

Apologia in Xenophon's *Anabasis*

Submitted by Shane Geoffrey Brennan, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Classics, January 2011.

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Signed:

Shane Brennan

Abstract

Xenophon of Athens probably did not write his *Anabasis* until thirty years or more after the events which it describes. This remarkable gap, taken together with the absence of a prologue, the presence of a number of prominent themes and authorial concerns, and the complex literary construction of the work, has made the task of explaining it problematic. Situating the text in the context of Xenophon's later life and wide-ranging literary output, in this dissertation I argue that *apologia* is the defining element in the work. Through his elaborate narrative structure and representation of his own character, Xenophon is defending himself, his social class, and his teacher, Socrates. In Books 5 and 7 (of 7) he is occupied with a rigorous defence of his conduct on the retreat, answering charges of deceiving the soldiers, hubris, corruption, and mercenary service, while in Books 3 through to 7, he is defending the memory of Socrates. For from the point of his introduction into the text at the opening of Book 3, following the decapitation of the Greek High Command at the Greater Zab River, Xenophon the character is acting as a pupil of Socrates would have done had he found himself in similarly dire circumstances. His actions, counsel, and moral bearing during the course of the retreat are a testimony to the value of his teacher's training, and powerfully undermine the charges of impiety and corrupting the youth levelled against Socrates in 399. At the same time, the outstanding leadership performance on the retreat of Xenophon's character reflects on himself as the historical figure behind the exemplar. By highlighting its different forms and bringing out its pervasiveness, the dissertation demonstrates that *apologia* is the major factor in the formation of the text.

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Notes

Referencing

The author-date system has been used for referencing. Works cited have been arranged largely in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style* (14th edn.).

Texts and translations

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae texts have been used throughout: for Xenophon, these are all based on Marchant's *Oxford Classical Texts* 1900-1921. In cases where a textual dispute or uncertainty impinges on an argument alternative readings are taken into account.

Passages cited are in translation, with the original supplied alongside the English in the main body or in the footnotes in all instances where a key argument is being made; any apparent arbitrariness in the application of this method is down to oversight on my part. Key words and terms are in the original, usually with an accompanying translation.

Translated passages from Xenophon's *Anabasis* are from W. Ambler's *Agora* 2008 edition. Where I have chosen to supply a modified translation this is indicated. The translations used for other ancient authors are cited in the *Translations of Ancient Works* section of the bibliography. Any modifications to these are noted in the text.

Spelling

Greek words have been transliterated, except where their Latinised or anglicised forms have a marked currency. All peculiarities and inconsistencies are my responsibility.

Possessives with Greek names of more than one syllable are marked by an apostrophe alone when they end with 's': e.g. Socrates' teaching, Pericles' speech. Cyrus takes possessive 's'.

Dates

All dates are 'B.C.' unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

Xenophon's works are abbreviated as below (Latin abbreviations in square brackets). References to *Anabasis* in the dissertation are given by book, chapter, and paragraph, and are preceded by *An.* only in cases where ambiguity may arise. Ancient authors and their works, where abbreviated, are done so according to standard conventions; for a listing of these see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (revised 3rd edition, 2003). For journal title abbreviations see *L'Annee Philologique*. Note further:

CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd edn. 1961-. (1st edn. 1923-1939).

DK H. Diels and W. Kranz. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 6th edn. 1952.

FGrH F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 1923-.

IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. 1873-.

LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. 1987-.

LSJ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edn. with revised supplement 1996.

XENOPHON'S WORKS:

Ages. Agesilaos [Ag.]

An. Anabasis Kyrrou [An.]

Apol. Apologia Sokratous [Ap.]

**Ath.* Athenaion Politeia [Ath. Pol.]

Hell. Hellenika [Hell.]

Hipp. Hipparkhikos [Eq. mag.]

Hie. Hiero [Hier.]

Kyn. Kynegetikos [Cyn.]

Kyro. Kyroupaideia [Cyr.]

Lak. Lakedaimonion Politeia [Lac.]

Mem. Apomenmonegmaton (Memorabilia) [Mem.]

Oik. Oikonomikos [Oec.]

P.H. Peri Hippikes [Eq.]

Por. Poroi [Vect.]

Symp. Symposion [Symp.]

* Pseudo-Xenophon. This work was included in Xenophon's output in antiquity but is not thought to be his.

A classic is a book that never finishes saying what it has to say.
Italo Calvino

