

## The Metonymic Treatment of *Stasis* in Xenophon's *Hellenica*

This paper situates the presentation of *stasis* in Xenophon's *Hellenica* within contemporary historiographic and philosophic traditions. Both genres exploited the phenomenon's potential as a metonym for exploring the larger-scale inter-*polis* struggles for hegemony that were consuming Greece in the fourth century. These struggles are, in turn, the chief subject of Xenophon's history (stressed by Tuplin 1993, Dillery 1995).

Thucydides had made *stasis* a central metonym for understanding the larger conflict of the Peloponnesian War. In his view the war's confrontation between Athenian democracy and Spartan oligarchy was mirrored by analogous factions within each of the individual smaller *poleis* that the two hegemonies were competing over (see especially the Corcyraean *stasis*, 3.70-85, and Price 2001). As scholars such as Andrew Lintott (1982) have argued, this view of *stasis* represents a novel fifth-century development. The unique rise of Athens in this era resulted in a binary polarization of Greek politics in such a way that intra- and inter-*polis* conflicts could be discussed with equivalent terms and seen as coterminous phenomena. It was a perspective on *stasis*, moreover, that remained deeply relevant in the first half of the fourth century. In this period the question of hegemony in Greece continued without resolution, as did the tendency of larger powers to back ideologically aligned factions within potential satellites (see Lonis 1996, Rood 2004). Consequently I will argue that Xenophon fully adopts a Thucydidean view of *stasis*, structuring such conflicts almost exclusively as between democratic and oligarchic factions as well as continuing to develop the metonymic possibilities opened up by his predecessor. Central to Xenophon's approach in this regard is the device of narrative juxtaposition (emphasized by Lévy 1990): thus, most significantly, the rise of Spartan hegemony in Book 4 and its fall in Book 6 are both preconditioned and prefigured by the role of Sparta and its democratic rivals in the *staseis* of Corinth and Thebes respectively.

However, Thucydides' metonymic treatment of *stasis* itself forms only one instance of a more general approach to the topic current in contemporary Greek literature. Accordingly, I will turn to both Plato's and Xenophon's use of *stasis* in their Socratic works where the concept functions to characterize conflict within the individual for the former (*R.* 440e4-6) and between both individual aristocrats as well as Greek *poleis* in the latter (see *Mem.* 2.6 and Dillery 1995: 33-5). I will argue that this polysemic potential for *stasis* to shift metonymically down to the individual level and up to the inter-*polis* level made it a tremendously valuable resource for use in the *Hellenica* regardless of its status in Thucydides. This is because for Xenophon individual and communal moral qualities, insofar as they relate to the successful exercise of political leadership, are viewed as essentially consonant (argued forcibly by Pownall 2004, Lendon 2006). Thus *philotimia*, identified by Aristotle as the most individualistic motive for engaging in *stasis* (*Pol.* 1312a21), is frequently and equally employed by Xenophon as a causal agent both in *staseis* and in larger conflicts throughout the *Hellenica*. This conceptual contiguity in turn helps account for the notable frequency of *staseis* in the course of the text since they provided a useful space for further exploring in miniature its dominant themes. Such a view is even confirmed directly in Book 1: when the Persian satrap Tissaphernes encourages the pro-Spartan Cyrus to adhere to Alcibiades' plan of playing leading Greek states off one another he describes this process as keeping the Greeks *autoi en hautois stasiazontes* (1.5.10).

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