

The purpose of my paper will be to show the parallels and similarities between the Theban speeches in *Hellenica* 3.5.8-15 and in the Plataean debate in Thucydides (3.53-68). By doing this I hope to show how Thucydidean ideas are actually picked up and further developed by his immediate successor in history writing. The rhetorical strategies in both episodes seem to be rather similar due to a comparable historical situation: in both cases the Thebans turn to Sparta and Athens respectively for help. I hope to gain from that, beyond the more superficial parallels, to highlight the relationship between an imperial power and its subjects, which is introduced as a recurrent theme in the *Hellenica*. Hegemony arouses great enmity among the smaller states, i.e. potential allies and subjects, as well as among the rivals for leadership in Greece. And that is why places like Thebes turn to big poleis such as Athens and Sparta for help. In the *Hellenica* the rapprochement between Athens and Thebes deserves attention because of the well-known contempt of the Athenians for all things Boiotian. The development Xenophon envisages with his reference to Thucydides is that Sparta is now in the role Athens used to be for most parts of the fifth century. It might even be possible to trace back some Herodotean influences when one thinks about the similarities between Persians in Herodotus and the Athenian empire of the fifth century (cf. P. Stadter, *Herodotus and the Athenian Arche*, *ASNP* 22.3-4, 1992, 781-809, and J. Moles, *Herodotus warns the Athenians*, *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 9, 1996, 259-84). Therefore, the Spartans in the fourth century have taken over Athens' role as oppressor of Greece in every respect and the recurrence of themes and language from the period of the Athenian empire are now applied to the Spartans.

The relationship between the two authors has usually been described by concentrating solely on the final years narrated in *Hellenica* 1-2.3.24, the so-called continuation. I hope to demonstrate in this paper that Xenophon deliberately makes references to Thucydides. The purpose of this reception is mainly to show that the nature of empire remains the same, regardless of who exercises power. On the other hand, Sparta, which had been portrayed in Thucydides as the great liberator of Greece, as opposed to Athens, the great oppressor, is now turned into the exact opposite. And oddly enough, Athens has now become the liberator. There is a complete reversal of roles. As regards past research, the relationship between Xenophon and Thucydides has only been seen in terms of the former just bringing the narrative of the Peloponnesian War to an end (for Xenophon's different concept of history as a continuous and open-ended series of events see J. Marincola, *Genre, Convention, and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography*, in: C. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography*, Leiden 1999, 281-324). And connections, either formally or intellectually, between the two authors, have only been applied to the "Continuation" (see most recently T. Rood, *Xenophon and Diodorus: Continuing Thucydides*, in: C. Tuplin (ed.), *Xenophon and his World. Papers from a conference held in Liverpool in July 1999*, Stuttgart 2004, 341-395). Although this approach has shown interesting and convincing results, it seems to me that Xenophon seems to be indebted to his predecessor on other levels too and especially in parts of the *Hellenica* where one would not expect him to.

