

TOWARDS A NEW TEXT OF XENOPHON'S *LAKEDAIMONION POLITEIA*

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Summary: This paper, after paying tribute to Mogens H. Hansen, assembles fourteen emendations to Xenophon's 'Lakedaimonion politeia' ('Constitution of the Lakedaimonians' or Spartans) which are under consideration for a new edition of volume 5 ('Opuscula') of the Oxford Classical Texts edition of Xenophon's works. The passages are 1.8 (wife-sharing), 2.3 (footwear), 2.6 (stealing), 3.5 (silence among boys), 4.1 (a point of syntax), 5.4 (consumption of alcohol), 8.3 (the power of office-holders to cow the citizens), 10.4 (the pursuit of virtue), 11.4 (the choice between 'citizen' and 'hoplite' morai, and the number of morai), 11.10 and 13.6 (manoeuvres in the presence of the enemy), 12.5 (maintaining fitness during a campaign), 13.9 (young men going joyfully into battle), and 15.6 (the kings' water-supply). Discussions are based on collation of the manuscripts and have benefited from the important recent work by D. Muratore.

Introduction

It is a privilege, albeit tinged with sadness, to have the opportunity to contribute to this volume in memory of Mogens Herman Hansen, FBA. My debt to him is beyond measure, even though the element of serendipity at the beginning of our collaboration (or rather, my pupillage) was large. Although we had met once when he visited his friend and my mentor Oswyn Murray at Balliol College, Oxford, in the mid-1980s, our active contact began a decade later when Mogens was casting around for someone to work on the Lakedaimonian *perioikoi* for the volume that became *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*. At the time, in 1995, my research felt somewhat marooned between, on the one hand, editing the work of others for the *Annual of the British School at Athens* and the Leicester-Nottingham Studies series and, on the other, crafting into publishable form, on behalf of the project directors, all the data produced by the BSA Laconia Survey of 1983-1989, in which I had taken part from

start to finish. I had had just one term's research leave in eight years at Leicester, and had barely begun *The Greek World after Alexander*. My research seemed becalmed, after some years spent in an effort to write in ways that might satisfy advocates of theoretical approaches which I found hard to manipulate and increasingly unpersuasive.

Mogens in the mid- and late 1990s – to come to the point – made me see once again that it was all right to love the data and let theory emerge from it as well as from others' theoretical models. During visits to Copenhagen for his conferences and my own study visits, and through generous helpings of his own time during many lengthy telephone calls, he (along with the editor of this volume) made me see that only through what chess players, I believe, call 'accurate play' and close attention to the full detail of a body of evidence could one theorize with confidence. I was, in short, persuaded of the merits of the approach embodied in the *Lex Hafniensis de civitate* as well as of Mogens's nuanced interpretation of categories such as *ethnos* and *kōmē*, though I flatter myself that I contributed at least one ha'porth of tar to the vessel he had launched (something to do with sub-regional *ethnika*, if I recall rightly).

Mogens and our other colleagues in the Copenhagen Polis Project also focused my attention on a text which, over a decade, gave many rewards in return for 'close reading': the *Periplus* of Ps.-Skylax. It was a stirring mental voyage, and, if Mogens was not the skipper of my leaky barque, his was the imagination that persuaded me that there was new knowledge to be gained from a close re-study of the sole principal manuscript, some 150 years after the previous full edition. Ps.-Skylax in turn led me on to the wider virtual explorations, by sea and by land, that became *Geographers of the Ancient Greek World*.

I recall with affection Mogens's gentle wit, his vast human empathy, his curiosity about others' work and ideas, his passion for democracy (preferably direct), his boundless hospitality (including the mugs of steaming black coffee that would appear as if by magic on one's desk: 'Hot! And strong!'), and the masterclasses he delivered to gatherings of scholars far more able than I, when he always seemed to have the data at his fingertips with which to uphold his side of a debate, especially if that

evidence came from Aristotle or the orators. His support revived my enthusiasm for the Greek language and ancient Greek texts, and without it my career might have stalled. I shall always remember him.

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The present set of notes is drawn from work in progress on a replacement for volume 5, *Opuscula* ('minor works'), of Marchant's century-old Oxford Classical Texts (OCT) edition of Xenophon.¹ Several of the works therein will be edited by myself, the rest by Dr Jan Haywood.²

Of the three treatises on whose manuscripts I have completed research – the Pseudo-Xenophontic *Athenaion politeia* (*Constitution of the Athenians*, 'The Old Oligarch'), the *Hipparchikos* (*De equitum magistro*, *Account of Cavalry Command*), and the *Lakedaimonion politeia* (*Lak. pol.*, *Constitution of the Lakedaimonians*, *The Spartan Constitution*) – I have chosen to present below some emendations under consideration to Marchant's text of the last, on the grounds that my contributions to Mogens's projects centred upon Laconia and Messenia.

Since I began work in 2022, the magisterial textual studies of Muratore on the *Lak. pol.*³ have borne new fruit in a second volume,⁴ and most recently in the landmark publication of a 'Budé' of the work, the said scholar's text and *apparatus criticus* complementing an introduction and compendious historical commentary by the late Jean Ducat.⁵ The present study would be impossible without Muratore's peerless work on the stemma of the manuscripts.

I have come late to textual criticism and to the skills of collation and emendation, so can only apologize if my speculations have run away with me. I offer only outline discussion of the historical implications of each choice, leaving fuller interpretation for future work or other scholars.

1 Marchant 1920. I am grateful to Thomas Heine Nielsen for the invitation to contribute to this volume; and to Egidia Occhipinti, Paul Smee, the anonymous referee, and especially Professor Nigel Wilson for their advice and suggestions.

2 Shipley & Haywood in progress.

3 Muratore 1997.

4 Muratore 2022.

5 Muratore & Ducat 2025.

I present the *apparatus criticus* to each extract in the conventional Latin: the format is extremely economical and unambiguous.⁶ One aim of this paper is to explain (in the commentaries) some of the reasoning behind my preferred text for the benefit of those without experience of ‘textual criticism’, as this detailed editing process is called. I hope to demystify the practice of textual criticism in order (1) to show readers who are unfamiliar with it that it need not be an arcane mystery; (2) to demonstrate the extent to which modern editions of ancient texts – and thus, especially, published translations – are the protean products of modern, and indeed medieval, scholarship – each translation resembling a particular conductor’s rendering of a symphony in classical music – and (3) to emphasize the importance of such work for the study of Ancient History.

The implications of the extracts may not always be profound for so-called ‘Spartan history’, but they are often significant at a detailed level, especially since Lakedaimonian history (as one might prefer to call it) is so contested and its reconstruction often controversial. Some passages, like others in *Lak. pol.*, may give rise to a suspicion that Xenophon is mythologizing in order to create propaganda, and that no real society could possibly run exactly as he describes. But that is a debate for another day; one which Mogens would certainly have relished.

Sigla

Any editor of this much-studied treatise is aided, to an incalculable degree, by the meticulous collations made over many years by Davide Muratore, who has identified nine manuscripts as primary or independent testimonies (A M GIX FVLW, to arrange them in his family groupings) and has built a detailed stemma including the thirty or so secondary or derivative manuscripts.⁷ His results are further refined in the new Budé.⁸ I have collated images of all the independent witnesses and most of the

6 For the sake of transparency, within the printed *apparatus* on a given extract I present all the proposed lemmata – selected words with notes on alternative readings – even if I do not then discuss each of them.

7 Muratore 1997; Muratore 2022, esp. 283–339.

8 Muratore & Ducat 2025.

secondaries, relying on Muratore's readings for the remainder. My sigla (single-letter labels) follow his, but make those for secondary manuscripts lower-case in the style of Donald Jackson's studies of the *Hipparchikos*,⁹ with any suffixes made superscript. Sigla are in roman type in the *apparatus*, bold in the main text. As the new OCT volume takes shape, it may be necessary to change some sigla in order to harmonize them between the different treatises.

Independent witnesses

Manuscript A represents a separate tradition from the other eight independent witnesses (TABLE 1). The second oldest manuscript (or codex) is M. These are the only two that are earlier than 1400.

G, X, and (indirectly) I have a common source with M.

F, V, L, and W are descended from a lost manuscript that has a common source with the ancestor of M, G, I, and X.

The symbols ^r and ^v (recto and verso) indicate the right- and left-hand sides of a two-sided folio in a bound codex.

Where a MS contains of different works in which the writing is of different dates, the dates given below refer only to the text of *Lak. pol.*

Manuscripts are not necessarily more reliable for being early. As the saying goes, *recentior non deterior*, 'the later is not (necessarily) the worse'.¹⁰ In the OCT, Marchant generally places great weight on codex A, the earliest manuscript though, as recent studies have recognized, not always the most reliable. Sometimes, however, as we shall see, he prefers the version of *Lak. pol.* quoted by Ioannes Stobaeus in the *Anthologia* of improving extracts from earlier authors that he made in the 5th century AD for his son. Stobaeus will have had access to earlier copies of Xenophon's texts than those available half a millennium later, though it is important to remember that 'corruption' of the text does not proceed steadily and can be reversed by an intelligent copyist; and that the manuscripts of Stobaeus that we possess, though in general slightly earlier

9 Jackson 1990.

10 Two extreme examples are the texts of Xenophon's *Peri hippikēs* (*On Horsemanship*) and *Kynegetikos* (*Account of Hunting*), for which the manuscript regarded as most authoritative is the latest (Vienna codex *Vindobonensis philosophicus graecus* 37, 1st quarter of 16th century).

than those of *Lak. pol.*, are still late medieval. Even if they are the end product of a transmission process one-third as long as that which preserves Xenophon's works for us today, it was a long enough tradition to suffer from miscopying. Furthermore, Stobaeus is often assumed to have quoted some or all of his extracts from memory.

		<i>folios</i>	<i>date</i>		<i>derivative copies</i>
A	Vaticanus graecus 1335	229 ^v -237 ^v	c.960 ¹¹	descended from lost archetype ω	3
M	Venice, Marcianus 511 (collocazione 590)	290 ^r -298 ^v	c.1330	descended, via lost hyparchetype μ , from lost hyparchetype β (itself descended from ω)	3
G	Florence, Laurentianus 55.21	264 ^v -271 ^r	late 1410s	these 3 are descended from lost hyparchetype γ , which derives from μ (in the case of I, the descent is via lost hyparchetype ι)	1
I	Florence, Laurentianus Conventi Soppressi 110	97 ^v -106 ^r			12 ¹²
X	Vaticanus graecus 1619	169 ^v -179 ^r			0
F	Florence, Laurentianus Plutei 80.13	48 ^r -55 ^r	C14e	these 4 are descended, via lost hyparchetype δ , from β	9
V	Vaticanus Urbinas graecus 93	227 ^v -236 ^v	C15e		0
L	Leipzig, Rep. I.4°.46	49 ^r -63 ^r	C15e		3

11 Muratore has backdated A from the 11th or 12th century to c.960.

12 These 12 include the first printed edition of 1516, and a late handwritten copy from the 17th century.

W	Vienna, his- toricus cus 95	169 ^v - 182 ^r	C15		0
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TABLE 1. Independent manuscripts.

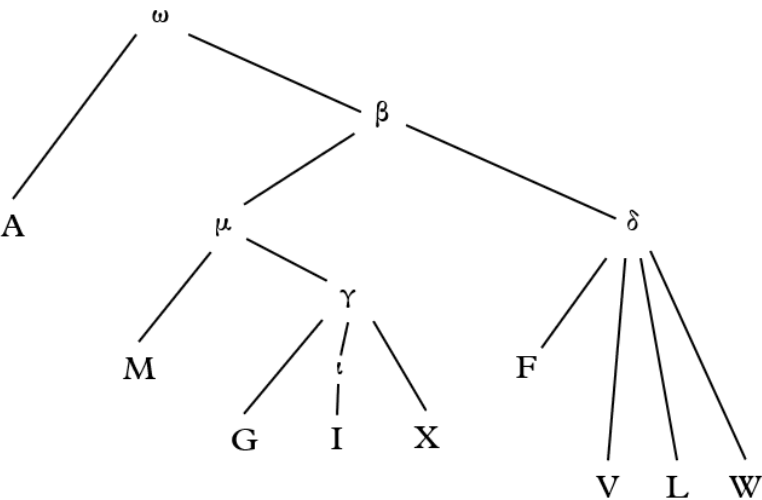


FIG. 1. Simplified stemma showing the nine independent manuscripts. Greek letters indicate hypothesized lost copies, ω being the archetype. (Adapted from Muratore 1997: 173.)

Secondary witnesses

<i>loci</i>			<i>folios</i>	<i>date</i>	
2.3	b	Vaticanus graecus 1950	250 ^v - 259 ^v	C14a	copied from a lost copy of A
2.3; 8.3; 11.10	c	Modena $\alpha.V.7.17$	111 ^r - 117 ^v	c.1470	copied (by Andronikos Kallistos) from the same lost copy of A as b
12.5	d	Vaticanus graecus 1334	33 ^r - 41 ^r	1420s	copied from L

15.6	h, h*	Florence, Laurentianus Plutei 69.25	1 ^r -8 ^r	(1 ^r -3 ^r) C15e/ C15m; (4 ^r -8 ^r) c.1570	copied from d ; the later pages (h*) begin at §5.9 ὑγιεινοτέρους
3.5; 13.6	i^d	San Lorenzo del Escorial, Escorialensis Σ.II.7	325 ^r -329 ^v	in/ just before 1478	remote descendant of I
12.5	z	Vaticanus graecus 1337	1 ^r -10 ^r	C15b	copied from d

TABLE 2. Secondary manuscripts cited below.

Manuscripts of Stobaeus

<i>loci</i>			<i>folios</i>	<i>date</i>
1.8; 3.5; 11.4	Stob. ^A	Parisinus graecus 1984	85 ^v -86 ^v	C13l
1.8; 2.3; 3.5; 11.4	Stob. ^M	San Lorenzo del Escorial, Escorialensis Σ.II.14	155 ^r -156 ^v	C11-C12
1.8; 3.5; 11.4	Stob. ^S	Vienna, phil. gr. 67	72 ^r -73 ^v	C10
2.3; 3.5; 11.4	Flor. ^L	Florence, Laurentianus plut. 8	82 ^r -83 ^r	C13

TABLE 3. The manuscripts of Stobaeus cited below, based on Muratore 2022: 42.

Dates

I sometimes give dates in the format adopted by the Copenhagen Polis Project, extended (as will be apparent) into the Christian era: e.g. C4e/m/l = early/mid-/late 4th century BC but C14f/s = 1st/2nd half of 14th century AD, and C15a/b/c/d = quarters of 15th century AD.

Other abbreviations

Modern studies and editions used in my *apparatus criticus*:

Dind.² = L. A. Dindorf 1824

Dind.³ = L. A. Dindorf 1866

Mar.¹ = Marchant 1920 (Oxford Classical Texts)

Mar.² = Marchant 1925 (Loeb Classical Library)

Mur.² = Muratore 2022

Mur.³ = Muratore and Ducat 2025 (Budé)

Table of difference

Table 4 presents variant readings within the extract passages studied in the present paper in a selection of critical editions since the early 20th century, with the addition of Lipka who revises the text carefully albeit without a full collation of manuscripts.

	Rühl 1912	Marchant 1920	Pierleoni 1933	Lipka 2002	Muratore and Ducat 2025	Shipley
1.8	τοῦτο νόμιμον	τοῦτο νόμιμον	τοῦτο νόμιμον	τοῦτο νόμιμον	τοῦτο νόμιμον	τοῦτο νόμιμον
2.3	ἀν ὄρθια ἐκβαίνειν	ἀν ὄρθια ἐκβαίνειν	ἀν ὄρθια ἐκβαίνειν	ἀν ὄρθια εὐ βαίνειν	ἀν ὄρθια ἐκβαίνειν	ἀν ὄρθια διαβαίνειν
2.6	ἐπικουρούνας	ἐπικουρούνας	ἐπικουρούνας	ἐπικουρούνας	ἐπικουρούνας	ἐπικουρούνα
3.5	λιθίνων	λιθίνων	λιθίνων	λιθίνων (in adn. suppl. e.g. ἀγαλμάτων)	λιθίνων	λιθίνων <εἰκόνων>
3.5	στρέφας	[μετα]στρέφας	[μετα]στρέφας	[μετα]στρέφας	μεταστρέφας	μεταστρέφας
4.1	πλείστον	πλείστον	πλείστον	πλείστον	πλείστον	πλείστον <ἄν>
5.4	πότου	πότου	πότου	πότου	πότου	πότου
5.4	[οὐκ]	[οὐκ]	οὐκ	[οὐκ]	[οὐκ]	οὐκ
8.3	ἡγήσαντο	ἡγήσαντο	ἡγήσαντο	ἡγήσαντο	ἡγήσαντο	ἡγήσαντο
8.3	<εἰς> τὸ ὑπακούειν	[τοῦ ὑπακούειν]	τοῦ ὑπακούειν	τὸ ὑπακούειν	τοῦ ὑπακούειν	ὡς ὁ ὑπακούειν
10.4	ὅτι ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι <μόνοι> ἐπιμελούνται	ὅτι ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελούνται	ὅτι <ἐστίν> ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι	ὅτι ἰδίῳ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι	ὅτι ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελούνται	ὅτι <οἱ?> ὀλίγοι βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
10.4	ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ	[ἐκεῖνος] ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ	ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ	ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ	ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ	ἐκεῖνος
11.4	ὀλιπικῶν	ὀλιπικῶν	πολιτικῶν	πολιτικῶν	ὀλιπικῶν	ὀλιπικῶν
11.4	τοτὲ μὲν <εἰς ἓνα> αἱ ἐνωμοσίαι, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ	τοτὲ μὲν εἰς . . . ἐνωμοσίαις, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ	τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοσίαις, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ	τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοσίαις, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ	†τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοσίαις, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ†	τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοτίας <δίο?>, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ
11.10	τοῦτ' ἔωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀποφθεῖον ἢ <τοῖς> ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλους	τοῦτ' ἔωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀποφθεῖον ἢ [ἐναντίους] ἀντιπάλους	τοῦτο ἔωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀποφθεῖον ἢ [ἐναντίους] ἀντιπάλους	τοῦτ' ἔωσαν, ἀλλὰ προσθεῖον ἢ] ἐναντίους [ἀντιπάλους]	τοῦτο ἔωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀποφθεῖον ἢ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλους†	τοῦτο ἔωσαν, ἀλλὰ προφθεῖον ἢ <τοῖς> ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλους
12.5	ἑωσπερ	ἑωσπερ	ἑωσπερ	ἑωσπερ	ἑωσπερ	ἑωσπερ
13.6	στρέφας	στρέφας	στρέφας	στρέφας	στρέφας	συστρέφας
13.9	καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι	καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι	καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι	καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι	†καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι†	καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι
15.6	ὑδατος <ἀφθονίαν> παρέχει	ὑδατος <ἀφθονίαν> παρέχει	ὑδατος <ἀφθονίαν> παρέχει	ὑδατος παρέχει	ὑδατος παρέχει	παρήκει

TABLE 4. The passages discussed below, with relevant words as given in five modern editions and the present paper.

Lemmata

For each extract, I include the relevant portion of Greek text, the relevant lemmata from my draft *apparatus*, and a provisional translation. Ellipses (. . .) not within angle brackets indicate words excised for the purpose of the present paper.

‘codd.’ (*codices*) denotes only the nine independent witnesses. ‘cett.’ (*ceteri*), likewise, denotes ‘the other independent witnesses’.

1.8. Wife-sharing

εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιοτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ **τούτῳ νόμιμον** ἐποίησεν, ἦντινα ἂν εὖτεκνον καὶ γενναῖαν ὀρώη, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι.

τούτῳ codd. praeter A (inter quos M, contra Mar. qui τούτου vidisse asseruit): τοῦτο Mar. cum A Stob.^{AMS} νόμιμον Mar. cum Stob.^{AMS}: νόμον codd.

‘Again, if someone did not desire to live with a woman but longed to have admirable children, **for him, too**, he (*Lykourgos*) made it lawful that, whomever he might see that had good children and was of good birth, he could, after persuading the man who possessed her, make children by her.’

I have put two words in bold type above.

(a) To deal with the second first: Marchant in his Oxford edition rejects νόμον ‘law’, the reading of all nine primary manuscripts of *Lak. pol.*, preferring to follow the manuscripts of Stobaeus and print νόμιμον ‘lawful’. This is easily justified, for νόμον creates a scenario that is unlikely to be true. Whether it is preceded by τοῦτο or by τούτῳ, νόμον would make Xenophon say that Lykourgos enacted a law *requiring* a man in the specified circumstances – presumably a bachelor or widower – to follow a prescribed course of action, siring an heir or heirs by someone else’s wife. This seems highly unlikely. It would convey that Lykourgos made such wife-borrowing compulsory – as if the ‘state’ were intervening to maximize the reproductive rate, or fortify the essentially private matter of family property and inheritance – whereas the preceding words imply that it was a matter of *choice* for the man who wished to produce an heir, not to mention a matter of choice for her husband whether he would

lend her to him. Scholars reasonably assume that what Lykourgos is said to have done is to *permit* such a course of action, relaxing the normal ban on adultery in light of special circumstances.

Thus νόμιμον is an easy change, and we are entitled to prefer the reading in Stobaeus. It also happens to be the *difficilior lectio* ('more difficult reading'), since it is in principle likelier that νόμιμον was miscopied as the shorter and commoner νόμον than the converse.

(Although Marchant prints νόμιμον in his Oxford text, in his Loeb Classical Library edition of Xenophon's minor works¹³ he does follow the manuscripts of *Lak. pol.* in printing νόμον, giving the sense 'he made it the law that . . .' The Loeb appeared five years after the OCT, but relies heavily on Sauppe's Greek text¹⁴ even though other editions, notably Dindorf's second Teubner¹⁵ and its revision by Rühl¹⁶ had appeared in the interim; in the OCT, by contrast, Marchant does take account of Dindorf. It seems likely that Oxford University Press did not allow Marchant to republish his OCT text to accompany the Loeb translation, and possible that the Teubner editors prohibited the use of their more recent edition.¹⁷ We may therefore take the OCT, though earlier, as Marchant's preferred text.)

(b) For the first of the two words in bold above, Marchant follows manuscript **A** and Stobaeus, printing τοῦτο in preference to the τοῦτω of the other eight primary manuscripts of *Lak. pol.* Most recent editors do the same (see TABLE 4), but I believe a case can be made for retaining the majority manuscript reading.

13 Marchant 1925.

14 Sauppe 1866.

15 L. A. Dindorf 1863.

16 Rühl 1912.

17 On p. xlvi of the Loeb, Marchant baldly asserts, 'The Greek text of this volume follows that of Sauppe [...] except where stated', without giving reasons or even citing Sauppe or giving the date of his edition. I had wondered whether the Loeb was prepared before the OCT and its publication delayed by the first world war; but Prof. J. Henderson (pers. comm., 3 Dec. 2025), the Loeb series editor, and Dr Mirte Liebrechts (pers. comm., 5 Jan. 2026) inform me that some authors in the early days of Loeb's were not permitted by OUP to republish their OCT texts as Loeb's. (On the early history of the Loeb Classical Library, see Liebrechts 2023.)

The position of καὶ immediately before τοῦτῳ or τοῦτο makes it intensive ('also', 'even', 'too', 'as well') rather than merely copulative ('and'). How do we choose between καὶ τοῦτῳ and καὶ τοῦτο?

Of the two, καὶ τοῦτο νόμιμον is perhaps easier to comprehend. It is most naturally taken to mean that Lykourgos 'made this, too, lawful (*alongside that other thing*)', referring back, as before, to the measure described in 1.7 – an elderly husband who, lacking an heir, is allowed to bring in a suitable young man to get his wife pregnant – and introducing a second exemption from customary law. The man's choice is accepted by the community, and a way around his problem is devised. A possible difficulty is that τοῦτο is often taken to point backwards, as indeed it often does, to something already mentioned rather than forwards to something about to be introduced, as the passage clearly requires. We could consider replacing τοῦτο with a different demonstrative pronoun, τόδε ('this'), which normally points to something not yet mentioned: in the present case, the dispensation made for the unmarried, heirless man. We should have to suppose that τόδε was changed to τοῦτο by the scribe of A (or in a lost manuscript from which A is descended) and also misquoted as τοῦτο by Stobaeus (or copied so from an already faulty manuscript, or miscopied in the later manuscripts of the *Anthologia*), while in all the other manuscripts of *Lak. pol.* τόδε was corrupted to τοῦτῳ. These things are possible; more egregious corruptions are legion in the manuscripts of Xenophon's works;¹⁸ and the alteration of τόδε to τοῦτο or τοῦτῳ might be explained relatively easily if we considered that in minuscule writing the ου diphthong can be written as a single character (in this case it would replace ο), and that (in the case of τοῦτῳ) a minuscule epsilon (ε) rotated slightly anti-clockwise is not far from being misread as omega (ω), the iota subscript often being considered unnecessary to add. But this emendation would complicate the necessary explanation, making τόδε rather a radical change to the two alternative readings in the manuscripts, both of which employ a form of the pronoun οὗτος.

18 To take a random example: at *Peri hippikēs* 6. 10 the most reliable manuscript and one other have παρατηρεῖν while the rest have παρωξύνθαι (in some cases παροξύνθαι), which is wholly incompatible with the passage.

In fact, although it is sometimes assumed that the pronoun οὗτος (of which τοῦτο and τούτῳ are inflected forms) is normally backward-looking while the pronoun ὅδε (of which τόδε is an inflexion) normally refers to something about to be mentioned, both assertions overstate the regularity of Greek.

In the first place, ὅδε does sometimes refer back to something already mentioned, as in Xenophon's *Anabasis* 5.7.15 διενενόητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον ('He was minded, if he should take this village', just mentioned).

Second, and conversely, οὗτος sometimes points forwards to introduce something.¹⁹ Xenophon himself sometimes uses οὗτος in this way, for example at *Lak. pol.* 13.7 ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι . . . ('the oldest man among those in public service; those (in public service) are . . .'). Other examples include *Hell.* 4.1.36 οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μέν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' . . . ('I do not, however, enjoin this upon you, that you be poor yet free, but . . .') and 6.3.7 συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγήσθε ('For the first thing you agree upon with the cities who are your allies is this, that they should accompany you wherever you lead').²⁰ So the switch to τόδε is unnecessary.

The second alternative, καὶ τούτῳ νόμιμον, can only mean that Lykourgos made something 'lawful for this man as well (as for that other man)'. At first sight, this is awkward, since it leads the reader to expect momentarily that the privilege extended to the hypothetical man of the preceding section (1.7) is now being extended to a second man; in which case, we ought to be puzzled as to how that dispensation can be relevant to a man whose situation is quite different; and then, perhaps, are relieved to find instead that a new, different dispensation is described. Taken thus, τούτῳ could be thought to lay a false trail and to be an unlikely thing for Xenophon to have written. But the phrase καὶ τούτῳ can be taken more freely – rather than straitjacketing Xenophon's syntax sentence construction, which often varies from strict logic – as the beginning of a statement that 'for this man, too' some provision, a certain

19 The usage is not simply a binary opposition: Goodwin & Gulick 1930: 216, §1008. I am especially grateful to Dr Occhipinti for her thoughts on this matter.

20 I owe these two examples to Dr Occhipinti's expertise and kindness.

exemption, was enacted, without logically implying that it was the same dispensation as in 1.7, and leaving its terms to be specified in the words that follow.

In the end, the choice between τοῦτο and τοῦτω may come down to the relative weight we assign to the testimony of, on the one hand, manuscript **A** and the manuscripts of Stobaeus, and, on the other, the overwhelming majority of the independent witnesses. Experience of working with earlier modern editions of *Lak. pol.* illustrates how editorial inclinations have changed in the past century. Earlier generations were, on the whole, too prone to elevate certain manuscripts, especially older ones, to a privileged status and downplay the worth of others – some of which we now know, largely thanks to Muratore's work,²¹ to be independent witnesses – by using a blanket label such as *deteriores* (Latin for 'worse', 'poorer-quality'), abbreviated in the *apparatus criticus* to the laconic 'dett.', or the even more dismissive 'd' and δ, or the damning ζ (stigma), without revealing which specific manuscripts offer each alternative reading and deflecting the reader from considering these alternatives seriously. Recent practice, exemplified above all in Muratore's work, has brought the full range of independent manuscripts into play, identifying clearly – with the benefit of recent research on the dating, copyists, and owners of medieval Greek manuscripts in general (their 'object biographies', so to speak) – the readings in different 'families' of surviving testimonia and citing them explicitly in the *apparatus criticus*.

We have already expressed caution about using Stobaeus, whom earlier editors seem to have implicitly regarded as more reliable simply because he is earlier than the manuscripts of *Lak. pol.* (though his *manuscripts* are not significantly earlier than they). As noted earlier, just as *recentior non deterior*, one could say *antiquior non melior*, 'the older is not (necessarily) the better'.

We should not endow early manuscripts with undue importance purely because of their age; the same goes for post-Classical sources such as Stobaeus. The distinguishing feature between τοῦτο and τοῦτω is perhaps that the latter is, besides being widely attested, the *difficilior lectio*: it is easier to imagine τοῦτω being miscopied as τοῦτο, or a scribe modi-

21 Muratore 1997; Muratore 2022; Muratore 2023; Muratore and Ducat 2025.

fyling the syntax in this direction because of how he understands the context, than the converse. There is nothing to discourage us, therefore, from preferring the majority reading.

(c) A related point, but one that does not depend on how one handles the manuscripts: the phrase γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν in the earlier words of the extract is sometimes misunderstood. For translators such as Humble to import the notion of marriage ('if someone should not want to marry a woman') is reasonable enough given συνοικεῖν 'live with', 'make a household with'. (It is to be assumed that only free, Spartiate women are in question.) Marchant in his Loeb, however, goes further, printing 'to cohabit with his wife' and thus importing not merely the notion of marriage but potentially also that of marital disharmony. His translation might be acceptable if the definite article τῇ (lit. 'the') stood before γυναικί; but no manuscript has it (a point also made by Lipka in his excellent commentary).²²

The passage is about the single man – who may be either unmarried or widowed – who, for whatever reason, does not wish to be married, or not yet. Whether such a stance reflected sexual orientation (to use a modern concept), the lack of an estate or ready money, or other considerations is for other historians to debate. If this is really how things were, with the city licensing adulterous liaisons when a man's testamentary dispositions were at issue, one may imagine that these matters were arranged contractually on a case-by-case basis, or by a king's decision; otherwise disputes about who was whose heir would surely arise.

2.3. *Going barefoot*

ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν, ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν ῥᾶον ἂν ὄρθια διαβαίνειν . . .

ἂν ὄρθια διαβαίνειν Shipley: ἂν ὁ. δ' ἐκβαίνειν A¹ ut vid.: ἂν ὁ. δὴ εὔ β. A³ (non liquet A²) quem secutus est b (ἂν ὁ. β. c): ἂν ὁ. δὲ βαίνειν cett.: ἀνορθία (vel -ία) β. (sine δὲ) Stob. (ἐκβαίνειν Stob.^M) Flor.: ἂν ὀρθιάδε β. Steph.: ἂν ὀρθιάδε ἀναβαίνειν Richards (ἀναβ. scripserat Castellion): ἂν' ὄρθια δὲ β. Pier.^{3adn}: ἂν ὀρθιάδε ἐκβ. Mar.¹ Mur.²: ἂν ὀρθιάδ' ἐκβ. Mur.³: ἂν ὁ. διεκβαίνειν tentat Wilson (cf. Strab. 12.2.4, C536)

22 Lipka 2002: 110.

'Moreover, instead of softening their feet with sandals, he ordained that they (*the boys' trainers*) should strengthen them (*the boys*) by having them go unsandalled, considering that, if they trained themselves in this, they would not only much more easily **cross over steep slopes** . . .'

The general sense at the end of this extract is clear – with toughened feet, the boys will climb better – but how exactly we reach it is a matter of debate.

Other than **A**, the main codices read ἄν ὄρθια δὲ βαίνειν ('much more easily and go at (?) steep slopes'), where the sense is somewhat incomplete and δὲ 'and' is ungrammatical (too delayed). **A** was corrected more than once, possibly to ἄν ὄρθια δ' ἐκβαίνειν and then (after a second, illegible alteration) to ἄν ὄρθια δὴ εὖ βαίνειν (δὴ 'indeed' replacing δὲ; εὖ meaning 'well'), but it is unreasonable to have two adverbs, both ῥᾶον 'more easily' (which stands before ἄν) and εὖ, qualifying the infinitive βαίνειν 'to go' or a compound form thereof.

The manuscripts of Stobaeus combine ἄν ὄρθια into ἀνορθία, for which I can find no parallel. Stephanus combines ὄρθια δὲ into an adverb, ὀρθιάδε; but this, too, seems to occur nowhere else, as noted by Muratore.²³ The entry for δε (unaccented) in LSJ cites no example of the suffix attached to an adjective.

Pierleoni's suggestion of reading ἄν as ἀν' (by elision of ἀνὰ 'up' before a vowel) requires removing the prefix from the following verb and reverting to the particle δὲ of many manuscripts, which we have already dismissed; and the potential mood ('they would . . .') seems necessary.

The form ἐκβαίνειν occurs in the correction to **A** already noted and in one manuscript of Stobaeus. Richards, having disposed of the intrusive δὲ by adopting Stephanus's ὀρθιάδε (which I have challenged above), proposes ἀναβαίνειν 'ascend'. In response to my suggestion of ὄρθια διαβαίνειν 'traverse steep slopes', Professor Wilson responded with the palaeographically attractive ὄρθια διεκβαίνειν, preserving the εκ of the corrector of manuscript **A**. διεκ- is a simple emendation for δ' ἐκ. διεκβαίνω 'go through and out of' occurs before the Byzantine period at Strabo 12.2.4, C536, where it describes the river Pyramos 'passing through and out of' mountains – the connotation of strenuous activity

23 Muratore 2022: 228.

suggesting the translation ‘overcome’. The anonymous reader of this paper observes, however, that διαβαίνω is common in Xenophon.²⁴ Not all of its occurrences refer to traversing a locality – at *Peri hippikēs* 1.14, for example, we find the sense ‘standing with feet apart’ – but since ὄρθια διαβαίνειν is also an easy correction, we follow the reader’s suggestion and revert to it.

2.6. *Just don’t get caught!*

κλέπτειν δ’ ἐφῆκεν ἔστιν ἃ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπικουροῦντα.

ἐπικουροῦντα cjj. ‘alii’ ap. Morum: ἐπικυροῦντας M¹ G¹X: ἐπικουροῦντας cett.

‘he permitted them to steal certain things **that alleviated** their hunger.’

The conjectural emendation by ‘others’ reported (without names) by Morus,²⁵ is attractive, making the present participle ἐπικουροῦντα (‘assisting against’ or ‘alleviating’) neuter plural, agreeing with ἔστιν ἃ (‘certain things’) instead of masculine as in the manuscripts; the latter would give the sense ‘so that they (*the stealers*) were alleviating’. It is the stolen food, rather than the stealers themselves, that is an aid against hunger.

It is worth noting that in the next subsection (2.7) the verb ἐφίημι, of which ἐφῆκεν ‘he permitted’ is the aorist past form, is followed by the dative case (of a person) rather than the accusative, as it sometimes is when it has the sense of ‘permit’ (see LSJ s.v. II.c). By analogy, if ‘permit’ or a similar sense is intended here in 2.6, one would expect the participle, if masculine, to be dative, ἐπικουροῦσιν. It is preferable to make ‘certain things’ the grammatical subject (within the subordinate clause) of the participle and the participle thus neuter and accusative.

3.5. *Silent as statues*

ἐκείνων γοῦν ἦττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν ἀκούσας ἢ τῶν λιθίνων <εἰκόνων>, ἦττον δ’ ἂν ὄμματα μεταστρέψας ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν . . .

24 Perseus under Philologic 4 (last accessed 25 June 2026) records no fewer than 139 examples in the works of Xen.

25 Morus 1775: 303 note d.

post λιθίνων lac. susp. Lipka supplens e.g. ἀγαλμάτων: malim <εἰκόνων>
μεταστρέψαις codd.: στρέψαις Id et Ps.-Longinus: στρεψάντων Stob.^{AMS Flor.}^L

'From those (boys), at any rate, you might less likely hear a voice than you might from stone <images>, and you might less likely **cause** their eyes **to turn aside** than those of bronze ones ...'

(a) I find no parallel in LSJ for λίθινα used on its own as a neuter plural noun to mean 'stone statues'; we should therefore accept the lacuna proposed by Lipka after the adjective λιθίνων ('of stone').²⁶

Lipka tentatively proposes to fill the lacuna with ἀγαλμάτων 'statues' or some similar word. Palaeographically, a neater supplement would be εἰκόνων ('images'), which from its similar appearance to λιθίνων could easily fall victim to *saut du même au même*,²⁷ the scribe's eye skipping from one sequence of letters to an identical sequence and omitting what lies between. Here it would entail omitting the second of two words with the the same ending. The mistake is especially easy to imagine in the earlier, unspaced uncial script, as in this GR Uncial font by Ralph Hancock: ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝΛΙΘΙΝΩΝ.

(b) Like Muratore in his Budé edition, I retain the μετα prefix of the verb μεταστρέψαις 'you might cause to turn aside' in the independent manuscripts; its optative mood matches ἀκούσαις 'you might hear' a few words earlier, so there seems no reason to emend it as some editors do purely on the basis of one derivative manuscript. (The participial form in Stobaeus, in the genitive absolute, is hard to make sense of.)

4.1. *The future belongs to them*

... νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιντο οἴους δεῖ, πλεῖστον <ᾗν> ῥέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει.

<ᾗν> cj. Richards

'... considering that these, if they became such as they ought, **would** tend most strongly towards the good of the city.'

²⁶ Lipka 2002: 139.

²⁷ West 1973: 24.

I adopt Richards's supplement ἄν because a strong optative protasis ('if clause) stands before this clause, expressing the potential for the youths to become good men some day in the future. Otherwise one would need to translate as 'considering that these (*youths*) . . . tended', implying that they were *already* valued; but the preceding main verb ἐσπούδασε ('he was keen') suggests a statement of purpose.

5.4. *I drink, therefore I am . . . Spartan?*

καὶ μὴν τοῦ ποτοῦ ἀποπαύσας τὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαίαις πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνῶμας . . .

πότου scr. Mar.¹ cum I: ποτοῦ scr. Mur.³ cum cett. (inter quos F, contra Mur.³) οὐκ
del. Müller-Strübing

'Moreover, having put a stop to **unnecessary** imbibings of drink, which cause bodies to stumble, and cause minds to stumble . . .'

(a) The 4th word, ποτου, like all Greek script in Xenophon's time, will have lacked any diacritics that would help distinguish homonyms (accents were inventions of the Hellenistic period). It could be (i) πότου, the genitive of the noun πότος (2nd declension masculine) 'drinking-bout', 'carousal', connoting excess or at least exuberance; or (ii) ποτοῦ, the masculine or neuter genitive of the adjective ποτός 'drunk', that is, 'ingested by drinking' (not 'inebriated'!), 'potable'; hence its neuter form used as a noun, ποτόν, means 'that which one drinks', 'the drink'. Most manuscripts of *Lak. pol.* place the accent on the second vowel, entailing (ii); only manuscript I has (i).

The 9th word, πόσεις, the plural of the noun πόσις (3rd declension feminine), is either purely descriptive ('drinking', 'drink', 'beverage') or exuberant ('carousal'). This being undisputed as between manuscripts, the preceding 4th word only makes sense if it is in form (ii), the stuff consumed by drinking.

(b) If we followed Müller-Strübing in deleting οὐκ 'not', we would be introducing the notion of 'necessary' or compulsory booze-ups in which Spartans were forced to drink excessively – a habit not unknown to soldiers of the modern era, not to mention sailors and airmen, but something the supposed lawgiver might wish to rein in. But the deletion of

'not' is, one may say, unnecessary: either 'unnecessary' or 'not compulsory' makes sense, each implying that well-ordered drinking, doubtless in moderation, was expected or even compulsory on occasions, but that drinking under other circumstances was frowned upon. This arrangement seems in keeping with (purported) Spartan values.

8.3. *He, or you?*

ὅσω γὰρ μείζω δύναμιν ἔχει ἡ ἀρχή, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξιν τοὺς πολίτας ὥσθ' ὑπακούειν.

ἔχει] ἔχου Dind.³ ἂν om. I, del. Schneider ἡγήσαντο cum c Mar.¹ Mur.³: ἡγήσατο codd.: ἡγήσαιο Pier.³: τις ἡγήσαιο Morus καταπλήσειν Sauppe ὥσθ' Shipley, praemonente Casevitz scribe ὥστε: τοῦ codd., del. Schneider, scr. Mur.³: τὸ Lipka: <εἰς> τὸ Voigtländer: fort. <ἐπὶ> τὸ collato Thuc. 2.65.9

'For **they would have considered** that the more power the office has, the more it would also **stupefy** the citizens **so that they would comply**.'

(a) First, a comment on the eleventh word, even though I follow Marchant's OCT at this point. It deserves careful exposition. The manuscripts' ἡγήσατο 'he took the view' is odd, implying that the grammatical subject has changed abruptly to Lykourgos. Pierleoni's ἡγήσαιο 'you might take the view' is ingenious, the same 2nd person optative form appearing earlier at 3.5 and later at 13.5. But Kallistos's emendation ἡγήσαντο in manuscript *c* is palaeographically no less easy and is in line with the plural number of the preceding phrase 'these same men', pointing back to the 'strongest' men of 8.1-2 and their cult of obedience to the authorities.²⁸

(b) The import of the end of the sentence is not in doubt, but the grammatical construction has given rise to debate. Sauppe proposes to replace one future infinitive with another: καταπλήξιν 'stupefy' with καταπλή-

28 Muratore 2022: 256, cites Schneider's objection that Morus's τις ἡγήσαιο 'one might think' and Pierleoni's ἡγήσαιο would undermine Xen.'s point in this passage. On a separate matter, the anonymous reader of this paper observes that ἂν is to be taken with ἡγήσαντο, not with καταπλήξιν (*contra* Muratore l.c.), since ἂν is not used with the future infinitive.

σειν (from καταπίμπλαμαι) ‘fill up’.²⁹ We do not have sufficient evidence to change the manuscripts’ reading.

(c) The manuscripts’ τοῦ ὑπακούειν ‘of complying’ is puzzling, even if it is accepted in the Budé edition. It has been both excised by editors and undergone emendations some of which may be over-interventionist. Lipka’s τὸ ὑπακούειν ‘the complying’ might work if the noun became the subject of the future infinitive καταπλήξειν ‘to be about to stupefy’ (the meaning being ‘that compliance would stupefy the citizens’ *vel sim.*); alternatively, following the suggestion in his commentary (p. 171), ‘to stupefy the citizens in terms of obedience’. That said, in his translation (p. 81) he simply prints ‘it can frighten the citizens into obedience’, which seems difficult to get out of the Greek as he presents it.

Rühl revives an attractive suggestion of Voigtländer that we insert εἰς ‘to’ and change τοῦ to τὸ.³⁰ In some scribal hands, the ligature for εἰ can resemble α, so that the preposition might be lost through haplography – the scribe’s eye jumping from one sequence of letters to the same combination occurring later. Since, however, LSJ cites no Classical example of καταπλήσσω followed by εἰς, we might prefer ἐπὶ ‘upon’, ‘onto’, or ‘towards’, again with τὸ, having in mind Thucydides’s statement (2.65) that Perikles used his speeches to stupefy the people ‘towards (ἐπὶ) fearfulness’ (λέγων κατέπλησεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι). That said, Casevitz’s suggestion of ὥστε ‘with the result that’ is equally satisfactory Greek, and its corruption into τοῦ somewhat easier to envisage than that of either ἐπὶ τὸ or εἰς τὸ into τοῦ, the scribe’s eye having jumped from the final sigma of πολίτας to the sigma in ὥστε; the invention of τοῦ would be yet easier if ὥστε were elided and aspirated, becoming ὥσθ’ before the vowel that follows. We may imagine the uncial text reading **ΠΟΛΙΤΑΣΩΘΥΠΑΚΟΥΕΙΝ**, easily misread as **ΠΟΛΙΤΑΣΟΥΠΑΚΟΥΕΙΝ** and ‘corrected’ to πολίτας τοῦ ὑπακούειν.

10.4. *More than a few good men*

τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μέγας ἄξιον ἀγασθῆναι, ὃς – ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν ὅτι **ὀλίγοι** βουλόμενοι **ἐπιμελεῖσθαι** τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἱκανοί

29 Sauppe 1838: 49.

30 Rühl 1912 ad loc. Evidently J.G.A. Voigtländer (1800–1828); I have not yet located the work of his in which he made this suggestion.

εἰσι τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν – ἐκεῖνος [ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ] ἠνάγκασε δημοσίᾳ πάντας πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς;

ὀλίγοι Schneider: fort. <οἱ> ὀλίγοι: ὅπως οἱ L: ὅπου οἱ cett., retinuit Mur.³: οἱ μὴ Löwenklau: <ἔσθ> ὅπου οἱ Morus: sim. <ἔστιν> ὅπου οἱ Cobet, scr. Pier.³: οἱ Haase: ἰδίᾳ οἱ Erbse, def. Lipka: alii alia post βουλόμενοι add. μόνοι Madvig ἐπιμελεῖσθαι codd. (-μελεῖσθαι L²): -μελοῦνται post Haase^{adin} Mar.¹ Mur.³ ἐκεῖνος codd., def. Haase, del. Morus: ἐκεῖ Mur.³: fort. αὐτὸς Wilson ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ delevi

'Now how is the following action by Lykourgos not greatly worthy of admiration, who – since he learned that **a few men** desirous of paying attention to virtue are not sufficient in number to build up their fatherlands – **he** compelled everyone to train publicly in all the virtues?'

(a) After the rhetorical question, the manuscripts (with one exception) can be translated as 'who, since he learned that where those willing to pay attention to virtue are not sufficient . . ., he in Sparta compelled . . .', which is syntactically awkward. Proposed emendations of the first part yield various senses, including 'that, where those <alone> who are willing pay attention to virtue . . .' (Rühl); 'that, where those who are willing pay attention to virtue . . .' (Marchant in the OCT), which keeps closer to the manuscripts, as does the Budé, *que là où ce sont ceux qui veulent bien le faire qui cultivent la vertu* ('that where it is [sc. only] those who desire to do so who cultivate virtue . . .'); 'that there are places where those who are willing to pay attention to virtue . . .' (Pierleoni, following Cobet). Lipka's English translation is 'that when [sc. only] volunteers practice virtue in private . . .'. The gist is that individual commitment is not enough. As at 5.8, the management of social relations by the state is required in order that collective effort be maximized.

Lipka avoids emending (with Marchant and others) the primary codices' reading, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 'to pay attention', to ἐπιμελοῦνται 'they pay attention'. Instead, he adopts Erbse's ἰδίᾳ 'privately', which gives the required sense but is less easy to explain palaeographically than other proposed emendations. An attractive emendation, also easier to explain palaeographically, is Schneider's early suggestion of replacing ὅπου οἱ

‘where the’ with ὀλίγοι ‘a few’,³¹ which is a fairly simple change in uncials, **ΟΤΙΟΛΙΓΟΙ** becoming **ΟΤΙΟΠΟΥΟΙ**. One might go further and add the definite article οἱ after ὅτι ‘that’, making the uncial text **ΟΤΙΟΙΟΛΙΓΟΙ**; the sense would now be ‘that the few men desirous . . .’. Either change makes it easier to retain ἐπιμελεῖσθαι in the first clause. As Lipka notes, ὀλίγοι makes a good contrast with the subsequent πάντας ‘all’.

(b) After the long observation about other states, the manuscripts have ἐκεῖνος ‘that man’ or ‘he’. Muratore sees this as redundant given the earlier relative pronoun ὃς ‘who’, and truncates ἐκεῖνος to ἐκεῖ ‘there’. Elsewhere in *Lak. pol.*, however, with one exception, ἐκεῖ occurs only when Xenophon offers a personal observation about Sparta in his own day: see 2.2; 2.11; 5.6; 7.3; 7.6; 9.6; 13.2. The exception is 10.7, where the manuscripts have ἐκεῖ qualifying an action by Lykourgos; but in that place ἐκεῖ is awkward and ἐκεῖνος a justified change. The latter is indisputably used of Lykourgos twice elsewhere (1.2; 9.3), which gives a good basis for retaining the word here in 10.4. The *prima facie* illogical sequence of ‘who’ followed by the logically redundant ‘that man’ or ‘he’ seems to be a case of Xenophon – perhaps writing as if the text is to be read aloud or declaimed – seeing that some introductory word is required to reorient the reader or listener after the long, nested clauses.

(c) Finally, since we have either ἐκεῖ or ἐκεῖνος to orientate us and to point a contrast with other cities, ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ‘in Sparta’ seems unnecessary and is likely to be an intrusive gloss, a marginal explanation taken into the text at some stage in transmission. As Lykourgos is already the subject of this and the preceding sentence, we need no reminding of where he lived.

11.4. *Hoplite morai, or citizen morai?*

μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἕξ καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν· ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν **ὀπλιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει** πολέμαρχον ἓνα, λοχαγούς τέτταρας, πεντηκοντῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχας ἐκκαίδεκα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν μορῶν διὰ παρεγγυήσεως καθίστανται **τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοτίας <δύο>**, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ.

31 Schneider 1817: 43 n.

ὀπλιτικῶν Stob.^{AMS} Flor.¹ def. Mur.³: πολεμικῶν L: πολιτικῶν cett. et Harp. μορῶν ἔχει Harp.: ἔχει μ. codd. praeter ἔχει μοιρῶν M cum Stob.^{AMS} Flor.¹: fort. del. μορῶν μορῶν²] μοιρῶν M: μερῶν Stob. τοτὲ μὲν – ἕξ obelis incl. Mur.³: τοτὲ μὲν del. Morel εἰς <δύο> ἐνωμοτίας Brodeau: numerum potius post ἐνωμοτίας posui collato πολέμαρχον ἕνα etc.: ἐνωμοτίας tent. Mar.¹ (cf. Mar.^{2adn})

‘... he created by division six *morai* of both cavalry and hoplites: but each of the **hoplite ones** has one *polemarchos*, four *lochagoi*, eight *pentēkontēres*, and sixteen *enōmotarchoi*. From these *morai* they form up, by passing along a command, sometimes into <two> *enomotiai*, sometimes into three, and sometimes into six.’

It would unbalance this paper to add to the long debate about the numbers and composition of the Spartan – or rather Lakedaimonian – *morai* or ‘regiments’, such as whether there were six *morai* each combining cavalry and foot-soldiers, or six of cavalry and six of foot, and how these arrangements may have changed over time. I seek only to weigh up the dissension within the manuscript evidence.

(a) In the second clause, eight of the nine primary manuscripts refer to *morai* that are πολιτικάί ‘citizen *morai*’, though the two-word phrase is interrupted by the verb ἔχει ‘has’. (The ninth manuscript, L, has πολεμικῶν ‘for war’, which is superfluous.) The same adjective stands in the quotation from this passage in Harpocration’s 2nd-century AD encyclopaedia, but with ἔχει after the two-word phrase. Two modern editions of Harpocration record no variation from πολιτικῶν in the medieval manuscripts of his work.³²

On the other hand, the medieval MSS of Stobaeus offer ὀπλιτικῶν, giving us ‘hoplite *morai*’. Among the editors tabulated above, Rühl, Marchant in the OCT, and the editors of the new Budé³³ follow the Stobaeian evidence, while Pierleoni and Lipka retain the πολιτικῶν of the manuscripts of *Lak. pol.*³⁴

One might favour πολιτικῶν, either because of the near-unanimity of the independent manuscripts or on the principle of *lectio difficilior* – that

32 K.W. Dindorf 1853: 207–8; Keaney 1991: 177, at μ 41.

33 Rühl 1912; Marchant 1920; Muratore & Ducat 2025.

34 Pierleoni 1933; Lipka 2002.

scribes are more likely to have replaced the unfamiliar phrase ‘civic *morai*’ with the more familiar or convenient ‘hoplite *morai*’, hoplites having just been mentioned, than the converse. It might also be explained as related somehow to the distinction that Xenophon draws, in several works, between the πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ‘civic’ (or citizen) ‘force’ of the Lakedaimonians and those of their allies. Muratore, however, observes that the distinction Xenophon intends here is surely between the hoplites and the cavalry, who were organized differently.³⁵ To put it otherwise, the distinction between ‘citizen’ and other *morai* is not one that Xenophon needs to make here. Indeed, in the following subsections he discusses the communication of orders to the infantry, not the cavalry, for whom the *enōmotia* structure (‘bands of sworn brothers’, to adopt LSJ’s translation; probably corresponding to the *syssitia* or ‘platoon messes’, the basic units of the Spartan part of the Lakedaimonian army) is not likely to be relevant.

In addition to the passages cited by Muratore, at *Hellenika* 4.5.1 Xenophon makes an explicit distinction between τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ ‘the *mora* of the hoplites and that of the cavalry’, which seems to settle the matter.

(b) A case can be made for deleting the first occurrence of μορῶν as a gloss. The word order of the primary manuscripts, as noted above, is awkward. Yet scribes transmitted it; perhaps they took it to mean ‘each of the hoplite/civic ones has one polemarch of the *morai*, four *lochagoi*’, and so on. But a polemarch commanded one *mora*, not several. Scribes were presumably reluctant to alter the wording if they could make sense of it somehow; but this makes the statement erroneous. In fact, μορῶν is redundant; it may well be a gloss on ὀπλιτικῶν (or πολιτικῶν). To remove it entails that it had intruded before the time the medieval MSS of Harpocration were written, whether it stood before or after ἔχει in the versions from which their scribes, and their predecessors, were copying; if it stood after, then a copyist may have moved it to stand before ἔχει, while in the Xenophon tradition it remained after ἔχει. Removal of the word does not damage the sense but renders it more coherent.

(c) A less difficult crux is presented by the sequence of numerical divisions at the end of the extract. Each of the modern editors tabulated

35 Muratore 2022: 261-62, following Cozzoli 1979: 102-3.

above prints the text differently; but it seems most reasonable to read the account as expressing how many *enōmotiai* form each division of a *mora* under each particular rearrangement. The alternative is to suppose that only under the first rearrangement are *enōmotiai* used as the building-block; but why, then, is the numeral τρεῖς 'three' in the masculine or feminine gender rather than the neuter? What or whom is it counting? (The following numeral ἕξ 'six' is indeclinable and could refer to items of any gender.)

If this is so, a numeral must be missing before 'sometimes into three, and sometimes into six'. The ascending order of the preceding passage (on the number of officers at each grade: 1, 4, 8, and 16), with each numeral standing after its noun, suggests that a similar, rising sequence stood here (2, 3, 6) and thus that 'two' is the correct supplement.

11.10. The enemy's approach

ἦν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα πολέμιοι προσίωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔωσιν, ἀλλὰ προθέουσιν ἢ <τοῖς> ἐναντίοις ἀντιπάλους τοὺς λόχους στρέφουσι . . .

ante πολέμιοι add. οἱ Pier.³ τοῦτο ἔωσιν] τοῦτ' ὀκνοῦσιν tent. Mur.² ἔωσιν – ἀντιπάλους obelis incl. Mur.³ ἀλλὰ προθέουσιν cum c Mar.¹: ἀλλ' ἀποθοῦσιν (sc. – θέουσιν?) A: ἀλλ' ἀπωθοῦσιν M GI FVLW: ἀλλὰ ποθοῦσιν X: ἀλλ' ἄπωθεν οὐσιν Jebb: ἀλλὰ προσίωσιν Lipka: ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιούσι tent. Mur.² 269 ἢ Shipley: ἢ codd.: del. Jebb <τοῖς> et (auctore Morel) ἐναντίοις Köchly-Rüstow: ἐναντίους codd., del. Mar.¹ ἀντιπάλους codd.: τοῖς ἀντιπάλους c: ἀντιπάλους Steph.¹

'But if enemies approach on the left side, they do not allow this either, but run forwards **in such a manner as to turn** the companies to **counterbalance the opponents**.'

(a) As at 11.4, of the editors tabulated above, no two print the same text. The first verb in seven of the nine independent manuscripts, ἀπωθοῦσιν 'they push away' (with a long second vowel), expresses an inadequate response to the approach, as such, of enemies. The ἀποθοῦσιν 'they run away' of A (with a short second vowel) is absurd. Kallistos's προθέουσιν 'they run forwards' (in manuscript c) is as satisfactory as any suggestion by modern editors.

(b) After this verb, the next word, ἢ 'or', is unexpected since no 'either' stands before the verb. Many editors, nevertheless, retain it. I suggest

changing it to ἧ, which would have been indistinguishable in the original text before diacritics were adopted, though it could have been written as ηι. This adverbial form of the relative pronoun has a range of meanings related to place such as ‘which way’, ‘where’, ‘whither’, and others related to manner such as ‘how’, ‘as’, ‘insofar as’, and ‘wherefore’. Either ‘in such a manner as’ or ‘to the place where’ would suit the context.

(c) Next the primary manuscripts have ἡ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλους ‘or opponents rivals’, which is either ungrammatical or pleonastic. Both ἐναντίους and ἀντιπάλους are masculine accusative plural adjectives serving as nouns. One could delete one of the two as a gloss upon the other, as does Marchant, followed by some later editors. But Kallistos spotted that one or other should simply be in the dative case rather than the accusative, a difference of one letter. He alters ἀντιπάλους to ἀντιπάλους and, for good measure, adds the definite article τοῖς ‘the’ as necessary for the sense. His version, retaining ἡ ‘or’, gives the sense ‘or they turn the companies to oppose the rivals’. With ἡ now in place, however, we can put the other adjectival noun, ἐναντίους, in the dative case, ἐναντίους, and add τοῖς before it, giving ‘they turn the companies in such a way (or to such a position) that they are rivals to the opponents’, or more fluently ‘counterbalance the opponents’.

12.5. *Fitness on campaign*

καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἅπασι Λακεδαιμονίοις
ὅσοιπερ ἂν στρατεύωνται . . .

ὅσοιπερ cum d z h Steph.¹: ὅσωπερ codd. primarii: ἐν ὅσωπερ Heindorf: ὅσονπερ Hertlein: ἕωπερ Dind.²

‘By law it is proclaimed to all Lakedaimonians, **just as many of them as** are on campaign, that they are to do athletic exercise.’

The primary manuscripts read ὅσωπερ, presumably equivalent to ὅσωπερ ‘by just as much as’, which does not make sense. (They all omit the iota adscript after the omega, or iota subscript under it, that we would print today.) A secondary manuscript, **d**, and two copies of it, **z**

and **h**, read ὅσοιπερ 'just as many as', a reading adopted by Henri Estienne in his edition.³⁶

Ludwig Dindorf suggests ἕωσπερ 'for just as long as', to which one can hardly object since, one supposes, the authorities wanted troops to remain fit *throughout* a campaign. Dindorf has been followed by all the editors tabulated above; but the reading of manuscript **d**, whose scribe presumably made the change to ὅσοιπερ consciously, differs less than Dindorf's from that of the primary manuscripts, and expresses adequately a very suitable point for Xenophon to make: that *all* members of an expedition, without exception, must exercise. Probably at some early stage, perhaps in the era of uncial script, **οσοιπερ** was misread as **οσωιπερ**.

13.6. *Right wheel!*

ἦν δέ ποτε μάχην οἴωνται ἔσσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει **συστρέψας** ἐπὶ δόρυ . . .

μοίρας M συστρέψας codd.: στρέψας i^d Morus

'... but if ever they think there will be a battle, the king takes the unit of the first *mora* and **turns it together** on the spear-side ...'

A single derivative manuscript (i^d) offers the participle στρέψας 'turning', without the συ prefix of συστρέψας 'turning together', which stands in all the independent manuscripts; yet i^d is followed by all the editors tabulated above. Both verb forms express a turning motion, but the prefix can be readily understood as expressing the aim of keeping the formation of the *mora* tight (Professor Wilson points out to me that the prefix conveys a 'forceful' action), or possibly the simultaneity of the moves that the soldiers in different positions must make. The verb συστρέφω is well attested, with a range of meanings from 'twist together', 'roll up', to 'form into a compact body'. Citing this passage, LSJ takes it to mean a 'wheel' manoeuvre. There seems no reason to contradict the primary manuscripts.

36 Stephanus 1561: 400, line 21.

13.9. *Shiny or cropped?*

ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ **κεκαρμένῳ** εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ **εὐδόκιμον**.

καὶ – συνιέναι obelis incl. Mur.³ κεκαρμένῳ Wilson: κεκριμένῳ codd. (κεκριμ-VL): ‘κεκριμένῳ κόμην vel κειρομένῳ seu κειρόμενον?’ ruminat Zeune: <κόμην> διακεκριμένῳ Weiske: κεχριμένῳ Mar.¹ (κατακεχριμένῳ tentaverat Naber) συνιέναι] συνεῖναι tent. Zeune εὐδοκιμεῖν Lipka

‘It is permitted for the young man to go into battle even **with his hair cropped**, and to be beaming with joy and greatly **admired**.’

(a) The manuscripts’ κεκριμένῳ ‘distinguished’ is unspecific: ‘It is permitted to the young man even to go into battle distinguished . . .’. Distinguished by what? The gist of the extract is a continuation of the portrait in 13.8 of the Lakedaimonian soldiers (all of them, if we take the Greek literally, not just the Spartans) celebrating in full view of the enemy their eager anticipation of the forthcoming battle; laughing in the face of death, so to speak. The effect upon the morale of most of Sparta’s enemies must have been powerful. Xenophon implicitly draws a contrast between the νέος or ‘new citizen’ and older soldiers.³⁷

Understandably, attempts have been made to link the passage to Plutarch, *Lykourgos*, 22.2, where we are told that the Lakedaimonians (or *Lakōnes*, as he has most recently called them, at 21.3) grew their hair long once they ceased to be youths (ἔφηβοι), and that in wartime the young adults (νέοι), too, ‘took care that their hair (κόμην) appeared shining (λιπαράν) and διακεκριμένην, either ‘distinguished’ or (with a possible echo of Plutarch, *Romulus* 15.5, see below) ‘parted’.³⁸ This in turn is linked by scholars to the observation earlier in *Lak. pol.* (11.3), in the context of preparations for war, that Spartans beyond ἡ ἡβητικὴ ἡλικία ‘the pre-adult age’ were encouraged to grow their hair long so as to appear more impressive. According to Herodotos (1.82.8), the Lakedaimonians had done this ever since the victorious Battle of Champions some 150 years

37 Lipka 2002: 223 notes that νέος in this sense is not used elsewhere in *Lak. pol.*, and suggests that it is equivalent to the ἡβῶντες ‘young adults’ of 2.2, 4.1, etc.

38 Naber 1897: 445-47 astutely suggests that Plutarch was working from an imperfect text of Xenophon.

earlier. If we retain κεκριμένω, however, these attempts to elucidate 13.9 fail unless we supply κόμην itself (or an equivalent) before or after the crucial word, as some editors do.

An alert reader of 13.9 would recall that at 9.4-5 we have been told that a coward is forbidden to take part in collective physical training or go around 'shining', λιπαρόν, clearly meaning 'anointed' (the adjective later used by Plutarch, above), referring of course to the use of oil on the body during exercise rather than on the hair as such. This may lie behind Löschhorn's suggestion (based on an earlier one by Naber), and Marchant's identical but apparently independent proposal,³⁹ that the participle κεκριμένω should be changed by one letter to κεχριμένω 'oiled' or 'anointed', no reference to hair being intended. Tellingly, Muratore asserts that even so the sense appears problematic.⁴⁰

(In passing, be it noted that we could remove the καὶ by replacing καὶ κεκριμένω with the single word διακεκριμένω if we wished to make a close parallel with Plut. Lyc. 22.2; but the preceding definite article would then be odd. Alternatively, if we insisted on not making καὶ intensive, we could understand the words to mean 'the young and distinguished man', thinking perhaps of the top graduate of the year being singled out for a unique honour; or even 'the young and hair-parted man'. The latter sense rests on the parallel of διακρίνουσιν 'they part' (the hair), at Plut. *Romulus* 15. 7, but this is rather far-fetched since it refers not to a warrior but to a Roman bride having her hair parted with a spear-point.⁴¹ But as the anonymous reviewer of this paper commented with reference to another suggestion (see below), this asks the reader to 'supply a narrative to make sense of it'.)

It is important to give full weight to the word ἔξεστι 'it is permitted', especially in combination with καὶ, which before the participle (whichever form it takes) must have an intensive sense, 'even'. If we adopt

39 As Muratore 2022: 274 notes, Marchant 1920 seems to have come up with κεχριμένω independently from Löschhorn 1917. Marchant, invariably conscientious in crediting previous scholars, may not have had access to Löschhorn's paper because of war-time conditions. Both may have been influenced by Naber 1897: 445-47, who in over-interventionist fashion recasts the whole sentence as ἐξήν δὲ καὶ νέω κατακεχριμένω εἰς μάχην ἰέναι ὡς φαίδρον εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον.

40 Muratore 2022: 274.

41 Also mentioned at *Roman Questions* 87 = *Moralia* 285b 11-12.

κεχριμένῳ ‘anointed’ – again, note: without specific reference to the hair – what is the point of καὶ as an intensifier? It only works if what follows is something one would not normally assume was the case. Or, what is the point of ἔξεστι, which implies a choice on the young man’s part? Being well groomed, however, is clearly not a privilege reserved for young adults alone (or one young adult); and it is hard to imagine any new soldier not taking the option of making himself look handsome to impress the enemy and his fellows.

One way of getting round the problem is Professor Wilson’s suggestion of κεκαρμένῳ ‘shorn’ or ‘cropped’, from κείρω ‘cut short’, ‘shear’. This could be taken two ways. (1) First, as Professor Wilson himself has observed to me, cropped hair or a shaven head was a sign of mourning in Greek culture.⁴² One assumes that Xenophon’s statement refers chiefly to a younger soldier who might, on the day of battle, be grieving – perhaps for the first time – for a lost comrade. (2) Alternatively, if that suggestion is open to the objection made by the anonymous reviewer that it requires the reader to do too much work, κεκαρμένῳ could still make sense if it refers to men who have only just turned adult and whose hair is still very short or even ‘shaven’. Even the newest recruit, whose hair is not yet long, is allowed to show off his appearance in the sight of the enemy, which includes being φαίδρον ‘beaming with joy’ and εὐδόκιμον ‘greatly admired’.

(b) Lipka’s replacement of the adjective εὐδόκιμον with the verb εὐδοκιμεῖν ‘to be admired’, against the unanimity of the manuscripts, unnecessarily creates a series of three distinct points. The manuscript text, making a pair of contrasting points – (i) being short-haired (either because in mourning, or because newly recruited) versus (ii) being joyful and exciting admiration – is satisfactory and in no way ungrammatical.

15.6. *Provides, or extends?*

καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνῃ [ὕδατος] παρήκει· . . .

ὕδατος (obiecti) παρέχει def. Mur.² post ὕδατος suppl. ἀφθονίαν Castellion (ex ‘aquae copiam’ in versione Philelphi) Steph.¹ (unde h), scr. Pier.³ Mar.¹, fort. recte,

42 See e.g. Vlachogianni 2018: 304.

aliter delendum ὕδατος ut glossa παρήκει Shipley (ἀφθονίαν non addito):
παρέσχεν c: παρέχει cett.

‘And beside their house **extends** a lake’.

(a) To clear up a first point: the mention of ‘their house’ (literally ‘the house’) is at first sight odd, as Lipka notices. He surmises that it refers, not to the kings’ respective dwellings, but to their common dining-place, and observes that the mention of a λίμνη ‘lake’ suggests a locality in or near the district of Limnai near the river Eurotas.⁴³

(b) Most MSS have λίμνη ὕδατος παρέχει. The phrase λίμνη + ὕδατος, ‘lake’ in the nominative case + ‘water’ in the genitive case, does not work in Greek in the way that ‘a pool of water’ does in English. I cannot find parallels for that construction in LSJ s.v. λίμνη or the other lexica in Logeion (on line). As Muratore observes, ὕδατος is pleonastic. Kallistos, the scholarly copyist of manuscript **c**, evidently recognized the text as unsatisfactory, altering the verb tense from present to aorist (‘offered’). For what happens in Sparta in his own day, however, Xenophon mostly uses the present tense; and the change does not remedy the unconvincing syntax.

Lipka prints the majority reading, but in his excellent commentary he commends the supplement ἀφθονίαν ‘copious supply’ proposed by Sebastian Castellion (1515-1563) on the basis of the phrase *aquae copiam* ‘a supply of water’ which occurs at this point in the Latin translation by Francesco Filelfo (1398-1491).⁴⁴ Henri Estienne prints this addition without indicating that it is a supplement.⁴⁵ The second and later part of *Lak. pol.* in codex **h** (c.1570) follows Estienne on this point.

Nevertheless, Lipka goes on to prefer ὕδατος παρέχει, without ἀφθονίαν, on the basis that this can be a partitive genitive. He cites the grammatical treatise by Kühner and Gerth, which assembles examples of this construction from a wide range of Archaic and Classical sources (e.g. Thuc. 1.30 τέμνειν τῆς γῆς ‘to ravage (some) of the land’).⁴⁶ But the pre-

43 Lipka 2002: 432-34.

44 Gianotti 1990.

45 Stephanus 1561: 402 ll. 8-9.

46 Kühner & Gerth 1898: 345.

sent phrase is not plausibly a partitive genitive, as if it meant ‘a lake provides (some) of its’ (or ‘the’) ‘water’. In all the prose examples, including several from Xenophon, the definite article is used; and the verb normally precedes the genitive. Moreover, this sense does not appear to be required by the context. Xenophon has just been discussing the kings’ roles in animal sacrifice, and immediately after the present extract says, ‘That this, too, is useful for many purposes those who do not have it know better than others’. Why not simply say that the water needed for ritual activities comes from the lake? Why would it not all come from the lake; or, if it didn’t, why does he not tell us where the rest came from?

Two alternatives seem justified. We can accept Castellion’s addition and print ὕδατος <ἀφθονίαν> παρέχει. Or we can begin by deeming ὕδατος a gloss and removing it, which would leave λίμνη παρέχει ‘a lake provides’. The sense would be incomplete; but a simple remedy, not previously considered as far as I am aware, would be to replace παρέχει with παρήκει ‘extends beside’, leaving πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη παρήκει ‘and a lake extends besides their house’. The verb παρήκει (3rd person singular present tense) is not common in Classical (C5–C4) writing, but is used five times by Herodotos (3.114; 4.39, 40, 42, 169), and three times by Ps.-Skylax a little later than Xenophon (35; 64.1; 108.2),⁴⁷ always, with one exception, with reference to a body of water or land (the exception is 112.2, where it is used in the infinitive for the location of a people in relation to the area they occupy). If παρήκει became παρέχει in transmission, ὕδατος ἀφθονίαν may have been added to make sense of the sentence.

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47 For the date of Ps.-Skylax’s geographical gazetteer, see Shipley 2024: 194–95; more fully, Shipley 2019: 8–9 (~Shipley 2011: 6–8).

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