

XVII (XII) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἔτυχον οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηκα, στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ μὲν Ἰσμηνίας κα[ι] Ἀντίθεος καὶ Ἀνδροκλ(είδα)>ς, | ³⁵τοῦ δὲ Λεοντιάδης καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Κο(ίρα)τάδας, ἐφρόνονν δὲ τῶν πολιτενομένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, [ο]ἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον 420 ἀττικίζειν, ἐξ ὧν πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένοντο ὡς ἔφυγ(ε)>ν· οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν[ο]ν | [τιζον] τῶ[ν] Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ' εἶχ[ον] |] ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ τοῦ[. |] πρ[ο]σ[ο]ρῶντο μᾶλ[λ]ον |] ἐς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐτοίμους α[. |] ζειν. **2** διακε[ι]μένων δὲ τῶν ἐν [ταῖς Θήβαις οὐ] τω καὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας ἑκατ[έ]ρας ἰσχ[υ]νούσης] τα[. . . .] πρ[ο]σ[ο]λθόν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς [πόλεσι ταῖς κα] [τὰ τῇ]ν Βοιωτίαν κα[ι] μετέ[σ]χον ἐκ[α]τέρως τῶν ἐ[τ]αιρειῶν ἐκείνοις. ἐδύναντο δὲ τ[ό]τε μὲν καὶ 430 ἔτι | ¹⁰μικ[ρ]ῶ πρότερον οἱ πε[ρ]ὶ τὸν Ἰσμη[νίαν καὶ τὸ]ν | [Ἀνδ]ροκλείδ(α)>ν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ |

XVII.1 In Thebes the best and most notable of the citizens, as I have already said, were in dispute with each other about politics. One faction was led by Ismenias, Antitheus and Androcleidas, the other by Leontiades, Asias, and Coeratadas. Leontiades' party supported the Spartans; Ismenias' party was accused of supporting the Athenians, arising from their support for the demos when it was in exile. However, they were not concerned for the Athenians, but ... when ... they chose rather ... being ready to do evil. **XVII.2** Since this was the position in Thebes and both parties were influential, many came forward from the cities in Boeotia and joined one or other of the factions. At that time and even a little earlier the party of Ismenias and Androcleidas was dominant among the Thebans

417 The papyrus reads Ἀνδροκλῆς here, but [Ἀνδ]ροκλείδην at 17.2 and Ἀνδροκλείδαν at 18.1 and 3.

418 The papyrus reads Ἀσίας here, but Ἀστίαν at 17.2.

422 The papyrus reads ἔφυγον: ἔφυγ<ε>ν Wilamowitz.

426 ἀττικί]ζειν Grenfell and Hunt; λακωνί]ζειν Kalinka.

428 ἐπει]τα Grenfell and Hunt; πλεῖσ]τα Wilcken; ῥῆσ]τα Kalinka.

429–30 ἐκ[α]τέρως τῶν ἐ[τ]αιρειῶν Bartoletti; ἐκ[α]τέρου τῶν μερῶν Grenfell and Hunt.

432 The papyrus reads]ροκλειδην.

[παρὰ] τῇ βο[υλ]ῇ τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ἔμπερ[οσθεν δὲ] προ- |
 [εἶχο]ν οἱ π[ε]ρὶ τὸν Ἀστίαν καὶ Λεοντ[ιάδην, χρόνον | δέ
 τι]να συγχρόν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ κ[ράτους εἰ]χον. | 3¹⁵[δτ]ε
 γὰρ πολεμοῦντες οἱ Λακεδαιμ[όριοι τοῖς] Ἀ[θην]αίοις ἐν
 Δεκελείᾳ διέτριβον καὶ σύσ[τη]μ[α] τ[ῶ]ν α[ν]τῶν συμ-
 μάχων πολὺ συνείχον, οὗτοι μ[α]λλον ἐδυνάστευον τῶν
 ἐτέρων, ἅμα μὲν τῷ πλ[η]σίον εἶναι τοὺς Λακε[δ]αιμον[ί-]
 ους, ἅμα δὲ τῷ πολλὰ [τῇ]ν | 20 πόλιν εὐεργετε[ῖ]σθαι δι' 440
 αὐτῶν. ἐπ[έ]δοσαν δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι πολὺ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν
 δλόκλ[ηρον . . . ε]ὐθέως ὥς ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
 [συνέστη καὶ] τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· ἀρξαμένων γὰρ ἀ-
 [ταίρ]ειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ συνωκίσθησαν [εἰ]ς
 αὐ²⁵τὰς οἱ τ' ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν καὶ Σκαφῶν καὶ Σκόλων καὶ
 Αὐ[λίδος καὶ Σχοῖνου καὶ Ποτνιῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐτέρων
 τοιούτων χωρίων, ἃ τεῖχος οὐκ ἔχοντα διπλασίας ἐποίησεν
 τὰς Θήβας. 4 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολὺ γε βέλτιον ἔτι τὴν πόλιν
 προᾶξαι συνέπεσεν, ὥς τὴν Δεκέλειαν ἐπετεί³⁰χισαν τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τῶν Λακεδ[αι]μ[ονί]ων· τὰ τε γὰρ ἀνδρά- 450
 ποδα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντ[α <τὰ> κατὰ τῶ]ν πόλεμον ἀλι-
 σκόμενα μικροῦ τιν[ος ἀργυρίου]ν παρελάβανον, καὶ τὴν
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κ[ατα]σ[κευή]ν ἅτε πρόσχωροι κατοικοῦν-
 τες ἄπασαν μετεκόμι³⁵σαν ὥς αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τῶν ξύλων καὶ
 τοῦ κεράμου τοῦ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀρξάμενοι. 5 τότε δὲ τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἡ χώρα πολυτελέστατα τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατεσκεύ-
 αστο· ἐπεπόνθει γὰρ μικρὰ κακῶς ἐν ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς ταῖς
 ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν | 40 Ἀθη-
 ναίων οὕτως ἐξήσκητο καὶ διεπεπόνητο κα[[θ' ὑπε]ρβο-

435 κ[ράτους Crönert; π[είθους Richards: the
 downstroke on the very edge of the preserved
 portion could be κ, π, γ, μ, or ν.

443-4 ἀ[ταίρ]ειν Kálinka; ἀ[ταίρ]ειν Grenfell
 and Hunt.

themselves and in the council of the Boeotians, but
 previously the party of Asias and Leontiades had control
 in the city for some length of time.

XVII.3 When the Spartans were at Decelēia during the
 war against the Athenians, and gathered their allies there
en masse, this party was more dominant than the other,
 partly because the Spartans were nearby, partly because
 the city was profiting considerably on their account.
 The Thebans had advanced greatly towards complete
 prosperity as soon as the war between Athens and
 Sparta began. For when the Athenians began to move
 against Boeotia, those who lived in Erythrae, Scaphae,
 Scolus, Aulis, Schoenus, Potniae and many other such
 places which had no walls, were gathered into Thebes
 and doubled its size. XVII.4 And indeed it
 happened that the city fared even better when, with the
 Spartans, they fortified Decelēia against the Athenians.
 For they bought up the slaves and the rest of the stuff
 captured in the war for a small price, and, since they
 lived in the neighbouring areas, they carried home all
 the equipment from Attica, starting with the timber and
 the tiles of the houses.

XVII.5 At that time the Athenians' territory was the most
 lavishly equipped part of Greece, for it had suffered
 only slight damage from the Spartans in the previous
 attacks and it had been adorned and crafted so elegantly

λήν, ὥ[στε]δὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπα[. |, ο]ική- 460
σει[ς δὲ ὥ]κοδομημένας ἢ πα[ρὰ το]ῖς ἄλλοις
[.....] [.. τρσ] γὰρ αὐτῶν δὲ πα[ρὰ τῶ]ν Ἑλ-
λήνων πολεμοῦντες ἐλάμβανον εἰς τοῦ[ς | ἑ]δίο[υ]ς ἀγροὺς
ἀ[νήγαγε. τὰ μὲν ο]ὔν πράγματα τὰ κατ[ὰ τὰ]ς Θήβας
καὶ τ[ὴν Βοιωτίαν εἶχεν] οὕτως.

XVIII (XIII) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀ[ν]δροκλείδαν κα[ὶ τὸν
Ἰσμηνίαν ἐ]σπούδαζον ἐκπολεμῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος [πρὸς τοὺς
Λακεδα]μονίους, βουλόμενοι μὲν καταλῦσαι τ[ὴν ἀρχὴν
αὐτῶ]ν ἵνα μὴ διαφθαῶσιν | ¹⁰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων διὰ [τοὺς
λακων]ίζοντας, οἰόμενοι δὲ ῥαδίως τοῦτο προ[άξειν ὑπο- 470
λα]μβάνοντες βασιλ[έ]α χρήματα π[α]ρέξειν, ὅπερ ὁ π[α]ρὰ
τοῦ βαρβάρου π[ε]μφθεὶς ἐπηγγέλλετο, <τοὺς δὲ> [Κοριν-
θίου]ς καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείου[ς] καὶ τοὺς Ἀ[θη]ναίους μεθέ-
[ξειν τοῦ] πολέμου· τούτους γὰρ | ¹⁵ ἐχθροὺς τοῖς Λακε-

460 ὥ[στε χώρας ἣν οὐ]δὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς
ἐπάρατον Bury; ὥ[στε εἶναι μὴ]δὲν παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἐπαρκτόν Fuhr (same in Grenfell and
Hunt², with ὑπάρχειν instead of εἶναι, to fill
up space); ὥ[στε φαῦλον ἣν οὐ]δὲν παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἐπαύλιον Keil; ὥ[στε εὐτελὲς
μὴ]δὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπαύλιον Lipsius.
ο]ικήσει[ς δὲ καὶ κάλλιον ὥ]κοδομημένας
Bury; λαμπρότερον Fuhr; εὐπρεπέστερον
Gigante.

462 After a lost portion there are the crossed-out
letters τοσ: possibly part of a corrected
dittography, for example εκαστοστος (Keil).

472 <τοὺς δὲ> [Κορινθίου]ς Grenfell and Hunt;
[ἔτι δ' ἴσω]ς Kalinka.

by the Athenians that ... with them ... dwellings ...
having been built or with others ... of them what they
took when fighting from the Greeks they led to their
own fields. Such was the situation in Thebes and in
Boeotia.

XVIII.1 The party of Androcleidas and Ismenias hastened
to engage the people in war against the Spartans,
wanting to overthrow their empire, so that they would
not be swept aside by the Spartans because of the
pro-Spartan party. They thought that they would
achieve this easily, supposing that the King would
provide the money which the envoy from Persia had
promised, and that the Corinthians, Argives and
Athenians would share in the war, since, being enemies

δαιμ[ονίοις ὄ]ντας αὐτοῖς συμπαρ<α>[σκ]ενάσε<ιν> τοὺς πολίτας. 2 [δι]ανοηθέντες δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνόμιζον ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ φανεροῦ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τούτοις· οὐδέποτε γὰρ οὔτε Θηβαίους οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς πεισθῆ²⁰σεσθαι πολεμεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρχουσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἐπιχειροῦντες [δ]ὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς 480 ἀπάτης προάγειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτούς, ἀνέπεισαν ἄνδρας τινὰς Φωκέων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἑσπερίων καλουμένων, οἷς ἐγένετο τῆς ἔχθρας αἰτία τοιαύτη. | 3 ²⁵ἔστι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τούτοις ἀμφισβητήσιμος χώρα περὶ τὸν Παρνασσόν, περ[ὶ] ἧς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε πεπολεμήκασιν, ἣν πολλάκις ἐπινέμουσιν ἑκάτεροι τῶν τε Φωκέων καὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν, ὁποῖοι δ' ἂν τύχωσιν αἰσθόμενοι ποτε <τούς> ἐτέρους συλλεγόντες πολλοὶ διαρπάζουσι | ³⁰τὰ πρόβατα. πρότερον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν τοιούτων ἀφ' ἑκατέρων γιγνομένων αἰεὶ μετὰ δίκης τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λόγων 490 διελύοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τότε δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀνταρπασάντων ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέβαλον προβάτων εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκε[ῖ]ς, παροξυνόντων αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τῶν | ³⁵ἀνδρῶν ο[ὗ]ς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν παρεσκεύασαν, εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐνέβαλον. 4 οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ δηουμένης τῆς χώρας πέμπαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Βοιωτοὺς κατηγορίαν ἐπο[ί]οντο τῶν Φ[ω]κέων, καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς | ⁴⁰[ἡ]ξίον· διάκειν[τ]αι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίῳς. || [ἀρπ]άσαντες δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀσμ[έν]ως μάλα οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ἐπει- 500 σαν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς. Φω[κεῖ]ς δέ,

475 The papyrus reading συνπαρε[.]εὔασε does not yield a grammatical sentence: συμπαρ<α>[σκ]ενάσε<ιν> Grenfell and Hunt; συνπαρε[σκ]εὔασε τὸ <ἰσονομεῖσθαι το> ὕς Kalinka.

of the Spartans, they would secure the support of their citizens.

XVIII.2 This was their analysis of the situation; but they thought that it would be difficult to attack them openly, since neither the Thebans nor the Boeotians would ever be persuaded to make war on the Spartans, who were supreme in Greece. This was the trick they used to lead them into war: they persuaded certain men among the Phocians to launch an attack on the territory of the Western Locrians.

Enmity between them arose from the following cause: XVIII.3 these peoples have a disputed area near Mount Parnassus, over which they had previously fought, which both Phocians and Locrians often encroached on for grazing. Whichever side it was which noticed the other side doing this, collected together a large force and made a sheep raid. Many such incidents had arisen previously from both sides, but the sides were reconciled to each other on those occasions for the most part through arbitration and discussions with each other; but on this particular occasion the Locrians seized in return an equivalent number of sheep for the ones they had lost, and straightaway the Phocians, urged on by those men whom the party of Androcleidas and Ismenias had put up to it, invaded Locris under arms.

XVIII.4 With their territory being ravaged, the Locrians, having sent ambassadors to the Boeotians, made accusations against the Phocians and demanded that the Boeotians help them. These states had always enjoyed good relations. The party of Ismenias and Androcleidas gladly seized their opportunity and persuaded the Boeotians to help the Locrians. But the Phocians, when

ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, τ[ότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς
 Λοκρίδος | ⁵π]άλιν ἀνεχώρησαν, πρέσβεις δ[ὲ] πα[ραχρημα
 πέμψαν]τες πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡξίουν ἐκ[είνους ἀπει-]
 πειν Βοιωτοῖς εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν βαδίξ[ειν. οἱ δὲ καίπερ] λέ-
 γειν αὐτοὺς νομίσαντες ἄπιστα, [πέμψαντες δμως] οὐκ εἶων
 τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πόλεμον ἐκ[φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς] | ¹⁰Φωκέας,
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσ[ι δίκην λαμ]βάνειν παρ'
 αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις [ἐκέλευον. οἱ δέ, πα]ροξυνόντων
 αὐτοὺς τῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπ[άτην καὶ τὰ πρά]γματα ταῦτα 510
 συστησάντων, τοὺς μὲν [πρέσβεις τοὺς] τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἀπράκτους ἀπέστε[ιλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ] | ¹⁵τὰ ὅπλα
 λαβόντες ἐβάδ[ι]ζον ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέ[ας. 5 ἐμβα]λόν-
 τες δὲ διὰ ταχέων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ [πορθ]ή-
 σαντες τὴν τε τῶν Παραποταμίων χώραν καὶ Δαυλίων
 καὶ Φανοτέων ἐπεχείρησαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσβάλλειν· καὶ
 Δαυλία μὲν προσελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν αὐθις | ²⁰οὐδὲν
 ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληγὰς ὀλίγας λαβόντες, Φανο-
 τέων δὲ τὸ προάστιον κατὰ κράτος εἶλον. διαπραξάμενοι
 δὲ ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, καταδραμόντες δὲ 520
 μέρος τι τοῦ πεδίου <τοῦ> περὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν καὶ τοὺς
 Πεδιέας καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦν²⁵τας ἀπήεσαν. ποι-
 ουμένων δὲ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτῶν {προσ} παρ' Ὑ<άμ>πο-
 λιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς πόλεως· ἔστι δὲ τὸ

503 πα[ραχρημα] Fuhr; πα[ραυτικά] Boissevain;
 τ[ι]χ[ας] προσπέμψαν]τες Richards. The traces
 of the dotted letters are almost non-existent.

509 [ἐκέλευον. οἱ δέ, πα] Grenfell and Hunt;
 Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Fuhr.

510 τὰ πρά]γματα? Wilcken.

523 {πρὸς} παρ' Ὑ<άμ> πολιν Blass and
 Wilamowitz; παρ' Ὑην πόλιν Kalinka; παρ'
 Ὑαν πόλιν Gigante. The papyrus reads
 προσπαρυνηνπολιν.

news reached them of events at Thebes, retreated from
 Locris, and sending envoys at once to the Spartans they
 asked them to forbid the Boeotians from entering their
 territory. The Spartans, although they thought the story
 was unworthy of belief, sent envoys and told the
 Boeotians not to make war on the Phocians, but if they
 thought that they were wronged in any way, they
 ordered them to obtain justice from them in a meeting
 of their allies. With the people who had set up the
 whole deceitful business urging them on, the Boeotians
 sent away the envoys of the Spartans with nothing
 achieved, then themselves took up arms and marched
 against the Phocians.

XVIII.5 Having invaded Phocis swiftly and ravaged the
 land of the Parapotamians, Daulians and Phanotians,
 they attempted to assault the cities. After attacking
 Daulis they retreated with nothing achieved — in fact
 they sustained some losses; they captured by force the
 suburb of Phanotis. After achieving this they advanced
 into Phocis and, having overrun part of the plain round
 Elatea and Pedieis and those living in that region, they
 went away. While they were making this retreat in the
 neighbourhood of Hyampolis they decided to make an
 attempt on the town. This place is reasonably strong.

χωρίον ἐπ(ι)εικῶς ἰσχυρόν· προσβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς τε-
 χεσι καὶ προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἔλλιπόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπρα-
 ξαν, ἀποβαλόντες δὲ | ³⁰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα
 πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν. Βοιωτοὶ μὲν ο[ὗ]ν τοσαῦτα κακὰ
 ποιήσαντες [τ]οὺς Φωκέ[α]ς ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

XIX (XIV) Κόνων δέ, παρειληφότος ἤδη Χειρικρά- 530
 τους τὰς ναῦς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμά-
 χων, ὃς ἀφίκετο ναύαρχος διὰ | ³⁵ δοχος τῷ Πόλλιδι, συμ-
 πληρώσας εἴκοσι τῶν τριήρων ἀναγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου
 κατέπλευσεν εἰς Καῦνον· βουλόμενος δὲ συμμεῖξαι τῷ
 Φαρναβάζῳ κα[ὶ] τῷ Τιθραύστῃ καὶ χρήματα λαβεῖν
 ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς Καύνου πρὸς αὐτούς. **2** ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς
 στρατιώταις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προσοφειλόμενος
 μισθὸς πολλῶν μηνῶν· ἐμισθοδοτο[οῦ]ντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν
 στρατηγῶν κακῶς, ὁ ποιεῖν ἔθ[ος] ἐστὶν ἀεὶ τοῖς πολε- 540
 μοῦσι(ν) ὑπὲρ βασιλέως, ἔπε[ι] (καὶ) κατὰ τὸν | ⁵ Δεκε-
 λεικὸν πόλεμον, ὁπότε σύμμ[αχοι] Λακεδαιμονιοί(ς)
 ἦσαν, κομιδῇ φάυλως καὶ γλίσχ[ρω]ς παρείχοντο χρή-
 ματα, καὶ πολλάκις ἂν κατ[ε]λύθησαν αἱ τῶν συμμάχων
 τρ[ι]ήρεις εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν Κύρου προθυμίαν. τούτων δὲ
 βασιλεὺς αἰτίος ἐστι(ν), ὃς | ¹⁰ ἐπειδὴ ἐνστήσεται πόλε-
 μον καταπέμψας κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀλίγα χρήματα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν
 ὀλιγωρεῖ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφε-
 στῶτες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πε[ρ]ιορῶ[σιν]
 ἐνίοτε καταλνομέν[α]ς τὰς αὐτῶν | ¹⁵ [δυνάμ]εις. **3** ταῦτα
 μὲν οὖν οὕτως συμβαίνειν εἰώθη· Τιθραύστης δέ, παρα- 550
 γενομένου τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι κινδυ-
 νεύσει συντριβῆναι τὰ πράγματα διὰ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν,

541 Λακεδαιμονιοί(ς) Wilamowitz.

551 The αὐ of αὐτὸν is a correction written
 over something else.

After attacking the walls and lacking nothing in
 enthusiasm, all they achieved was the loss of about
 eighty men: and they retreated again. Having done that
 much damage to the Phocians, the Boeotians returned to
 their own country.

XIX.1 Now that Cheiricrates had arrived as admiral in
 succession to Pollis and had already taken over command
 of the ships of the Spartans and their allies, Conon
 manned twenty of the triremes and set out from Rhodes
 and sailed to Caunus. Wishing to communicate with
 Pharnabazus and Tithraustes and to get money, he went
 up from Caunus to them. **XIX.2** It happened that
 at this time the soldiers were owed many months pay.
 For they were badly paid by the generals — which is
 normal practice for those fighting for the King, as in
 the Decelean War when they were allies of the
 Spartans, they provided the money on an altogether
 mean and niggardly scale, and the triremes of their
 allies would often have been disbanded had it not been
 for the energy of Cyrus. The responsibility for this lies
 with the King who, whenever it is decided to make war,
 sends a small sum of money at the beginning to those
 in charge and takes no account of the future. And
 those in charge of affairs, not having the means to pay
 from their private fortunes, sometimes permit the
 disbandment of their forces.

XIX.3 This is what usually happens. But when Conon
 arrived in his presence and said that there was a risk of
 everything falling apart for lack of money, and that it

οἷς τοὺς ὑπὲρ βασιλέως πολεμοῦντας οὐκ εὐλό²⁰γως
 ἔχειν ἀπαγορεύ[ε]ιν, ἀποστέλλει τινὰς τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ
 βαρβάρων ἵνα μισθὸν δῶσι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔχοντας ³⁰
 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα διακόσια καὶ εἴκοσι<ν>. ἐλήφθη δὲ
 τοῦτο <τὸ> ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς Τισσαφέρωνος.
 Τιθραύστης μὲν οὖν ἔτι περιμεί²⁵νας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν
 ταῖς Σάρδεσιν ἀνέβαινεν ὡς βασιλέα, καταστήσας στρα-
 τηγόνους ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριαῖον καὶ Πασιφέρην καὶ ⁵⁶⁰
 παραδόντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύ-
 ριον καὶ χρυσίον, ὃ φασὶ φανῆναι περὶ ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα.

XX (XV) Τῶν | ³⁰δὲ Κυπρίων οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Κόνωνος
 καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Καῦνον, ἀναπεισθέντες οὕτω
 τινῶν διαβαλλόντων, ὥς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐ μέλλουσιν ἀποδι-
 δόναι τὸν μισθὸν τὸν ὀφειλόμενον, παρασκευάζονται δὲ
 διαλύσ[ει]ς μόνον τα[ῖ]ς ὑπηρεσίαις | ³⁵καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις,
 χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἵλοντο
 στρα[τ]ηγὸν αὐτῶν ἄνδρα Καρπασέα τὸ γέ[ν]ος, καὶ το[ύ-
 τ]ω φυλακὴν ἔδοσαν τοῦ σώματος δύο σ[τρατι]ώτας ἀφ' ⁵⁷⁰
 ἑκάστης || [τάξεως] | π[ρ]ο[σ]τ[ε]τα[ν]ν[ω]ν
 . . . | [.] | α . . . [. . .] | τῶν [.] |
] τὸν Κόνωνα [.] |
 . . .] ὡς ἐτύγχανε . [.] | υ[π]ο[σ]τ[ε]τα[ν]ν[ω]ν | ⁵
 .] ἀρραϊεῖ κατελ[θόντος τοῦ Κό]νωνος . [. . | διελέ]γετο
 περὶ τῶ[ν πραγμάτων] | ων. 2 Κόνων δὲ ω[ν] . [. α] ὑ[π]ο[σ]τ[ε]τα[ν]ν[ω]ν

556_ εἴκοσι<ν> Keil.

576 τῶ[ν πραγμάτων]ων Bartoletti; τῶ[ν
 χρέ]ων Kalinka; τῶ[ν ἐργ]ων Gigante.
 δὲ αἰ Bartoletti; δὲ αἰ Grenfell and
 Hunt; the traces could be of either letter.

was not right that those fighting on behalf of the King
 should fail for this reason, Tithraustes despatched some
 of the barbarians with him to give pay to the soldiers,
 and they had two hundred and twenty talents of silver.
 This money was taken from the resources of
 Tissaphernes. Tithraustes, after waiting a short time in
 Sardis, went inland to the King, having appointed
 Ariaeus and Pasiphernes as generals in charge of affairs,
 and having given them for the purposes of the war the
 silver and gold left behind, which (they say) was about
 seven hundred talents.

XX.1 Those of the Cypriots in Conon's forces sailed to
 Caunus and were persuaded, by some who spread false
 rumours, that they were not intending to give them the
 pay that was owing but were preparing discharges only
 for crews and marines. They were angry at this and
 got up a meeting and chose as their general a man of
 Carpasian race, and gave him as a bodyguard two
 soldiers from each company ... Conon ... as it happened
 ... when Conon was coming down ... negotiated about
 the matters in hand. XX.2 Conon ... did not allow

τ[οὺς ο]υς οὐκ εἶα πιστεύειν | [.]
 εκλ[.] . [. τῶν] Ἑλλήνων, ἀλ[λ]ὰ πάν[τας] ἔφη
 τὸν μισθὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰση[ς] κομειῖσθαι, ταύτην | ¹⁰[δὲ τὴν
 ἀπόκρισιν ποιησάμενος] ἔφασκεν βούλεσθαι [δι]α[δηλῶ- 580
 σαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις]. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν [Κ]υπρίων
 ὁ Καρπα[σε]ὺς αὐτῶ[ν] πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν στρατιω[τῶν]
 ἡ[κολο]ύθει. 3 ἐκ[ειν]ο[ν] δὲ συνεξορμήσαντ[ος], ἐπε[ιδὴ
 πορ]ενόμεν[οι] κα[τὰ] τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν | ¹⁵Κόνων
 [ὥσπερ] ἔτυχεν ἡγ[ού]μενος ἐξεληλίθει πρότερος ἐκ τ[οῦ]
 τείχους, τοῦ δὲ ἀ[νθ]ρώπου τοῦ Καρπασέως, ὡς ἦν ἐξελ[ώ]ν
 κατὰ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιλομβάνονται τῶν Μεσσηνίω[ν] τινὲς
 τῶν τῷ Κόνωνι παρακολουθεῖν εἰωθότων, [οὐ] μετὰ τῆς
 ἐκείνου γν[ώ]μης, ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν | ²⁰τῇ πόλει[ι] κατασχεῖν
 αὐτόν, ὅπ[ως] ἂν ὦν ἐξήμορτεν δῶ δικ[η]ν. οἱ δὲ συν- 590
 ακολουθο[ῦν]τες τῶν Κυπρίων ἀντελαμ[β]άν[ο]ντο τ[οῦ]
 Καρπασέως καὶ διεκώλυνον τοὺς Μεσση[ν]ιους ἄγειν
 αὐτόν, ἀ[ίσ]θανόμενον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐξ[ω] Κυπρίων [πλῆ-
 θος ἐπ]εβοήθει τῷ στρατηγῷ. ὁ [δ]ὲ | ²⁵Κόνων [.]
 πε[.] τοῦ[ς] ἀνθρώπους εἰσπηδήσας [.
]υσεν [ε]ἰς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Κύπριοι τ[οὺς]
 Μεσσηνίους τοῦ[ς] ἀψομένους τοῦ Κο[ρ]πασέω[ς] βάλ-
 λ[οντες] ἀπέκρο[υσαν], αὐτοὶ δὲ πεπεισμ[έ]νοι πάντα π[ορ]ὰ
 τὸ προσῆκον τ[ὸν] Κόνωνα παρ[ε]ῖ³⁰σκευάσθαι περ[ὶ] τὴν τοῦ
 μισθοῦ] διάδοσιν ε[ἰσέ]β[αι]νον ε[ἰ]ς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπ[ὶ] 600

them to believe ... of the Greeks, but said that all
 would receive their pay equally. Having made this reply
 he asserted that he wanted to explain this to the others.
 The general of the Cypriots, the Carpasian, followed
 him towards the mass of the soldiers. XX.3 They
 went out together and when they were passing the gates,
 Conon, who happened to be leading, had come out of
 the wall first. But some Messenians who usually
 accompanied Conon, seized the Carpasian man, without
 Conon's approval, as he was in the gateway on his way
 out, wishing to keep him in the city so that he would
 be punished for his crimes.

Those of the Cypriots who were accompanying
 him seized hold of the Carpasian and prevented the
 Messenians leading him off, and the crowd of Cypriots
 outside the gate, seeing what was happening, came up to
 the help of the general. But Conon ... having rushed
 into the midst of the men ... into the city. The
 Cypriots, having attacked the Messenians who had seized
 the Carpasian, drove them off, and since they were sure
 that Conon had made all the arrangements for the
 distribution of the pay in an unjust way, they embarked
 on the triremes — and this was the reason, (as some

577—8 οὐδένα πλεον[εκτ]ή[ειν] Grenfell and Hunt;
]εκλ[Bartoletti.

593 ἐξ[ω] Κυπρίων Lipsius; ἐξ[ακοσ]ίων Grenfell and
 Hunt; [πλῆθος ἐπ]εβοήθει Keil;
 [σύνταγμα] ἐβοήθει Grenfell and Hart.

595—6 ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλε]υσεν Grenfell and Hunt²;
 [πάλιν ἐξωθεν ἀπέκρο]υσεν Boissevain;
 [συνεισπίπτειν ἐκώλ]υσεν Lipsius.

598—9 π[α]ρά τὸ προσῆκον τ[ὸν] Grenfell and Hunt²;
 π[α]ρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τ[ὸν] Lipsius.

ταύταις τ]αῖς πράξεσιν, ὥς γέ τινες ἔλεγον, [μ]έλλον[τες
 τοὺς ἐκ] τῆς Ῥόδου πορ[α]λιβόν[τε]ς εἰς Κίπρον πλε[ῖν,
 4]εὔσαντες δὲ τῆς α|.αι[. .]ιου καὶ πα-
 ρα[αλέσαν]τες τοὺς βουλομέ[³⁵]νους τῶν Κ]υπρίων,
 βαδι[.] πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπο|[λιν, ἵνα τῇ]ν ἀρχὴν τ[.
]καταλύσωσι<ν> ὥς | [αἰτίου μό]νον πάν[των αὐτοῖς
 τῶ]ν κακῶν, ὁμοί|[ως δὲ]ποιησ[.
 . . .]ν αὐτοῖς εἰσ|[.]εσις[.
 . . .] τῶν λόγων | ⁴⁰[.
][. . .] τὴν || πόλιν τα[.] 610
 . . . ἂ]ποπλεύσαν[τες ἀπὸ τῆς]
 . . .]μενοι | χρήσασθαι τοῖς αὐτ[.] τῶν] τρι-
 ῶν. 5 Κό]νων δὲ κατηγμέ[νων αὐτῶν προσ]ελθὼν πρὸς |
 ὁ Λεώνυμον τὸν τ[ῶν πεζῶν ὑπαρχον εἰ]π[ε]ν αὐτῷ ὅτι
 μόνος δύναται τ[ὰ] πράγματα σῶσαι τ[ὰ] βα]σιλέως· εἰ γὰρ
 αὐτῷ βούλεται δ[οῦναι τοὺς τε φρο]νρούς τοὺς [ἑλ]ληνας,

- 603 ἀποπλ]εύσαντες Grenfell and Hunt, who
 expressed doubts about its use simply with a
 genitive; κυρι]εύσαντες Boissevain.
 α|.αν[. .]γιου: ἐπιπλ]εύσαντες δὲ τῇ
 Σα|[λ]αμ[εῖ]νι ὅπου Kalinka.
 605 βαδι[ζουσιν] Grenfell and Hunt;
 βαδι[εῖσθαι] ? Bartoletti.
 605-6 τ[οῦ Κόνωνος] Wilamowitz.
 612 β[ουλόμενοι] Grenfell and Hunt; οὐ]
 δ[υνά]μενοι ? Bartoletti. αὐτ[όθεν ιστίοις
 τῶν] Grenfell and Hunt; αὐτ[όθι σκεύεσι
 τῶν] Lipsius; αὐτ[όθεν σιτίοις τῶν] Gigante.
 613 αὐτῶν προσ]ελθὼν Bartoletti; Κυπρίων] ἐλθὼν
 Grenfell and Hunt.
 614 ὑπαρχον Keil; ἄρχοντα Wilamowitz.
 616 δ[οῦναι τοὺς τε] Bartoletti; δ[ιδόναι τοὺς
 Grenfell and Hunt.

said): they proposed to take the people from Rhodes
 and sail to Cyprus ... XX.4 ... having sailed away
 ... and having called together those of the Cypriots who
 wanted, going towards the acropolis so that they might
 overthrow the power of ... as being the cause of all
 their troubles, similarly ... for them ... of the speeches
 ... the city ... having sailed away from the ... to use
 the ... of the triremes.

- XX.5 After they had put to sea, Conon came to Leonymus,
 the commander of the infantry, and said to him that he
 was the only one who could save the King's campaign.
 For if he would give him the Greek garrison, which

οἱ τὴν Καῦνον [φρουροῦσι, καὶ] τῶν Καρῶν ὡς πλείστους,
 παύσει[ν τὴν ἐν τῷ στ]ρατοπέδῳ τα¹⁰ραχὴν. κελεύσαντος
 δ[ὲ τοῦ Λεωνύμου] λαμβάνειν ὁπόσους βούλεται στρατ[ι-
 ώτας, ταύτ]ην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν παρήκεν, καὶ γὰρ ἦ[ν ἥλιος 620
 ἦ]δη περὶ δυσμάς, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, πρὶν ἡμ[έραν
 γ]ενέσθαι, λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Λεωνύμου τῶν τε [Καρῶν]
 συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς | ¹⁵Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐξήγαγεν [αὐτο]ὺς
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν [ἐξ]ωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρα-
 τοπέδου περιέστησεν, τοὺς [δὲ . . .] . [.]· πρὸς τε
 τὰς ναῦς κα[ὶ] τὸν αἰγιαλὸν [διετάξατο. τα]ῦτα δὲ ποιή-
 σας καὶ κελεύσας κηρῦξαι τ[ὸν κήρυκα] χω[ρεῖν] ἕκαστον
 τῶν στρα²⁰τιωτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ[ν ἑαυτοῦ, συ]λέμβε τῶν Κυ-
 πρίων τὸν τε Καρπασέ[α καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειν[ε, τὸν δὲ στρα]τηγὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν. 630
 6 ἀκούσαντες δ[ὲ οἱ] καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ
 Ῥόδῳ <δι>ηγανάκτ[ουν, καὶ χαλεπ]ῶς ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς
 μὲν | ²⁵ἄρχοντας τοὺς [ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνω]νος καταστάντας
 βάλλοντες ἐξήλασ[αν ἐκ τοῦ] στρατοπέδου, τὸν δὲ λιμένα
 καταλιπόν[τες πολὺν] θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν παρ[έ]σχον

625 παρ[α]γαγῶ]ν Lipsius; ἐς φ]υ[λακῇ]ν
 Castiglioni: nothing visible to P.McK.
 corresponds to the letters α or υ.

626 [διετάξατο Lipsius; [προσήγαγε Grenfell and
 Hunt; [κατέστησεν or [κατέταξεν Castiglioni.

627 χω]ρεῖν Bartoletti; βαί]γειν Wilamowitz.

628 τῇ[ν ἑαυτοῦ Wilamowitz; τῇ[ν σκηνὴν Bury.

631 δ[ὲ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν Keil; δ[ὲ τὰ γενόμενα
 Grenfell and Hunt; δ[ὲ τὰ γεγονότα Fuhr; δ[ὲ
 τὸ γεγονός Kalinka.

632 Ῥόδῳ <δι>ηγανάκτ[ουν Fuhr, to avoid the
 hiatus: the papyrus reads Ῥόδῳ ἡγανάκτ[ουν.
 χαλεπ]ῶς ἐνέγκοντες Bartoletti; βαρέ]ως
 Grenfell and Hunt.

guarded Caunus, and as many Carians as possible, he
 would put a stop to the disturbance in the camp.
 Leonymus told him to take as many soldiers as he
 wanted. He let the day pass for the sun was already
 near to setting. But on the following day, before
 daybreak came, he took from Leonymus many of the
 Carians and all the Greeks, and led them from the city.
 Then he positioned some outside the camp, others ...
 near the ships and the seashore. After doing this and
 ordering the herald to announce that each man should
 go to his post, he arrested the Carpasian and sixty of
 the other Cypriots; he killed them and crucified their
 general. XX.6 Having heard ... those left behind in
 Rhodes were angry and indignant, and they attacked the
 commanders appointed by Conon and drove them out of
 the camp, and leaving the harbour they caused much
 disturbance and commotion among the Rhodians.