

# **A History of My Times Study Guide**

## **A History of My Times by Xenophon**

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# Plot Summary

Xenophon has provided the world with a fine piece of literature that describes the conditions in which he lived. During the very first introductions of the survey of the region of the era, it becomes clear that Xenophon was less loyal to Athens than he was either to his personal interests or else he was loyal to other principles. There may be a system to his loyalty, which is more discernible to readers by the end.

However, from the incredibly brief explanation given in the beginning, Xenophon was banished from his home state of Athens, even though he had served as one of its military officers partly, perhaps because he spent many years living under Spartan protection. These two nations were not the best of allies during this time making such a 'state of affairs' immediately suspect. He lived the ending of his life in Corinth.

This work of classical literature has been specifically designed in order to be useful as a university textbook. The Penguin publishing company focuses on classical works. Since they have been designed for use by adults, the general public will also find them accessible and especially educational. This will suit those with sophisticated tastes.

Like the majority of works of this kind, there are scholarly supplements to the main body of the translated text. These occur both prior to and following after the central contents. The core of the book is dedicated to a thorough and insightful survey of the political and geographical region. The Mediterranean Sea has proven to be a literal and proverbial cultural oasis of humankind. Whether the Jews, the Arabs, Egyptians, Greeks or Romans it seems that 'Western civilization' was born and cradled here. There were other peoples but their cultures did not share the same attitude towards making things that lasted; many of them felt it was more important to leave no 'mess behind', no traces where they had lived that might damage the natural world. For whatever reason, the powers of these peoples have given a legacy to the world, of which Xenophon's writings coming out of the Grecian city-states of 2,350 years ago, is but one example.

Readers can work through this material in more than one way. There is a combination of cultural facts and factors included. Some sense of the relationship between religion and politics vis-a-vis military campaigns in this work. There is a presentation of the hierarchy, with a very clear expression that the entire matter rests on those who follow those who lead. One event cannot take place without both. This is concisely put through the anecdote of Xenophon's inability to found a city because his 10,000 won't do it. The majority need and like leadership, even though the leaders cannot do much without those who follow them. There are teachings in strategy and tactics. There are a very few wars, but virtually every battle takes place within the context of a campaign. There are several of these. In some cases, readers will be able to discern what the desired or intended results are, but in others the editor has to educate readers about what the goal actually is. Of course, for war buffs and historians there is also a wealth of information and there will be almost endless pleasure in this.

This work may be absorbed differently for those who are reading it for pleasure or with their own agenda than it is when part of a class at a university. The emphasis will be provided, often with explanation, by an instructor whereas in the event of reading for pleasure the individual's own needs will dictate what is focused upon.



# Book 1, Introductions : Chapter 1, Notes to this Greek Classic

## Book 1, Introductions : Chapter 1, Notes to this Greek Classic Summary and Analysis

This book has been developed for the purposes of serving an academic audience. One feature of this is that there is an extensive bibliography prior to, rather than after, the main text. The editor of this piece is a woman named Betty Radice. Those who are familiar with this publisher will come to realize that she is actually prominent within the organization, or at least, she appears to be from the frequent presence of her name on the opening pages of classical literature published in English. The edition used to create the summary is the Penguin edition. In this case, the translator, the editor and the writer of the introduction are all separate individuals over and above the author. Here, the introduction has been performed by the scholar named George Cawkwell.

Quickly enough, the real reason behind Xenophon's strange situation grows clear. He was born into the Knight class, which meant 'literally' that he could afford to maintain a horse. All male citizens were required to serve in the military at the behest of the city, and he did so as a cavalry officer. He found himself undergoing severe challenges during a war as an Athenian officer and ended up in charge of 10,000 men. The truth is that he was not the best leader, but he was able to lead them rather effectively. Due to this there was a failed effort to found a city, but they would not do it. There were complaints that his men were undisciplined. Finally, it was also true that in order to get them money and supplies he led them into serving multiple city-states and thereby ruined the sense of true loyalty to any of the flags under which his men fought. However, the group held together, and did so under his leadership showing that he was able to receive their loyalty to him and that they had enough loyalty to one another as a group to keep going.

This man was also a contemporary of the philosopher Socrates who continues to be known to us. His information gives more of the story about Socrates and the influence on other men for which he was accused and put to death. What he has written and helped to get published then has been part of a collection of works that come from the ancient Grecian world which combined, set our standard for conceiving that reality as accurately as possible.

Xenophon also participated in the literary life of the time, including having previously unknown works of a man named Thucydides published. His work has passed through another man, named Diogenes Laertius. This latter is famous in this particular way.

Betty Radice assures readers that Xenophon's work is to be viewed as memoir, rather than as straight history. His efforts are as opinionated as those of anyone of his day. The introduction is completed by the advising editor discerning and explaining to



readers what the author Xenophon's real motives were in the creation of the work that follows. He was a very experienced military man, and a culturally aware fellow of the times. As it turns out, Ms. Radice informs, Xenophon was motivated by displaying those virtues and vices that manifested in military commanders of the time and how these affected what transpired. The more this is understood, the better readers will be able to make the most of Xenophon's writings.

Immediately after this, sandwiched between the introduction and the notes, comes a bibliography. This will delight scholars and students while seeming to be a useless vestigial segment of the book. There are further notes coming after that. These are similar in that their value will be recognized by the right sort, but entirely missed by 'the wrong kind.' The advice to readers who wrinkle their nose about these portions is to simply pass them over, moving into the work itself.



# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 1, Book 1

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 1, Book 1 Summary and Analysis

The standard for readers, is that each summary chapter covers 50 pages of text. This may not be exact in every case, but it is the standard. The true story begins in earnest at this juncture. The author jumps into the true story just as most contemporary writers of nonfiction would. This may be a major asset that contributed its success as a classic. Surely, if there is an afterlife, Xenophon might well be pleasantly surprised that he is still known, over 2,000 years later and internationally thanks to 'his writing.' His method has made his writing style especially accessible for contemporary readers.

For those not familiar with military procedures, or who have difficulty visualizing entire scenarios in their mind's eye, maps found at the back of the book, along with globes, maps and possibly figurines to practice being able to 'see' what is being described as a unity. Battles form the fundamental structure of events as they unfold in the first book. During this, a few names of leaders emerge. Amongst the men referred to is the Athenian Alcibiades. This really is a reference to the same man as the cheerful athletic young aristocrat who so fond of Socrates, and so impassioned by arguing with his mentor. For those who have read the Apology, and of the death of that Athenian philosopher, this brings such people into contact with a radically different aspect of the over all conditions of their time and place. Here, Alcibiades has leadership over a fleet of twenty to forty ships called tireremes. Far from the only man mentioned as one of the officers, this is the only name that jumps out to those who have been educated in the philosophers of the same time and place.

There is significant combat. The numbers of ships for the water and shoreline battles are as few as ten to twenty, but no more than a large group of eighty is brought up. Hellespont, Ilium and Abydus are the sites of the most extensive fighting at first. A small set of surface tactics are shared while the information is relayed.

By the second chapter, the effects of loyalty are clearly seen, as are very real problems caused 'below' by decisions that have been generated by Generals, often influenced by other aspects of political conditions. In one case, a whole slew of mid-range officers are dismissed and exiled. Their men remain loyal, and ask them to stick around at least until the replacements arrive. This is done, but not until after there is a massive meeting- an assembly. This shows the strange position of the lower ranks. In some respects they are spared from the punishment, but at the same time, they have minimal control over changes in leadership are expected to just go along with those changes whether they like it or not, even when they truly believe the changes are wrong and unjust.



Some brief description of the ancient forms of military ranks are given. During this era, wealth played directly into rank, regardless of the quality of the individual because it would have been so unfair to burden poorer people with the high expenses of the equipment needed for those of the higher ranks. Horses are one example: a chariot is only even pricier. At the bottom of the ranks, are the lightest of infantry. Much of the time in the classical world, the military forces were not paid. This was a requirement of citizenship. As such, one of women's issues was this: How important was it that they do or do not fight? For many, if it was better to be safer from warfare then it would mean that the status of citizen would be abandoned or even avoided. For many women, however, it would be far preferable to serve in the military and to have access to the right of citizenship. The majority of women would be the lightest of the fighting forces, but with social practice this might have been alterable.

The chapters in this book are all short. Combat is hard to do, but writing it up often results in short sections. The longest one is five pages long. The years of the events are 406 and 409 BC. Each is devoted to a description of a battle. One of these is a siege. In this way, readers are introduced to some of the basic kinds of larger scale forms that combat takes. These can involve hundreds and thousands of soldiers. In some cases, tens or even hundreds of thousands are required to act together to achieve a military goal just as mass scale cooperation is necessary for success in civilian life. Readers can think of their daily lives. Most will see, once they look at it and 'add it up' in their minds, how much this is the reality: to have what a town or city has to offer, the people who live there have to work to make it all happen. From the small self-oriented center of oneself, especially in youth, it can be easy to lose sight of this truth or to feel swamped and manipulated far beyond any reasonable level of self-control. Even so, the reality is the same for readers today as it was back then: en mass, people can do these things but it demands a tremendous amount of teamwork and subdivisions of the effort and labor to do so. This is why Xenophon proposed the idea to his 10,000 men that they could just stop by founding a city and thereby making a new home for themselves as a group and staying together. This is what Romulus did when he and his men founded the city of Rome.

The author's tone is objective, but the editor has made it quite clear that the author is not objective. This does not make Xenophon a villain, but in truth, readers are better educated about how to 'take' the text by the editor.





# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 2, Book 2

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 2, Book 2 Summary and Analysis

Another feature that was introduced in the previous book was the original 'trophy.' These were devised on the spot to make special observance of certain victories. Often they were built from stacks of the enemy's shields and the like, perhaps on some high ground. These things are done in a minority of cases when there is the time and the surrounding circumstances all conspire to make it achievable.

The second book begins with a war that has been waging for 25 years and a serious funding issue. In this case, the sailors were granted pay. Much of the year, at a place called Chios they were able to live at least tolerably well. While not at war, they found work in the area. In reality, the winter was much too hard on them and to top it off they had been promised money but had not yet received it.

Everyone who has experience with fund raising will find that the stories and solutions found during this classic are enlightening. This is only more the case in situations where readers have little to no knowledge of fund raising. In some cases, Xenophon just writes that 'funds were raised.' On the opposite extreme the solution was to sack a city- to plunder. The following elucidates this technique.

There is a concise story about an actual plot that the soldiers created to sack the same city unless something else was done to improve their situation. There was a system devised to express agreement. While it was being put through, an opponent of the plan and local political leader, was able to observe that a disconcertingly vast number of little reeds were being carried, showing that the idea had strong support. The politician realized that direct, open confrontation was not a good idea, but that the situation was as serious and real as those reeds indicated. In the end there was at least one politically sanctioned killing, which caused the reeds to suddenly disappear - fear of reprisal. The leader, however, was not against the men but only an opponent of the plan they proposed to take care of their real concern. He was able to raise funds throughout the city and sent them away, giving each man a month's wages and a kind speech at every ship. Thus, disaster was averted and the sailors were paid and protected thereby. Here, there is another anecdote where forcing issues seems legitimate enough.

Funding is the final main concern that will be addressed here. Of course there is more, and anyone creating a summary or a review will tend to focus upon a set of details. Many people will be more observant about one matter than another. If that were not the case, the politicians in the preceding example would never have missed the great need to find funding for the sailors until the issue was urgently pressed. Funding also comes up repeatedly and is part of the story. The way the need is addressed is not necessarily



the way one might imagine. As is often the case, some will feel this to be self-evident, others will find the descriptions herein to be quite illuminating. Cooperation between leaders turns up here. One commander may ask another for financial help and receive it. One military captain may make a request to the political 'chiefs' of a city-state and be granted funds from the city's reserves. There are occasions when 'the people' have come up with the money. On some other time, a column or more of warriors goes and takes it by force from some other city. The means are diverse, and it is clarifying for readers to see how it does and does not affect events. Much will be told about a military effort and then, suddenly there is some financial shortage or else a bigger fund raising effort during a campaign and one leader has 'enough men' cut the timber and build more boats so that the battles at sea can be extended or continued.



# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 3, Book 3

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 3, Book 3 Summary and Analysis

This book begins at the end of the Athenian civil war with overtures of friendliness to the Spartans. One level of political leadership, the ephors, worked on this gesture. Here, as in earlier chapters, leaders and their relationships with one another become important.

Two brothers are at war against one another, in the case of Cyrus and Cunaxa. Here it is observed that Cleopatra's military reactions to her brother were rather precedented than unprecedented. At the same time, in another relationship the review is of allied forces: here the Spartan Samius suddenly makes an entire additional naval fleet available to Cyrus. The willingness of Samius to assist Cyrus being warmly and duly noted right on the first page of this next book.

The trials of leadership are included in this 'book of the book' as well as in the others. Here, one of the field commanders, Thibron, has much success. Then, when he returns to Sparta, he is exiled in punishment. Shocking at first, the reason becomes rather clear: they say that he has allowed his own friends to be plundered and worst of all, that he has permitted his own men to do this.

Here the woman named Mania is noted, not as the symptoms of mental illness which have been named after her, but the woman herself. She was a 'first lady,' but with the demise of her husband she succeeded in obtaining the dominant position of satrap for herself. She promised to continue to be loyal to main political and military allies of her deceased husbands. There is every indication that she was sincere, and her efforts were effective. She is reported to have ruled well. She relied upon mercenaries for military force, but did go into the field or close to it so that she could at least directly observe the battering down of an enemy's walls. She was able to bring more cities under the same influence. Hers was not the most dominant polis of the region, nor was it the least dominant. She is reputed to having been a very generous hostess, enabled of course, by wealth to be so. She enjoyed giving presents to her main allies.

Mania was killed through betrayal. Her son-in-law was psychologically thrust into doing it. He was badgered by others for having a female leader, and for having so little public reputation himself. She was well guarded except from those in her inner circle whom she trusted. Hence, she was murdered by someone close to her, by her son-in-law. Her son was also killed, by the same other relative. Here is a case where what one would hope to have been paranoia was actually just fear, fear of real threats.

In chapter three there is a true story of a convoluted conspiracy that crosses city boundaries. Here, a man named Cinadon is persuaded to walk into a trap set for him by



people who he had thought were colleagues. He was arrested when he went to pick up an assistant for the purposes of completing a separate objective.

The accountability of leaders is keenly observed during this work of Xenophon's. When the scholar has assured readers that one of the author's goals was to show how virtue and vice operate in the military and political life the writings can be watched for signs of this. Points can be seen; stories can be taken together so that more complex patterns emerge. So to, do basic truths. There are principles underlying many of the steps undertaken by the leaders within the military forces written up in the book. Readers have the advantage of being unlikely to be particularly emotionally aroused by the battles and campaigns and intrigues. Of course, feelings will be stirred, but not to the same extreme as to read the analogous stories of the current war/s would. Reading about events that have occurred far away are naturally less prone to reaction than those with which one has direct personal experience. Later in the book and the summary this comes up again. Both proverbial sides of the coin emerge, leaders are both rewarded and punished for what they do. In truth, the reputation of Xenophon, even now, has definitely been marked by the path his 10,000 troops followed when they were operating under his authority.

In chapter 4, Asia becomes the focus of Grecian military campaigns. A note from the editor explains that Xenophon meant 'the Persian Empire' when he wrote 'Asia.' The year involved here is 396 BC. Agesilus was the leader who headed up this particular campaign. For those who do not know, a campaign is less than a war, and typically involves only a portion of any force's military. However, the arrangements are for far more than one single battle. Often some decisive, limited aim is sought.

Sacrifices were also mentioned in that chapter. Further on, there are notes about two totally different things. One is enabling the wealthy to buy their way out of military service, whereas the other is showing captured enemies naked. Neither of these took place all of the time. The former was heralded as a new development. The very next sentence shows how much life is valued with the rapid claim that once able to put someone else in danger, rather than themselves, they did. This policy was new to the times and culture. From that time on, debates regarding militaristic virtues have been changed. While there will be those who frown upon them, as yet mankind is hard pressed to give examples of a successful people who were able to live in freedom without some resorts to force of arms. The only well known or prolonged exceptions have been when they were intimately associated with protective forces.

This matter has as much meaning or more today as it did when Xenophon wrote his book. The furtherance of peace and the reduction of violence whether by religious sacrifice of living beings or from war or from eating has grown in popularity. There have always been and still are those who sacrifice their lives over values or at the behest of others. Whether Hippies or the philosophy of Ayn Rand there are those who view military virtues as dubious at best. That being duly noted, the majority of nations depend upon brute force in certain ways, and most who live in freedom do so thanks to the efforts of hundreds of thousands or millions who endeavored to make it and then to keep it.



The second matter was about captives. Readers will feel a sense of pride that humanity has made such progress in the past 2,000 years. The bulk of war prisoners are no longer taken as slaves. Globally, slavery has thankfully declined, and freedom has increased. The custom of the era of Xenophon was not that prisoners were put onto the block stark naked. As such, this was an unusual circumstance.

The books do not all have the same number of chapters. This one has five of these.



# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 4, Book 4

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 4, Book 4 Summary and Analysis

Early in this new book there is some discussion of a marriage decision. One man urges another to make the decision based upon another woman's appearance. However, there is a trick to it, as in reality, the one encouraging the choice is only suggesting a woman who is of a similar social class, and who's family also has a very strong reputation. There is some allusion to the fact that she needs to be willing in order for it to work, but the woman is not present during the treatment of the subject. One man is persuading another man of who to have for his wife.

There is another charming reference to religious observations during the era and in the religions wherein animal sacrifices are still performed. Here, the Spartans made a ritual sacrifice of a goat to the goddess Artemis prior to pursuing and engaging the enemy. Their effort of the day was successful, and at the end of it they put up a trophy on the grounds where they had experienced their first victory.

The gruesome nature of the lifestyle continues. Special arrangements are made. There is a 'set up.' In an effort to increase their success, there is a new disregard for religion. On the day of a religious festival there is a massacre, committed in public. Out of the blue, so to speak, people are attacked in accordance with this plan. The entire purpose was to prevent the re-establishment of an alliance with Sparta. This is exceptionally frightening, as it makes the most of what everyone knows is a great tactic: the elements of surprise or of catching one's enemy off guard. Most people sleep at night reasonably assured that an attack is not forthcoming. The true story of the massacre at the festival is the kind of thing that would be apt to 'freak anyone out.'

This book has a total of 8 chapters. By this time, readers will have noticed that one of the names that appears is Dercylidas. He is one of the leaders who reappears during these decades. While far less exciting than it must have been for those working directly with him, Dercylidas was noted for being 'singularly shrewd' in an earlier 'book.' Here he is important again, where he is specifically mentioned as being 'blameless.'

The tone of the work continues. The author has been very consistent in his writing style. The editor corroborates this by assuring readers that the original meaning and 'sense' for the manner of the author has been preserved through the translation process. In the base of this work of Xenophon's the translator and the editor are not the same person. In some cases within classical literature they are. As such, readers are advised to check which edition they have. The one used here uses a translation made by a Mr. Rex Warner.



# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 5, Book 5

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 5, Book 5 Summary and Analysis

This next 'book' continues in the same style. At the top are encapsulated by name, those major events that are covered by this chapter. They take place in the years 389-386 BC. The first of these was a naval operation around Aegina. Teleutias' raid on the Pireaus is the next and Antalcidas and the King's Peace being the rest.

The reality that what one leader does often has direct consequences on what another one does is made apparent here once again. In this case, due to one particular truce, there was an invitation from one leader to raid Attica. This took place. As a consequence, counter measures were developed that were applied. Here, experience is apt to be the best method for obtaining 'perspective.' A certain personality type would be educated with respect to who his or her opposition would be, although that is less important than knowing who the leaders on one's own team are. Even so, the idea that a decent commander could get out there in one of his campaigns, and make a name or reputation for himself has appeal. Of course, the whole set of events is 'personalized' since for those written of, these were facts and this causes the people of all 'teams' to develop an increasing sense for 'who that was' when evaluating why certain events took place and challenges that were faced.

Later in this book, plundering the enemy is viewed as 'the Spartan way.' This follows rapidly upon a speech in which Teleutius is speaking to the military and he is commended for his leadership.

Religious practice amongst these pagans was built into certain forms of their decision making. The two main methods shown here in this work are augery and ritual sacrifice. These people were polytheists; the god or goddess for a particular task was chosen. Sacrifices were offered to the correct entity at the right times. Augery was one of two other major features of the religious life of these people. There is not presently the knowledge or the space to effectively describe the precise details of 'reading omens.' It is a practice that makes less sense to the modern mind. It somehow provided a means for humans to combine the use of mental insight, foresight and experience along with honing on the diverse elements of every given situation in order to give indicators of the flow of events. Oracular divination was the other prominent means. This requires a special trained individual, often a priestess and is normally done at a temple. Contemporary readers may be most familiar with the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Answers were always both true and correct but at times struck their recipients as strange or difficult to interpret. There are times when the truth of this may seem downright comical to modern day people of the Americas. On other occasions it can be or 'feel' rather frightening because it was 'their truth.'



For this summary chapter, more details about the complexities of the alliances, changing balances of power and the like have been the lesser concern. In the text itself, they are the bulk of the writing. The discussion above has been provided so that people have a sense for an aspect of the text that has not been presented as a unified topic prior to this.

One other matter surfaces in this chapter. The use of the ruse, in order to take enemies unawares, comes up. This has been done before. Here and there, during the course of the 'whole book,' are shocking stories of how a sudden and fierce attack has been preceded by a cunning strategy and set of disguises.





# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 6, Book 6

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 6, Book 6 Summary and Analysis

Here, tensions emerge from the very beginning. The city of Phocis was faced with a crisis produced by the behavior of others. The Athenians and the Spartans were at odds but during this set of decades the Spartans were faring better than Athens. In this case, Phocis was confronted with difficulties created by the Thebans. Here, they requested help from the Spartans. They forthrightly admitted that unless Sparta sent them help, then they were going to be forced to give in to the demands of the Thebans. Within the first few pages of this new 'sub book' of Xenophon's, the Spartans respond by doing just that.

Here, there is some description of military virtues. Here a man called Polydamus provides a quotation from the famous 'Jason.' During this he explains that he has a mercenary force of 6,000 men available to him. He shares the fact, that he test the men on a daily basis. Whenever he runs into ones who are lacking, he gets rid of them. When he finds those who are in an excellent condition he rewards them. He tells that willingness and ability to be durable under hardships, and those men who have or are able to cultivate a taste for the dangers of war become highly treasured by him. Pay is one means he uses to reward the men. Honor and prestige within the military, and upon burial are other methods that are normally applied. As such, all the loyal and hardworking soldiers are highly valued, their military traits recognized as great virtues.

This same Jason also gave a precise message regarding his opinions of the King of Persia. This individual is known to have been the richest man in the known world- or at least, in the region of the Mediterranean Sea of relevance here. Jason claims that this same King is weaker than the opposition might fear. He goes on to claim that it is because the entire people of Persia have been conditioned into submissiveness, and taught to not even stick up for themselves.

The entire chapter is dedicated to goings on in Thessaly. Polydamus' lengthy and somewhat detailed request was handled by the Spartans. Those same Spartans sent him away, but not until after they had carefully considered his request for regiments of assistance. If nothing else, this level of cooperation shows that leaders asking for help from other ones is standard practice and in that sense, not anything for anyone to feel ashamed of.

One of the facts regarding Xenophon is that he was a devout enemy of Persia. This may have been cultural, or it may have been 'nothing but the times.' Many of the other enemies changed into friends or allies but Persia was a constant in that respect. Many people currently living find that their generation has a tendency towards specific



enemies, whether it be 'Communists' or 'Drug Cartels' or 'Terrorists' or even 'the Germans,' most of these are time and warfare related. Just as today, the Germans are allies not enemies; though not on the same level as Britain in terms of America's present aims and wars, there is still far more alliance than difference. Fifty years can make quite a big difference, and lessons were learned. For Xenophon, the Persians were worse than Al-Quaida or Saddam Hussein - the latter only after a certain point, relative to his peoples' time and place.

This chapter ends with a so-called 'fiendish plot' over rule of a city, Thessaly. Here, a man called Alexander, who really was a very difficult leader, was assassinated within just a few short years of when he has risen to power based upon another murder. In this case, a woman - the wife of the victim, is 'behind it.' Thanks to, or in horror of, her leadership, her brothers kill her husband. She has to pressure them into it when it comes to the follow through but this has been shown many times over to be necessary for military leaders to do their subordinates if those under their command waver at difficult times. In this regard, the behavior mimics this pattern precisely. The nature of his character is reported as 'lawless.' Here is one of those times when even the warriors bicker over 'clean fighting' and 'dirty fighting.' Alexander's troops behaved in a way that left military and political leaders elsewhere with a perception of them as "lawless freebooter," a "dirty fighter with large numbers of troops."

Xenophon suggests that the woman may have had personal motives for the killing. There was a rumor, neither confirmed nor denied by the author, that her husband had a male hostage who he was in love with. It is not actually known whether the lad was just a beloved and pampered companion or juvenile victim of an aristocrat's sexual assault/abuse/dominance-seduction or what. Apparently, the man's wife asked for the young fellow's release, whereupon her husband had him killed instead of freed. Whether she was just jealous, or disgusted and hoping to help the youth escape is not clear. Xenophon writes of the situation as if it may have contributed to Alexander's death. The wife is reported to have held the door shut, refusing to let her brother's out until they had completed the vicious and probably temporarily sickening deed.



# Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 7, Book 7

## Book 2, A History of My Times : Chapter 7, Book 7 Summary and Analysis

Here is the final of the 7 books that put together, make up the entire work by Xenophon. The preceding chapter ended with a note from the editor. She informs readers that the author has neglected to even mention the most important success of the entire military campaign. A city called Messene was re-established. The author starts this final book by reviewing the relationship between the two city-states most famous for being dominant in the region the most: Sparta and Athens.

Earlier in the book, Athens was forced to bear and to cope with the reality that Sparta had attained dominance. Prior to that time, Athens had been eminent. They might well have claimed that their inner troubles including their own civil war was what had weakened their positions so much that they became subordinate to Sparta. The rough aspect of Spartan male culture, took 'abuse' and turned it into a kind of 'smithing' of the mind and body of their citizens. Nowadays, especially amongst the genteel, such 'hardening' of the people is deemed only suitable for members of the military and even there are special limits to it. Like warfare, this is the same behavior that constitutes physical and mental abuse. Be that as it may, the opening of this book finds that the Spartans and the Athenians are seeking a new relational condition: friendship.

There is a challenge: will this be an alliance of equals or is it unequal? A speech is given which espouses the points or view, or the position of each. What is revealed is that the two have complementary strengths, which, when used together can create a superior force. Sparta acknowledges that the Athenians are rather like the more modern British in that they are superior by sea out of nature and necessity. The Spartans, in truth, are the best on land. Procles, is the public speaker in this case. He admits that even after years of attaining advances in ground position, even the mighty Spartans were unable to make any significant progress towards the type of defeat known as destruction of Athens. However, he also says, when they did master Athens by sea, they really 'had it all,' that being the real vulnerability.

This impressed many but then a powerful objection was raised. It was demonstrated that the quality of the people who would fall under the command of the Athenians, would be those least valued by the Spartans under Procles' proposal whereas the Spartans would end up having control over highly valued Athenians. This did not have to be the case, and this speaker proposed that the supreme command be rotated every 5 days from Sparta to Athens and back again. This is bizarre in a certain way, but is the agreement reached. Once into the full swing of cooperation this would work.



Together, they attacked the Thebans immediately. They did this by sending troops to Corinth.

On another note, someone empowered the Arcadians to their own importance. This was not so much any kind of deception but rather they were encouraged to have pride and dignity and to see how they might not need to be submissive to Thebes, or to their other allies. The author points out that once they looked for it, the reality of their achievements gave them cause for some satisfaction. The change in their behavior and attitude en masse actually worsened their relations with the Thebans who, according to the English translation of Xenophon began to feel jealous and to view them...differently from before.

The entire political situation in the region was altered by this transformation of the self perception in the Arcadians, now that they held a view rich in self-importance.

Shortly thereafter, religion comes back into the foreground, this time due to omission. There was a peace conference called at Delphi. Despite the renown of the oracular temple of Apollo there, traditional means of involving the gods were not used. There is some implication that this was not a good idea. This left only humans themselves involved in the peace talks. Xenophon reports by not saying so that this may have impacted on how they sought peace.

There were multiple tensions and some battles. A commander Archimadus gave his troops such a pep-talk that his words, to hold fast and to release themselves from shame in Sparta, was completed and lauded by the gods who provided thunder and lightning out of an otherwise clear blue sky for emphasis. Divine approval was 'moving.' When the troops found that they were also near a statue of Heracles their morale was restored and were so filled for the task of fending off enemies from two sides that the officers had to restrain them like masters holding back powerful, eager, loyal hounds. Once unleashed, their victory was astonishing; in fact they ended up mainly killing routed and retreating opponents. They won without even one lost soldier and Xenophon bothers to record that there were tears of joy in their homeland over this.

The editor notes that Xenophon has omitted the relevance of founding another city, this the quintessence- the actual Megalopolis. She further informs readers that the author's prejudice against the Persians in general and the King of Persia in particular is pervasive throughout the work. It was genuine. For Xenophon, Persia was 'thee enemy' - the real Satan if you will, of the time and place.

From here the bulk of the details are swept over until readers move nearer the end of the book. There was an attempt by a contingent of Spartans and of Thebans to ally with the King of Persia but in the long run, it came to nothing. The people on the whole would not accept it. To their credit, they refused and resisted any premature oath taking, in part because they took such behavior quite seriously. There are four chapters to this book, but the majority of the descriptions here are from the first. This has not been the case in every summary chapter in order to give readers a holistic sense of what the contents are like.



Olympia, the Olympic Games, Mount Olympus, the temple of Zeus and the god Zeus are all mentioned during this work, but not with great frequency. The reason is due to the physical position of Olympia: like Delphi, the location was not the same as political hub of mankind and as such remains 'strangely positioned off to one side or another, relative to the focus of the military endeavors and struggles for power shared through these writings.'

Arcadia is the center of the fierce conflict with which the book ends. The Mentians of Arcadia decide against using some treasure or booty because they observe that it is sacred. The main powers of Arcadia disagree, and there is strife within their realm specifically due to this. Here readers are faced with a unique culture condition of the time and place. In this era there were special kinds of divisions and unities amongst people. Greece was still more like a general idea than anything like the political republic we find it to be today. The political order was the city-state. At the same time, trade was extensive along with warcraft. However, religion and other cultural and linguistic features developed their own names. The term 'region' has mainly been used to denote these zones with multiple city-states that had some other unwritten or unspoken characteristics that united them. It may have been a land feature, or structure or a relative position. This is never explained in any of the sub-books of this book, but remains noticeable. Arcadia was one such 'region' and the Mentians' refusal commit a form of mass scale sacrilege led to mass arrests, punishments and ultimately declarations of treason in the city of Thebes.



# Characters

## Dionysius

This is not the deity, but the tyrant of Syracuse, Sicily. Here, tyrant does not have the usual negative connotation. On the whole, Dionysius 'the Elder' was considered to be a reasonably good leader, ruler of the city of Syracuse.

He had a son of the same name. Later in his life, however, Dionysius 'the Younger' was less popular with the people as he was well known for being frequently intoxicated. A little of this might not trouble the populace but obviously there may be grave dangers for the locals if their leader is made semi-incompetent or rash, foolhardy and/or belligerent due to being drunk or something.

## Alcibiades

This man is a military leader from Athens. He heads fleets. His activity is quite significant in the region. As a cultural cross-over, he is also known to have intimately associated with the Athenian philosopher, Socrates. Alcibiades was a local oligarch of Athens. He was known to not always agree with Socrates but to be very attracted to the older man, to the point of possibly sexualizing their relationship.

For those who don't know, Socrates was tried in Athens for the nature of his intellectual influence upon the younger men, including Alcibiades. In the philosophical works there is no 'sense' for the ramifications of Socrates' social discourse with such a man. Here, however, when re-introduced as a local military-political leader as well as some young healthy athlete, readers begin to see why the Athenian establishment might grow concerned or feel suspect regarding the poor man who everyone knew was a practicing philosopher.

## Xenophon

This is the author of the book. He wrote it later in his life, in the Greek language that was prevalent at the time. This man's life was a bit complicated. One reason for this was that although he was born in Athens, there was a time when he ended up leading a group of 10,000 men as part of the Athenian military. Then, they were somehow 'cast off' from the rest of the military force, partly due to losses and Xenophon struggled with how to look out for them under trying conditions.

The truth might well be that he was a competent leader but not the best, and unable to provide well for his men without getting the whole lot of them into strange situations. The other probability is that the way that he led the men, tells everyone about him.



They ended up fighting for the Spartans, even though they were Athenian troops. This helped ensure everyone was fed and also caused them all to be stained with suspicions regarding where their loyalties lay. That mark, once put on, never left them or Xenophon. The behavior that contributed to it continued. They fought as mercenaries for another city. Again, this worked in that Xenophon managed to get them paid and fed. Also again, this did not result in the greatest of reputations for him or the 10,000 under him. He tried to just keep them and get them a home by having them all found their own city, but he was not able to garner their full cooperation and compliance.

How much Xenophon's troops were influenced by his personality and leadership style is not entirely known. However, by the end of this book, people can have a fair sense of what he was like.

## Betty Radice

This woman is presently alive, and she either does or has made a career of working for the publisher, Penguin. She is listed as the advisory editor of this particular work. She has provided scholarly writing to accentuate the value of the original text, and to make it more penetrable to readers interested in understanding the work within the context of history and its role in contemporary culture as a classic of literature.

## Pharnabazus

This is one of the military leaders who was very active in the region. He was able to lead naval fleets rather than only infantry or cavalry. He was regularly in the field. He was not the top leadership, as there are numerous references to his falling under another's authority. At the same time it is quite clear that he has a number of people under him. There have been occasions when those under him are supportive even when people over him are not. The reverse may well also be the truth on some occasions. Throughout these changing conditions he is referred to many times early on in the book.

## Theramenes

This man is described in relation to an arrest. It takes place in book two. He was opposed to removing Alcibiades from the city of Athens and has been objecting to charges of treachery. The Council at the time is headed up by Critias. Critias surmises that this man Theramenes is too strong an opponent to be left loose. As a consequence, Critias arranges for his arrest. The city-state is governed by 'the Eleven' at the time.

## Critias

This is one of the leaders of Athens, during the time of 'the Eleven.' He leads the removal of Theramenes in book 2. This was merely one of many of the events. He was not a strong believer in the gods.



## Satyrus

This man was prominent in the seizure of Theramenes. He had a number of men under him as well as very many who were above him in rank. He is reputed for being exceptionally tough and flexible in his methods, which has been characterized during book 2 through the negative or evil version where "shameless" and "greatest ruffian" have both been used to describe him.

A man like him was needed at the time in which he appears as the streets and railings were full of 'men wearing daggers.'

## Gylis

This man was another mid-level military man. He appears in chapter 3 of book 4. The stories recounted about him include how he was asked to follow orders by drawing together a large body of an army and to direct a ritual devised by his commanding officer. This included the creation of a trophy and all the flute playing that was possible given the circumstances. Gylis was a polemarch, and he died a soldier's death at Locris.

## Hierax

This man was a Spartan military commander during the Corinthian War. He was an admiral. Like the others, he is an historical figure, rather than a fictive individual.

## Teleutias

This is another warrior, naval commander. While he left the same day that Hierax appeared in chapter 1 of book 5, the author describes how much he was touched and adored by all of those under his command. Later in the same book he is referred to as a very popular leader of over 10,000 men. He had a reputation for being kind to his subordinates which greatly improved conditions and made those under him happy to follow him.

## Nicolochus

This is another military commander. He is mentioned in chapter 1 of book 5 where the civil codes of conduct have given way to the old fashioned military methodology. He is described as having sensibly thwarted the enemy by laying waste to the countryside thereby reducing available food resources and finding ways to raise money in the area. This is another case wherein fund raising has been directly referred to: this is not always taking place during the military campaigns but every now and then it does. He did an incredible job of increasing the size of the army and of making progress toward achieving certain aims.





## King Cleombrotus

This man shows up at the beginning of book 6. He led his own men in a military campaign with 4 regiments of his own Spartan soldiers. One of his speeches has been preserved and set forth in the book. He is known for having kept balance to some accounts by spending his own money when the account was under and then reclaiming this later during a surplus. He is well reputed.



# Objects/Places

## Athens

This is one of the most powerful cities of ancient Greece. At times they were the dominant force in upland Greece. However, to their own sorrow, during the decades in this book, they were more often 'second.' By the end of the work, they have resumed equality to Sparta- having been both over and under them.

## Sparta

This city-state was one of the most dominant of the Grecian area, especially in central and high Greece. This city-state's main competitor was Athens. Although there were decades when Athens had the upper hand over Sparta, during the majority of this book Sparta is over Athens in power. At the end of the book, the two are running as equals to one another.

## Corinth

This city is the home of Xenophon at the end of his life. It is amongst the city-states that, while not the most dominant are quite powerful in themselves. This city figures in many battles during the books.

## Pelopponese

This is the peninsular region of the Grecian lands. It is viewed as having its own subcultures and people. There were times when wars were focused in this area. Obviously, it is the terrain that has the most seashore.

## Thebes

This is a city-state of Greece. It is one of the most prominent cities in the book. There are times when it is not a locus of attention or activity. There are other times when the city-state is of great importance and the focus of the book.

## Persia

This is an Empire that borders on Grecian territory. Throughout the book it is a powerful enemy that has lands near enough to Greece to be dangerous.

The King of Persia is viewed as being the richest man in the known world by Xenophon. The author is known to harbor a special prejudice against these in the book.



## Trophy

These are assemblages of 'material' found around a battle field. Soldiers put these together on the spot, when there is the time and the inclination to commemorate most beneficial victories.

## Shield

This is an object that soldiers typically have. It is designed to provide extra protection from getting killed or injured by their enemies and their weapons. They were still used by the regular military forces during the time when this book was written. Nowadays, in the technologically advanced locations, the main user of these is the police - as part of riot gear.

## Thessaly

This is another of the many city-states of Greece. The ruler was occasionally extremely bad. Near the end of the book of books, there is a sequence of changes of the head of the organization by use of assassination to remove the previous leader. It is worth noting that this continues to have a negative connotation despite the relative prevalence of violence and even this kind of outright killing in other contexts.

## Cavalry Horse

This is a type of horse. In this case it means more than just the horse. It also refers to the training that they receive in order to perform as war horses. It also includes the equipment that they have- bit, bridles, shoes and saddles, blankets and anything else they need. Every cavalry horse requires a specially trained human rider to be a real cavalry horse.

## Trireme

This is a special type of boat used on the Mediterranean by the people of the Grecian city-states. They were able to function as war ships. They had sails and oars. They were often used in fleets by leaders of sea battles. The smallest group referred to in the text for war is 8, the largest group 80. Often 20 of these used together made a fleet.



# Themes

## Warfare

One of the themes of this book is warfare. Readers can learn a great deal within the limited context. Anyone with an even remotely realistic perception of contemporary warfare will immediately observe the arcane methodologies that are part and parcel of the campaigns, battles and wars that are shown during Xenophon's work.

For those who laughed and felt Medieval, this is far older than that, as has also been made quite clear. The cavalry and the chariot were the highest tech weaponry available to them. The bow, spear and javelin were all used. It is a bizarre reminder to observe that some of the 'track & field' 'field' events were designed for practice in cultivating skill with weapons such as the javelin.

Part of this theme is changing power and relationships. Sparta, and Athens struggle with one another extensively during this time period. Thebes, and Thessaly, even the Peloponnese all have their roles to play.

Early on in the book, there are many sea battles. Often enough these take place at the shoreline and set the Athenians against the Spartans. They rely predominantly upon the trireme with fleets of various sizes. Xenophon introduces readers to Pharnabazus. This is but one case of the level of leadership that the author writes about. Everyone who's name takes on importance has enough authority to run an entire fleet of ships. Here to, Alcibiades, famed also for being a friend of Socrates' comes into play.

Throughout the book, strategies and tactics are frequently shown. As with much else, some practice might be required in order to be able to adjust to keeping in mind the several different sections of troops, activities, goals of the campaigns and the equipment.

Campaigns are discussed the most. These are portions of a war. They are targeted at achieving specific objectives. Normally, a campaign involves a variety of types of engagement and requires numerous battles in order to make headway.

Many aspects of warfare are covered during this literary classic. For modern students of military strategy, much of it may be outmoded by modern devices. Doubtless, even thought drastic changes are required, there is some knowledge in this work that would be helpful to warriors of today.

## Leadership

Leadership is another major theme of this book. The author was a man who was born into a ranked position. The reason given, is that due to the costs involved with owning the needed equipment and devoting the time needed for training in very specific sets of



skills, the amount of money that citizens had caused them to be able to do certain kinds of things. Being included by some of these automatically caused them to be denied other options. Simply put: someone able to be cavalry would most likely be denied any opportunity to be infantry. The reason is clear- none of the people who are one of the kinds of infantry can train to be cavalry, especially given that the bulk of the training will have to occur as a pastime.

The author has a dramatic personal story. The advising editor has encapsulated this for the benefit of readers. He is not ever mentioned in the book. The only way that A History of My Times is about the author, in that he is intentionally being both timely and opinionated. He has written about whatever he has felt to be relevant. He led 10,000 men as part of the Athenian Army and then, somehow ended up separated irrevocably from the rest of the force. At first, this was due to Athenian losses. The man was good enough that that many men would stick with him en masse, but bad enough that his troops did not have the best reputation nor did he. He also has a famed 'failed attempt' to his experience that emphasizes the necessity of unity of spirit between the leader and the led. He tried to just found a city with them, but they would not enable him to get them to do this. The setting up of a city was, in those days, sometimes one of the aims of a military campaign. Perhaps, he had felt that he could have made Athens victorious after all if he had done this with them.

There is some revelation about the quality of leadership being shown. There are true life tales about good, popular leaders and those who have defied the tacit rule of 'popular support.' This latter group has the worst record for despotism and coming to power through twisted means, such as usurping others through the use of deceit with force. The whole truth seems to be that any change in power preferred by the greatest portion of the resident population will be accepted as will the means by which it takes place. However, hardly any methods, especially 'underhanded' ones, will be tolerated by a people. Or, if they are tolerated at best, they have found their ways into the annals of history as not highly respected.

Finally, the book does get into both rewards and punishments. Leaders suffered both when they were not the top. There were times when those in support of their middle level leaders were very upset, at least temporarily when the top levels of leadership insisted upon a change in the middle. The worst case involved leaders being taken in and killed for treason by the top 'chieftains.' The best of situations were when people were honored and raised up, so high that their names sometimes are still with us and in good repute after millenia have passed.

## **Classical Literature**

This work comes to readers as part of 'classical literature.' This is an area of information available that has, as its greatest value, its role as part of tradition. Classical literature is a body of work that functions after the manner of an individual's memory only for an entire cultural history. While this is a limited form, the canon of a culture's literary history



constitutes a kind of 'race memory' or 'cultural history.' In this respect it may be closely associated with Jungian conceptions of archetypes.

Given this perspective, Xenophon's work is a remark and remnant of the early history of 'Western mankind.' This is the archetype for the Continental European. The political reality of the North American nations and Europe as 'democracies' may have encouraged and even justified the selection of ancient Grecian culture, one in which this form of political governance first 'cut its teeth' whereas it is only recently come into eminence in the world.

Athens and Sparta both still exist and are fully functional cities, despite the 'Has Been' quality of their nation. Greece is presently OK, but its ancient Empire and global fame as 'the birthplace of democracy' or at least 'the birthplace of democracy in Europe' is so pronounced and promulgated that every reader is apt to think of this archaic Greece first, and the present day one, second. This is a peculiarity of the current cultural and political climate of the planet.

So, here is one of the oldest memories of the archetypal human being of 'the West/Occident.' The competition between men is so fierce that one cannot even have a single city without needing an entire military force. Military service is generally mandatory for every full grown man, sooner or later, more or less but only rare not at all. Wherever you are, you might take a moment to enjoy the peace of where you live. For most, the level of cooperation has dramatically improved and while there is still competitiveness the whole 'vibration' is much more civilized and genteel nowadays.

# Style

## Perspective

The perspective of the author is 2350 years ago. They do have substantial technology when contrasted to the stone age. They have metal working, the wheel, chariots, pottery, possibly roads and sewers. They have agriculture and masonry. They probably do not feel even remotely 'backward' about this. They have high quality stone work and decent, well developed religion. There are laws and civic organizations.

They even have social and economic classes and the two are intertwined. This is actually the reason for the author's position in the beginning. Unlike the upward or downwardly mobile, Xenophon complied with the standards of his original social position. He was born into the class of Knights, which was cavalry officers.

His writing was clear and objective but with his own 'slant.' This limitation to his objectivity is written of as though he is self-aware about it. It is possible that this comes from the translation. However, if not, then it shows that it is work in the humanities. It reveals that Xenophon was no fool. This single insight is one that has often been a source of controversy in the modern world and in then sense exhibits a timelessness and maturity not found in many other works.

## Tone

The tone of the work is informative. It is objective within its limitations as mentioned above. The author has written a history from the perspective of it being current events or the very recent past. The manner of writing is highly accessible. For those not skilled at even contemplating military positioning, it can be a strange blend of boring and confusing due to complexity. There are many accounts of actual battles. Those having military experience or practice with three dimensional geographical thinking will be at a decided advantage in accurately picturing the events retold in the book of books.

This book is easily readable by everyone with a high school education or beyond. Many who have made it into junior high will be able to work through the vocabulary. Those who do not have military experience may miss a few things, and those who are not interested in the subject may not like the book.

## Structure

The classic work A History of My Times, by Xenophon, has been organized in a straightforward manner. As is uniformly the case from the publishers of classics, there are 'attendant scholars' who have prepared the work. On some level, the writing is being presented after the manner of a museum piece. At the same time, it comes as something modern, packaged freshly for mentally hungry, growing undergraduates.



This being the case, there are supplements. The first of these is an introduction. Then there is a note. After that, there is a copy of the author's original presentation of the same material. He set forth the entire work as a set of books. Each of these has been re-printed into approximately fifty pages of writings. In many ways it is a survey of the local military politics of his time. It is predominantly chronological and entails a basic appreciation for relationships of cause and effect in the sense that we presently understand these. Unlike ourselves, the author has no idea of Jesus the Christ, or of any Mohammed of the Arabians. Like those people, however, the Mediterranean Sea is the veritable center of the known world and at it, all human civilization seems based.

There are seven books. Following this are more 'assists' from scholars. This includes maps of the larger area in order to facilitate visualization with the sense of location. There are also appendices and indices.

All in all, the book is very neatly arranged. The contemporary people have added to it, but with the much needed discretion.





## Quotes

"Then, too, he is more self-controlled than any man I know with regard to all bodily pleasures. These never take up his time and prevent him from doing what has to be done." (p. 306)

"In spite of this, they too, turned and ran though there was not even a regular pursuit as it was so late in the day. Not many were killed, but the Thespians went on running until they were inside the city walls." (p. 292)

"But when a friend adds to my greatness, I should be ashamed if I did not know how to honor him in return." (p. 166)

"Wherever I may be I shall try to be of service to you." (p. 167)

"Provisions for the army were obtained either on the spot or by foraging expeditions." (p. 188)

"So now if people see Thebes and Athens falling into line against Sparta, you can be quite sure that those who hate Sparta will be sure to show themselves in full numbers." (p. 177)

"If you look into the matter, you will see at once that what we say is the truth." (p. 177)

"This speech of Autocles was followed by a general silence. However, he has succeeded in giving pleasure to those who were angry with the Spartans." (p. 320)

"While the Athenians and the Spartans were conducting these operations in the area of the Hellespont, Eteonicus was again at Aegina." (p. 245)

"The build blockading walls round the city on the land side and blockaded it from the sea by triremes." (p.245)

"After Teleutias had won this victory, he set up a trophy and only then, as he was withdrawing, began to cut down the trees." (p. 270)

"After this Agis went to Delphi and made an offering of a tenth of the booty to the god." (p. 159)

"The Olympic Games were held in the following year. At this Olympiad Crocinas the Thessalian was winner in the stadium." (p. 109)



## Topics for Discussion

What do you think of the mixed reputation of Xenophon as rather disloyal...given that he served both Athens and Sparta and as mercenaries?

Do you think that it was good or bad that some city-states relied on mercenaries? Defend your answer.

Give some description of the ability and occurrence of some military leaders 'raising mercenaries' and 'raising troops.' Respond along the lines of: 'It was good that [insert name from text] could do this because...,' or 'It was to be expected of men of that rank because...', or 'No, I think it is bad they did this in the book because...'

Name your favorite Grecian city-state from those discussed in the work. Explain why it your preference.

Given both land and sea as scenes of battle, which city-state is the best at each: Athens or Sparta?

What is Arcadia and who are the Arcadians?

Why did personal relationships matter amongst military leaders?

What are helots and pelsats?

What are hoplites?

What was the real reason why the highest ranking officers were wealthy, according to Xenophon?