the friendly feelings he entertained both for Sparta and for Lysander himself, he set out on the journey inland to his father.

*Peloponnesian War, Athens-Sparta, Persia, Money*

**Xenophon, 2.1. 20-32 (p.100-103) (Recall of Lysander. Athenian disaster at Aegospotami, 406-405 BC)**

The Athenians had been sailing close behind and with their fleet of 180 ships, came to anchor at Elaeus in the Chersonese. It was here, while they were having their morning meal, that they received the news about Lampsacus. They set out at once for Sestus where they took provisions aboard and then went straight on to Aegospotami, which is opposite Lampsacus. The Hellespont here is about two miles wide. It was here that the Athenians had their evening meal.

The night passed and at dawn Lysander ordered his men to have breakfast and embark. He had the side-screens put up on the ships and made all preparations for battle, but gave orders that no one should leave his position or put out into the open sea.

As soon as the sun rose the Athenians came up with their fleet in line of battle to the mouth of the harbour. However, Lysander did not put to sea against them, so, when it was late in the day, they sailed back again to Aegospotami. Lysander then instructed some of his fastest ships to follow the Athenians and, when they had disembarked, to observe what they were doing and then to report back to him. He did not allow his own men to go ashore until these ships had returned.

Both he and the Athenians did the same thing for four days. All of this time Alcibiades was in his castle and he could see from there that the Athenians were moored on an open shore with no city behind them and that they were getting their supplies from Sestus, which was about two miles\* away from the ships, while the enemy, inside a harbour and with a city at their backs, had everything they wanted. He therefore told the Athenians that they were in a very poor position and advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestus, where they would have the advantage of a harbour and a city. ‘Once you are there,’ he said, ‘you can fight whenever you please.’

The generals, however – particularly Tydeus and Menander – told him to go away. ‘We are in command now’, they said, ‘not you.’ So Alcibiades went away.

On the fifth day as the Athenians sailed up, Lysander gave special instructions to the ships that they were to follow them. As soon as they saw that the Athenians had disembarked and had scattered in various directions over the Chersonese – as they were now doing more freely every day, as they had to go a long way to get their food and were now actually contemptuous of Lysander for not coming out to fight – they were to sail back and signal with a shield when they were half-way across the straits. These orders were carried out, and as soon as he got the signal, Lysander ordered the fleet to sail at full speed. Thorax and his men went with the fleet.

When Conon saw that the enemy were attacking, he signalled to the Athenians to hurry back as fast as they could come to their ships. But they were scattered in all directions; some of the ships has only two banks of oars manned, some only one, and some were not manned at all. Conon himself in his own ship with seven others and also the state trireme *Paralus* did get to sea fully manned and in close order. All the rest were captured by Lysander on land. He also rounded up nearly all the crews, though a few managed to escape into various fortified places in the neighbourhood.\*

Conon, escaping with his nine ships, could see that for the Athenians all was over. He put in at Abarnis, the headland off Lampsacus, and there seized the cruising masts of Lysander’s fleet. Then, with eight ships, he sailed away to King Evagoras in Cyprus. The *Paralus* sailed to Athens to report what happened.

Lysander brought the ships, the prisoners and all his other prizes to Lampsacus. Among the prisoners were Philocles, Adimantus and others of the generals. And on t eh very day of the victory he sent Theopompus, the Milesian pirate, to Sparta to report what had happened. Theopompus arrived with the news in three days.

*Peloponnesian War, Athens-Sparta, Persia, Athenian defeat*