

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION
TO XENOPHON

This *Companion*, the first dedicated to the philosopher and historian Xenophon of Athens, gives readers a sense of why he has held such a prominent place in literary and political culture from antiquity to the present and has been a favorite author of individuals as diverse as Machiavelli, Thomas Jefferson, and Leo Tolstoy. It also sets out the major problems and issues that are at stake in the study of his writings, while simultaneously pointing the way forward to newer methodologies, issues, and questions. Although Xenophon's historical, philosophical, and technical works are usually studied in isolation because they belong to different modern genres, the emphasis here is on themes that cut across his large and varied body of writings. This volume is accessible to students and general readers, including those previously unfamiliar with Xenophon, and will also be of interest to scholars in various fields.

Michael A. Flower is Professor of Classics at Princeton University. His major research and teaching interests are in ancient Greek history, historiography, and religion. He is the author of *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC* (1994), *Herodotus, Histories, Book IX* (with John Marincola, 2002), *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (2008), and *Xenophon's Anabasis, or the Expedition of Cyrus* (2012) and the co-editor (with Mark Toher) of *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell* (1991).

A complete list of books in the series is at the back of this book.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-05006-8 — The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon

Edited by Michael A. Flower

Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPANION TO
XENOPHON

EDITED BY
MICHAEL A. FLOWER
Professor of Classics
Princeton University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-05006-8 — The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon
 Edited by Michael A. Flower
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
 79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107050068

DOI: 10.1017/9781107279308

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Flower, Michael A., editor.

Title: The Cambridge companion to Xenophon / edited by Michael A. Flower.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. |

Series: Cambridge companions to literature

Identifiers: LCCN 2016036442 | ISBN 9781107050068 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781107652156 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Xenophon—Criticism and interpretation. |

Greece—History—To 146 B.C.—Historiography.

Classification: LCC PA4497 .C434 2016 | DDC 938/.007202—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016036442>

ISBN 978-1-107-05006-8 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-65215-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Maps and Illustrations</i>	page viii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>	xiv
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvi
<i>Maps</i>	xvii

Introduction	I
MICHAEL A. FLOWER	

PART I CONTEXTS

1 Xenophon and his Times	15
JOHN W. I. LEE	
2 Xenophon and Greek Philosophy	37
LOUIS-ANDRÉ DORION	
3 Xenophon and Greek Political Thought	57
SARAH BROWN FERRARIO	
4 Xenophon’s Place in Fourth-Century Greek Historiography	84
NINO LURAGHI	

PART II INDIVIDUAL WORKS

5 Xenophon’s <i>Anabasis</i> and <i>Hellenica</i>	103
JOHN MARINCOLA	
6 Xenophon’s <i>Apology</i> and <i>Memorabilia</i>	119
DAVID M. JOHNSON	

CONTENTS

7	Xenophon's <i>Symposium</i>	132
	GABRIEL DANZIG	
8	Xenophon's <i>Oeconomicus</i>	152
	FIONA HOBDEN	
9	Xenophon's <i>Cyropaedia</i> : Tentative Answers to an Enigma	174
	MELINA TAMIOLAKI	
10	Xenophon: the Small Works	195
	JOHN DILLERY	

PART III TECHNIQUES

11	Xenophon's Language and Expression	223
	VIVIENNE GRAY	
12	Xenophon's Authorial Voice	241
	CHRISTOPHER PELLING	
13	Xenophon's Narrative Style	263
	TIM ROOD	
14	The Character and Function of Speeches in Xenophon	279
	EMILY BARAGWANATH	

PART IV MAJOR SUBJECTS

15	Xenophon as a Historian	301
	MICHAEL A. FLOWER	
16	Xenophon on Leadership: Commanders as Friends	323
	RICHARD FERNANDO BUXTON	
17	Xenophon and Athens	338
	CHRISTOPHER TUPLIN	
18	Xenophon on Persia	360
	KOSTAS VLASSOPOULOS	
19	Xenophon's Views on Sparta	376
	PAUL CHRISTESEN	

CONTENTS

PART V RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE

20	Xenophon’s Influence in Imperial Greece	403
	EWEN BOWIE	
21	Xenophon and the Instruction of Princes	416
	NOREEN HUMBLE	
22	Xenophon’s Changing Fortunes in the Modern World	435
	TIM ROOD	
	Epilogue: Xenophon: Magician and Friend	449
	EDITH HALL	
	<i>Important Dates in the Life of Xenophon</i>	459
	<i>Bibliography</i>	461
	<i>Index</i>	495

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

1	The Achaemenid Empire	xvii
2	Greece and western Asia Minor	xviii
3	Central Greece	xix
4	The March of the Ten Thousand, 401–399 BC	xx

Illustrations

8.1	Marriages and children in the families of Callias and Ischomachus	171
21.1	Manuscript illustration from Francesco Filelfo’s translation of the <i>Cyropaedia</i> , 1470	418
22.1	The letters W and X from “[The] paragon of alphabets,” ca. 1815	441
22.2	<i>The Choice of Heracles</i> by Paolo de Matteis, 1712	445

CONTRIBUTORS

EMILY BARAGWANATH (Associate Professor of Classics, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) has research interests in Greek literature and culture, and especially historiography. She is the author of *Motivation and Narrative in Herodotus* (2008), co-author of the *Herodotus Oxford Bibliography Online*, and co-editor of *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus* (2012) (both with Mathieu de Bakker).

EWEN BOWIE (formerly Praelector in Classics at Corpus Christi College, Oxford and Professor of Classical Languages and Literature in the University of Oxford; now an Emeritus Fellow of Corpus Christi College) has published articles on early Greek elegiac, iambic, and lyric poetry; on Aristophanes; on Hellenistic poetry; and on many aspects of Greek literature and culture from the first century BC to the third century AD. He co-edited (with Jaś Elsner) *Philostratus* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and (with Lucia Athanassaki) *Archaic and Classical Choral Song* (2011). He is currently completing a commentary on Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* for Cambridge University Press.

RICHARD FERNANDO BUXTON (Visiting Assistant Professor, Colorado College) is interested in the history, historiography, and economy of Classical Greece. He has authored articles on Herodotus, Xenophon, and Athenian coinage.

PAUL CHRISTESEN (Professor of Classics, Dartmouth College) has research interests in ancient Greek history (with a particular focus on Sparta), sport history (including the ancient Olympics), and the relationship between sport and political systems. He is the author of *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) and *Sport and Democracy in the Ancient and Modern Worlds* (Cambridge University Press, 2012). He is also co-editor, with Donald Kyle, of *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. He is currently working with Paul Cartledge of Cambridge University on the *Oxford History of the Archaic Greek World*.

CONTRIBUTORS

GABRIEL DANZIG (Senior Lecturer in the Departments of Classics and Philosophy at Bar Ilan University) has research interests that include Socratic literature, Greek political and economic thought, Plato, Aristotle, and especially Xenophon. He has also published on the influence of Greek philosophical themes on ancient and medieval Jewish literature. He has published a Hebrew translation of Xenophon's Socratic dialogues and an English volume entitled *Apologizing for Socrates: How Plato and Xenophon Created our Socrates* (2010). He is currently editing a volume of essays entitled "Plato and Xenophon: Comparative Studies."

JOHN DILLERY (Professor of Classics, University of Virginia) has research interests in Greek history and historiography of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as in Greek and non-Greek interaction and papyrology. He is the author of *Xenophon and the History of His Times* (1995) and *Clio's Other Sons: Berossus and Manetho, with an Afterword on Demetrius* (2015). He revised, updated, and contributed a new introduction and notes to Brownson's translation for the Loeb Library of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

LOUIS-ANDRÉ DORION (Professor of Philosophy, Université de Montréal) teaches ancient philosophy. Since publishing his doctoral thesis, a translation and commentary on Aristotle's *Sophistic Refutations* (1995), most of his research pertains to Socrates and Socratic literature. He has translated Xenophon's *Memorabilia* for the Collection des Universités de France (3 vols, 2000–11), and he has published a collection of his articles on the Socratic works of Xenophon, *L'Autre Socrate: Études sur les écrits socratiques de Xénophon* (2013). He is presently working on a translation of Xenophon's *Hieron* for the Collection des Universités de France.

MICHAEL A. FLOWER (Professor of Classics, Princeton University) has research interests in Greek history, historiography, and religion. He is the author of *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C.* (1994), *Herodotus, Histories, Book IX* (with John Marincola, Cambridge University Press, 2002), *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (2008), *Xenophon's Anabasis, or the Expedition of Cyrus* (2012), and co-editor (with Mark Toher) of *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell* (1991).

SARAH BROWN FERRARIO (Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, The Catholic University of America) is a specialist in Greek history and literature, particularly of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. She is the author of *Historical Agency and the 'Great Man' in Classical Greece* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Her recent and forthcoming publications include projects on the reception of Aeschylus in western opera and on Thucydidean leadership.

VIVIENNE GRAY (Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Auckland) has research interests in Xenophon, historiography, and other genres of Greek prose

CONTRIBUTORS

writing. She is the author of various books including most recently *Xenophon on Government* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *Xenophon: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies* (2010), and *Xenophon's Mirror of Princes* (2011).

EDITH HALL (Professor of Classics, King's College London) has published widely on ancient Greek culture and its reception. She has particular interests in ethnicity, gender, and class. Her publications include *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989), an edition of Aeschylus' *Persians* (1996), *The Theatrical Cast of Athens* (2006), and *The Return of Ulysses* (2008). Her most recent books are *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: Euripides' Black Sea Tragedy* (2013) and *Introducing the Ancient Greeks* (2014).

FIONA HOBDEN (Senior Lecturer in Greek Culture, University of Liverpool) is a cultural historian whose interests range from ancient Greek drinking parties to the reception of Classical antiquity on television. She is the author of *The Symposium in Ancient Greek Society and Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and co-editor of *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry* (2012) with Christopher Tuplin. She teaches on topics in ancient Greek history, politics, and society including myth, gender, democratic Athens, and religion, and on receptions of the ancient world in popular culture today.

NOREEN HUMBLE (Associate Professor, Dept. of Classics and Religion, University of Calgary) researches primarily on Xenophon and Plutarch, both in their contemporary setting and in the early modern period. She is the editor of *Plutarch's Lives: Parallelism and Purpose* (2010) and co-editor (with Pat Crowley and Silvia Ross) of *Mediterranean Travels* (2011).

DAVID M. JOHNSON (Associate Professor of Classics, Southern Illinois University Carbondale) devotes most of his research to the Socratic works of Xenophon. He has translated and edited Socratic texts in his *Socrates and Athens* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and *Socrates and Alcibiades: Four Texts* (2003), and published a number of articles on Xenophon's Socratica and related topics.

JOHN W. I. LEE (Associate Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara) has research interests in Greek and Achaemenid Persian history and the history of warfare. He is the author of *A Greek Army on the March: Soldiers and Survival in Xenophon's Anabasis* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

NINO LURAGHI (D. Magie Professor of Classics, Princeton University) has worked on various subjects in Greek social and cultural history and ancient historiography. He is the author of *The Ancient Messenians: Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) and the editor of *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus* (2001) and *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic*

CONTRIBUTORS

Mediterranean (2013), as well as the author of over sixty articles in journals and collective volumes.

JOHN MARINCOLA (Leon Golden Professor of Classics, Florida State University) has interests in Greek and Roman historiography, rhetoric, and literary criticism. Among his publications are *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (1997), *Greek Historians* (2001), and an edition, co-edited with Michael A. Flower, of *Herodotus: Histories Book IX* (2002). He is currently at work on monographs on Polybius and Plutarch.

CHRISTOPHER PELLING (Emeritus Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University) is the author of *Literary Texts and the Greek Historian* (2000), *Plutarch and History* (2002), and, with Maria Wyke, *Twelve Voices from Greece and Rome* (2014), together with commentaries on Plutarch, *Antony* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), *Philopoemen and Flamininus* (in Italian, 1997), and *Caesar* (2011); he also edited or co-edited *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (1990), *Ethics and Rhetoric* (1995), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (1997), and *Ancient Historiography and its Contexts* (2010). He is now working with Simon Hornblower on a commentary on Herodotus 6 (Cambridge University Press).

TIM ROOD (Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Oxford, and Dorothea Gray Fellow and Tutor in Classics at St Hugh's College) has research interests in Greek historiography and its reception. His first book, *Thucydides: Narrative and Explanation* (1998), was a revision of his doctoral thesis. Since then, he has written two books on the reception of Xenophon's *Anabasis*: *The Sea! The Sea! The Shout of the Ten Thousand in the Modern Imagination* (2004) and *American Anabasis: Xenophon and the Idea of America from the Mexican War to Iraq* (2010).

MELINA TAMIOLAKI (Assistant Professor of Classics, University of Crete) has research interests in Greek historiography, Greek political thought, and the theory of history. She is the author of *Liberté et esclavage chez les historiens grecs classiques* (2010), co-editor (with A. Tsakmakis) of *Thucydides between History and Literature* (2013), and editor of *Comic Wreath: New Trends in the Study of Ancient Greek Comedy* (2014, in modern Greek).

CHRISTOPHER TUPLIN (Professor of Ancient History, University of Liverpool) is the author of *Failings of Empire* (1993) and *Achaemenid Studies* (1996), co-author (with J. Ma, D. G. K. Taylor, and L. Allen) of *The Arshama Letters from the Bodleian Library* (2014, on-line), editor of *Pontus and the Outside World* (2004), *Xenophon and his World* (2004), and *Persian Responses: Cultural interaction (with)in the Achaemenid Empire* (2007), and co-editor (with T. E. Rihll) of *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture* (2002) and (with F. E. Hobden) of *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry* (2012). He has also

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-05006-8 — The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon
Edited by Michael A. Flower
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CONTRIBUTORS

published numerous research papers, chiefly on Xenophon, Classical Greek history, and the Achaemenid Empire.

KOSTAS VLASSOPOULOS (Assistant Professor in Greek History, University of Crete) has research interests in Greek economic, social, and political history, the history of slavery, and the history of historiography and political thought. He is the author of *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *Politics: Antiquity and its Legacy* (2010), and *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and co-editor (with Claire Taylor) of *Communities and Networks in the Ancient Greek World* (2015).

PREFACE

Given the central place of Xenophon's writings in literary and political culture from antiquity to the present, it is surprising that he has not previously been the subject of a companion or handbook. It is my hope that this volume will both fill this gap and appeal to general readers, students, and scholars in a range of fields (Classics, Political Science, Philosophy, History, English, Reception Studies, and Comparative Literature, to name the most obvious). The aim of this Companion is first and foremost to give readers a sense of why Xenophon has been a favorite author of individuals as diverse as Machiavelli, Thomas Jefferson, and Leo Tolstoy. It also sets out the major problems and issues that are at stake in the study of his writings, while at the same time pointing the way forward to newer issues and questions. Although Xenophon's works are usually studied in isolation because they belong to different modern genres, each chapter looks at themes that run across his large and diverse body of writings. One very special feature of Cambridge Companions is that they are not meant to close subjects down but to open them up by stimulating further interest among scholars, students, and general readers alike.

In the best of all possible worlds, another consequence of this volume would be to advance the timely return of Xenophon's writings to the university curriculum both in translation and in the original Greek. It was only relatively recently, in fact, that Xenophon was mostly dropped from the college curriculum in Classical Greek, having been replaced by authors (primarily Plato) who are significantly more difficult to read at the intermediate level. The diversity of Xenophon's subjects, the accessibility of his manner of exposition, and his value as a window into almost every aspect of Greek culture recommend him as an author to be read not only by students of ancient Greek, but in courses in translation on Greek history, civilization, political thought, and philosophy. The revival of Julius Caesar (whose range of subject matter is far more limited than Xenophon's) is well underway, and surely it is now Xenophon's turn.

PREFACE

I owe many debts for assistance with this volume. I could not have completed it without a sabbatical leave from Princeton University and a generous grant from the Classics Department's Magee Fund. Harriet Flower has had to live with Xenophon, in one form or another, for many years now, and her encouragement and advice have been, as always, invaluable. My daughter Isabel Flower took time off from her own editing duties to improve my introduction and chapter. One of the more tangible benefits of editing a volume such as this is working closely with fellow specialists in one's field and, above all else, making new friends (a sentiment with which Xenophon would certainly have agreed). All of the contributors have gone beyond the call of duty in lending assistance, but I would especially like to thank John Lee for choosing and modifying the maps, as well as revising the timeline, and Tim Rood for assistance in selecting and obtaining images. John Marincola, Christopher Pelling, John Dillery, and Nino Luraghi have given me helpful advice at every stage.

Alex Petkas assisted me with editing the manuscript and he shares the credit for this volume's publication on schedule. Kim Richardson was an exemplary copy-editor and Judy Oliver provided an impressively thorough index. Last, but hardly least, Michael Sharp and Elizabeth Hanlon of Cambridge University Press are editors without peer, and I am deeply grateful to them for their assistance and advice at every stage, as well as to Michael for the original invitation to edit this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations and titles are used for Xenophon's works. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* has generally been followed for the abbreviations of other ancient works and authors.

<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>
<i>Anab.</i>	<i>Anabasis (Expedition of Cyrus)</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apology (Defense of Socrates)</i>
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia (Constitution of the Athenians)</i>
<i>Cyn.</i>	<i>Cynegeticus (On Hunting)</i>
<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia (Education of Cyrus)</i>
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>De re equestri (On Horsemanship)</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>
<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hiero</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hipparchicus (How to Be a Good Cavalry Commander)</i>
<i>Lac. Pol.</i>	<i>Lacedaemonion Politeia (Constitution of the Spartans)</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia (Conversations with Socrates)</i>
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomicus (Household Management)</i>
<i>Por.</i>	<i>Poroi (Ways and Means)</i>
<i>Smp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-05006-8 — The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon
Edited by Michael A. Flower
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Map 1 The Achaemenid Empire

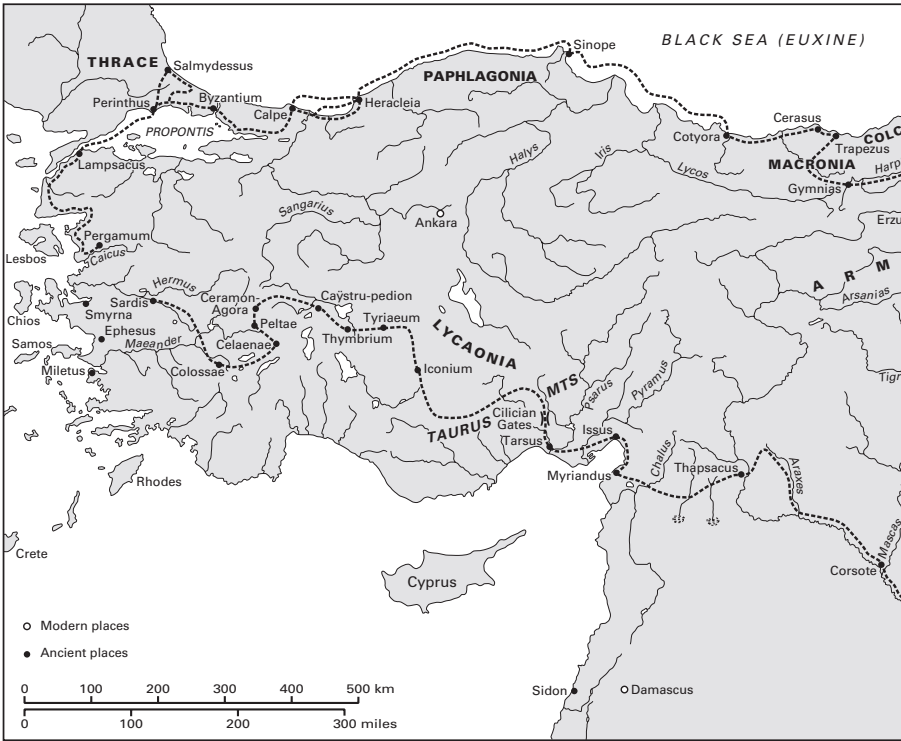


Map 2 Greece and western Asia Minor

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-05006-8 — The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon
Edited by Michael A. Flower
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



Map 3 Central Greece



Map 4 The March of the Ten Thousand, 401–399 BC