Russell's Anthology of Greek Prose

Text 33: Xenophon comes forward (Xenophon)

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a) Source:

Anabasis 3. 1. 4-25.

b) Background (synopsis quoted from Russell's book):

"Xenophon here introduces himself into the story of the Anabasis, and tells how the Greek troops despaired after Cyrus' defeat at Cunaxa. "They could not sleep for grief…" What was he to do? A dream gave the answer, and he came forward to give a lead to his fellow commanders. He addresses Proxenus' company commanders in a speech which was much admired in Antiquity, and is indeed a very clever piece of oratory".

c) Language comment:

The first part, until line 44, is relatively easy. From here to the end, the difficulty is much greater. Between lines 69 and 77 develops a very long sentence in which we can see an incredible combination of several μέν and δέ, written in such a way that it is really very difficult to see which μέν goes with which δέ. To make it more complicated, these lines end up with this long sentence uncompleted, and with the author making a kind of final summary.

d) Content:

Xenophon exposes (talking about himself in third person, as Caesar will do later) the reasons why he joined the expedition of the Ten Thousand. After this flashback, he exposes the disastrous conditions of the army in its withdrawal towards Greece, the demoralization of the soldiers, etc. He realises that, if nobody does anything, soon they

will be in the king's hands, so he decides to call an assembly and proposes a new attitude and a change of plans, they will not survive otherwise.

e) Distribution of content:

(numbers refer to the lines in the printed edition)

1-26:   Flashback: how he joined the expedition.
26-34:   His performance in the army.
34-43:   The dream.
44-53:   His first speech.
53-98:   His second speech.

f) Notes for help:

1) ἦν δέ τις ... Ξενοφῶν: sudden (and modest - note τις) entry of Xenophon himself into the narrative, for the first time as major figure.

1) οὔτε στρατηγός...: predicative 'neither as general . . .'

1-3) ὅς ... ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος ... αὐτόν: an easy anacoluthon (Russell cites WS 3004-8), where relative clause is followed by independent clause with different subject (but the subject of the first usually appears in the second clause in oblique case, as here αὐτόν).

4-5) ὑπισχνεῖτο ... εἰ ἔλθοι ... ποιήσειν: indirect statement, with fut. inf. after verb of promise, εἰ + opt. after past verb of statement (for direct speech ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, which could have been kept in vivid construction, cf. 24-5; see Russell). 'He had been promising (note impf. tense, implying continuity?) that if he went, he would make him (Xenophon) a friend of Cyrus.' Then another indirect statement within the relative clause.

5) κρείττω (accus. sing. masc.) + gen. of comparison: 'be better for himself than his native land', i.e. 'do better for himself than staying in his native country'.

5) μέντοι: 'thereupon', Denniston, Particles 406.

6) ἀναγνούς: aor. pple. ἀναγιγνώσκω.

6) ἀνακοινοῦται: w. dat.; vivid historic present. cf. 10 συμβουλεύει, 15,21,43,44,54.

7-8) ὑποπτεύσας μὴ ... εἴη: μή +opt. after past verb of fear/caution (μή + subj. in primary sequence). Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι is subject of εἴη, 'lest to become a friend of Cyrus might be cause for some accusation from the city'.

8) *τι*: 'to some extent', 'in some degree'.

8) *πρός* + gen.: 'on the part of'.

9) *τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*: dat. after *συμπολεμῆσαι*, 'fight alongside' (infinitive after *ἐδόκει*).

10) *ἔλθοντα*: acc. in acc. and inf., agreeing with unexpressed subject of the inf. *ἀνακοινῶσαι*. Since the subj. of the inf. is unexpressed, it could alternatively have been dative in agreement with *τῷ Ξενοφῶντι* (Russell, citing Goodwin 928, WS 1062: thus *πρέπει σοι εἶναι προθύμῳ* or *πρόθυμον*, but this is rare.

11) *ἐλθών*: pple. at start of sentence, as often picking up verb used in previous sentence.

12) *Ἀπόλλω*: acc. form found as well as *Ἀπόλλωνα*. See WS 260.

12-14) *τίνι ἄν ... ἔλθοι ... σωθείη*: as in 19-20 *ἄν* + opt. is vivid construction repeating unreal condition (*ἄν* + potential opt.) of direct speech within the ind. qu. 'by sacrificing to which of the gods would he ...', cf. 13 vivid construction of pres. ind. *ἐπινοεῖ*, also 25. Note placement of *ἄν* early in sentence (second place if poss.)

[Note the *ἄν* after past verb of asking, ind. qu., can have opt., cf.17, but *ἄν* shows this is not the case here!]

12) *θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος*: the emphasis in the sentence is on the participles.

13) *ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν*: int. acc. of noun within same semantic field, cf. cognate acc. (Goodwin 1057); another ex. in 22.

14) *θεοῖς οἷς*: 'gave in reply the gods to whom he had to sacrifice': antecedent is occasionally attracted by following relative when this immediately follows, as here *θεοῖς* from *θεούς*. Russell cites Goodwin 1035, WS 2533 (NB distinguish much commoner attraction of relative from antecedent). Goodwin notes common phrase *οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ* where *οὐδείς* follows the case of the relative, e.g. *οὐδένι ὅτῳ οὐκ ἀποκρινόμενος*.

14) *σωθείη*: aor. pass. optat. *σῴζω* as often = 'come safely' (cf. active 'save' = 'bring safely').

14) *ἀνεῖλεν*: aor. act. indic. from *ἀναιρέω*, command word for oracular responses.

16) *ὁ δέ*: 'and he' -ex. of def. article used as pronoun with *δέ* when ref. is not the same grammatical subject as the previous sentence.

16) *ᾐτιᾶτο*: impf. (of uncompleted action?); *ὅτι* clause gives content of accusation.

16) *τοῦτο*: pointing forward and explained in *πότερον*... clause (cf. 18).

17) εἴη: opt. in ind. qu. after past verb of asking (cf. 30 - on 12-13 see above).

18) ἰτέον εἶναι: impersonal gerund, 'a going', tr. 'that he must go', Goodwin 1597. cf. line 69 ποιητέον. (Direct speech would have been ἰτέον ἐστι).

19) πορευθείη: aor. optat. πορεύομαι (passive form).

19) ἤρου: 2nd. sing. aor. from ἔρομαι, 'ask' (vb. not used in pres. indic.).

19-20) ὅπως (ἄν + opt.): cf. 12-13: ind. qu., but note ἄν + potential opt. is from direct speech (NOT a type of ind. qu.).

20) μὲν δή, resumptive, expressing certainty; cf. 26 (where it is also used with οὕτω), and 42 (note τοιοῦτον).

20) θυσάμενος note middle, 'having got sacrifices offered'. (Active is used of priest doing the actual sacrifice).

20) οἷς: attraction of relative, = τούτοις οὕς.

21) καταλαμβάνει w. accus. and pple.: common for 'find' someone doing something.

22) τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν: 'the journey inland, upcountry'. Internal acc. cf. 13; for ἄνω cf. Anabasis.

22) ὁρμᾶν: pres. infin., as quite often with μέλλω.

23) συνεστάθη: aor. pass. from συνίστημι.

23) gen. abs., καί = 'also'.

24) αὐτόν: subject of μεῖναι (acc. and infin. with συμπρούθυμεῖτο).

24-5) εἶπεν ὅτι...: vivid sequence after past verb of statement: direct speech was fut. indic. + present indefinite clause (ἄν + subj.).

24-5) ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα (+ subjunctive of indef. clause): 'as soon as'.

25) λήξῃ: aor. subj. λήγω, 'cease'

27) ἐξαπατηθείς: aor. pass. pple. ἐξαπατάω.

27) ᾔδει: 3 sing. impf. οἶδα.

27) βασιλέα no def. article = the Persian king (Russell cites Goodwin 957).

28) πλήν w. gen., 'except'

29) ἤδη = 'it now seemed to be clear to everyone' (cf. Lysias, passage 18 l. 6)

30) εἴη: opt. of ind. sp. after past verb of statement (cf. 17); contrast vivid construction in 24-5.

31-2) δι᾽ αἰσχύνην with 2 following genitives: 'because of feeling shame before each other and Cyrus' (= 'for fear of losing each other's and Cyrus' respect').

32) ὦν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν: note connecting relative, 'of these'. Xenophon brings us back to 1, as he resumes his main narrative after digression.

34) μικρόν: probably 'for a short time', acc. of duration of time, with ὕπνου genitive after λαχών; alternatively direct object of λαχών with ὕπνου partitive gen.

34) ἔδοξε: note asyndeton at beginning of narrative (Russell cites Denniston, Particles xliv, Style 110).

34) ἔδοξε is not here impersonal - σκηπτός is its subject.

35) βροντῆς γενομένης, gen. abs. πεσεῖν: aor. infin. πίπτω.

36) πᾶσα: emphatic at end, 'as a result it (i.e. the οἰκία) shone in its entirety'.

36) ἀνηγέρθη, aor. pass. .<g(g\DT; περίφοβος is adj.

37-8) τῇ μέν ... τῇ δέ: 'partly ..partly'.

37) ἔκρινε is aorist (cf. surrounding aorists), ἀγαθόν is predicative, 'he judged as auspicious'.

37-8) ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε = 'he thought he had seen' (aor. inf. referring to the past in indirect speech).

38) τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο: note emphasising καί in second clause of a disjunction ('but partly too he was afraid'), Denniston, p.305.

38-42) ἐφοβεῖτο ... μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ... εἴργοιτο: μή + opt. in past sequence after verb of fearing. Note μὴ <u>οὐ</u> as its negative ('fear lest <u>not</u>').

39) Διὸς μὲ βασιλέως: 'Zeus as King' -i.e. as king of the gods, Zeus was patron of kings, so it seemed an omen favouring the King of Persia. (Longinus, On the Sublime 3.2 condemns Gorgias for phrase Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς).

42) ὁποῖόν τι ... ἐστι: ind. qu. after σκοπεῖν, in present sequence, 'what kind of a thing it is to see such a dream as this can be judged from what happened.'

42) Note τὸ ... ἰδεῖν (articular inf., aor., from ὁράω) is subject of ἔστι, and the inf. σκοπεῖν depends on ἔξεστι.

43) ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων: 'from what then happened' (aor. pple. συμβαίνω): note no article repeated before the prepositional phrase.

43) γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε 'this is what did happen' (vivid historic present - cf. note on 6, another example in 44).

44) asyndeton, after preceding anticipatory τάδε; πρῶτον μέν balanced by ἐκ τούτου (53).

45) ἅμα + dat., 'simultaneously with', i.e. 'at dawn'. Prep. use is esp. with persons, cf.

No. 41.15 ἅμα τῷ πατρί.

45-6) εἰκός ... ἥξειν: understand ἐστι, 'it is likely that the enemy will come'.

46) εἰ γενησόμεθα: 'if we are going to become', cf. 60-1 for εἰ + fut. indic. rather than normal ἐὰν + subj. Russell cites Goodwin 1405, it is more vivid and esp. in threats and warnings.

46) ἐπί + dat.: 'in the power of', 'dependent on'.

46-8) τὶ ἐμποδὼν (understand ἐστι) μὴ οὐχὶ ... ἀποθανεῖν with inf. after neg. verb of hindering; here we have quasi-neg. since it is a rhet.qu. ('what prevents?' = 'nothing prevents'). Russell cites Goodwin 1616 (see 1617). cf. WS 2739 ff.

47-8) ἐπιδόντας ... παθόντας ... ἀποθανεῖν: aor. pple. ἐφοράω, aor. pple. πάσχω, aor. infin. ἀποθνῄσκω; understand ἡμᾶς as subj. of acc. and inf.

47) ἐπιδόντας: 'having lived to see' meaning often found with this compound.

48-9) ὅπως + fut. ind. ἀμυνούμεθα: object clause after verb of effort or precaution, WS 2211. Russell cites Goodwin 1569 (error for 1372?), and compares 61,70 (read 60, 68-9).

50) ἐξόν: 'it being possible', acc. absolute, Goodwin 1569. Neut. partcp. of ἔξεστι.

50) τὸν ἐκ ποίας στρατηγόν: ἐκ ποίας introduces the question, 'as for me, what city's general (lit. the general coming from what city) do I expect to do this? Note initial ἐγὼ οὖν thrown forward for emphasis ('what about me, then?'). (Most of this Greek army was from the Peloponnese) [προσδοκῶ could be delib. subj. = 'am I to expect to do this?', as in OCT which in 52 reads aor. subj. ἀναμείνω for ἀναμένω]

51) ἡλικίαν: age: Xenophon, aged (perhaps) 30, was of minimum age for general in Athenian army. But Proxenus had also been about 30.

53) προδῶ: aor. subj. of προδίδωμι, w. acc. and dat ('betray X to Y').

54) vivid historic presents, cf. note on 6.

54) πρῶτον: note position, going closely with Προξένου: he went to his commanders first before any others.

56) οὐδ᾽ ὑμεῖς: Russell cites Denniston, Particles 194 ff., 'nor you either'.

56) Understand as verb δύνασθε from preceding δύναμαι.

57) ἐν οἵοις ἐσμέν: neuter pl.: 'in what sort of a situation we are'.

57) δῆλον ὅτι: parenthetic, 'it is clear that' = 'clearly'.

58) οὐ πρότερον ... πρίν + aor. indic. = not before + plupf., 'not until they had considered.', see W5 1943 for πρίν after neg. verb with indic. = 'until' for definite moment (πρίν + subj. or opt., 'until' is also only after negative).

58) ἐξέφηναν: 3 pl. aor. indic. ἐκφαίνω.

60) ὅπως: cf. note on 48-9.

60) εἰ + fut.indic., 'if we mean to give in.': see on 46; ἀγωνιούμεθα: fut. indic. ἀγωνίζομαι.

61) ὑφησόμεθα: fut. midd. ὑφίημι, 'yield'; πείσεσθαι: fut. inf. of πάσχω.

62) ὅς: causal connecting relative = 'since he'.

62) ἀποτεμών: aor. pple. ἀποτέμνω.

63) ἀνεσταύρωσεν: aor. indic. ἀνασταυρόω, 'impale'

63) ἡμᾶς: thrown forward for emphasis. It is loosely anticipatory 'as for us' (so Edwards). It is hardly the subject of παθεῖν since we would expect nom. and inf. with the main verb (οἰόμεθα) cf. Thuc. 4. 28 οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν. We do sometimes find acc. and inf. with the pronoun instead of nom. + inf. but only when the pronoun is specially emphasised or contrasted (see KG.II.30 ff., W5 1974).

65) ὡς + fut.ptcp. of purpose, in fut. unreal condition (66 εἰ δύναιντο), we would do it if we could.

66) ἄν ... παθεῖν: 'what do you think we would suffer?' As often ἄν creeps to second (or quasi-second) position in its sentence or clause, as also in next sentence, ἆρ᾽ οὐκ ἄν...

66-8) ἄν + pot. opt., .'would he not go to any lengths' (ἐπὶ πᾶν), in order that (ὡς + opt., in purpose clause) ...he might instil fear against ever campaigning against him '

66) τοῦ στρατεῦσαι: articular inf., gen. dependent on φόβον.

67) αἰκισάμενος: + double acc. of person and thing.

68) παράσχοι: aor. opt. παρέχω, w. acc. and dat.

68) τοι: see Denniston, Particles 537, to make the addressee realise 'a truth of which he is ignorant or temporarily oblivious', p.539 common in dialogue (rare in oratory after Antiphon except in τοιγάρτοι).

68-9) ποιητέον: gerund (cf. note on 18), followed by object clause, cf. 48-9, = 'we must do everything so that we will not ...'.

69-70) ἔστε: Xen. is only Attic author to use ἔστε = ἕως. Another 'lapse' from good Attic is οὔποτε for οὐδέποτε (Russell).

70) ἐπανόμην: with pples. οἰκτίρων, μακαρίζων, 'I never stopped...'

71) τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ: 'those with him', 'his companions'.

71) διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην χώραν: = διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν χώραν ὅσην. cf. 'I know you who you are', οἶδα σὲ ὅστις εἶ.

71-2) ὅσην ... ἔχοιεν: indirect after past verb of considering.

73) χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ: understand ὅσον and ὅσην from ὅσα κτήνη. All still dependent on διαθεώμενος.

73) μέν ... δ' αὖ: note use of αὖ (again) with δέ = 'on the other hand'.

74) ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην: opt. in past indef. clause, 'whenever I considered' cf. pres indef. ἄν + subj. in 81-2.

74-5) ind with vivid construction, reproducing fut indef. conditional, opt in main clause + εἰ + opt.

75) οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετείη: Russell cites Goodwin 1097, gen with verbs of sharing, and 1161 impersonal vebs with dative of person, genitive of thing (δεῖ μέτεστι, μέλει, μεταμέλει, προσήκει).

75) πριαίμεθα: aor. opt. from *πρίαμαι (deficient present form), 'buy'.

75-6) ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα: 'with what we would buy', 'the wherewithal to buy'. Russell cites Goodwin 1133, genitive of price or value.

77) κατέχοντας: understand ᾔδειν (1st sing. impf. οἶδα) again (Russell). οἶδα + ptcp. in ind. speech, 'and I knew that oaths now (ἤδη) held us back from obtaining provisions other than by buying.' (Oaths had been taken at previous truce)

78) ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος: resuming ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην (construction there never completed?)

80) λέλυσθαι: the perfect indicates it has been ended there and then.

80) δοκεῖ: sing. vb. w. two abstract subjects following.

81-2) ἐν μέσῳ ... ἆθλα ... ἀγωνοθέται note image of games, 'For now these good things have been placed as prizes in the middle of the arena for whichever of our two sides are the better men.'

81) Note κεῖται in regular use as passive of τίθημι.

82) As antecedent of ὁπότεροι (introducing indefinite relative clause) understand dative ἐκείνοις.

81-2) ἄν + subj in pres. indef. (cf. 74 for opt. in past indef.)

84) ἐπιωρκήκασιν: perf. indic. ἐπιορκέω, 'perjure'

84-6) ὁρῶντες: concessive, 'although we see'

84) στερρῶς: 'resolutely', mainly poetic word (Russell).

84) αὐτῶν: genit. w. ἀπειχόμεθα.

85) τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους 'oaths to the gods' (obj. gen.).

85) ἐξεῖναι w. dat. and infin.

86) πολύ goes with μείζονι and is emphasised by the hyperbaton.

86) With dat τούτοις understand ἐξεῖναι 'than is possible for them'

87-8) φέρειν depends on ἱκανώτερα.

87) τούτων: gen. of comparison.

87) ψύχη: ntr. pl. ψύχος, cold; contrast ψυχάς, 88, acc. pl. from ψυχή, "soul".

88) σύν w. dat., 'with the help of'.

89) οἱ ἄνδρες 'these people', ie the Persians; perhaps contemptuous.

89) μᾶλλον ἡμῶν gen. of comparison, cf. eg 95.

89) θνητοί = 'liable to death', with unusual meaning of verbal adj. (Russell); So too
τρωτοί = 'liable to wounding'.

90) ἤν = ἐάν (+ subj διδῶσι), future conditional.

91) ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως γάρ … ἐνθυμοῦνται: parenthetic (VD clause, Russell cites Denniston,
Particles 98.

91) ταὐτά = τὰ αὐτά, 'the same things'. καὶ ἄλλοι = 'others also'.

91) πρὸς τῶν θεῶν = 'in the name of the gods'. Xen. turns to emotional imperatives.

92) ἀναμένωμεν (jussive subj., with neg. μή) + acc. and inf.

92) παρακαλοῦντας Edwards takes as fut. ptcp. of purpose. Or take as present.

93) τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι…: articular inf., gen. after after ἄρξωμεν, 'let us begin on - -'.

94) φάνητε: aor. imperative (note accent: contrast φανῆτε = aor. subjunctive); note
asyndeton.

95) εἰ μέν, balanced by εἰ δέ 96: pres. conditional, with indic.

96) ἐξορμᾶν: intr. 'to make a move' (but transitive in 93).

96) ὑμῖν: dat. after ἕπεσθαι, 'follow'.

97-8) 'in no way (οὐδέν, advb. ntr. accus.) do I make my youth an excuse, but I consider
I am a full adult so as to ward off disaster from myself'

98) ἐρύκειν: poetic (so Russell), is dependent on ἀκμάζειν.