XENOPHON
CYROPAEDIA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
WALTER MILLER

IN TWO VOLUMES
I

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.
MCMXIV
CONTENTS

BOOK I.—THE BOYHOOD OF CYRUS . . . . . . . . . 1

BOOK II.—THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY . . . 133

BOOK III.—THE CONQUEST OF ARMENIA AND SCYTHIA . 215

BOOK IV.—THE CAPTURE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CAMPS OF THE ASSYRIANS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 307
INTRODUCTION

XENOPHON, the son of a knightly family of Athens—general, historian, philosopher, essayist—was born probably about 429 B.C. But there is a story, not very well authenticated, that his life was saved by Socrates in the battle of Delium (424 B.C.), and that this marked the beginning of his attachment to his great master. If this story be true, the date of his birth can hardly be placed later than 444 B.C.

Our chief interest in his career centres about his participation in the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus (401 B.C.); the Anabasis, his own account of that brilliant failure, gives him his chief claim to a high place among the great names in historical literature; and his successful conduct of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand gives him his high rank among the world's great generals and tacticians.

When he arrived once more in a land of Hellenic civilization, he found that his revered master Socrates had been put to death by his purblind countrymen, that the knights, to whose order he belonged, were in great disfavour, that there was no tie left to bind him to his home; and so, with the remnant of the
INTRODUCTION

troops that he had brought safe back to Hellas, he joined the Spartan king Agesilaus as he was starting for the conquest of the East, and with him fought against his own native city at Coronea (394 B.C.) From that date he lived, an exile from Athens, at Scillus, among the hills beyond the Alpheus from Olympia. And there he wrote the *Anabasis*, the *Cyropaedia*, the Essays on *Agesilaus*, *The Spartan Constitution*, *Horsemanship*, *Hunting*, and most of his other books. He died at Corinth some time after 357 B.C.

Xenophon's works have been roughly classified under three categories: history, philosophy, and miscellaneous essays. The *Cyropaedia*, however, can scarcely be made to fit into any one of these three groups. It is historical, but not history; it has much Socratic dialogue, but it is not philosophy; it has discussions of many questions of education, ethics, politics, tactics, etc., but it is not an essay. It is biographical, but it is not biography; it contains also, in the episode of Panthea and Abradatas, one of the most charming love stories in literature. We may best call it an historical romance—the western pioneer in that field of literature.

Like all his followers in the realm of historical fiction, Xenophon allows himself many liberties with the facts of history. The constitution of Persia, as set forth in the *Cyropaedia*, is no oriental reality; it is the constitution of Sparta, which, in his admiration
INTRODUCTION

for Agesilaus and Clearchus and the Spartan discipline, he has transfigured and set up as the model of his idealized constitutional monarchy. His Persians worship heroes, go crowned with garlands into battle, send a watchword up and down the lines as they prepare for battle, sing a paean as they enter the fight, and do many other things that real Persians never, Spartans always, did. The simple fare and dress of the Persians smack much more of the austere life of the Eurotas Valley than of the luxurious East. Even the education of the Persian youth is identically the education of young Spartans; and in the teacher of Tigranes no one can fail to recognize Socrates himself. So, too, Cyrus's invincible battle lines are not the wavering, unwieldy hordes of orientals, easily swept away by the Grecian phalanx like chaff before the strong south-wind, but the heavy, solid masses of Sparta; and his tactics on the march and in the fury of battle are not the tactics of a "barbarian" king, but those of the consummate tactician who led the famous Ten Thousand Greeks from Asia back to Hellas.

Actual violence to historical facts is sometimes committed. For example, Media was subdued by force (and treachery) in the lifetime of Astyages (550 B.C.), not voluntarily ceded to Cyrus by Cyaxares as the dowry of his daughter; Cyaxares himself, the son of Astyages, is unknown, save through Xenophon's story; it seems most probable that he is
INTRODUCTION

wholly unhistorical. The conquest of Egypt, ascribed to Cyrus, was in reality accomplished by his son and successor, Cambyses. The beautiful account of the peaceful passing of Cyrus is wholly out of accord with the well-established record of his violent death in the battle against the Massagetae (529 B.C.).

This exhausts the tale of serious divergences from historical accuracy. There is much, on the other hand, that has been overlooked by the critics, though it is of prime importance for the history and the conditions of the orient in Xenophon's own times. The account he gives us of the Armenians and Chaldaeans, for example, affords us information, more full and more valuable than we have from any other source. Xenophon knew his Herodotus and Ctesias, of course, and probably other earlier historians whom we cannot identify; and he drew at will from those sources such facts as he needed for the earlier history of the East. But of far more value to us is the wealth of material gathered by him on his memorable march through Asia and the flood of light that in the Cyropaedia he throws on contemporary peoples and manners and customs in the orient.

As a work of art, the Cyropaedia brings together and sums up the results of nearly all of Xenophon's literary activity. The Anabasis and the events that led to its composition furnish the background of geography; history, and custom; the Memorabilia and the discipleship to Socrates contribute the
INTRODUCTION

Socratic method in the discussions of ethics, tactics, generalship, and statesmanship; the Agesilaus and The Spartan Constitution afford the basis for the ideal state that might have been constructed on Greek soil after the pattern of the kingdom of Cyrus; the essays on Horsemanship and Hunting find full illustration in every book of the Cyropaedia; the views set forth in the Oeconomicus on the social status of women and the ideal relations of married life and the home have their practical realization again in the story of Panthea and Abradatas.

The title of the Cyropaedia (The Education of Cyrus) is misleading. In its scope it includes the whole life and career of the great conqueror. The first book covers the period of his boyhood and youth, and only one chapter of that has to do strictly with his education. In the remaining seven books the theme is not his own education but his campaigns of conquest and his training of others as soldiers and citizens in his new empire. But the first book, in dealing with the education of Cyrus, really answers the supreme questions of government—how to rule and how to be ruled—and therefore gives its name to the whole; for that problem is the real theme of the work.

The spirit of the book is Hellenic throughout—a picture of the East with a dash of local colour, but dominated by the civilization in which Xenophon was reared and the ideals that he had learned to cherish.
INTRODUCTION

The corner-stone of his idealized Persian constitution, "equality of rights before the law" (I. iii. 18), and the "boasted equal freedom of speech" (I. iii. 10) are transferred bodily from the democracy of Athens to the uncongenial environment of an oriental despotism. And yet his chief purpose in writing the story of Cyrus was to give his people a picture of an ideal monarchy with an ideal monarch, guided by Socratic principles and carrying out the author's political and philosophical ideals. In the Cyropaedia the didactic element dominates both the history and the fiction; and the hero is an idealistic composite portrait of Socrates, the younger Cyrus, Clearchus, Agesilaus, and Xenophon himself. However it may have been received at Athens, it is only natural that such a book should have been extremely popular among the Romans, and that Cato and Cicero should have found in it teachings that appealed strongly to them for the upbuilding of an empire founded on the majesty of the law and on justice and righteousness, and that the younger Scipio should have had it "always in his hands" as his vade mecum.

In point of literary merit, it stands first among the writings of Xenophon. His hero, though he has been criticised as being a little too good, has the same qualities of greatness, goodness, gentleness, and justice that are given to him by the great prophets of Israel. "The Lord God of heaven" has given him "all the kingdoms of the earth" (II. Chron.
INTRODUCTION

xxxvi. 23; Ezra, i. 1–2); and the greatest of Messianic seers finds in Xenophon's hero "the Lord's anointed" (the Messiah), and makes Jehovah say of him (Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1): "He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure... whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him."
XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK I

THE BOYHOOD OF CYRUS
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ

Α

I

1. "Εννοιά ποθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένετο ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως βουλομένων πολιτεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ὅσαι τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι, ὅσαι τε ὀλυνομαρχίαι ἀνήρηται ἤδη ὑπὸ δήμων, καὶ ὅσαι τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὁποσοῦν ἐχθροῦν ἄρχοντες διαγένωνται, θαυμάζονται ὡς σοφοὶ τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖσις ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι. πολλοὶς δ' ἐδοκοῦμεν καταμεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἐν ιδίοις οἴκοις τούς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλείονας οἰκέτας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνυ ὁλίγους, καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῖς ὁλίγοις τούτοις πάνυ τι δυναμένους χρῆσθαι πειθομένους 2 τοὺς δεσπότας.

1 πάνυ Edd.; πάνυ τι yG; πάντη xΔΗΡ.
2 πειθομένοις found only in FG; [πειθομένοις] Sauppe. Dindorf, Hertlein; πειθομένοι [τοὺς δεσπότας] Hirschig, Gemoll.
XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK I

1. The thought once occurred to us how many republics have been overthrown by people who preferred to live under any form of government other than a republican, and again, how many monarchies and how many oligarchies in times past have been abolished by the people. We reflected, moreover, how many of those individuals who have aspired to absolute power have either been deposed once for all and that right quickly; or if they have continued in power, no matter for how short a time, they are objects of wonder as having proved to be wise and happy men. Then, too, we had observed, we thought, that even in private homes some people who had rather more than the usual number of servants and some also who had only a very few were nevertheless, though nominally masters, quite unable to assert their authority over even those few.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

2. Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνευούμεν ὡτι ἀρχοντες μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν καὶ οἱ ἱππο-φορβοὶ τῶν ἦππων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ καλοῦμενοι νομείς ὡν ἀν ἐπιστατᾶσι ζῷων εἰκότως ἀν ἀρ-χοντες τούτων νομίζοντο πάσας τοῦν ταύτας τὰς ἀγέλας ἔδοκομεν ὅραν μᾶλλον ἐθελούσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεῦσιν ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἄρχονσι. πορεύονται τε γὰρ ἀγέλαι ἢ ἄν αὐτὰς εὐθύνωσιν οἱ νομεῖς, νέμονται τε χωρία ἐφ᾽ ὁποῖα ἄν αὐτὰς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπέχονται τε ὅπως ἄν αὐτὰς ἀπείρησιν καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς τοῖνν τοῖς γυγομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐώσι τοὺς νομέας χρῆσθαι οὕτως ὅπως ἄν αὐτοὶ βούλωμαι. ἦτι τοίνυν οὐδεμιὰν πώς τοῖς ἄγελῃς ἡσθήμεθα συντάσσασι ἐπὶ τῶν νομέαν οὕτε ὡς μὴ πείθεσθαι οὕτε ὡς μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ καρπῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλε-πώτερα εἰσὶν αἱ ἄγελαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἡ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τε καὶ ὧφελομένοις ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν· ἀνθρώποι δὲ ἔπο οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτων οὐς ἄν αἴσθωνται ἄρχειν ἐαυτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας.

3. Ὅτε μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐνευούμεθα, οὕτως ἐγι-γνώσκομεν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθρώπως πεφυκότι πάν-των τῶν ἄλλων βασάνων ἥραν εἰς τῷ ἁγίῳ ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἁρχεῖν. εἰτει ἔνευονησάμεν ὅτι Κύρος ἔγενοτο Πέρσης, ὡς παμπόλλους μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἑκτήσατο πειθο-μένους ἐαυτῷ, παμπόλλας δὲ πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἐκεὶ, ἐκ τούτοις δὲ ἤναγκαζόμεθα μετανοεῖν μὴ οὕτω τῶν ἀδινυτῶν οὕτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἥργων ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἁρχεῖν, ἢ µὲ τοις ἐπισταμένοις τούτῳ πράττῃ. Κύρος γοῦν ἦσμεν ἐθελήσαντας πείθεσθαι
2. And in addition to this, we reflected that cowherds are the rulers of their cattle, that grooms are the rulers of their horses, and that all who are called herdsmen might properly be regarded as the rulers of the animals over which they are placed in charge. Now we noticed, as we thought, that all these herds obeyed their keepers more readily than men obey their rulers. For the herds go wherever their keeper directs them and graze in those places to which he leads them and keep out of those from which he excludes them. They allow their keeper, moreover, to enjoy, just as he will, the profits that accrue from them. And then again, we have never known of a herd conspiring against its keeper, either to refuse obedience to him or to deny him the privilege of enjoying the profits that accrue. At the same time, herds are more intractable to strangers than to their rulers and those who derive profit from them. Men, however, conspire against none sooner than against those whom they see attempting to rule over them.

3. Thus, as we meditated on this analogy, we were inclined to conclude that for man, as he is constituted, it is easier to rule over any and all other creatures than to rule over men. But when we reflected that there was one Cyrus, the Persian, who reduced to obedience a vast number of men and cities and nations, we were then compelled to change our opinion and decide that to rule men might be a task neither impossible nor even difficult, if one should only go about it in an intelligent manner. At all events, we know that people obeyed Cyrus willingly, although some of them were distant from him a
XENOPHON

touς μὲν ἀπέχοντας παμπόλλων ἡμερῶν ὄδόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μηνῶν, τοὺς δὲ όδ', ἑωρακότας πώποτ' αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εὐ ἐιδότας ὃτι όδ' ἀν ἱδοίεν, καὶ ὅμως ἤθελον αὐτῷ ὑπακοῦειν.

4. Καὶ γὰρ τοι τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν πατρίους ἀρχὰς παρειληφότων καὶ τῶν δὲ ἑαυτῶν κτησαμένων, ὁσθ' ὁ μὲν Σκύθης καίπερ παμπόλλων ὁμοτων Σκυθῶν ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς δύνατ' ἄν ἔθνους ἐπάρξαι, ἀγιατικὴ δὲ ἄν εἰ τού ἑαυτοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχων διαγένοιτο, καὶ ὁ Ὠρὸς Ὠρακῶν καὶ ὁ Ἰλλυρίδος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ τάλλα δὲ ὦσαύτως ἔθνη ἄκουομεν· τὰ γοῦν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα εἶναι λέγεται ἡ ἄλληλων ἤπορος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὦσαύτως οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἄσιᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνομα ὀντα ὀρμήθεις σὺν ὀλίγῃ Περσῶν στρατιὰ ἐκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μήδων, ἐκόντων δὲ Ἰρκανίων, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Σύρους, Ἀσσυρίους, Ἀραβίους, Καππαδόκας, Φοῖγας ἀμφοτέρους, Λυδοὺς, Κάρας, Φοῖνικας, Βαβυλονίους, ἥρχε δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Κιλκῶν, ὦσαύτως δὲ Σακῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαγαδιδῶν, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ παμπόλλων ἔθνων, ὡς οὖδ' ἄν τὰ ὴνοματα ἔχοι τις ἐπιπείν, ἐπήρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἄσιᾳ, καταβᾶς δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Ἀγγυπτίων.

1 παμπόλλων DFG; πολλῶν ΧΑΗΡ.
2 λέγεται MSS.; [λέγεται] Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, omitting the colon after ἄκουομεν.
journey of many days, and others of many months; others, although they had never seen him, and still others who knew well that they never should see him. Nevertheless they were all willing to be his subjects.

4. But all this is not so surprising after all, so very different was he from all other kings, both those who have inherited their thrones from their fathers and those who have gained their crowns by their own efforts; the Scythian king, for instance, would never be able to extend his rule over any other nation besides his own, although the Scythians are very numerous, but he would be well content if he could maintain himself in power over his own people; so the Thracian king with his Thracians, the Illyrian with his Illyrians, and so also all other nations, we are told. Those in Europe, at any rate, are said to be free and independent of one another even to this day. But Cyrus, finding the nations in Asia also independent in exactly the same way, started out with a little band of Persians and became the leader of the Medes by their full consent and of the Hyrcanians by theirs; he then conquered Syria, Assyria, Arabia, Cappadocia, both Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Phoenicia, and Babylonia; he ruled also over Bactria, India, and Cilicia; and he was likewise king of the Sacians, Paphlagonians, Magadidae, and very many other nations, of which one could not even tell the names; he brought under his sway the Asiatic Greeks also; and, descending to the sea, he added both Cyprus and Egypt to his empire.
XENOPHON

5. Καὶ τοῖνυν τοῦτον τῶν ἔθνων ἦρξεν ούτε αὐτῷ ὁμογλώττων ὄντων οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὅμως ἐδυνάσθη ἐφικέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαῦτην γῆν τῷ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ φόβῳ, ὡστε καταπλῆξαι πάντας καὶ μηδένα ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐδυνάσθη δὲ ἐπτηθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαῦτην τοῦ 2 αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὡστε ἀεὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμη ἄξιοις κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνηρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα ὃσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶ, ὅποι ἄρξηται τις πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλεῶν, ἦν τε πρὸς ἐω ἢν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἢν τε πρὸς ἀρκτοὺς ἢν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.

6. Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὡς ἄξιοι οὖν θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων ἐσκεψάμεθα τίς ποτ’ ἄν γενεὰν καὶ πολλά τινά φύσιν ἔχων καὶ πολλά τινα παιδεία ραπισμίας τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων. ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπιθυμέμεθα καὶ ἱσθήμεθα δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγῆσασθαι.

II

1. Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως. οὐ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους ἦν. οἱ δὲ Περσείδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κληρούνται μετρός δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι. οὐ δὲ Μανδάνη αὐτή

1 ἐδυνάσθη MSS., except yR2G, which have ἐδυνήθη.
2 τοῦ πάντας MSS., except D, which omits πάντας; [πάντας]

Gemoll, Marchant.
5. He ruled over these nations, even though they did not speak the same language as he, nor one nation the same as another; for all that, he was able to cover so vast a region with the fear which he inspired, that he struck all men with terror and no one tried to withstand him; and he was able to awaken in all so lively a desire to please him, that they always wished to be guided by his will. Moreover, the tribes that he brought into subjection to himself were so many that it is a difficult matter even to travel to them all, in whatever direction one begin one's journey from the palace, whether toward the east or the west, toward the north or the south.

6. Believing this man to be deserving of all admiration, we have therefore investigated who he was in his origin, what natural endowments he possessed, and what sort of education he had enjoyed, that he so greatly excelled in governing men. Accordingly, what we have found out or think we know concerning him we shall now endeavour to present.

II

1. The father of Cyrus is said to have been Cambyses, king of the Persians: this Cambyses belonged to the stock of the Persidae, and the Persidae derive their name from Perseus. His mother, it is generally agreed, was Mandane; and
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

'Αστυάγοις ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδου γενομένου ¹ βασιλέως. φύναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται καὶ ζήτωι εἴτε καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχήν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὡστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατίθημα, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομέναι τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἔνεκα.

2. Φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχουν διαμνημονεύεται ἐπαλευθήρ γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις· οὕτω δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἁγαθοῦ ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐκ ἐνθεντερ ἐν ² ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἀρχονταί. αἴ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται πόλεις ἁφεῖσαν παιδεύειν ὡς τὸς ἐθέλει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅπως ἐθέλουσι διάγειν, ἐπειτα προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδὲ ἄρπάζειν, μὴ βία εἰς οἰκίαν παριέναι, μὴ παίειν δὲν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἀρχοντι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαύτα ὅσαύτως ἦν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, ξημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. 3. οἶ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμελοῦνται ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷον πονηρὸν τίνος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργον ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμελοῦνται δὲ ὁδὲ.

Ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἐνθα τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τᾶλλα ἀρχεία πεσολήται. ἐντεύθεν τὰ μὲν ὅνια καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται

¹ γενομένου xAHHR, Hug, Marchant; -not in other MSS., Gemoll, Breitenbach.
² οὐκ ἐνθεντερ ἐν Hertlein, Edd.; οὐκ ἐνθεν θεντερ (θεν F) yG; οὐχ ὁμοιῶς γὰρ xAHRD².

10
this Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, sometime king of the Medes. And even to this day the barbarians tell in story and in song that Cyrus was most handsome in person, most generous of heart, most devoted to learning, and most ambitious, so that he endured all sorts of labour and faced all sorts of danger for the sake of praise.

2. Such then were the natural endowments, physical and spiritual, that he is reputed to have had; but he was educated in conformity with the laws of the Persians; and these laws appear in their care for the common weal not to start from the same point as they do in most states. For most states permit every one to train his own children just as he will, and the older people themselves to live as they please; and then they command them not to steal and not to rob, not to break into anybody’s house, not to strike a person whom they have no right to strike, not to commit adultery, not to disobey an officer, and so forth; and if a man transgress any one of these laws, they punish him. 3. The Persian laws, however, begin at the beginning and take care that from the first their citizens shall not be of such a character as ever to desire anything improper or immoral; and the measures they take are as follows.

They have their so-called “Free Square,” where the royal palace and other government buildings are located. The hucksters with their wares, their cries, and their vulgarities are excluded from this and relegated to another part of the city, in order
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

eis ἀλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μηκύνηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη
tή τῶν πεπαίδευμένων εὐκοσμία. 4. διήρηται δὲ
ἀυτὴ ἡ ἄγορα ἡ περὶ τὰ ἁρχεία τέταρα μέρη·
tούτων δὲ ἔστιν ἐν μὲν παισίν, ἐν δὲ ἐφήβοις,
ἀλλὸ τελείως ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὸ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ
στρατεύσιμα ἑτη γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δὲ εἰς τὰς
ἀυτῶν χώρας ἐκαστοὶ τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ μὲν
παιδεῖς ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τελείοι ἀνδρείς, οἱ δὲ
γεραίτεροι ἥνικ' ἀν ἐκάστῳ προχωρή, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς
tεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἰσ αὐτοὺς δεὶ παρεῖναι.
oi δὲ ἐφήβοι καὶ κοιμώνται περὶ τὰ ἁρχεία σὺν
tοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὅπλοις πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων·
οὐτοί δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἢ μὴ προρρήθη
pareinai, οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπεῖναι καλὸν.

5. Ἀρχοντες δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰς
dωδεκά· δωδεκά γὰρ καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηται.
καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς παισίν έκ τῶν γεραίτερων ἡρη-
mένου εἰςιν οἳ ἀν δοκῶσι τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους
ἀποδεικνύναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκ τῶν
tελείων ἀνδρῶν οἳ ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους
dokôsi parêchein· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τελείους ἀνδράσιν
οἳ ἀν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλα τὰ τεταγ-
mένα ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς
μεγίστης ἁρχῆς· εἰςι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραίτερων
προστάταται ἥρημενοι, οἳ προστατεύονται, ὁπως
καὶ οὕτω τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἡ δὲ ἐκάστη
ἡλικία προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὡς
μᾶλλον δῆλον γέννηται ἣ ἐπιμέλονται ώς ἀν
βελτιστοὶ εἰν οἱ πολίται.

†1 οἱ προστατεύουσιν MSS.; [οἱ προστατεύουσιν] Dindorf, Hug,
Saupe, et al.

12
that their tumult may not intrude upon the orderly life of the cultured. 4. This square, enclosing the government buildings, is divided into four parts; one of these belongs to the boys, one to the youths, another to the men of mature years, and another to those who are past the age for military service. And the laws require them to come daily to their several quarters—the boys and the full-grown men at daybreak; but the elders may come at whatever time it suits each one's convenience, except that they must present themselves on certain specified days. But the youths pass the night also in light armour about the government buildings—all except those who are married; no inquiry is made for such, unless they be especially ordered in advance to be there, but it is not proper for them to be absent too often.

5. Over each of these divisions there are twelve its officers, for the Persians are divided into twelve tribes. To have charge of the boys, such are chosen from the ranks of the elders as seem likely to make out of the boys the best men; to have charge of the youths, such are chosen from the ranks of the mature men as seem most likely on their part to develop the youths best; to preside over the mature men, those are selected who seem most likely to fit them best to execute the orders and requirements of the highest authorities; and of the elders also chiefs are selected who act as overseers to see that those of this class also do their duty. And what duties are assigned to each age to perform we shall now set forth, that it may be better understood what pains the Persians take that their citizens may prove to be the very best.

1 *I.e.* a Council of Elders, under the presidency of the king.
XENOPHON

6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ παῖδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες
διάγοισι μαθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· καὶ λέγουσιν
ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται ὁσπερ παρ’ ἥμιν ὅτι
γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν
dιατελοῦσι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας δικάζοντες
αὐτοῖς. γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παιδὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
おすπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ
ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ
ἀλλων οἶων δὴ εἰκός. οὐς δὲ ἄν γνῶσι τούτων τι
ἀδικοῦντας, τιμωροῦνται. 7. κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ δὲν
ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντα εὐρίσκωσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ
ἐγκλήματος οὐ ἔνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλή-
λοις μάλιστα, δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας,
καὶ δὲν ἄν γνῶσι δυνάμειν μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι,
μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δὲ, κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρώς.
οὐνται γὰρ τοὺς ἀχαριστοὺς καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἄν
μαλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ
πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἔπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα
τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἢ ἀναισχυντίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη
μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμόν.

8. Διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην
μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μαθώνειν σωφρονεῖν
αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὀρῶσιν ἀνὰ
πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγοισι. διδάσκουσι
δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πεθέσθαι τοῖς ἄρχοσι· μέγα δὲ
καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὀρῶσι τοὺς πρεσ-
βυτέρους πεθομένους τοῖς ἄρχοσιν ἰσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι
dὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ
μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὀρῶσι

1 δὲν Cobet, Edd.; οἱ τὰ MSS.
2 δὲ ἥκιστα MSS., except xDGR which have δὲ ὅχ ἥκιστα.
3 διδάσκουσι . . . ἰσχυρῶς not in xAHR.
6. The boys go to school and spend their time in learning justice; and they say that they go there for this purpose, just as in our country they say that they go to learn to read and write. And their officers spend the greater part of the day in deciding cases for them. For, as a matter of course, boys also prefer charges against one another, just as men do, of theft, robbery, assault, cheating, slander, and other things that naturally come up; and when they discover any one committing any of these crimes, they punish him; 7. and they punish also any one whom they find accusing another falsely. And they bring one another to trial also charged with an offence for which people hate one another most but go to law least, namely, that of ingratitude; and if they know that any one is able to return a favour and fails to do so, they punish him also severely. For they think that the ungrateful are likely to be most neglectful of their duty toward their gods, their parents, their country, and their friends; for it seems that shamelessness goes hand in hand with ingratitude; and it is that, we know, which leads the way to every moral wrong.

8. They teach the boys self-control also; and it greatly conduces to their learning self-control that they see their elders also living temperately day by day. And they teach them likewise to obey the officers; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see their elders implicitly obeying their officers. And besides, they teach them self-restraint in eating and drinking; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see that their elders do not leave their
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΟΥ ΠΡΩΘΕΝ ἈΠΙΟΝΤΑΣ ΓΑΣΤΡΟΣ ἜΝΕΚΑ ΠΡΙΝ ἈΦΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΤΙ ΟΥ ΠΑΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΣΥΝΤΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΣ, ἈΛΛΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ, ὙΣΤΑΝ ΟΙ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΣΗΜΗΝΩΣΙ. ΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΙΚΟΘΕΝ ΣΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ἈΡΤΟΥ, ὍΨΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΡΔΑΜΟΝ, ΠΙΕΙΝ ΔΕ, ἩΝ ΤΙΣ ΔΙΨΗ, ΚΩΘΩΝΑ, ὌΣ ἈΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ ἈΡΥΣΑΣΘΟΙ. ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΑΝΘΑΝΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΞΕΥΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ἌΚΟΝΤΙΖΕΙΝ.

ΜΕΧΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ἜΞΙ ΤΗ ἘΠΤΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ ΕΤΩΝ ἈΠΟ ΓΕΝΕΑΣ ΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΤΑΙΤΑ ΠΡΑΣΤΟΥΝΙΟΥΝ, ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΦΗΒΟΥΣ ΕΞΕΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ.

9. ΟΥΤΟΙ Δ’ ΑΥΙ ΟΙ ΕΦΗΒΟΙ ΔΙΑΓΟΝΟΥΝ ΔΟΔΕ. ΔΕΚΑ ΕΤΗ ΑΦ’ ΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΕΞΕΛΘΟΣΙ ΚΟΙΜΩΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ἈΡΧΕΙΑ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΠΡΟΕΙΡΗΚΑΜΕΝ, ΚΑΙ ΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΝ. ΔΟΧΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΗ Η ΗΛΙΚΙΑ ΜΑΛΕΣΤΑ ἙΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΔΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΥΣΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΕΑΝΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΙΣ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ήΝ ΤΙ ΔΕΘΝΤΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΗ, ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΜΕΝΟΥΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ἈΡΧΕΙΑ. ΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΞΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ έΓΙΝΟΝ ΘΗΡΑΝ, ΕΞΑΓΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΙΣΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ. 2 ΠΟΙΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ. ΕΧΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΔΕΙΤΟΥΣ ΕΞΙΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΪ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΝ ΦΑΡΕΤΡΑΝ ΕΝ ΚΟΛΕΦ ΚΟΠΙΔΑ Η ΣΑΓΑΡΙΝ, ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΓΕΡΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΤΑ ΔΥΟ, ΩΣΤΕ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ἈΦΕΙΝΑΙ, ΤΩ Δ’, ΕΑΝ ΔΕΗ, ΕΚ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ. 10. ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ

1 προς δε τουτοι DFGVπ, Edd.; προς δε τουτων xAHR.
2 εξάγει ... φυλακῆς xAHR; τὰς ἡμισειας φυλακᾶς καταλείπει DFGV.
posts to satisfy their hunger until the officers dismiss them; and the same end is promoted by the fact that the boys do not eat with their mothers but with their teachers, from the time the officers so direct. Furthermore, they bring from home bread for their food, cress for a relish, and for drinking, if any one is thirsty, a cup to draw water from the river. Besides this, they learn to shoot and to throw the spear.

This, then, is what the boys do until they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after this they are promoted from the class of boys and enrolled among the young men.

9. Now the young men in their turn live as follows: B. Youths

for ten years after they are promoted from the class of boys they pass the nights, as we said before, about the government buildings. This they do for the sake of guarding the city and of developing their powers of self-control; for this time of life, it seems, demands the most watchful care. And during the day, too, they put themselves at the disposal of the authorities, if they are needed for any service to the state. Whenever it is necessary, they all remain about the public buildings. But when the king goes out hunting, he takes out half the garrison; and this he does many times a month. Those who go must take bow and arrows and, in addition to the quiver, a sabre or bill 1 in its scabbard; they carry along also a light shield and two spears, one to throw, the other to use in case of necessity in a hand-to-hand encounter. 10. They provide for such hunting out

---

1 The oriental bill was a tool or weapon with a curved blade, shorter than a sabre and corresponding very closely to the Spanish-American machete.
Δὲ δημοσία τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλευται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁσπέρ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμόνων ἐστίν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς τε θηρᾶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλεται ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτῇ ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ ἀνίστασθαι ἐβίζει καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὀδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεῦσαι θηρίου καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ὅπως ἂν παραπέπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχήν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ὅταν τὶ τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστήται· παίειν μὲν γὰρ δὴπον δὲὶ τὸ ὀμόσε γεγυμνόμενον, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον· ἄστε οὐ ράδιον εὑρεῖν τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἀπεστὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων.

11. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ· ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἀριστον ἔχοντες πλεῖον μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν παίδων, τάλλα δὲ ὀμοιον. καὶ θηρόντες μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσειαν, ἢν δὲ τὴ δεήσῃ ἡ θηρίου ἕνεκα ἐπικαταμείναι ἢ ἀλλὰς ἔθελήσωσε διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὖν ἁριστον τούτῳ δειπνήσαντες τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐ θηρῶσι μέχρι δείπνου, καὶ μίαν ἀμφὴ τοῦτῳ τῷ ἡμέρᾳ λογίζονται, ὅτι μᾶς ἡμέρας σύτων δαπανώσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιουσι τοῦ ἐβίζεσθαι ἕνεκα, ἵνα εάν τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνωνται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ ὄψον δὲ τοῦτο ἐχοῦν

1 ἐπιμελεῖται Dindorf, Hug; ἐπιμελεῖται MSS., most Edd.
of the public treasury; and as the king is their leader in war, so he not only takes part in the hunt himself but sees to it that the others hunt, too. The state bears the expense of the hunting for the reason that the training it gives seems to be the best preparation for war itself. For it accustoms them to rise early in the morning and to endure both heat and cold, and it gives them practice in taking long tramps and runs, and they have to shoot or spear a wild beast whenever it comes in their way. And they must often whet their courage when one of the fierce beasts shows fight; for, of course, they must strike down the animal that comes to close quarters with them, and they must be on their guard against the one that threatens to attack them. In a word, it is not easy to find any quality required in war that is not required also in the chase.

11. When they go out hunting they carry along a lunch,¹ more in quantity than that of the boys, as is proper, but in other respects the same; but they would never think of lunching while they are busy with the chase. If, however, for some reason it is necessary to stay longer on account of the game or if for some other reason they wish to continue longer on the chase, then they make their dinner of this luncheon and hunt again on the following day until dinner time; and these two days they count as one, because they consume but one day's provisions. This they do to harden themselves, in order that, if ever it is necessary in war, they may be able to do the same. Those of this age have for relish the game that they kill;

¹ The Greeks ate but two meals a day: the first (ἀρρητόν, déjeuner) toward midday, the other (δεινόν, diner) toward sun-down.
XENOPHON

σιν οί τηλικούτοι δ' τι ἀν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ κάρδαμον. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτοῦς οἴεται ἢ ἐσθλεῖν ἀγῴς, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σῖτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀγῴς, ὅταν ὕδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω πῶς μὲν ἦδη μᾶξα καὶ ἄρτος πεινώντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἦδη ὕδωρ πιεῖν δεψόντι.

12. Αἱ δὲ αὖ μένουσι φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ παιδεῖς ὄντες ἔμαθον καὶ τοξεύεις καὶ ἀκοντίζεις, καὶ διαγωνίζομεν ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλλης διατελοῦσιν. εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τοῦτοι ἄγῶνες καὶ ἄθλα προτίθεται ἐν ἢ δὲ ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλείστοι ὃσι δαμονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικῶτατοι καὶ εὐπριστότατοι, ἔπαινοις οἱ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τιμῶσιν ὧδε ὅμοιον τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ ὡστε αὐτοῦς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. χρώνυται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἰ ἄρχαι, ἢ τι ἡ φρουρήσαι δεήσῃ ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνήσαι ἢ ληστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ὅσα ἱσχύος ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἑστὶ.

- Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐφήβου πράττοουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελοῦσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους αὐνδραῖς. 13. ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἂν ἐξέλθωσιν χρόνου 2 οὕτωι αὖ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἕτερ διάγωσιν ὃδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὡστερ οἱ ἐφήβου παρέχουσιν ἐαυτοῖς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι, ἢν τι δέῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονοῦντων τε ἢδη ἔργα ἑστὶ καὶ ἕτι δυναμένων. ἢν δὲ ποιὰ 3 δέῃ στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα

1 Before ἔργα xAHR have ἄλλα.
2 After χρόνου γ6 add ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων.
3 ποι Dindorf; ποι MSS.

20
if they fail to kill any, then cresses. Now, if any one thinks that they do not enjoy eating, when they have only cresses with their bread, or that they do not enjoy drinking when they drink only water, let him remember how sweet barley bread and wheaten bread taste when one is hungry, and how sweet water is to drink when one is thirsty.

12. The divisions remaining at home, in their turn, pass their time shooting with the bow and hurling the spear and practising all the other arts that they learned when they were boys, and they continually engage in contests of this kind with one another. And there are also public contests of this sort, for which prizes are offered; and whatever division has the greatest number of the most expert, the most manly, and the best disciplined young men, the citizens praise and honour not only its present chief officer but also the one who trained them when they were boys. And of the youths who remain behind, the authorities employ any that they may need, whether for garrison duty or for arresting criminals or for hunting down robbers, or for any other service that demands strength or dispatch.

Such, then, is the occupation of the youths. And when they have completed their ten years, they are promoted and enrolled in the class of the mature men. 13. And these, in turn, for twenty-five years after the time they are there enrolled, are occupied as follows. In the first place, like the youths, they are at the disposal of the authorities, if they are needed in the interest of the commonwealth in any service that requires men who have already attained discretion and are still strong in body. But if it is
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

μὲν οἱ οὗτοι πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δὲ ἀγχέμαχα ὑπλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ γέρρον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, οίνυπερ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραν ἢ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἄρχαι δὲ πᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν τούτων καθίστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλοι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐτη διατελεσθοσίν, εἶπαν μὲν ἄν οὗτοι πλεῖόν τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἐτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικάυτα εἰς τοὺς γεραίτερους ὄντας τε καὶ καλουμένους.

14. Οἱ δ’ αὖ γεραιτεροὶ οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἶκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τά τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἰροῦνται· καὶ ἢν τις ἢ ἐν ἔφηβος ἢ ἐν τελείως ἀνδράσιν ἔλληπτι τι τῶν νομίμων, φαίνοντι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἐκαστοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραιτεροὶ ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἄτιμος διατελεῖ τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου.

15. "Ἰνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἀν δηλωθεὶς διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι·
necessary to make a military expedition anywhere, those who have been thus educated take the field, no longer with bow and arrows, nor yet with spears, but with what are termed "weapons for close conflict"—a corselet about their breast, a round shield upon their left arm (such as Persians are represented with in art), and in their right hands a sabre or bill. From this division also all the magistrates are selected, except the teachers of the boys.

And when they have completed the five-and-twenty years, they are, as one would expect, somewhat more than fifty years of age; and then they come out and take their places among those who really are, as they are called, the "elders."

14. Now these elders, in their turn, no longer perform military service outside their own country, but they remain at home and try all sorts of cases, both public and private. They try people indicted for capital offences also, and they elect all the officers. And if any one, either among the youths or among the mature men, fail in any one of the duties prescribed by law, the respective officers of that division, or any one else who will, may enter complaint, and the elders, when they have heard the case, expel the guilty party; and the one who has been expelled spends the rest of his life degraded and disfranchised.

15. Now, that the whole constitutional policy of the Persians may be more clearly set forth, I will go back a little; for now, in the light of what has already been said, it can be given in a very few words. It is said that the Persians number about one hundred and twenty thousand men\(^1\);

\(^1\) This number is meant to include the nobility only, the so-called "peers" (δυνάμεις), and not the total population of Persia.
τούτων δ' οúdeis ἀπελήλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πάσι Πέρσαις πέμπτειν τοὺς ἕαυτῶν παιδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διασκαλεῖα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παιδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπτουσιν. 1 οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοὺς δημοσίους διασκάλους, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν οὔτως οὔκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἀνδρὰς συναλλαξθῆναι 2 καὶ ἄρχων καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγένωνται 3 ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὔκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς τελείους διαγένωνται ἀνεπίληπτοι, οὔτου τῶν γεραιτέρων γίγνονται. οὔτω μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραιτεροὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἐλεηθότες καθίστανται καὶ η πολιτεία αὐτή, η οὔτω λείπει χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἄν τινες ἔσται. 16. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐτι ἐμένει μαρτύρια καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκπονείσθαι τήν διάιταν. αἰσχρῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ πτύειν 4 καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσες μεστοὺς φανερωθαί, αἰσχρῶν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἱόντα ποῖο 5 φανερῶν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῦ οὐρῆσαι ἕνεκά ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἄν ἔδυναν ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἐχρωντο

1 οἱ δὲ . . . πέμπτουσιν not in CF.
2 συναλλαξθῆναι yHV; συναλλαξθῃ (to associate with) xAGR.
3 αὐ ἂν μὴ διαγένωνται yEGV; ἄν αὐ ἐν τοῖς παισι μὴ (μὴ is not in C) διατελέσωσι η ἐν CAHR.
4 πτύειν Cobet, Edd.; ἀποτύειν MSS.
5 ποὶ Heindorf, Edd.; τοῦ MSS.
and no one of these is by law excluded from holding offices and positions of honour, but all the Persians may send their children to the common schools of justice. Still, only those do send them who are in a position to maintain their children without work; and those who are not so situated do not. And only to such as are educated by the public teachers is it permitted to pass their young manhood in the class of the youths, while to those who have not completed this course of training it is not so permitted. And only to such among the youths as complete the course required by law is it permitted to join the class of mature men and to fill offices and places of distinction, while those who do not finish their course among the young men are not promoted to the class of the mature men. And again, those who finish their course among the mature men without blame become members of the class of elders. So, we see, the elders are made up of those who have enjoyed all honour and distinction. This is the policy by the observance of which they think that their citizens may become the best.

16. There remains even unto this day evidence of their moderate fare and of their working off by exercise what they eat: for even to the present time it is a breach of decorum for a Persian to spit or to blow his nose or to appear afflicted with flatulence; it is a breach of decorum also to be seen going apart either to make water or for anything else of that kind. And this would not be possible for them, if they did not lead an
καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες ἀνήλισκοι, ὡστε ἄλλῃ πτη ἀποχωρεῖν.
Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν: οὐ δὲ ἔνεκα ὁ λόγος ὥρμηθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδὸς.

III

1. Κύρος γὰρ μέχρι μὲν δώδεκα ἐτῶν ἡ ὄλγος πλείου ταῦτα τῇ παιδείᾳ ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἥλικων διαφέρον ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν. ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐδοκεῖ πάντων καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐκαστα ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάγη τὴν έαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς. ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἦκυνεν αὐτὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν εἶναι. ἔρχεται δ' αὐτῇ τῷ Ἡσαναῖον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κύρου τὸν νῦν ἐχουσα.

2. Οὐ δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα καὶ ἐγώ ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀστυάγη τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα ὑπετεῖ, εὕθες ὀλίγα δὴ παῖς φύει φιλόστοργος δὲν ἡσπάζετο τὸ αὐτὸν ὀσπερ δὲν εἰ τὰς πάλαι συντεθραμμένος καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἀπάξιον, καὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμής

1 τὰ Ἐ., Ἐδ.; not in any other MS.
abstemious life and throw off the moisture by hard work, so that it passes off in some other way.

This, then, is what we have to say in regard to the Persians in general. Now, to fulfil the purpose with which our narrative was begun, we shall proceed to relate the history of Cyrus from his childhood on.

III

1. Such was the education that Cyrus received until he was twelve years old or a little more; and he showed himself superior to all the other boys of his age both in mastering his tasks quickly and in doing everything in a thorough and manly fashion. It was at this period of his life that Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was eager to see him, as he had heard from time to time that the child was a handsome boy of rare promise. Accordingly, Mandane herself went to her father and took her son Cyrus with her.

2. As soon as she arrived and Cyrus had recognized in Astyages his mother's father, being naturally an affectionate boy he at once kissed him, just as a person who had long lived with another and long loved him would do. Then he noticed that his grandfather was adorned with pencillings beneath his eyes, with rouge rubbed on his face, and with a wig of false hair—the common Median fashion. For all this is Median, and so are their purple tunics, and their mantles, the necklaces about their necks, and the bracelets on their wrists,
ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οίκοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθήτες φαυλότεραι καὶ διάιται εὐπεπτεραί· ὅρων δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, Ὡ κριτήρ, ὡς καλός μοι ὁ πάππος. ἐρωτώσης δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὁ πατήρ ἢ ὁ ὀντός, ἀπεκρίνατο ἂρα ὁ Κύρος, Ὡ κριτήρ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μῆδων μὲντοι ὅσων ἐώρακα ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολὺ ὀντός ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος.

3. Ἀντασπαζόμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτὸν καὶ στολὴν καλὴν ἐνέδυσε καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελῶς ἐτύμα καὶ ἐκόσμη, καὶ εἰ ποι ἔξελαίνοι, ἐφ’ ὑπὸν χρυσοχαλίνου περιήγην, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐισώθη πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἄτε παῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος ἤδεο τῇ στολῇ, καὶ ἦπερ ἡ παρεχαίρει ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλέπιον εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ὑπον καὶ ἦπερ ἡ ὀρεινή οὐσία τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἴδειν ὑπὸν πάνω οπάνω ἦν.

4. Δεύτερον δὲ δή ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βουλόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὡς ἢπιότα δευτερίων ἴνα ἤτοι τὰ ὁκάδε ποδοῦ, προσήγην αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κύρον ἐφασάν λέγειν, Ὡ πάππο, οὐκ ἔσχεν τούτων τὰ πάντα τὰ λεκάρια ταῖντα διατείρειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τοὺτον τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων.
while the Persians at home even to this day have much plainer clothing and a more frugal way of life. So, observing his grandfather's adornment and staring at him, he said: "Oh mother, how handsome my grandfather is!" And when his mother asked him which he thought more handsome, his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered at once: "Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the handsomest; but of the Medes, as far as I have seen them either on the streets or at court, my grandfather here is the handsomest by far."

3. Then his grandfather kissed him in return and gave him a beautiful dress to wear and, as a mark of royal favour, adorned him with necklaces and bracelets; and if he went out for a ride anywhere, he took the boy along upon a horse with a gold-studded bridle, just as he himself was accustomed to go. And as Cyrus was a boy fond of beautiful things and eager for distinction, he was pleased with his dress and greatly delighted at learning to ride; for in Persia, on account of its being difficult to breed horses and to practise horsemanship because it is a mountainous country, it was a very rare thing even to see a horse.

4. And then again, when Astyages dined with his daughter and Cyrus, he set before him dainty side-dishes and all sorts of sauces and meats, for he wished the boy to enjoy his dinner as much as possible, in order that he might be less likely to feel homesick. And Cyrus, they say, observed: "How much trouble you have at your dinner, grandfather, if you have to reach out your hands to all these dishes and taste of all these different kinds of food!"
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΗ

Τдраφανευτον'Αστυάνην, ου γαρ πολυ
σοι δοκει ειναι καλλιον τοδε το δειπνου του εν
Περσαις;
ΤονδεΚύρωνπροσταυτααποκρινασθαι[λεγε-
ται].1Ουκ,ωπαππε,αλλαπολυαπλουστερα
καλευντεραπαρ'ημινηοδοςεστινεπιτοεμπλη-
σθηναιηπαρ'υμινημασμενγαραρτοςκαικρεα
ειςτουτοαγει,υμειςδεειςμεντοαυτοημιν
σπευδετε,πολλοιςδετιναιςελεγμουςαινωκ
κατωπλανωμενοιμολειανυκινεσθεοποιημε
παλαιηκομενή.
5.'Αλλ',ωπαϊ,φαναιτον'Αστυάνην,ουκ
αχθομενοιταυταπεριπλανωμεθα:γενομενοςδε
καισυ,εφη,γνωσειοτιηδεαεστιν.
'Αλλακαισε,φαναιτονΚύρων,ορω,ωπαππε,
μυσταικομενονταυταταβρωματα.
Καιτον'Αστυάγηνεπερεσθαι,Καιτινιδησυ
τεκμαιρομενος,ωπαϊ,λεγεις;
'Οτισε,φαναι,ορω,οτανμεντουαρτουαγη,
ειςουδεντηνχειρααποφωμενου,οτανδετουτων
τωνθληςευθυςαποκαθαρισαιτηνχειραειςτα
χειρομακτρα,οςπανυαχθομενοςοτιπλεασοι
απαιτονεγενετο.
6.Προςταυταδετον'Αστυάγηνειπειν,Ει
τοινονεωγιγνωσκεις,ωπαϊ,αλλακρεαγε
ευωχου,ινανεανιοικαδεαπελθης.αμαδε
ταυταλεγονταπολλααυτονεπαραφερεινκαι
θηρεια2καιτωνημερων.
ΚαιτονΚύρων,ειπειεωραπολλατακρεα,
ειπειν,'Ηκαιδιδως,φαναι,ωπαππε,παντα

1[λεγεται]Cobet,Edd.;λεγεταιMSS.
2θηρειαC3,Edd.;θηριαallotherMSS.
"Why so?" said Astyages. "Really now, don't you think this dinner much finer than your Persian dinners?"

"No, grandfather," Cyrus replied to this; "but the road to satiety is much more simple and direct in our country than with you; for bread and meat take us there; but you, though you make for the same goal as we, go wandering through many a maze, up and down, and only arrive at last at the point that we long since have reached."

5. "But, my boy," said Astyages, "we do not object to this wandering about; and you also," he added, "if you taste, will see that it is pleasant."

"But, grandfather," said Cyrus, "I observe that even you are disgusted with these viands."

"And by what, pray, do you judge, my boy," asked Astyages, "that you say this?"

"Because," said he, "I observe that when you touch bread, you do not wipe your hand on anything; but when you touch any of these other things you at once cleanse your hand upon your napkin, as if you were exceedingly displeased that it had become soiled with them."

6. "Well then, my boy," Astyages replied to this, "if that is your judgment, at least regale yourself with meat, that you may go back home a strong young man." And as he said this, he placed before him an abundance of meat of both wild and domestic animals.

And when Cyrus saw that there was a great quantity of meat, he said: "And do you really
XENOPHON

tαύτα μοι τὰ κρέα ὁ τι ἃν βούλωμαι αὐτοῖς χρησθαι;

Νὴ Δία, φάναι, ὡ παι, ἐγγυε σοι.

7. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον λαβόντα τῶν 'κρεῶν διαδιδόναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάππου θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστῳ. Σοι μὲν τοῦτο ὅτι προθύμως με ἰππεύειν διδάσκεις, σοι δ' ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἔδωκας· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔχω· σοι δ' ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεύεις, σοι δ' ὅτι μοι τὴν μητέρα τιμᾶς· τοιαύτα ἐποίει, ἐώς διεδίδον πάντα ἣ ἐλαβε κρέα.

8. Σάκα δὲ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, τῷ οἶνοχῷ, ὃν ἔγω μάλιστα τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδωσ; ὃ δὲ Σάκας ἀρα καλὸς τε ὅν ἐτύχχανε καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων προσάγειν τοὺς δεσμένους Ἀστυάγους καὶ ἀποκωλύειν οὖς μὴ καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖ εἶναι προσάγειν.

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἐπερέσθαι προπτέως ὡς ἢν παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσσων, Διὰ τί δή, ὡ πάππε, τούτον οὕτω τιμᾶς;

Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν, ὦν όρας, φάναι, ὃς καλῶς οἶνοχοεὶ καὶ εὐσχημόνως; οἰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων οἶνοχόοι κωμῶς τε οἶνοχοοῦσι καὶ καθαρεῖς ἐγχέουσι καὶ διδόσαι τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις όχιοτες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέρουσιν ὅσ ἀν ένδοεν τὸ ἔκτωμα εὐληπτοτάτα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν.

9. Κέλευσον δὴ, φάναι, ὡ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δούναι τὸ ἔκτωμα, ἵνα καγὼ καλῶς σοι πιεῖν ἐγχέας ἀνακτήσωμαι σε, ἡν δύνωμαι.

1 τε y, Edd.; τε xzR.
mean to give me all this meat, grandfather, to dispose of as I please?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "I do."

7. Thereupon Cyrus took some of the meat and proceeded to distribute it among his grandfather's servants, saying to them in turn: "I give this to you, because you take so much pains to teach me to ride; to you, because you gave me a spear, for at present this is all I have to give; to you, because you serve my grandfather so well; and to you, because you are respectful to my mother." He kept on thus, while he was distributing all the meat that he had received.

8. "But," said Astyages, "are you not going to give any to Sacas, my cupbearer, whom I like best of all?" Now Sacas, it seems, chanced to be a handsome fellow who had the office of introducing to Astyages those who had business with him and of keeping out those whom he thought it not expedient to admit.

And Cyrus asked pertly, as a boy might do who was not yet at all shy, "Pray, grandfather, why do you like this fellow so much?"

And Astyages replied with a jest: "Do you not see," said he, "how nicely and gracefully he pours the wine?" Now the cupbearers of those kings perform their office with fine airs; they pour in the wine with neatness and then present the goblet, conveying it with three fingers, and offer it in such a way as to place it most conveniently in the grasp of the one who is to drink.

9. "Well, grandfather," said he, "bid Sacas give me the cup, that I also may deftly pour for you to drink and thus win your favour, if I can."
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

Καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι. λαβόντα δὲ τὸν Κύρον οὕτω μὲν δὴ εὐ κλύσαι τὸ ἐκπωμα ὁσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἐῷρα, οὕτω δὲ στῆσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον σπουδαίος καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ ὡστε τῷ μητρί καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κύρον ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδήσαι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ φιλοῦντα ἄμα εἰπεῖν, Ὡ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας ἐκβαλὼ σὲ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς: τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, φάναι, σοῦ κάλλιον οἰνοχόησι καὶ οὐκ ἐκπίσοι τὸν οἶνον.

Οἱ δ’ ἄρα τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὰν διδώσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ’ αὐτῆς τῷ κυάθῳ εἰς τὴν ἄριστεραν ἕλειρα ἐγχεάμενοι καταρροφοῦσι, τοῦ δὴ εἰ φάρμακα ἐγχέοιειν μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς.

10. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπισκόπτων, Καὶ τὶ δὴ, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, τᾶλλα μιμούμενος τὸν Σάκαν οὐκ ἀπερρόφησας τοῦ οἶνον;

"Οτι, ἔφη, νὴ Δία ἐδεδοίκειν μὴ ἐν τῷ κρατηρὶ φάρμακα μεμυγμένα εἰς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστίασας σὺ τῶν φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς κατέμαθον φάρμακα ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγχέαντα.

Καὶ πῶς δὴ σὺ τούτο, ἔφη, ὁ παϊ, κατέγνως;

"Οτι νὴ Δί ὑμᾶς ἐώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἄ οὐκ ἐάτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας προεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐποιεῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἄμα ἐκεκράγειτε, ἐμαυθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἔδετε

1 ἐγχέοιειν yER; ἐγχέοιειν zC.
And he bade him give it. And Cyrus took the cup and rinsed it out well, exactly as he had often seen Sacas do, and then he brought and presented the goblet to his grandfather, assuming an expression somehow so grave and important, that he made his mother and Astyages laugh heartily. And Cyrus himself also with a laugh sprang up into his grandfather’s lap and kissing him said: “Ah, Sacas, you are done for; I shall turn you out of your office; for in other ways,” said he, “I shall play the cupbearer better than you and besides I shall not drink up the wine myself.”

Now, it is a well known fact that the kings’ cupbearers, when they proffer the cup, draw off some of it with the ladle, pour it into their left hand, and swallow it down—so that, if they should put poison in, they may not profit by it.

10. Thereupon Astyages said in jest: “And why, Cyrus, did you imitate Sacas in everything else but did not sip any of the wine?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I was afraid that poison had been mixed in the bowl. And I had reason to be afraid; for when you entertained your friends on your birthday, I discovered beyond a doubt that he had poured poison into your company’s drink.”

“And how, pray,” said he, “did you discover that, my son?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I saw that you were unsteady both in mind and in body. For in the first place you yourselves kept doing what you never allow us boys to do; for instance, you kept shouting, all at the same time, and none of you heard anything that the
XENOPHON

dὲ καὶ μάλα γελοίως, οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἄδοντος ὤμνυτε ἀριστα ᾧδειν· λέγων δὲ ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ρώμην; ἔπειτ' εἰ ἀνασταίητε ὀρχησόμενοι, μὴ ὅπως ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐν ῥυθμῷ, ἀλλ' οὖδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι εὔνασθε. ἐπελέλησθε δὲ παντάπασι σὺ τε ὣτι βασιλεὺς ἢσθα, οὗ τε ἄλλοι ὑμῖν ἀρχῶν. τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγγυγε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον ὅτι τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἢν ἡ ἱστορία ὃ ὑμεῖς τὸτ' ἐποιεῖτε· οὐδὲποτε γοῦν ἐσιωπᾶτε.

11. Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει, Ὅ δὲ σὸς παθήρ, ὃ παῖ, πίνων ὦ μεθύσκεται;
Οὐ μᾶ Δῆ, ἐφη.
'Αλλὰ πῶς ποιεῖ;
Δυσῶν παῦεται, ἄλλο δὲ κακὸν οὐδὲν πᾶσχει·
οὐ γάρ, οἰμαί, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἴνοχοεῖ.
Καὶ ἡ μὴτηρ εἰπεῖν, Ἀλλὰ τί ποτε σὺ, ὦ παῖ,
τῷ Σάκα οὕτω πολεμεῖς;
Τὸν δὲ Κύρον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι νὴ Δία, φάναι,
μεσῳ αὐτῶν· πολλάκις γάρ με πρὸς τὸν πάππον
ἐπιθυμοῦντα προσδραμεῖν οὕτος ὁ μιαρώτατος
ἀποκολύει. ἀλλ' ἵκετευό, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δός
μοι τρεῖς ἥμερας ἄρξαι αὐτὸν.
Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Καὶ πῶς ἃν ἄρξαις
αὐτὸν;
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι, Στάς ἃν ὄσπερ οὕτος
ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα ὅποτε βούλοιτο παρεῖναι
ἐπ' ἀριστόν, λέγοιμ' ἃν ὅτι οὕτω δυνατὸν τῷ
ἀρίστῳ εὐνυχεῖν· σπουδάζει γὰρ πρὸς τινας·
εἶδ' ὅποτε ἦκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμ' ἃν ὅτι
36
others were saying; and you fell to singing, and in a most ridiculous manner at that, and though you did not hear the singer, you swore that he sang most excellently; and though each one of you kept telling stories of his own strength, yet if you stood up to dance, to say: nothing of dancing in time, why, you could not even stand up straight. And all of you quite forgot—you, that you were king; and the rest, that you were their sovereign. It was then that I also for my part discovered, and for the first time, that what you were practising was your boasted 'equal freedom of speech'; at any rate, never were any of you silent."

11. "But, my boy," Astyages said, "does not your father get drunk, when he drinks?"

"No, by Zeus," said he.

"Well, how does he manage it?"

"He just quenches his thirst and thus suffers no further harm; for he has, I trow, grandfather, no Sacas to pour wine for him."

"But why in the world, my son," said his mother, "are you so set against Sacas?"

"Because, by Zeus," Cyrus replied, "I don't like him; for oftentimes, when I am eager to run in to see my grandfather, this miserable scoundrel keeps me out. But," he added, "I beg of you, grandfather, allow me for just three days to rule over him."

"And how would you rule over him?" said Astyages.

"I would stand at the door," Cyrus replied, "just as he does, and then when he wished to come in to luncheon, I would say, 'You cannot interview the luncheon yet; for it is engaged with certain persons.' And then when he came to dinner, I would say, 'It
XENOPHON

λούται: εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζοι φαγεῖν, εἰπομὴ ἀν ὃτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐστὶν; ἐὼς παρατείναμι τούτων ὅσπερ οὗτος ἔμε παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων.

12. Τοσαῦτας μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίας παρείχεν ἔπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τάς ὅ ἡμέρας, εἰ τινὸς αἰσθοῖτο δεόμενον ἢ τῶν πάππων ἢ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφῶν, χαλεπῶν ἢν ἀλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα· ὃ τι γὰρ δύνατο ὁ Κύρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαρίζομενος.

13. Ὠπεὶ δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιούσα πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδείκτω αὐτής ὁ Ἀστυάγης καταλυτεῖν τὸν Κύρον. ἦ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλοιτο μὲν ἀπαντᾷ τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἀκοντα μέντοι τὸν παιδὰ χαλεπὸν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλυτεῖν.

14. Ἐυθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, Ὡς παῖ, ἢν μένης παρ’ ἐμοί, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ’ ἐμὲ εἰσόδου σοι οὐ Σάκας ἀρξεί, ἄλλ’ ὅποταν βούλη εἰσίναι ὃς ἐμέ, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἐσται· καὶ χάριν σοι εἰσόμαι ὅσῳ ἄν πλεονάκις εἰσίς ὃς ἐμέ. ἑπείτα δὲ ἵππους τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρῆσει καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοις ἄν βούλη, καὶ ὅποταν ἀπίς, ἔχων ἀπεὶ οὐς ἄν αὐτὸς ἐθέλης. ἑπείτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἐχεῖν ὁπολαν βούλει ὅδον πορεύσει. ἑπείτα τὰ τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδέοικῳ θηρίᾳ διδώμι σοι καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ συλλέξω, ὅ σὺ ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἢπείευσιν μάθης, διώξει, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων καταβαλεῖς ὅσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ παίδας δὲ σοι ἐγὼ συμπαίστορας παρέξω, καὶ ἄλλα ὁπόσα ἄν βούλη λέγων πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις.
is at the bath.’ And if he were very eager to eat, I would say, ‘It is with the ladies.’ And I would keep that up until I tormented him, just as he torments me by keeping me away from you.”

12. Such amusement he furnished them at dinner; and during the day, if he saw that his grandfather or his uncle needed anything, it was difficult for any one else to get ahead of him in supplying the need; for Cyrus was most happy to do them any service that he could.

13. But when Mandane was making preparations to go back to her husband, Astyages asked her to leave Cyrus behind. And she answered that she desired to do her father’s pleasure in everything, but she thought it hard to leave the boy behind against his will.

14. Then Astyages said to Cyrus: “My boy, if you will stay with me, in the first place Sacas shall not control your admission to me, but it shall be in your power to come in to see me whenever you please, and I shall be the more obliged to you the oftener you come to me. And in the second place you shall use my horses and everything else you will; and when you go back home, you shall take with you any of them that you desire. And besides, at dinner you shall go whatever way you please to what seems to you to be temperance. And then, I present to you the animals that are now in the park and I will collect others of every description, and as soon as you learn to ride, you shall hunt and slay them with bow and spear, just as grown-up men do. I will also find some children to be your playfellows; and if you wish anything else, just mention it to me, and you shall not fail to receive it.”
15. 'Επεξε ταύτα εἶπεν ὁ 'Αστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διηρύτα τὸν Κύρον πότερον βούλλοιτο μένειν ἢ ἀπίεναι. ὦ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι μένειν βούλλοιτο. ἔπερωτησεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός διὰ τὶ εἶπεῖν λέγεται, "Οτι οίκιοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὦ μήτερ, καὶ ἀκοντίζων καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι ἰππεύων ἤττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ τούτο εὗ ἵσθι, ὦ μήτερ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐμὲ πάνυ ἄνια. ἦν δὲ με καταλίπης ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἰππεύειν, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὦ, οἶμαι σοι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄγαθους τὰ πεζικὰ ῥάδιως νυκήσειν, ὅταν δ' εἰς Μήδους ἔλθω, ἐνθάδε πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἄγαθῶν ἰππεύων κράτιστος δὲν ἰππεύως συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ.

16. Τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἶπεῖν, Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὦ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσει ἐνθάδε ἐκεῖ ὄντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων;

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι, 'Αλλ', ὦ μήτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταύτα γε οἶδα.

Πῶς σὺ οἶσθα; τὴν Μανδάνην εἶπεῖν.

"Οτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλός με ὡς ἡδὴ ἀκριβούντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθιστή δικάζειν. καὶ τοῦτον, φάναι, ἐπὶ μᾶ ποτε δίκη πλήγας ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὥρθως δικάζασιν. 17. ἦν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαῦτη. παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτώνα παῦδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχουσα χιτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν τὸν μὲν ἑαυτῷ ἐκείνου ἔμφυεσε, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδυ. ἔγω οὖν τούτοις δικάζων ἔγγον βέλτιον εἶναι ἀμφότεροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
40
15. When Astyages had said this, his mother asked whether he wished to stay or go. And he did not hesitate but said at once that he wished to stay. And when he was asked again by his mother why he wished to stay, he is said to have answered: "Because at home, mother, I am and have the reputation of being the best of those of my years both in throwing the spear and in shooting with the bow; but here I know that I am inferior to my fellows in horsemanship. And let me tell you, mother," said he, "this vexes me exceedingly. But if you leave me here and I learn to ride, I think you will find, when I come back to Persia, that I shall easily surpass the boys over there who are good at exercises on foot, and when I come again to Media, I shall try to be a help to my grandfather by being the best of good horsemen."

16. "But, my boy," said his mother, "how will you learn justice here, while your teachers are over there?"

"Why, mother," Cyrus answered, "that is one thing that I understand thoroughly."

"How so?" said Mandane.

"Because," said he, "my teacher appointed me, on the ground that I was already thoroughly versed in justice, to decide cases for others also. And so, in one case," said he, "I once got a flogging for not deciding correctly."

17. The case was like this: a big boy with a little tunic, finding a little boy with a big tunic on, took it off him and put his own tunic on him, while he himself put on the other's. So, when I tried their case, I decided that it was better for them both that each should keep the tunic that fitted him. And thereupon the master flogged me,
XENOPHON

μὲν ἔπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὁ ὅτι ὁπότε μὲν
tοῦ ἀρμόττοντος εἶναι κριτής, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν,
ὅποτε δὲ κρίναι δέοι ποτέρον ὁ χιτῶν εἶη, τούτ',
ἔφη, σκεπτέον εἶναι τὰς κτήσεις δικαία ἐστίν,
pότερα τὸν βία ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸν ποιη-
σόμενον ἢ πριάμενον κεκτήσθαι ἐπεί δ', ἔφη,
tὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἁνωμοῦ
βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν ἀεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν
tὴν ψήφου τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἔγω σοι, ὁ μήτερ,
tά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἢ ἡ ἀκριβῶς ἢν δὲ
tι ἀρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάσποσ με, ἔφη, οὕτως
ἐπιδιδάξει.

18. Ἀλλ' οὖ ταύτα, ἔφη, ὁ παί, παρὰ τῷ
πάσπῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὕτως
μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μῆδοις πάντων ἐαυτῷ δεσπότην
πεποίηκεν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἱσον ἔχειν δίκαιον
νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ σὸς πατήρ πρῶτος τὰ τεταγ-
μένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει, τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ
λαμβάνει, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ ἀλλ' ὁ
νόμος ἐστίν. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστίγομένος,
ἐπειδὰν οἶκοι ἦσ, ἃν παρὰ τούτῳ μαθῶν ἢκς
ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τυραννικόν, ἐν οἷ ἐστι
tὸ πλείον οἰσθαὶ χρῆμα πάντων ἔχειν.

Ἀλλ' ὁ γε σὸς πατήρ, εἰπέν τῷ Κύρος, δεσπο-
tερός ἐστιν, ὁ μὴτερ, διδάσκει μείον ἢ πλείον
ἐχεῖν: ἡ οὖν ὅρας, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ Μῆδος ἀπαντᾶς
dedidachein autōn meion echein; ὥστε θάρρει, ὥσ

1 λέξας ζΕΡ; λέγων ζcke.
2 ὁ σὸς πατήρ πρῶτος Schneider, Hug; ὁ πρῶτος πατήρ C; δὲ
σὸς πρῶτος πατήρ yzER, Marchant; πρῶτος ὁ σὸς πατήρ Gemoll.
3 ἦς Heindorf; ἦς or εἶς MSS.
4 ἡ οὖς ἐχειν not in xz.
saying that when I was a judge of a good fit, I should do as I had done; but when it was my duty to decide whose tunic it was, I had this question, he said, to consider—whose title was the rightful one; whether it was right that he who took it away by force should keep it, or that he who had had it made for himself or had bought it should own it. And since, he said, what is lawful is right and what is unlawful is wrong, he bade the judge always render his verdict on the side of the law. It is in this way, mother, you see, that I already have a thorough understanding of justice in all its bearings; and," he added, "if I do require anything more, my grandfather here will teach me that."

18. "Yes, my son," said she; "but at your grandfather's court they do not recognize the same principles of justice as they do in Persia. For he has made himself master of everything in Media, but in Persia equality of rights is considered justice. And your father is the first one to do what is ordered by the State and to accept what is decreed, and his standard is not his will but the law. Mind, therefore, that you be not flogged within an inch of your life, when you come home, if you return with a knowledge acquired from your grandfather here of the principles not of kingship but of tyranny, one principle of which is that it is right for one to have more than all."

"But your father, at least," said Cyrus, "is more shrewd at teaching people to have less than to have more, mother. Why, do you not see," he went on, "that he has taught all the Medes to have less than himself? So never fear that your father, at any rate,
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ο γε σος πατήρ ουτ’ ἄλλον οὐδένα ουτ’ ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποπέμψει.

IV

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κύρος· τέλος δὲ ἢ μὲν μὴτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κύρος δὲ κατέμενε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις συνεκέκρατο ὡστε οἰκεῖως διακείσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο, προσιών καὶ ἐνδήλος ὅν ὅτι ἥπαξετο αὐτῶν τοὺς νεῖς, ὡστε εἰ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιντο, τοὺς παῖδας ἔκέλενον τοῦ Κύρου δεῖθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὁ τι δέοιντο αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττοντας. 2. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὁ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κύρος οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντέχειν μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέποτε ἀπέλευσε τὸν πάππον οὐδὲ κλαίσιν ποτὲ ἐπάυετο, ἄλλα δήλος ὃν πᾶσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ τὸ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰ τινὸς δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ἦσθαντο Κύρος καὶ πάντων ἀοικύτατα ἀνεπίδη ὑπηρετῆσαν ὁ τι οἷοντο χαριζέσθαι, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

3. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως πολυλογοτέρος, ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, ὅτι ἠναγκάζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ διδόναι λόγον ἃν ἐποίηει καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ’ ἄλλων; ὅποτε δικάζοι, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ

1 πολυλογότερος χωρὶς τοῦ παιδίσκου ζῆν ἀνήθος ἐνυ.
will turn either me or anybody else out trained under him to have too much."

IV

1. In this way Cyrus often chattered on. At last, however, his mother went away, but Cyrus remained behind and grew up in Media. Soon he had become so intimately associated with other boys of his own years that he was on easy terms with them. And soon he had won their fathers' hearts by visiting them and showing that he loved their sons; so that, if they desired any favour of the king, they bade their sons ask Cyrus to secure it for them. And Cyrus, because of his kindness of heart and his desire for popularity, made every effort to secure for the boys whatever they asked. 2. And Astyages could not refuse any favour that Cyrus asked of him. And this was natural; for, when his grandfather fell sick, Cyrus never left him nor ceased to weep but plainly showed to all that he greatly feared that his grandfather might die. For even at night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to discover it and with greater alacrity than any one else he would jump up to perform whatever service he thought would give him pleasure, so that he won Astyages's heart completely.

3. He was, perhaps, too talkative, partly on account of his education, because he had always been required by his teacher to render an account of what he was doing and to obtain an account from others whenever he was judge; and partly also because of
XENOPHON

tò φίλομαθῆς εἶναι πολλὰ µὲν αὐτὸς ἂει τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρῶτα πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐρωτήτο, διὰ τὸ ἁγχύνους εἶναι ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο, ὡστ’ ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῷ· ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ γὰρ ἐν σώματι, ὅσοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβον, ὃµος ἐµφαίνεται τὸ νεαρὸν αὐτὸς ὁ κατηγορεῖ τὴν ὀλυγοσίαν, ὦτω καὶ Κύρου ἐκ τῆς πολυλογίας οὐ θράσος διεφαίνετο, ἀλλ’ ἀπλότης καὶ φιλοστοργία, ὡστ’ ἐπεθύμει ἂν τις ἐτε πλεῖω αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν ἢ σιωπώντι παρεῖναι.

4. Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος σὺν τῷ µεγέθει εἰς ὅραν τοῦ πρόσηθον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς µὲν λόγοις µανοτέροις ἐχρήτο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἰσχαλτέρᾳ, αἰδοὺς δ’ ἐνεπίµπλατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι ὄποτε συντυχάναν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τὸ σκυλακώδες τὸ πᾶσιν ὁµοίως προσπίπτειν οὐκέθ’ ὁµοίως προπετές¹ εἶχεν. οὔτω δὴ ἰσχαλτέρος µὲν ἢν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνονοίαις πάµπαν ἐπίχρισεν. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα διαγωνίσχονται πολλάκις ἕλκες πρὸς ἄλληλους, ὦχι ἧ κρείττων ἦδει ὃν, ταύτα προκαλεῖτο τοὺς συνόντας, ἀλλ’ ἀπέρ εὖ ἦδει ἑαυτῶν ἄττον δῶτα, ἐξῆρχε;² φάσκων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιήσεων, καὶ κατηρχεῖν ἦδη ἀναπηδών ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπούς ἢ διατοξευσόµενος ἢ διακοντιούµενος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ-

¹ προπετές xΔΗΡ; προπετές yG²; [προπετές] Cobet, Hug.
² ἐξῆρχε yR; ταύτα ἐξῆρχε xz, Gemoll.
his natural curiosity, he was habitually putting many questions to those about him why things were thus and so; and because of his alertness of mind he readily answered questions that others put to him; so that from all these causes his talkativeness grew upon him. But it was not unpleasant; for just as in the body, in the case of those who have attained their growth although they are still young, there yet appears that freshness which betrays their lack of years, so also in Cyrus's case his talkativeness disclosed not impertinence but naïveté and an affectionate disposition, so that one would be better pleased to hear still more from his lips than to sit by and have him keep silent.

4. But as he advanced in stature and in years to the time of attaining youth's estate, he then came to use fewer words, his voice was more subdued, and he became so bashful that he actually blushed whenever he met his elders; and that puppy-like manner of breaking in upon anybody and everybody alike he no longer exhibited with so much forwardness. So he became more quiet, to be sure, but in social intercourse altogether charming. The boys liked him, too; for in all the contests in which those of the same age are wont often to engage with one another he did not challenge his mates to those in which he knew he was superior, but he proposed precisely those exercises in which he knew he was not their equal, saying that he would do better than they; and he would at once take the lead, jumping up upon the horses to contend on horseback either in archery or in throwing the spear, although he was not yet a
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝ

πων οὔτω πάνυ ἐποχος ὦν, ἠττώμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα ἐγέλα.

5. Ἡμὶ δ' οὖκ ἀπεδιδρασκεν έκ τοῦ ἣττᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν ὁ ἠττῶτο, ἄλλ' ἐκαλυνδεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειράσθαι αὖθις βέλτιον ποιεῖν, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο τῇ ἱππικῇ τοῖς ἡλιξι, ταχὺ δὲ παρῆι διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν τοῦ ἔργου, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἀνηλώκει διάκων καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαλών, ὡστε ὁ Ἀστυάγης οὐκέτ' εἴχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν θηρία. καὶ ὁ Κύρος αἰσθόμενος ὃτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύνατό οἱ ξώντα πολλὰ παρέχειν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν, Ὡ κάτω, τί σε δεὶ θηρία ξητοῦντα πράγματ' ἔχειν; ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔμε ἐκπέμπῃς ἐπὶ θηραν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομιμῶ ὡς αὖ ἴδω θηρία, ἐμοὶ ταύτα τρέψεσθαι.

6. ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ σφόδρα ἐξεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θηραν οὐκέθ' ὡμοίως λατπερίν ἐδύνατο ὀσπερ παῖς ὦν, ἀλλ' ὁκυρωτερον προσήει. καὶ ὁ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκα ἐμέμφετο ὅτι οὐ παρίει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάππον, αὐτὸς ἢδη Σάκας εὐατῷ ἐγήγνετο· οὐ γὰρ προσήει, εἰ μὴ ἴδοι εἰ καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδείτο πάντως σχμαίνειν αὐτῷ ὡπότε ἐγχωροῖ [καὶ ὁπότε καιρὸς εἴη]. Σάκας ὑπερεψίλει ἢδη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

7. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐγὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἐξεὶ θηραν, ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ' ἱπποῖν

1 καὶ . . . εἴη bracketed by Zeune, Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.
good rider, and when he was beaten he laughed at himself most heartily.

5. And as he did not shirk being beaten and take refuge in refusing to do that in which he was beaten, but persevered in attempting to do better next time, he speedily became the equal of his fellows in horsemanship and soon on account of his love for the sport he surpassed them; and before long he had exhausted the supply of animals in the park by hunting and shooting and killing them, so that Astyages was no longer able to collect animals for him. And when Cyrus saw that notwithstanding his desire to do so, the king was unable to provide him with many animals alive, he said to him: "Why should you take the trouble, grandfather, to get animals for me? If you will only send me out with my uncle to hunt, I shall consider that all the animals I see were bred for me." 6. But though he was exceedingly eager to go out hunting, he could no longer coax for it as he used to do when he was a boy, but he became more diffident in his approaches. And in the very matter for which he found fault with Sacas before, namely that he would not admit him to his grandfather—he himself now became a Sacas unto himself; for he would not go in unless he saw that it was a proper time, and he asked Sacas by all means to let him know when it was convenient. And so Sacas now came to love him dearly, as did all the rest.

7. However, when Astyages realized that he was exceedingly eager to hunt out in the wilds, he let him go out with his uncle and he sent along some older men on horseback to look after him, to keep
XENOPHON

πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ τῶν ἄγριῶν τι φανείη θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κύρος τῶν ἐπομένων προθύμως ἐπινυθάνετο πολὺς οὐ χρή θηρίοις πελάξειν καὶ ποία χρή θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοῦς ἦδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν καὶ κάπροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ δὲ ἐλαφοὶ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οῖς καὶ οἱ ὅνοι οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς εἰσιν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τούτο, τὰς δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἦττον ἡ τὰ θηρία. πολλοὺς γὰρ ἦδη αὐτῶς τοῖς ἱπποῖς κατακρημνισθῆναι.

8. Καὶ ο Κύρος πάντα ταῦτα ἐμάνθησε ἀποθύμως. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἐλαφοὺς ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ἐὰν ἦκουσέν ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἀλλο ὅρων ἡ ὄπη ἔφευγε. καὶ πως διαπηδών αὐτῷ ο ἱππός πιπτεὶ εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικρῷ κάκεινον ἐξετραχήλεσεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινεν ο Κύρος μόλις πως, καὶ ο ἱππός ἔξανε. οὐ δ' εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἦλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἐλαφοῦ, καλὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡ ὑπερέχαρεν οί δὲ φύλακες προσελάσαντες ἐλοιδόρους αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον 1 εἰς οἶνον κίνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἔφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτὸν. ο οὖν Κύρος εἰστήκη καταβεβηκός, καὶ ἀκούσαν ταῦτα ἦματο. ὡς δ' ἦσθετο κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἔστερ ἐνθουσίων, καὶ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν κάπροι προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἔλαυνε καὶ διατείναμεν εὐστόχως 2 βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε τὸν κάπρον.

1 καὶ ἔλεγον bracketed by Cobet, Hug, Marchant.
2 εὐστόχως yR; εὐτυχῶς (successfully) xz.

50
him away from dangerous places and guard him against wild beasts, in case any should appear. Cyrus, therefore, eagerly inquired of those who attended him what animals one ought not to approach and what animals one might pursue without fear. And they told him that bears and boars and lions and leopards had killed many who came close to them, but that deer and gazelles and wild sheep and wild asses were harmless. And they said this also, that one must be on one's guard against dangerous places no less than against wild beasts; for many riders had been thrown over precipices, horses and all.

8. All these lessons Cyrus eagerly learned. But when he saw a deer spring out from under cover, he forgot everything that he had heard and gave chase, seeing nothing but the direction in which it was making. And somehow his horse in taking a leap fell upon its knees and almost threw him over its head. However, Cyrus managed, with some difficulty, to keep his seat, and his horse got up. And when he came to level ground, he threw his spear and brought down the deer—a fine, large quarry. And he, of course, was greatly delighted; but the guards rode up and scolded him and told him into what danger he had gone and declared that they would tell of him. Now Cyrus stood there, for he had dismounted, and was vexed at being spoken to in this way. But when he heard a halloo, he sprang upon his horse like one possessed and when he saw a boar rushing straight toward him, he rode to meet him and aiming well he struck the boar between the eyes and brought him down.
XENOPHON

9. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἦδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοι- 

doreῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὄρῳν. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ λοιδο-


ρομένου ὅμως ἐδεῖτο ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐλαβε, ταύτα ἐ


ᾶσαι εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ 


θείον εἶπεν φασιν, 'Αλλ' ἦν αἰσθηται ὅτι ἔδιωκες, 


οὐ σοὶ μόνον λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτι 


σε εἶνον. 


Καὶ ἦν βούληται, φάναι αὐτῶν, μαστιγωσάτω, 


ἐπειδὰν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σὺγε, ὃ τι βούλει, 


ἐφη, ὃ θείε, τιμωρησάμενου ταύτα ὅμως χάρισαι 


μοι. 


Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπεν, Ποίει 


ὅπως βούλειν σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεὺς 


εἶναι. 


10. Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰσκομίσας τὰ θηρία ἐδίδο 


υν τὸ πάππῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ταύτα θηρά-


σευν ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἐπεδείκνυν μὲν οὐ, 


κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματώμενα ὅπου φέτο τὸν πάππον 


ὀψεσθαι. ὁ δὲ 'Ἀστυάγης ἀρα εἶπεν, 'Αλλ', ὃ 


παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἔγνω ἡδέως ὅσα σὺ δίδως, οὐ 


μέντοι δέομαι γε τούτων οὐδενός, ὦστε σε κι


νδυνεύειν. 


Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, Εἰ τοῦν μὴ σὺ δέει, 


ἰκετεῦν, ὃ πάππε, ἐμοὶ δὸς αὐτά, ὅπως τοῖς 


ἠλικιωταῖς ἐγὼ διαδῶ. 


'Αλλ', ὃ παῖ, ἐφη ὃ 'Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταύτα 


λαβῶν διαδίδου ὅτι σὺ βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 


ὅπωσα ἐθέλεις. 


11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν ἐδίδου τε ἄρας τοῖς 


1 ὃ τι βούλει Hug, Marchant; εἰ βούλει MSS.; but yRC2 


have ὃ τι βούλει after τιμωρησάμενοι. 


2 ἄρα xzR, ἄρα y (accordingly).
9. This time, however, his uncle also reproved him, for he had witnessed his foolhardiness. But for all his scolding, Cyrus nevertheless asked his permission to carry home and present to his grandfather all the game that he had taken himself. And his uncle, they say, replied: "But if he finds out that you have been giving chase, he will chide not only you but me also for allowing you to do so."

"And if he choose," said Cyrus, "let him flog me, provided only I may give him the game. And you, uncle," said he, "may punish me in any way you please—only grant me this favour."

And finally Cyaxares said, though with reluctance: "Do as you wish; for now it looks as if it were you who are our king."

10. So Cyrus carried the animals in and gave them to his grandfather, saying that he had himself taken this game for him. As for the hunting spears, though he did not show them to him, he laid them down all blood-stained where he thought his grandfather would see them. And then Astyages said: "Well, my boy, I am glad to accept what you offer me; however, I do not need any of these things enough for you to risk your life for them."

"Well then, grandfather," said Cyrus, "if you do not need them, please give them to me, that I may divide them among my boy friends."

"All right, my boy," said Astyages, "take both this and of the rest of the game as much as you wish and give it to whom you will."

11. So Cyrus received it and took it away and
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΘΗ

παίσοι καὶ ἀμα ἔλεγεν, Ὅ παιδες, ὡς ἄρα ἔφλυαροῦμεν ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρωμεν’ ὅμοιον ἔμουγε δοκεὶ εἶναι οἶνοπερ εἰ τις δεδεμένα ζῷα θηρία. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν, ἔπειτα λεπτὰ καὶ ψωράλεα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χωλὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβῶν’ τὰ δ’ ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί καὶ λειμώσι θηρία ὡς μὲν καλά, ὡς δὲ μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λιπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαιοι ὠσπερ πτηναὶ ἦλοντο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ κάτροι ὠσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρείους ὁμόσε εφέροντο. ὅποτ᾽ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ ἀμαρτείν οἶνον τ’ ἦν αὐτῶν' καλλίω δὴ’, ἔφη, ἐμοιγε δοκεὶ καὶ τεθυκότα εἶναι ταύτα ἡ ζώντα ἑκείνα τὰ περιφκοδομημένα. ἂλλα ἀρα ἄν, ἔφη, ἀφεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν;

Καὶ ἰδίως γ’ ἄν, ἐφασαν, εἰ Ἀκτυάγης κελεύσῃ.

12. Καὶ ο Κύρος εἶπε, Τίς οὖν ἄν ἡμῖν Ἀκτυάγης μνησθείη;

Τίς γὰρ ἄν, ἐφασαν, σοῦ γε ἰκανώτερος πείσαι;

Ἀλλὰ μα τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ἔγω μὲν οὖκ οἶκ ὅστες ἄνθρωπος γεγένημαι οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδι τ’ εἰμι λέγειν ἔγωγε οὐδ’ ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ ἱσον ἐτὶ δύναμαι. ἢν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδίδω, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ παντάπασι βλάξ γες καὶ ἡλίθιος γένομαι παιδάριον δ’ ἄν δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι.

Καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς εἶπον, Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πράγμα, εἰ μηδ’ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄν τι δέη δυνήσει πράττειν,

1 τὸν Δία χξξΡ: τὴν Ἰπαν γ (the weakling swears by Hera).
2 δεινότατος Leonclavius, Edd.; δεινότατον MSS.
proceeded to distribute it among the boys, saying as he did so: "What tomfoolery it was, fellows, when we used to hunt the animals in the park. To me at least, it seems just like hunting animals that were tied up. For, in the first place, they were in a small space; besides, they were lean and mangy; and one of them was lame and another maimed. But the animals out on the mountains and the plains—how fine they looked, and large and sleek! And the deer leaped up skyward as if on wings, and the boars came charging at one, as they say brave men do in battle. And by reason of their bulk it was quite impossible to miss them. And to me at least," said he, "these seem really more beautiful, when dead, than those pent up creatures, when alive. But say," said he, "would not your fathers let you go out hunting, too?"

"Aye, and readily," they said, "if Astyages should give the word."

12. "Whom, then, could we find to speak about it to Astyages?" said Cyrus.

"Why," said they, "who would be better able to gain his consent than you yourself?"

"No, by Zeus," said he, "not I; I do not know what sort of fellow I have become; for I cannot speak to my grandfather or even look up at him any more, as I used to do. And if I keep on at this rate," said he, "I fear I shall become a mere dolt and ninny. But when I was a little fellow, I was thought ready enough to chatter."

"That's bad news you're giving us," answered the boys, "if you are not going to be able to act for us
XENOPHON

ἀλλ’ ἄλλων τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνάγκη ἔσται δείσθαι ἥμᾶς.

13. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἔδήχθη, καὶ συγῆ ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσῆλθεν, ἐπιβουλεύσας δὴ τὸν ἀλυπότατα εὐποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισῶν ὁν ἔδεοντο. ἦξατο οὖν ὁδε. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὦ πάππε, ἣν τις ἀποδρᾷ σε τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβῃς αὐτόν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσει;

Τί ἄλλο, ἐφη, ἥ δῆσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω;

* Ἡν δὲ αὐτόματος πάλιν ἔλθη, πῶς ποιήσεις;

Τι δὲ, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ μαστιγῶσας γε, ἵνα μὴ αὐθίς τοῦτο ποιή, ἐξ ἀρχής χρήσομαι;

"Ωρα ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, σοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι εἴη ὅτι μαστιγώσεις με, ὥς βουλεύομαι γε ὅτι σε ἀποδρῶ λαβῶν τοῦς ἡλικιώτατα ἐπὶ θηραν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἐφη, ἐποίησας προειπτῶν ἐνυδέον γάρ, ἐφη, ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίεν γάρ, ἐφη, εἰ ἐνεκα Κρεαίδων τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀποβουλοκῆσαιμι.

14. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐπείθετο μὲν καὶ ἐμενεν, ἀνιαρὸς δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς δὴν σιωπῆ διήγεν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἐγνω αὐτὸν λυποῦμενον ἵσχυρῶς, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ἐξάγει

1 ἐπὶ σὲ xz, Edd.; ἐπὶ σοι yRC (in your power).
2 ἐμεν F, Edd.; ἐμενεν all MSS. except F.
in case of need, and we shall have to ask somebody else to do your part."

13. And Cyrus was nettled at hearing this and went away without a word; and when he had summoned up his courage to make the venture, he went in, after he had laid his plans how he might with the least annoyance broach the subject to his grandfather and accomplish for himself and the other boys what they desired. Accordingly, he began as follows: "Tell me, grandfather," said he, "if one of your servants runs away and you catch him again, what will you do to him?"

"What else," said he, "but put him in chains and make him work?"

"But if he comes back again of his own accord, what will you do?"

"What," said he, "but flog him to prevent his doing it again, and then treat him as before?"

"It may be high time, then," said Cyrus, "for you to be making ready to flog me; for I am planning to run away from you and take my comrades out hunting."

"You have done well to tell me in advance," said Astyages; "for now," he went on, "I forbid you to stir from the palace. For it would be a nice thing, if, for the sake of a few morsels of meat, I should play the careless herdsman and lose my daughter her son."

14. When Cyrus heard this, he obeyed and stayed at home; he said nothing, but continued downcast and sulky. However, when Astyages saw that he was exceedingly disappointed, wishing to give him pleasure, he took him out to hunt; he had got the They have a great hunt
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

ἐπὶ θήραν, καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππες συναλίσας καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἰππάσιμα χωρία τὰ θηρία ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. καὶ βασιλέως δὴ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κύρος ἐμπλησθεὶς θηρῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὐκ εἰς κωλύειν, ἀλλ’ ἔφη, ὁ πάππος, ἢδέως μὲ θηρᾶν, ἀφεὶς τοὺς κατ’ ἐμὲ πάντας διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως ἐκαστὸς κράτιστα δύνατο.

15. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀφίησι, καὶ στὰς ἔθες τοῦ ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ φίλουκούντας καὶ διώκοντας καὶ ἀκουτίζοντας. καὶ Κύρῳ ἦδε τοῦ δυναμένῳ συγῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ’ ὁστερ σκύλακι θεινῷ ἀνακάλαζοντι, ὅποτε πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὁνομάστι ἐκαστὸν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν καταγελώντα αὐτὸν ὅρων ἡφραίνει, τὸν δὲ παίδα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα [αὐτὸν ἰσθάνειο] ὅποτε πορητοῖον φθονερῶς. τέλος δ’ οὖν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀπῆε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτις ἡσθῇ τῇ τοῦ θῆρα ἄλλε ὅποτε οἷον τ’ ἐξε ἐνεχείᾳ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς, Κύρου ἐνεκα.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλεῖστον χρόνον ὅτῳ διήγεν ὁ Κύρος, πάσιν ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἄγαθον τινος συναίτιος οὖν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός.2

16. Αμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἡ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτη γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ νῦν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησεν αὐτὸς θηρᾶσαι εἰς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀκοίην οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις

1 αὐτὸν ἰσθάνειο MSS.; bracketed by Herwerden, Edd.
2 οὐδενός zzR, Marchant; οὐδενὶ y, Gemoll.

58
boys together, and a large number of men both on foot and on horseback, and when he had driven the wild animals out into country where riding was practicable, he instituted a great hunt. And as he was present himself, he gave the royal command that no one should throw a spear before Cyrus had his fill of hunting. But Cyrus would not permit him to interfere, but said: "If you wish me to enjoy the hunt, grandfather, let all my comrades give chase and strive to outdo one another, and each do his very best."

15. Thereupon, Astyages gave his consent and from his position he watched them rushing in rivalry upon the beasts and vying eagerly with one another in giving chase and in throwing the spear. And he was pleased to see that Cyrus was unable to keep silence for delight, but, like a well-bred hound, gave tongue whenever he came near an animal and urged on each of his companions by name. And the king was delighted to see him laugh at one and praise another without the least bit of jealousy. At length, then, Astyages went home with a large amount of game; and he was so pleased with that chase, that thenceforth he always went out with Cyrus when it was possible, and he took along with him not only many others but, for Cyrus's sake, the boys as well.

Thus Cyrus passed most of his time, contriving some pleasure and good for all, but responsible for nothing unpleasant to any one.

16. But when Cyrus was about fifteen or sixteen years old, the son of the Assyrian king, on the eve of his marriage, desired in person to get the game for that occasion. Now, hearing that on the frontiers
XENOPHON

toίς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς Μήδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀθήρευτα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἑνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὅπως οὖν ἄσφαλῆς θηρών, ἱππέας τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστάς, οὕτως ἔμελλον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελάνες εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμά τε καὶ εὐήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὅποιο ἡν αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακή, ἑνταῦθα ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο, ὡς πρὸ τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ θηράσων.

17. Ὑδὴ δὲ ἐστέρας γενομένης ἡ διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακὴ ἐρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοῖς. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πολλῆς στρατιᾶ παρεῖναι· δύο γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν φυλακαί, πολλοὺς τέ αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζούς. ἐβουλεύσατο οὖν κράτιστον εἶναι λεημέτησαι εἰς τῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ λαμπρότερόν τι πον ἐποίησά του ἐργον τῆς θήρας καὶ ἰερείων ἑν τοῖς πολλὰ ἀφθονίαν ἐνόμιζε γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ πρὸς ἀναστάς ἤγε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέλεπεν ἀθρόους ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτῶς δὲ τοῖς ἱπποῖς προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μῆδων φρούρια, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχουν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἑνταῦθα κατέμειν, ὡς μὴ βοηθοῦσε οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μῆδων ἐπὶ τοὺς καταθέοντας, τοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ ἐνδείον ἄφηκε κατὰ φυλάξ ἀλλούς ἀλλοσ ἔκειν, καὶ ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλόμενους ὅτι τὰς ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλαύνειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπράττον. 18. σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυναγεῖ ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσίν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ 60
of Assyria and Media there was plenty of game that because of the war had not been hunted, he desired to go out thither. Accordingly, that he might hunt without danger, he took along a large force of cavalry and targeteers, who were to drive the game out of the thickets for him into country that was open and suitable for riding. And when he arrived where their frontier-forts and the garrison were, there he dined, planning to hunt early on the following day.

17. And now when evening had come, the relief-corps for the former garrison came from the city, both horse and foot. He thought, therefore, that he had a large army at hand; for the two garrisons were there together and he himself had come with a large force of cavalry and infantry. Accordingly, he decided that it was best to make a foray into the Median territory and he thought that thus the exploit of the hunt would appear more brilliant and that the number of animals captured would be immense. And so, rising early, he led his army out; the infantry he left together at the frontier, while he himself, riding up with the horse to the outposts of the Medes, took his stand there with most of his bravest men about him, to prevent the Median guards from coming to the rescue against those who were scouring the country; and he sent out the proper men in divisions, some in one direction, some in another, to scour the country, with orders to capture whatever they came upon and bring it to him.

So they were engaged in these operations. 18. But when word was brought to Astyages that there were enemies in the country, he himself sallied forth to
XENOPHON

αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ ὁσαύτως σὺν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ἵπποταις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐσήμαινε πάσιν ἐκβοηθεῖν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἠσυχίαν ἔχοντας, ἔστησαν καὶ οἱ Μήδαι.

Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὁ ὅρων ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πασοῦδι, ἐκβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἑνὸς, οὐποτε ὁμένους· οὕτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῖς ἐξοπλίσασθαι· μάλα δὲ καλὰ ἦν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ δ ὁ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπεπόιητο. οὕτω δὲ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσήλασε τῷ ἱππῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυνάγης ἔθαύμασε μὲν τίνος κελεύσαντος ἥκοι, ὅμως δὲ εἴπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν.

19. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ός εἴδε πολλοὺς ἱππέας αὐτίσιν, ἤρετο, Ἡ οὕτω, ἔφη, ὁ πάππε, πολέμοι εἰσιν, οὗ ἐφεστήκασι τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἡρέμα·
Πολέμοι μέντοι, ἔφη.
Ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες;
Κάκεινοι μέντοι.

Νὴ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὁ πάππε, ἀλλ' οὖν ποιηροὶ γε φανόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ ποιηρῶν ἱππαρίων ἀγούσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα· οὐκοῦν χρή ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

Ἀλλ' οὖς ὤρας, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, ὥσπερ τὸ στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ἔστηκε συντεταγμένος· οὗ ἦν ἔπ' 62
the frontier in person with his body-guard, and likewise his son with the knights that happened to be at hand marched out, while he gave directions to all the others also to come out to his assistance. But when they saw a large number of Assyrian troops drawn up and their cavalry standing still, the Medes also came to a halt.

When Cyrus saw the rest marching out with all speed, he put on his armour then for the first time and started out, too; this was an opportunity that he had thought would never come—so eager was he to don his arms; and the armour that his grandfather had had made to order for him was very beautiful and fitted him well. Thus equipped he rode up on his horse. And though Astyages wondered at whose order he had come, he nevertheless told the lad to come and stay by his side.

19. And when Cyrus saw many horsemen over against them, he asked: "Say, grandfather," said he, "are those men enemies who sit there quietly upon their horses?"

"Yes, indeed, they are," said he.

"Are those enemies, too," said Cyrus, "who are riding up and down?"

"Yes, they are enemies, too."

"Well then, by Zeus, grandfather," said he, "at any rate, they are a sorry looking lot on a sorry lot of nags who are raiding our belongings. Why, some of us ought to charge upon them."

"But don't you see, my son," said the king, "what a dense array of cavalry is standing there in
XENOPHON

εκείνους ἡμεῖς ἔλαυνομεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἡμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκείνοι] ἡμῖν δὲ οὗτῳ ἡ ἴσχυς πάρεστιν.
'Ἀλλ' ἂν σὺ μένης, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνῃς τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας, φοβήσονται οὗτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἁγοντες εὐθὺς ἀφήσουσι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἰδὼσι τινας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας.

20. Ταύτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐδοξέ τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει. καὶ ἄμα θαυμάζων ὡς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγγηγόρει, κελεύει τὸν νῦν λαβόντα τἄξιν ἓππεων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγοντας τὴν λείαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἥν ἐπὶ σὲ κινῶνται, ἐλῶ, ὡστε ἀναγκασθήσονται ὡμῖν προσέχειν τὸν νῦν.

Οὗτο δὲ οἱ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἰδεν ὀρμωμένους, ἔξορμᾶ, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἤγειτο ταχεῖος, καὶ οἱ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπτετο, καὶ οἱ άλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάξοντας οἱ λεηλατοῦντες, εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἐφευγον. 21. οἱ δ' ἄμφοι τὸν Κύρον ὑπετέμνοντο, καὶ οὗς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἔπαιον, πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κύρος, οἵονι δὲ παραλάξαντες αὐτῶν ἐφθασαν, κατοπιν τούτους ἔδιωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσαιαν, ἀλλ' ἤρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν.

'Ωσπερ δὲ κύων γενναῖος ἄπειρος ἀπροονήτως φέρεται πρὸς κάπροι, οὗτο καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφέρετο.

1 ἐκείνοι MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe; bracketed by Hug, Merchant; ἐγέρθης Gemoll.
2 ἐλῶ y, Edd.; ἐλάω xzR.
3 ἵππων F, Edd.; ἵππεων xzDR.

64
line? If we charge upon those over there, these in turn will cut us off; while as for us, the main body of our forces has not yet come."

"But if you stay here," said Cyrus, "and take up the reinforcements that are coming to join us, these fellows will be afraid and will not stir, while the raiders will drop their booty, just as soon as they see some of us charging on them."

20. It seemed to Astyages that there was some-thing in Cyrus's suggestion, when he said this. And while he wondered that the boy was so shrewd and wide-awake, he ordered his son to take a division of the cavalry and charge upon those who were carry-ing off the spoil. "And if," said he, "these others make a move against you, I will charge upon them, so that they will be forced to turn their attention to us."

So then Cyaxares took some of the most powerful horses and men and advanced. And when Cyrus saw them starting, he rushed off and soon took the lead, while Cyaxares followed after, and the rest also were not left behind. And when the foragers saw them approaching, they straightway let go their booty and took to flight. 21. But Cyrus and his followers tried to cut them off, and those whom they caught they at once struck down, Cyrus taking the lead; and they pursued hard after those who suc-ceeded in getting past, and they did not give up but took some of them prisoners.

As a well-bred but untrained hound rushes reck-lessly upon a boar, so Cyrus rushed on, with regard
μόνον ὅρων τὸ παίειν τὸν ἀλησκόμενον, ἀλλὰ δ’ οὐδὲν προνοῶν.

Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς ἑώραν πυνοῦντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προσκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὡς παυσο-
μένους τοῦ διώγμου, ἔτει σφᾶς ὰιοεῖν προορμη-
σαντας. 22. ὁ δὲ Κύρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἂνιεὶ, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς χαρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θείων ἐδίωκε καὶ ἵσχυρὰν τὴν φυγήν τοῖς πολεμίων κατέχον ἐποίει, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείτετο, ἵσως καὶ αἰσχυνόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ εἴποντο, προθυμότεροι ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄλκμιοι ὄντες.

'Ὁ δὲ Αστυάγης ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπρονοήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀθρόους τε καὶ τεταγμένους ὑπαντώντας, δείγας περὶ τοῦ νιῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου μὴ εἰς παρεσκευασμένους ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιεν τῷ, ἤγειτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.

23. Οἱ δ’ αὐτὶ πολέμιοι ὡς εἴδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινηθέντας, διατείναμεν οἱ μὲν τὰ παλτά οἱ δὲ τὰ τοξά, εἰστήκεσαν, ὡς αὐτὶ, ἔπειδη ἡ εἰς τόξευμα ἀφίκοντο; ἱστησόμενοι, ὁσπερ τὰ πλεί-
στα εἰσθέασιν ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσοῦτον, ὅπως ἐγγύτατα γένοντα, προσήλυσαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἥκροβολίζοντο πολλάκις μέχρι ἐστέρας. ἔτει δὲ ἑώρας τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους φυγῇ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς φερομένους, τοὺς δ’ ἀμφί τὸν Κύρον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ 'Αστυάγην σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις

1 ἂνιεὶ γ., Edd.; ἂνιεὶς xR.
2 ὡς αὖ, ἔπειδη Hug.; ὡς δ’ī, ἔπειδη Marchant, Gemoll; ὡς ἂν ἔπειδη yRC2; ἀλλ’ xR.
for nothing but to strike down every one he overtook and reckless of anything else.

The enemy, however, when they saw their comrades hard pressed, advanced their column in the hope that the Medes would give up the pursuit on seeing them push forward. 22. But none the more did Cyrus give over, but in his battle-joy he called to his uncle and continued the pursuit; and pressing on he put the enemy to headlong flight, and Cyaxares did not fail to follow, partly perhaps not to be shamed before his father; and the rest likewise followed, for under such circumstances they were more eager for the pursuit, even those who were not so very brave in the face of the enemy.

But when Astyages saw them pursuing recklessly and the enemy advancing in good order to meet them, he was afraid that something might happen to his son and Cyrus, if they fell in disorder upon the enemy in readiness for battle, and straightway he advanced upon the foe.

23. Now the enemy on their part, when they saw the Medes advance, halted, some with spears poised, others with bows drawn, expecting that the other side would also halt, as soon as they came within bow-shot, just as they were accustomed generally to do; for it was their habit to advance only so far against each other, when they came into closest quarters, and to skirmish with missiles, oftentimes till evening. But when they saw their comrades rushing in flight toward them, and Cyrus and his followers bearing down close upon them, and Astyages with his cavalry getting already within
XENOPHON

ἐντὸς γυγνόμενου ἦδη τοξεύματος, ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ
φεύγουσιν ὁμόθεν διώκοντας ἀνὰ κράτος.

"Ἡροῦν δὲ πολλοὺς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλισκομένους
ἐπαίων καὶ Ἰπποὺς καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας
κατέκαιων· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐστησαν πρὶν ¹ πρὸς
τοῖς πεζοῖς τῶν Ἀσσύρων ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα
μέντοι δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μεῖζων ὑπείη,
ἐπέσχον.

24. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀνήγεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαί-
ρων καὶ τῇ ἰπποκρατίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἔχων ὁ
τι χρὴ λέγειν, αἰτίων μὲν δυτα εἰδὼς τοῦ ἔργου,
μαυρόμενον δὲ γυγνώσκων τῇ τόλμῃ. καὶ γὰρ τὸτε
ἀπιώτων οἰκάδε μόνος τῶν ἀλλων ἐκείνος οὐδὲν
ἀλλο καὶ τοὺς πεπτωκότας περιελαύνων ἓθεατο, καὶ
μόλις αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τούτο ταχθέντες
προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγει, μάλα ἐπὶ προσήθησθαν
ποιούμενον τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὅτι ἔωρα τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον τοῦ πάππου ἡγρωμένον ἐπὶ τῇ θέα τῇ
αὐτοῦ.

25. Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μήδοις ταῦτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οἱ τε
ἀλλοι πάντες τὸν Κύρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον καὶ ἐν
λόγῳ καὶ ἐν φώνας, ὡς τῷ Ἀστυάγης καὶ πρόσθεν
tιμῶν αὐτὸν τότε ὑπερεξεπέπληκτο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ.
Καμπύλης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατὴρ ἤδετο μὲν πω-
θανόμενος ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἤκουσεν ἔργα ἀνδρὸς ἢδη
diaxheirizoménon toû Kúrou, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὅτως τὰ
eîn Pérsas eîpikôria eîpetelôi. καὶ ὁ Kúros dê
ἐνταῦθα λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπείνα χοῦλοτο, μὴ
ὁ πατὴρ τι ἅχθοιτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιτο. καὶ τῷ

¹ πρὶν Dindorf, Hug; πρὶν ἢ MSS., Gemoll, Marchant,
Breitenbach, et al.
bow-shot, they broke and fled with all their might from the Medes who followed hard after them.

The Medes caught up with many of them; and those whom they overtook they smote, both men and horses; and the fallen they slew. Nor did they stop, until they came up with the Assyrian infantry. Then, however, fearing lest some greater force might be lying in ambush, they came to a halt.

24. Then Astyages marched back, greatly rejoicing over the victory of his cavalry but not knowing what to say of Cyrus; for though he realized that his grandson was responsible for the outcome, yet he recognized also that he was frenzied with daring. And of this there was further evidence; for, as the rest made their way homeward, he did nothing but ride around alone and gloat upon the slain, and only with difficulty did those who were detailed to do so succeed in dragging him away and taking him to Astyages; and as he came, he set his escort well before him, for he saw that his grandfather’s face was angry because of his gloating upon them.

25. Such was his life in Media; and Cyrus was not only on the tongues of all the rest both in story and in song, but Astyages also, while he had esteemed him before, was now highly delighted with him. And Cambyses, Cyrus’s father, was pleased to learn this. But when he heard that Cyrus was already performing a man’s deeds, he summoned him home to complete the regular curriculum in Persia. And Cyrus also, we are told, said then that he wished to go home, in order that his father might not feel any displeasure nor the state be disposed to
Χενώφον

'Αστυάγει δὲ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποτέμπειν αὐτὸν.

’Ενθα δὴ ἔππους τε αὐτῷ δοῦς οὐς αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα συσκευάζας πολλὰ ἔσπευπε καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἁμα ἐλπίδας ἠχον μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα ἐσεθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ φίλους ὑφελεῖν καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἄνιαν. ἀπίωντα δὲ τὸν Κύρον προὔπεμπον ἀπαντες καὶ παιδε[καὶ ήλικες] 1 καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γέροντες ἐφ’ ἔππουν καὶ 'Αστυάγης αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὁντι' οὐ δα-κρύον ἀποστρέφεσθαι. 26. καὶ Κύρον δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις ἀποκρημῆσαι. πολλὰ δὲ δώρα διαδοθέν τάφηνας, τά δώρα λέγεται 'Αστυά-γει ἀπενεγκεῖν, 'Αστυάγην δὲ δεξάμενον Κύρω ἀποτέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀποτέμψαι εἰς Μήδους καὶ εἰπεῖν, Eug βούλει, ὁ πάππε, ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἴναι ὡς σὲ μὴ αἰσχυνόμενον, ἐα ἔχειν εἰ τῷ τι ἐγὼ δέδωκα. 'Αστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ποιῆσαι ὅστερ Κύρος ἐπέστειλεν.

27. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παιδικὸν λόγου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται, ὅτε Κύρος ἀπῆι καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ’ ἄλληλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας τῷ στῶματι ἀποτείμπεσθαι αὐτὸν νόμῳ Περσικῷ καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι: ἄνδρα δὲ τινὰ τῶν

1 [καὶ ήλικες] Hug; καὶ ήλικες Gemoll; καὶ παιδες Marchant.

70
criticise; and Astyages, too, thought it expedient to send him home.

So he let him go and not only gave him the horses that he desired to take, but he packed up many other things for him because of his love for him and also because he cherished high hopes that his grandson would be a man able both to help his friends and to give trouble to his enemies. And everybody, both boys and men, young and old, and Astyages himself, escorted him on horseback as he went, and they say that there was no one who turned back without tears. 26. And Cyrus also, it is said, departed very tearfully. And they say that he distributed as presents among his young friends many of the things that Astyages had given to him; and finally he took off the Median robe which he had on and gave it to one whom he loved very dearly. It is said, however, that those who received and accepted his presents carried them to Astyages, and Astyages received them and returned them to Cyrus; but Cyrus sent them back again to Media with this message: “If you wish me ever to come back to you again, grandfather, without having to be ashamed, permit those to whom I have given anything to keep it.” And when Astyages heard this, he did as Cyrus’s letter bade.

27. Now, if we may relate a sentimental story, we are told that when Cyrus was going away and they were taking leave of one another, his kinsmen bade him good-bye, after the Persian custom, with a kiss upon his lips. And that custom has survived, for so the Persians do even to this day. Now a certain
XENOPHON

Μήδον μάλα καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ὄντα ἐκπεπλῆχθαι πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, ἥνικα δὲ ἔωρα τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλούντας αὐτὸν, ὑπολευθῆναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ άλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελθεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἑμὲ μόνον οὐ γνώσκεις τῶν συγγενῶν, ὁ Κῦρε;

Τί δὲ, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, ἢ καί σὺ συγγενῆς εἰ; Μάλιστα, φάναι.

Ταῦτ’ ἄρα, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, καὶ ἐνεώρας 1 μοι πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε γνώσκειν τούτο ποιοῦντα. Προσελθεῖν γὰρ σοι, ἔφη, ἀεὶ βουλόμενος ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰσχυνόμην.

'Ἀλλ' οὖκ ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, συγγενῆ γε ὄντα· ἀμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλῆσαι αὐτὸν.

28. Καὶ τὸν Μήδον φιλήσειν ἐρέσθαι, Ἡ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις νόμος ἔστιν οὔτος συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν;

Μάλιστα, φάναι, ὅταν γε ἴδωσιν ἀλλήλους διὰ χρόνου ἢ ἀπίσσι ποι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

"Ωρα ἂν εἴῃ, ἔφη ὁ Μήδος, μάλα πάλιν σε φιλεῖν ἐμέ· ἀπέρχομαι γάρ, ὡς ὅρᾶς, ἦδη. Οὔτω καὶ τὸν Κύρον φιλήσαντα πάλιν ἀποψέμπειν καὶ ἀπίέναι. καὶ οὗτος τε οὔπω πολλῆν διηνύσθαι 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Μήδον ἦκειν πάλιν

1 ἐνεώρας y, Edd.; ἐνορᾶς xxR.
2 διηνύσθαι R, Edd.; διερύσθαι xz; διεληλύσθαι y.

72
Median gentleman, very noble, had for some considerable time been struck with Cyrus's beauty, and when he saw the boy's kinsmen kissing him, he hung back. But when the rest were gone, he came up to Cyrus and said: "Am I the only one of your kinsmen, Cyrus, whom you do not recognize as such?"

"What," said Cyrus, "do you mean to say that you, too, are a kinsman?"

"Certainly," said he.

"That is the reason, then, it seems," said Cyrus "why you used to stare at me; for if I am not mistaken, I have often noticed you doing so."

"Yes," said he, "for though I was always desirous of coming to you, by the gods I was too bashful."

"Well, you ought not to have been—at any rate, if you were my kinsman," said Cyrus; and at the same time he went up and kissed him.

28. And when he had been given the kiss, the Mede asked: "Really, is it a custom in Persia to kiss one's kinsfolk?"

"Certainly," said he; "at least, when they see one another after a time of separation, or when they part from one another."

"It may be time, then, for you to kiss me once again," said the Mede; "for, as you see, I am parting from you now."

And so Cyrus kissed him good-bye again and went on his way. But they had not yet gone far, when the Mede came back with his horse in a
XENOPHON

ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἰππῷ καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἰδόντα, Ἄλλῳ ἦ, φάναι, ἐπελάθων τι δὲν ἐβούλου ἐιπένν;
Μᾶ Δία, φάναι, ἄλλῳ ἦκω διὰ χρόνου.
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον εἰπεῖν, Νη Δί, ὡ σύγγενες, δὲν ὀλίγον γε.
Ποῖον ὀλίγον; εἰπεῖν τὸν Μήδον. οὐκ οἶσθα, φάναι, ὧ Κῦρε, ὅτι καὶ ὅσον σκαρδαμύττω χρόνον,
πάνυ πολύς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁρῶ σε τότε τοιοῦτον ὄντα;
Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον γελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν δακρύων καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἡθεῖν ἀπιόντα,
ὅτι παρέσται αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον χρόνου, ὡστε ὃρᾶν ἔξεσται κἂν βούληται ἀσκαρδαμυκτή.

V

1. Ὄ μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὔτως ἀπελθὼν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐνιαυτὸν λέγεται ἐν τοῖς παισίν ἔτι γενέσθαι. καὶ
tὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παιδεῖς ἐσκωπτον αὐτὸν ὡς ἡμυταθείν ἐν Μῆδοις μεμαθηκώς ἢκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
ἐσθλοντα αὐτὸν ἔωρων ὀσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδέως καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἰ ποτὲ ἐν ἐορτῇ εὐωχίᾳ γένοιτο,
ἐπεὶδιόντα μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέρους ἡσθάνοντο ἢ προσδεόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ
tάλλα κρατιστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἔωρων ἑαυτῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησεν αὐτῷ οἱ ἤλκες.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην ἦδη εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους, ἐν τούτοις αὐ ἐδόκει

74
lather. And when Cyrus saw him he said: "Why, how now? Did you forget something that you intended to say?"

"No, by Zeus," said he, "but I have come back after a time of separation."

"By Zeus, cousin," said Cyrus, "a pretty short time."

"Short, is it?" said the Mede; "don't you know, Cyrus," said he, "that even the time it takes me to wink seems an eternity to me, because during that time I do not see you, who are so handsome?"

Then Cyrus laughed through his tears and bade him go and be of good cheer, for in a little while he would come back to them, so that he might soon look at him—without winking, if he chose.

V

1. Now when Cyrus had returned, as before narrated, he is said to have spent one more year in the class of boys in Persia. And at first the boys were inclined to make fun of him, saying that he had come back after having learned to live a life of luxurious ease among the Medes. But when they saw him eating and drinking with no less relish than they themselves, and, if there ever was feasting at any celebration, freely giving away a part of his own share rather than asking for more; and when, in addition to this, they saw him surpassing them in other things as well, then again his comrades began to have proper respect for him.

And when he had passed through this discipline and had now entered the class of the youths, among these
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

κρατιστεύειν καὶ μελετῶν ἃ χρήν¹ καὶ καρτερῶν καὶ αἰδούμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς ἄρχοις.

2. Προἴοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδωις ἀποθυνῆσκε, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφός, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τὴν Μήδων.

'Ο δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας κατεστραμμένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φύλων πάμπολυ, ὑπήκοουν δὲ πεποιημένος τοῦ Ἀραβίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόους δὲ ἔχων Ἥη καὶ Τρκανίων, πολιορκῶν δὲ καὶ Βακτρίων, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μήδους ἀσθενεῖς ποιήσει, πάντων γε τῶν πέριξ ῥάδιως ἄρξει· ἵσχυρότατον γὰρ τῶν ἐνγυνός φύλων τούτο ἐδόκει εἰναι. 3. οὕτω δὲ ἰδιαπέμπει πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κρασιν τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καππαδοκῶν καὶ πρὸς Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πρὸς Παφλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ πρὸς Κάρας καὶ Κίλικας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλων τοὺς Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας, λέγον ὡς μεγάλα τ' εἰ ἐνα ἔθνη καὶ ἰσχυρά καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταύτο, καὶ ἐπιγαμίας ἀλλήλων πεποιημένων εἶνεν, καὶ κινδυνεύσοιεν, εἰ μή τε αὐτῶς φθάσας ἀσθενώσου, ἐπὶ ἐν ἐκαστον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἱόντες καταστρέψασθαι. οἱ μὲν δὲ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτους πειθόμενοι συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δώρους καὶ χρήματις ἀναπειθόμενοι· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαύτα ἦν αὐτῷ.

4. Κυαξάρης δὲ [ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς]² ἐπελ ἔσθανετο τὴν τ' ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν

¹ χρήν Zeune, Edd.; χρὴ MSS.
² ὁ . . . παῖς MSS., Dindorf; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach, et al.
in turn he had the reputation of being the best both in attending to duty and in endurance, in respect toward his elders and in obedience to the officers.

2. In the course of time Astyages died in Media, and Cyaxares, the son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus's mother, succeeded to the Median throne.

At that time the king of Assyria had subjugated all Syria, a very large nation, and had made the king of Arabia his vassal; he already had Hyrcania under his dominion and was closely besetting Bactria. So he thought that if he should break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain dominion over all the nations round about; for he considered the Medes the strongest of the neighbouring tribes. 3. Accordingly, he sent around to all those under his sway and to Croesus, the king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia; to both Phrygias, to Paphlagonia, India, Caria, and Cilicia; and to a certain extent also he misrepresented the Medes and Persians, for he said that they were great, powerful nations, that they had intermarried with each other, and were united in common interests, and that unless some one attacked them first and broke their power, they would be likely to make war upon each one of the nations singly and subjugate them. Some, then, entered into an alliance with him because they actually believed what he said; others, because they were bribed with gifts and money, for he had great wealth.

4. Now when Cyaxares heard of the plot and of the warlike preparations of the nations allied against Persians
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, αὐτὸς τε εὐθέως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντίπαρασκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἐπεμπε πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην τὸν τὴν ἄδελφην ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις. ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κύρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειράσθαι ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τινὰς πέμποι στρατιώτας τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κύρος διατετελεκὼς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἐτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ᾑν.

5. Οὕτω δὴ δεξαμενόν τοῦ Κύρου οἱ βουλευόντες γεραίτεροι αἴρονται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς εἰς Μήδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσελέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὁμοτίμων, τῶν δὲ διακοσίων ἐκάστῳ τέταρτος ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων· γύρωνται μὲν δὴ οὕτως χίλιων· τῶν δὲ αὐτῷ χιλίων τούτων ἐκάστῳ ἔταχαν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ σφενδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένοντο μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταί, μύριοι δὲ σφενδονήται· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι ὑπῆρχον· τοσάττη μὲν δὴ στρατιᾶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρεθ᾿ τάχιστα, ἥρξετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· καλλιεργούμενοι δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τοὺς διακόσιους· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσελισθοῦν καὶ οὕτως δὴ τοὺς τέταρτος ἔκαστοι, συνελέξευν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε·

7. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην¹ μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ' ἐκ παίδων ὀρῶν

¹ προσειλόμην yR, Hug; προσειλόμην xx, other Edd.
him, without delay he made what counter preparations he could himself and also sent to Persia both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king of Persia. And he sent word to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men, in case the Persian state should send any troops. For Cyrus had by this time completed his ten years among the youths also and was now in the class of mature men.

5. So Cyrus accepted the invitation, and the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition to Media. And they further permitted him to choose two hundred peers 1 to accompany him, and to each one of the two hundred peers in turn they gave authority to choose four more, these also from the peers. That made a thousand. And each one of the thousand in their turn they bade choose in addition from the common people of the Persians ten targeteers, ten slingers, and ten bowmen. That made ten thousand bowmen, ten thousand targeteers, and ten thousand slingers—not counting the original thousand. So large was the army given to Cyrus.

6. Now as soon as he was chosen, his first act was to consult the gods; and not till he had sacrificed and the omens were propitious, did he proceed to choose his two hundred men. And when these also had chosen each his four, he called them all together and then addressed them for the first time as follows:

7. "My friends, I have chosen you not because I now see your worth for the first time, but because

1 The "peers," or "equals-in-honour," were so called because they enjoyed equality of rights in matters of education, politics, and offices of honour and distinction. See Index, a.v.
8. 'Εγώ γὰρ κατενόησα ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι χείρονες μὲν ἡμῶν οὔδεν ἐγένοντο· ἀσκοῦντες γοῦν κάκεινοι διετέλεσαν ἀπερ ἔργα ἀρετῆς νομίζεται· ὁ τι μέντοι προσεκτήσαντες τοιούτοι όντες ἢ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν κοινῷ ἀγαθὸν ἢ αὐτοῖς, τούτῳ οὐκέτι δύναμαι ἰδεῖν. 9. καί τοι ἔγω οἷμαι οὐδεμιάν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖσθαι ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων όσο μηδὲν πλεῖον ἔχωσιν οἱ ἑσθολοι γενόμενοι τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ’ οἱ τῇ τῶν παρατίκα ήδονών ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ ἤνα μηδέποτε εὐφρανθῶσι, τούτῳ πράττοντοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἐπείτα χρόνον εὐφρανούμενοι οὕτω παρασκευάζονται· οἱ τῇ λέγειν προθυμούμενοι δεινὸς γενέσθαι οὐχ ἤνα εὐ λέγοντες μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τούτῳ μελετώσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐλπίζοντες τῷ λέγειν εὐ πείδοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ διαπράξεσθαι· οἱ τῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῦντες οὐχ ὡς μαχόμενοι μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τούτῳ ἐκπονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζουστε καὶ οὕτω τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι πολὺν μὲν ὀξύθουν, πολλὴν δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν, μεγάλας δὲ τιμὰς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πολει περιέργειν.

10. Εἰ δὲ τινὲς ταύτα ἐκπονήσαντες πρὶν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι περιέδον αὐτοῖς γῆρα ἀδυνάτους γενομένους, ὡμοιον ἐμοίγε δοκοῦσι

1 διαπράξεσθαι myg2R2, Edd.; διαπράξασθαί xyzR.
2 oἱ te a ò м y, Edd.; καὶ oἱ ταύτα xzR.
I have observed that from your boyhood on you have been zealously following out all that the state considers right and abstaining altogether from all that it regards as wrong. As for myself, I wish to make known to you why I have not hesitated to assume this office and why I have invited you to join me.

8. "I have come to realize that our forefathers were no whit worse than we. At any rate, they also spent their time in practising what are considered the works of virtue. However, what they gained by being what they were, either for the commonwealth of the Persians or for themselves, I can by no means discover. 9. And yet I think that no virtue is practised by men except with the aim that the good, by being such, may have something more than the bad; and I believe that those who abstain from present pleasures do this not that they may never enjoy themselves, but by this self-restraint they prepare themselves to have many times greater enjoyment in time to come. And those who are eager to become able speakers study oratory, not that they may never cease from speaking eloquently, but in the hope that by their eloquence they may persuade men and accomplish great good. And those also who practise military science undergo this labour, not that they may never cease from fighting, but because they think that by gaining proficiency in the arts of war they will secure great wealth and happiness and honour both for themselves and for their country.

10. "But when men go through all this toil and then allow themselves to become old and feeble before they reap any fruit of their labours, they
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

πεπονθέναι οίνον εἰ τις γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμηθεὶς γενέσθαι καὶ εὖ σπείρων καὶ εὖ φυτεύων, ὅποτε καρποῦσθαι ταῦτα δέοι, ἑώρῃ τὸν καρπὸν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἰ τίς γε ἀσκητὴς πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ ἀξιόνικος γενόμενος ἀναγωγός διατελέσειεν, οὐδὲ ἂν οὐτὸς μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀναίτιος εἶναι ἀφροσύνης. 11. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὁ άνδρες, μὴ πάθωμεν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ σύνυσμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ παῖδων ἀρξάμενοι ἀσκηται ὑντες τῶν καλῶν κάγαθον ἔργων, ἱππευμέν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ἰδιώτατα ὑντας ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πω οὗτοι ίκανοι εἰσών ἀγωνισταί, οἱ ἃν τοξεῦσαν καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι καὶ ἱππεύσωσι ἐπιστημόνως, ἢν δὲ που πονήσαι δέχῃ, τούτω λείπονται, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἰδιώται εἰσί κατὰ τοὺς πόνους. οὐδὲ γε οὕτως ἀγρυπνήσαι δέουν ἢττῶνται τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιώται κατὰ τὸν ὑπνον. οὐδὲ γε οἱ ταῦτα μὲν ίκανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὡς χρῆ καὶ συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι δήλου ὡς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπειρως ἔχουσιν.

12. Ἄμισαι δὲ νυκτί μὲν δὴπο οὐσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρα δύναισθ' ἀν 1 χρῆσθαι, πόνους δὲ τοῦ ἔνων ἡνεώς ἅγεμόνας νομίζετε, λιμῷ δὲ ὦσαπερ ὅφος διαχρῆσθε,( ὑδροποιοῦν δὲ βάρος τῶν λεόντων φέρετε) κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατον

1 δύναισθ' ἀν xzR, Edd.; δύνασθε m y (you can).
seem to me at least to be like a man who, anxious to become a good farmer, should sow and plant well but, when harvest-time came, should permit his crop to fall back again to the ground ungathered. And again, if an athlete after long training and after getting himself in condition to win a victory should then persist in refusing to compete, not even he, I ween, would rightly be considered guiltless of folly. 11. But, fellow-soldiers, let us not make this mistake; but, conscious that from our boyhood on we have practised what is good and honourable, let us go against the enemy, who, I am sure, are too untrained to contend against us. For those men are not yet valiant warriors, who, however skilful in the use of bow or spear and in horsemanship, are still found wanting if it is ever necessary to suffer hardship; such persons are mere tiros when it comes to hardships. Nor are those men valiant warriors, who are found wanting when it is necessary to keep awake; but these also are mere tiros in the face of sleep. Nor yet are those men valiant warriors, who have these qualifications but have not been taught how they ought to treat comrades and how to treat enemies, but it is evident that they also are unacquainted with the most important branches of education.

12. "Now you, I take it, could make use of the night just as others do of the day; and you consider toil the guide to a happy life; hunger you use regularly as a sauce, and you endure drinking plain water more readily than lions do, while you have stored up in your souls that best
κτήμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεκομισθεν ἐπανούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ χαίρετε. τούς δ’ ἐπαίνου ἐραστὰς ἀνάγκη ¹ διὰ τούτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κύνδυνον ἥδεως ὑποδύεσθαι.²

13. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ ύμῶν ἀλλὰ γι- γνώσκω, ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. ὃ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεται παρ’ υμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἦξει. ἄλλα πιστεύω τινὶ τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τῇ ὑμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοία καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμων ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσεις με ταύτας τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἑλπίδας. ἄλλα θαρροῦντες ὀρ- μόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν γεγένηται τὸ δόξαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἄδικως ἐφίεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἔρχονται μὲν οἱ πολέμοι ἀρχοῦντες ἄδικων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρονσι οἱ φίλοι· τί οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἀλέξασθαι δικαιότερον ἡ τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρήγειν κάλλιον;

14. Ἄλλα μὴν κάκεινο οἶμαι ύμᾶς θαρρεῖν, τὸ μὴ παρημεληκότα με τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξοδὸν ποιεῖ- σθαι· πολλὰ γὰρ μοι συνόντες ἐπίστασθε οὐ μόνον τὰ μεγάλα ἄλλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πειρόμενον αἰε ἀπὸ θεῶν ὀρμᾶσθαι.

Τέλος εἰπε, Τί δεῖ ἐπὶ λέγειν; ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ ἄλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ἴτε εἰς Μηδοὺς· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπανελ- θὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δὴ, ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς τάχιστα μαθῶν οἶα ἐστι παρασκευά-
of all possessions and the one most suitable to war: I mean, you enjoy praise more than anything else; and lovers of praise must for this reason gladly undergo every sort of hardship and every sort of danger.

13. "Now if I say this concerning you while I believe the contrary to be true, I deceive myself utterly. For if any of these qualities shall fail to be forthcoming in you, the loss will fall on me. But I feel confident, you see, both from my own experience and from your good-will toward me and from the ignorance of the enemy that these sanguine hopes will not deceive me. So let us set out with good heart, since we are free from the suspicion of even seeming to aim unjustly at other men's possessions. For, as it is, the enemy are coming, aggressors in wrong, and our friends are calling us to their assistance. What, then, is more justifiable than to defend oneself, or what more noble than to assist one's friends?

14. "This, moreover, will, I think, strengthen your confidence: I have not neglected the gods as we embark upon this expedition. For you have been with me enough to know that not only in great things but also in small I always try to begin with the approval of the gods.

"What more need I add?" he said in closing. "Choose you your men and get them together, and when you have made the necessary preparations come on to Media. As for myself, I will first return to my father and then go on ahead of you, to learn as soon as possible what the plans of the enemy are and to make what preparations I may require, in
'XENOPHON

ζωμαί δ' τι ἂν δέωμαι, ὡς ὡς κάλλιστα σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζόμεθα.
Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπραττοῦν.

VI

1. Κύρος δὲ ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε καὶ προσευξάμενος Ἑστία πατρόφα καὶ Διὸ πατρόφω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὀρμάτω ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, συμπρούπεμπτε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἔπει δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονταί ἀστραπαί καὶ βρονταί αὐτῷ αἰσιοὶ γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέρων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐτί οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἀν λύσαντα τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα. 2. προΐστρι δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ πατήρ ἠρχετο λόγου τοιοῦτος.

Ὁ παϊ, ὡς μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἔλεος τε καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπουσι σε καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς δήλον καὶ ἐν οὐρανίου σημείως: γιγνώσκεις δὲ καὶ αὐτός. ἔγω γὰρ σε ταῦτα ἐπίτηδες ἐδιδαξάμην, ὡς μὴ δὲ ἄλλων ἐρμηνεύω τὰς τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίας συνείης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καὶ ὅρων τὰ ὀρατὰ καὶ ἀκούων τὰ ἀκούσματα γιγνώσκεις καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μάντεσιν εἰς, εἰ βουλοιντὸ σε ἐξαπατᾶν ἐτερα λέγοντες ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σημαίνομενα, μηδ' αὖ, εἰ ποτὲ ἄρα ἀνευ μάντεως

1 ovdéna ἀν λύσαντα GR, Marchant, Breitenbach; ovdéna ἀν λήσαντα XAH (no one would fail to see); ovdéν ἄλλο αὐσαντα D (for ΑΤΣΑΝΤΑ); ovdéna λήσαντα Dindorf; ovdéna ἀγνοήσαντα Gemoll (no one would fail to understand).
2 συνείης Pantazides, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; συν(ε)ίης MSS., Dindorf, et al.

86
order that with God's help we may make as good a fight as possible."

They, for their part, proceeded to do as he had said.

VI

1. Now, when Cyrus had gone home and prayed to ancestral Hestia, ancestral Zeus, and the rest of the gods, he set out upon his expedition; and his father also joined in escorting him on his way. And when they were out of the house, it is said to have thundered and lightened with happy auspices for him; and when this manifestation had been made, they proceeded, without taking any further auspices, in the conviction that no one would make void the signs of the supreme god. 2. Then, as they went on, his father began to speak to Cyrus on this wise:

"My son, it is evident both from the sacrifices and from the signs from the skies that the gods are sending you forth with their grace and favour; and you yourself must recognize it, for I had you taught this art on purpose that you might not have to learn the counsels of the gods through others as interpreters, but that you yourself, both seeing what is to be seen and hearing what is to be heard, might understand; for I would not have you at the mercy of the soothsayers, in case they should wish to deceive you by saying other things than those revealed by the gods; and furthermore, if ever you should be without a soothsayer, I would not have you in doubt as to what to make of the divine
XENOPHON

gενοιο, ἀποροῖο θείοις σημείοις ὃ τι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ γνωστοῖς διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλευόμενα, τούτοις πεῖθοι.

3. Καί μὲν δέ, ὦ πάτερ, έφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς ἂν ὑλὲοι οἱ θεοὶ ὄντες ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν ἐθέλοσιν, ὅσον δύναμαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελῶ ἐπιμελόμενος. μέμηναι γάρ, έφη, ἄκούσας ποτὲ σοι ὅτι εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικώτερος εἶη ὃσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον ὡστις μὴ ὁπότε ἐν ἀπόροις εἶη, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ άριστα πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνημένοι καὶ τῶν φίλων ὑ' ἐφησθα θρῆναι ὥσαύτως οὕτως ἐπιμελεσθαί.

4. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, έφη, ὦ παῖ, διὰ γ' ἐκεῖνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ἦδον μὲν ἔρχει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεησόμενος, ἐλπίζεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεύξεσθαι ὅν ἄν δέη, ὅτι συνειδέναι σαντῷ δοκεῖς οὐπότι τ' ἀμελήσασις αὐτῶν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, έφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς πρὸς φίλους μοι ὄντας τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτω διάκειμαι.

5. Τὶ γάρ, έφη, ὦ παῖ, μέμησαι ἐκεῖνα ἀ ποτῇ ἐδόκει ὡμίων ὡς ἄπερ δεδώκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἄνθρωπος βέλτιον πράττειν ἢ ἀνεπιστήμονας αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ ἔργαζομένους μᾶλλον ἀνύτειν ἢ ἄργοντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους ἀσφαλέστερον διάγειν1 ἢ ἀφυλακτοῦντας, τούτων πέρι2 παρέχοντας οὖν τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς οἷον δεῖ, οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐδόκει δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τάγαθα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν;

6. Ναὶ μᾶ Δί', έφη ὁ Κύρος, μέμημαι μὲν-

---

1 [ἄν] διάγειν Stephanus, Edd.; ἂν διάγειν MSS.
2 πέρι Madvig, Hug; not in MSS.
revelations, but by your soothsayer's art I would have you understand the counsels of the gods and obey them."

3. "Aye, father," said Cyrus, "as you have taught me, I always try to take care, as far as I can, that the gods may be gracious unto us and willingly give us counsel; for I remember," said he, "having once heard you say that that man would be more likely to have power with the gods, even as with men, who did not fawn upon them when he was in adversity, but remembered the gods most of all when he was in the highest prosperity. And for one's friends also, you said, one ought always to show one's regard in precisely the same way."

4. "Well, my son," said he, "and owing to that very regard do you not come to the gods with a better heart to pray, and do you not expect more confidently to obtain what you pray for, because you feel conscious of never having neglected them?"

"Yes, indeed, father," said he; "I feel toward the gods as if they were my friends."

5. "To be sure," said his father; "and do you remember the conclusion which once we reached—that as people who know what the gods have granted fare better than those who do not; as people who work accomplish more than those who are idle; as people who are careful live more securely than those who are indifferent; so in this matter it seemed to us that those only who had made themselves what they ought to be had a right to ask for corresponding blessings from the gods?"

6. "Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "I do indeed
XENOPHON

τοι τοιαύτα ἀκούσας σου· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη με πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα ἢὲ ὃς οὐδὲ θέμις εἰὴ αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὔτε ἵππευειν μὴ μαθόντας ἱππομαχόντας νικᾶν, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους τοξεύειν τοξεύοντας κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπισταμένων, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους κυβερνᾶν σώζειν εὐχέσθαι νὰ τὰς κυβερνῶντας, οὐδὲ μὴ σπείροντάς γε σὺτον εὐχέσθαι καλὸν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν πολέμῳ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι· (παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν θεσμοὺς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα εἴναι· τοὺς δὲ ἅθεμα εὐχομένους ὁμοίως ἔφησθα εἰκὸς εἴναι παρὰ θεῶν ἅτυχεῖν ἀσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον ἀπρακτεῖν τοὺς παράνομα δεομένους.)

7. Ἐκείνων δὲ, ὡς τοῖς, ἐπελάθουν ἃ ποτε ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐλογιζόμεθα ὡς οἰκανῶν εἰὴ καὶ καλὸν ἄνδρὶ ἔργον, εἰ τις δύνατο ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἀν αὐτὸς τε καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δοκίμως γένοιτο καὶ τάπιτηδεῖα αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ οἰκέται οἰκανῶς ἔχοιεν; τὸ δὲ, τοῦτο μεγάλου ἔργου ὅντος, οὕτως ἐπιστάσσειν ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ προστατεύειν ὅπως ἔξυσι πάντα τάπιτηδεῖα ἐκπλεῖ καὶ ὅπως ἔσονται πάντες ὅπως δεῖ, τοῦτο θαυμαστῶν ἡπεῖν ἦμῖν ἔφανεν εἶναι.

8. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, μέμνημαι καὶ τούτῳ σου λέγοντος· συνεδόκει οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερμέγεθε εἶναι ἔργον τὸ καλῶς ἀρχεῖν καὶ νῦν γ', ἔφη, ταὐτά μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχεῖν σκοπῶν λογίζωμαι. ὅταν μὲντοι
remember hearing you say so, and all the more because I could not help but agree with what you said. For I know that you always used to say that those who had not learned to ride had no right to ask the gods to give them victory in a cavalry battle; and those who did not know how to shoot had no right to ask to excel in marksmanship those who did know how; and those who did not know how to steer had no right to pray that they might save ships by taking the helm; neither had those who did not sow at all any right to pray for a fine crop, nor those who were not watchful in war to ask for preservation; for all that is contrary to the ordinances of the gods. You said, moreover, that it was quite as likely that those who prayed for what was not right should fail of success with the gods as that those who asked for what was contrary to human law should be disappointed at the hands of men."

7. "But, my son, have you forgotten the discussion you and I once had—that it was a great task and one worthy of a man, to do the best he could not only to prove himself a truly good and noble man but also to provide a good living both for himself and his household? And while this was a great task, still, to understand how to govern other people so that they might have all the necessaries of life in abundance and might all become what they ought to be, this seemed to us worthy of all admiration."

8. "Yes, by Zeus, father," said he, "I do remember your saying this also; and I agreed with you, too, that it was an exceedingly difficult task to govern well; and now," said he, "I hold this same opinion still, when I consider the matter and think of the principles of governing. When I look at other people,
XENOPHON

γε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἴδων κατανοήσω ὦι δυτες διαγγέλλονται ἄρχοντες καὶ ὦι δυτες ἀντα-
γωνοῦσαι ἥμιν ἔσονται, πάνω μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτος αὐτοὺς ὑποτήξαι καὶ
μὴ ἔθελεν ἴναι αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνισμένοις· οὐς, ἕφη, ἐγὼ αἰσθάνομαι ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν
ἡμετέρων φίλων τοῦτων ἡγουμένως δεῖν τὸν ἄρ-
χοντα τῶν ἄρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ καὶ πολυ-
tελέστερον δειπνεῖν καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἐνδον χρυσίον
καὶ πλέονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ πάντα ἀπονώ-
tερον τῶν ἄρχομένων διάγειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι,
ἕφη, τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑ ἥφασιν ραδιομορφεῖν χρήματι
dιαφέρειν τῶν ἄρχομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν
καὶ φιλοπονεῖν. ¹

9. Ἀλλὰ τοι, ἕφη, ὡς παῖ, ἐκεῖ ἔστε ἡ ὦ
πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ
πράγματα, ἧν ὦ ῥάδιον εὐπόρος περιγενέσθαι,
αὐτίκα δήποτε οἰσθα ὅτι εἴ μη ἔξει τάπιτήδεα ἡ
στρατιά, καταλελύσεται ἔκ σο σὴν ἱρχή.

Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μὲν, ἕφη, ὡς πάτερ, Κυαξάρης
φησι παρέξειν τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἱοῦσι πᾶσιν ὅπωσι
ἀν ἄστι.

Τοῦτοις δὴ σύ, ἕφη, ὡς παῖ, πιστεύων ἔρχει
tοῖς παρὰ Κυαξάρου χρήμασιν; Ἡγωγ’, ἕφη ὦ Κύρος.

Τί δέ, ἕφη, οἰσθα ὅπωσα αὐτῷ ἔστι;
Μὰ τὸν Δί’, ἕφη ὀ Κύρος, οὐ μὲν δὴ.

¹ φιλοπονεῖν y, Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; φιλο-
πονεῖν προθυμομένον xz Ry², Dindorf.
² καταλελύσεται Cobet, Edd.; καταλύσεται MSS.
however, and observe what sort of men those are who, in spite of their character, continue to rule over them, and what sort of opponents we are going to have, it seems to me an utter disgrace to show any respect for such as they are and not to wish to go to fight them. To begin with our own friends here," he continued, "I observe that the Medes consider it necessary for the one who governs them to surpass the governed in greater sumptuousness of fare, in the possession of more money in his palace, in longer hours of sleep, and in a more luxurious manner of life, in every respect, than the governed. But I think," he added, "that the ruler ought to surpass those under his rule not in self-indulgence, but in taking forethought and willingly undergoing toil."

9. "But let me tell you, my boy," said the other, "there are some instances in which we must wrestle not against men but against actual facts, and it is not so easy to get the better of these without trouble. For instance, you doubtless know that if your army does not receive its rations, your authority will soon come to naught."

"Yes, father," said he; "but Cyaxares says that he will furnish supplies for all who come from here, however many they be."

"But, my son," said he, "do you mean to say that you are marching out trusting to the funds at the command of Cyaxares?"

"Yes, I do," said Cyrus.

"But say," said his father, "do you know how much he has?"

"No, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "I know nothing about it."
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΩΝ

"Ομως δὲ τούτους πιστεύεις τοῖς ἁδήλοις; ὡς δὲ πολλῶν μὲν σοι δεήσει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγκη δαπανᾶν ἐκεῖνον, οὗ γυνώσκεις; ¹

Γυνώσκω, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος.

Ἡν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπιλύπη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἢ καὶ ἐκὼν ψεύσηται, πῶς σοι ἔξει τὰ τῆς στρατιάς;

Δήλον διὶ οὐ καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἐνορᾶς τινὰ πόρον καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοὶ ἂν προσγενόμενον, ἔως ἔτι ἐν φιλίᾳ ἐσμέν, λέγε.

10. Ἐρωτάς, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ποῦ ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένειτο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἔστι πόρον γενέσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἕχοντος; σὺ δὲ πεζὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐνθέντε ἔχων ἐρχεῖ άνθ' ἔσ σοι ἄν δεξαίο, ἰππικὸν δὲ σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, τὸ Μήδων σύμμαχον ἔσται. ποῖον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑμῖν ὑπηρετήσει καὶ φοβούμενον μή τι πάθη; ἢ χρή σε κοινῆ σὺν Κυαξάρη σκοπεῖσθαι μῆποτε ἐπιλύπη τι ὑμᾶς δὲν δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ έθνους δὲ ἐνεκα μηχανάζεται προσόδου πόρον. τὸ δὲ πάντων μάλιστά μοι μέμνησο μηδέποτε ἀναμένειν τὸ πορίζεσθαι τάπιτηδεια ἐςτ' ἂν ἡ χρεία σε ἀναγκάζῃ. ἄλλ' ὅταν μάλιστα εὐπορῆς, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ. καὶ γὰρ τεῦξει

¹ ἐκεῖνον, οὗ γυνώσκεις Ἡ', Hug, Marchant, Breitenbach; αὐτὸν, οὗ γ., yΠ, Gemoll; ἐκεῖνο οὗ γ. xAGR, Dindorf.
"And do you nevertheless trust to these uncertainties? And do you not know that you will need many things and that he must now have many other expenses?"

"Yes," said Cyrus, "I do."

"Well, then," said he, "if his resources fail or if he play you false on purpose, how will your army fare?"

"Evidently not very well; but father," said he, "if you have in mind any means that I might find at my own command for obtaining supplies, tell me about it, while we are still in a friendly country."

10. "Do you ask me, my son," said he, "where you might yourself find means? Where might you better look to find the means of obtaining supplies than to the one who has an army? Now you are marching out from here with a force of infantry which you would not exchange, I am sure, for any other though many time as large; and you will have for cavalry to support you the Median horse, the best cavalry troops in the world. What nation, then, of those around do you suppose will refuse to serve you, both from the wish to do your side a favour, and for fear of suffering harm? And therefore in common with Cyaxares you should take care that you may never be without any of the things you need to have, and as a matter of habit, too, contrive some means of revenue. And above all I beg you to remember this: never postpone procuring supplies until want compels you to it; but when you have the greatest abundance, then take measures against want. And this is most expedient; for you will obtain more from those upon whom you
μᾶλλον παρ’ ὄν ἄν δέχῃ μὴ ἄπορος δοκῶν εἶναι, καὶ εἰτὶ ἀναίτιος ἔσει παρὰ τοῖς σαυτοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλλων αἴσθης τεύξει, καὶ ἂν τινὰς βουλή ἢ εὐ ποιήσαι τῇ δυνάμει ἢ κακῶς, μᾶλλον ἔως ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα οἱ στρατιώται ὑπηρετησοῦσι σοι, καὶ πειστικώτερος, σάφει ἵσθι, λόγους δυνῆσει τότε λέγειν ὑπάντηρ καὶ ἐνεκίκυνοθαί μᾶλιστα δύνη καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἴκανος ὄν καὶ κακῶς.

11. Ἄλλα, ἐφη, ὥσ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὅτι ὃν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι οἱ στρατιώται, οὔδεις αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἰςεῖται. Ἰσασί γὰρ ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτοὺς Κναξάρης ἔπαγεται 1 συμμάχους. ὁ τε ὁ ἄν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λαμβάνῃ τίς, ταῦτα καὶ τιμήν νομοῦσι καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκὸς εἰ-δέναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ’ ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ἔστι μὲν φίλους εὐ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι, ἐστὶ δὲ ἔχθρους [ἔχουντα] 2 πειρᾶσθαι ἥσασθαι, ἔπειτ’ ἀμελείν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι; οἷος τι, ἐφη, ἦττον τε τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρὸν ἢ εἰ τίς ἔχον μὲν ἄγροις, ἔχων δὲ ἐργάτας οἷς ἄν ἐργάζοντο, ἐπειτ’ ἐφη τὴν ἀργοῦσαν ἀνωφέλητον εἶναι; ὃς 3 γ’ ἐμοῦ, ἐφη, μηδέποτε ἀμελήσωτος τοῦ τάπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις συμμελέσθαι μῆτ’ ἐν φιλίᾳ μῆτ’ ἐν πολέμω σύνως ἔχε τῇ γυμνῇ.

1 ἔπαγεται Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἔγεται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.
3 ὧς MSS.; ὦς Edd., as if Cambyses spoke here.
make demands, if you do not seem to be in want, and besides you will thus be blameless in the eyes of your own soldiers; in this way, furthermore, you will command more respect from others also, and if you wish to do good or ill to any one with your forces, your soldiers will serve you better as long as they have what they need. And let me assure you that the words you say will have more more power to convince, when you can abundantly prove that you are in a position to do both good and ill.”

11. “Well, father,” said he, “it seems to me that you are right in all you say, both on other grounds and also because not one of my soldiers will be grateful to me for that which according to the agreement he is to receive; for they know on what terms Cyaxares is having them brought as his allies. But whatever any one receives in addition to what has been agreed upon, that he will consider as a reward, and he will probably be grateful to the giver. But for a man to have an army with which he may do good to his friends and get help in return and try to punish his enemies, and for him then to neglect to make due provision for it, do you think,” said he, “that this is in any way less disgraceful than for a man to have fields and labourers to work them and after all to let his land lie idle and unprofitable? But,” he added, “I, at any rate, shall not fail to provide supplies for my men, whether in a friendly or in a hostile land—you may be certain of that.”
12. Τί γάρ, ἔφη, οὖ παί, τῶν ἄλλων, ὃν ἐδόκει ποθ' ἢμιν ἀναγκαίον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἢ μέμνησαι;

Εὐ¹ γάρ, ἔφη, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἤλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοθῇ τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν μὲ πεταίδευκεναί, σὺ δὲ ἀμα διδοὺς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὡδὲ πως, Ἀρά γε, εἰπας, ὦ παί, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίας τί σου ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ ἀνήρ φ' τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μέντοι ἤττον οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δέονται ἢ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ οἰκέται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγων τάληθ' εἶπον ὅτι οὐδ' ὤτιον περὶ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν εἰ τί μοι ἤγειάς πέρι ἢ ρόμης ἔλεξεν, ὡς δεῖξον καὶ τούτων ὡσπερ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. 13. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὐτ' πάλιν εἰ τινὰς τέχνας ἐδίδαξεν, αἰ² τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται ³ ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιτο. ἀποφήσαντος δὲ μου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέκρινας αὐτ' σὺ καὶ τόδε εἰ τί καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν ὡς ἂν δυναίμην στρατιά προσβύναμεν ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πάν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προσβυμα ἀθυμία. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευον, ἠλεγχες αὐτ' σὺ εἰ τινὰ λόγων ποιήσατο διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανότο. 14. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πανταπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ καὶ ἐπήρου ὃ τι ποτὲ διδάσκοιν

---

¹ εὐ: Jacob, Hug, Gemoll; οὐ MSS.: Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach.
² αἰ: Pantazides, most Edd.; αἷς xz, Dindorf, et al.
³ κράτισται: Hertlein, most Edd.; κράτιστοι MSS., Dindorf, et al.
12. "Well then, my boy," said his father, "tell me, do you remember the other points which, we agreed, must not be neglected—eh?"

"Yes," said he, "I remember well when I came to you for money to pay to the man who professed to have taught me to be a general; and you, while you gave it me, asked a question something like this: 'Of course,' you said, 'the man to whom you are taking the pay has given you instruction in domestic economy as a part of the duties of a general, has he not? At any rate, the soldiers need provisions no whit less than the servants in your house.' And when I told you the truth and said that he had given me no instruction whatever in this subject, you asked me further whether he had said anything to me about health or strength, inasmuch as it would be requisite for the general to take thought for these matters as well as for the conduct of his campaign.

13. And when I said 'no' to this also, you asked me once more whether he had taught me any arts that would be the best helps in the business of war. And when I said 'no' to this as well, you put this further question, whether he had put me through any training so that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, adding that in every project enthusiasm or faintheartedness made all the difference in the world. And when I shook my head in response to this likewise, you questioned me again whether he had given me any lessons to teach me how best to secure obedience on the part of an army.

14. And when this also appeared not to have
στρατηγίαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. καγώ δή ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γελάσας διηλθὲς μοι παρατιθεῖσε ἐκαστὸν τί εἰη ὅφελος στρατιά τακτικῶν ἀνευ τῶν ἑπιτηδείων, τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ ἰγναίνειν, τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ ἑπιστασθαι τὰς ἡγουμένας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, . . . 1 τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ μοι καταφανείς ἐποίησας ὅτι μικρὸν τι μέρος εἰη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἑπερομένου μοι εἰ τι τοῦτων σὺ με διδάξαι ἰκανὸς εἰης, ἀπίστωτα ἐκ ἐκείνης τῶν στρατηγικῶν νομιζομένους ἀνθράκι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πυθέσθαι τῇ ἐκαστα τοῦτων γίγνεται. 15. ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ συνήτη ποῦ οὗ ἑγὼ, οὔς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ τοῦτων ἦκουν εἰναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἑπείσθην ἰκανὸν εἰναι ὑπάρχον ὅ τι Κυαξάρης ἐμελλε παρέξειν ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ἕγειρας, ἀκούων καὶ ὅρων ὅτι καὶ πόλεις αἱ χρῆζουσαι ἰγναίνειν ἰατρῶς αἴρονται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνεκεν ἰατρῶς ἐξάγουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἔπει ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦτω ἐγενόμην, εὐθὺς τοῦτον ἑπεμελήθην, καὶ οίμαι, ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, πάνυ ἰκανοὺς τῆν ἰατρικήν τέχνην ἐξειν μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἄνδρας.

16. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ἔπειν, Ἀλλ’, ὡ ταῖ, ἐφη, οὕτω μὲν ὦς λέγεις, ὡστερ ἰματίων βαγέντων εἰς τὶνας ἀκεσταί,2 οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, ὅταν τινὲς νοσήσωσιν, τότε ἴῶνται τοῦτος· σοὶ δὲ τοῦτον μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἔσται

1 A lacuna, from which something like τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ προθυμίαν ἐχειν is lost, Poppo, Gemoll, Marchant.
2 ἀκεσταί y, Photius, Cobet, Breitenbach, Gemoll, Marchant; ἡπταί xxR, Dindorf, et al.
been discussed at all, you finally asked me what in
the world he had been teaching me that he pro-
fessed to have been teaching me generalship. And
thereupon I answered, 'tactics.' And you laughed
and went through it all, explaining point by point,
as you asked of what conceivable use tactics could
be to an army, without provisions and health, and
of what use it could be without the knowledge
of the arts invented for warfare and without obedi-
ence. And when you had made it clear to me
that tactics was only a small part of generalship,
I asked you if you could teach me any of those
things, and you bade me go and talk with the
men who were reputed to be masters of military
science and find out how each one of those
problems was to be met. 15. Thereupon I joined
myself to those who I heard were most proficient
in those branches. And in regard to provisions—
I was persuaded that what Cyaxares was to furnish
us was enough if it should be forthcoming; and
in regard to health—as I had always heard and
observed that states that wished to be healthy
elected a board of health, and also that generals for
the sake of their soldiers took physicians out with
them, so also when I was appointed to this position,
I immediately took thought for this; and I think,"
he added, "that you will find that I have with me
men eminent in the medical profession."

16. "Yes, my son," said his father in reply to this,
"but just as there are menders of torn garments, so
also these physicians whom you mention heal us
when we fall sick. But your responsibility for
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἡ τῆς ὕγιειας ἐπιμέλεια· τὸ γὰρ ἁρχὴν μὴ κάμνειν
tὸ στράτευμα, τούτου σοι δεῖ μέλειν.
Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἔγυ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὅδὸν ἰὼν
tούτο πράττειν ἴκανός ἐσομαι;

Ἡν μὲν δὴπον χρόνον τινὰ μέλλησι ἐν τῷ
αὐτῷ μένειν, ὕγιεινον πρῶτον δεῖ στρατοπέδου
μὴ ἀμελήσαι· τούτου δὲ ὡς ἂν ἀμάρτως, ἐάντερ
μελήσῃ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγοντες οὔδεν παύονται
ἀνθρώποι περί τε τῶν νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περὶ
tῶν ὕγιειῶν· μάρτυρες δὲ σαφεῖς ἐκατέρως
αὐτῶν παράσταται τά τε σώματα καὶ τά
χρώματα. ἐπείτα δὲ οὐ τὰ χωρία μόνον ἀρκέσει
σκέψασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνήσθητι σὺ πῶς πειρά σαυτοῦ
ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὕγιαίνης.

17. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Πρῶτον μὲν νὴ Δία
πειράμαι μηδέποτε ὑπερτίμπλασθαι· δύσφορον
γὰρ· ἐπείτα δὲ ἐκπονώ τὰ εἰσίοντα· οὔτω γὰρ
μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε ὕγεια μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ
ἰσχὺς προσγενέσθαι.

Οὕτω τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεὶ
ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

Ἡ καὶ σχολή, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, ἐσται σωμα-
σκεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις;

Οὐ μᾶ Δί', ἔφη ὃ πατήρ, οὐ μὸνον γε, ἄλλα
καὶ ἀνάγκη. δεὶ γὰρ δὴπον στρατιάν, εἰ μέλλει
πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε παύσθαι ἡ τοῖς
πολεμίωσις κακὰ πορούνουσαν ἡ ἑαυτῆ ἁγαθά·
ὡς χαλεπῶν μὲν καὶ ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἄργον τρέ-
φεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι χαλεπῶτερον, ὃ παῖ, οἶκον
ὅλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπώτατον στρατιὰν ἄργον
τρέφειν. πλεῖστά τε γὰρ τὰ ἐσθίοντα ἐν στρατιᾷ
καὶ ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων ὄρμωμενα καὶ οἷς ἂν λάβῃ

102
health will be a larger one than that: you must see to it that your army does not get sick at all."

"And pray what course shall I take, father," said he, "that I may be able to accomplish that?"

"In the first place, if you are going to stay for some time in the same neighbourhood, you must not neglect to find a sanitary location for your camp; and with proper attention you can not fail in this. For people are continually talking about unhealthful localities and localities that are healthful; and you may find clear witnesses to either in the physique and complexion of the inhabitants; and in the second place, it is not enough to have regard to the localities only, but tell me what means you adopt to keep well yourself."

17. "In the first place, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "I try never to eat too much, for that is oppressive; and in the second place, I work off by exercise what I have eaten, for by so doing health seems more likely to endure and strength to accrue."

"That, then, my son," said he, "is the way in which you must take care of the rest also."

"Yes, father," said he; "but will the soldiers find leisure for taking physical exercise?"

"Nay, by Zeus," said his father, "they not only can, but they actually must. For if an army is to do its duty, it is absolutely necessary that it never cease to contrive both evil for the enemy and good for itself. What a burden it is to support even one idle man! It is more burdensome still to support a whole household in idleness; but the worst burden of all is to support an army in idleness. For not only are the mouths in an army very numerous but the supplies they start with are exceedingly limited,
δαψιλέστατα χρώμενα, ὥστε οὕποτε ἄργειν
dεήσει στρατιάν.
18. Λέγεις σύ, ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὥς ἔμοι δοκεῖ,
ὡσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργὸς ἄργον οὐδὲν ὄφελος, οὕτως
οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν ἄργοντος οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι.
Τὸν δὲ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγὸν ἐγώ, ἐφη,
ἀναδέχομαι, ἣν μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτῃ, ἀμα καὶ
tάπιτῆδεα μάλιστα ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας
ἀποδείξειν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀριστα ἔχοντας παρα-
sκεύασειν.
'Αλλὰ μέντοι, ἐφη, τὸ γε μελετᾶσθαι ἐκαστα
τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐργῶν, ἄγωνας ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ,
ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, προεπων ἐκάστως καὶ ἀθλα
προτιθείς μάλιστ' ἂν ποιεῖν εὐ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐκαστα,
ὡστε 1 ὅποτε δέοιτο ἔχειν ἂν ἱπαρσκευασμένοις
χρῆσθαι.
Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἐφη, ὡ παῖ τούτο γὰρ
ποιῆσας, σάφ' ἵσθι, ὡσπερ χροίς τὰς τάξεις ἡ
tὰ προσήκοντα μελετῶσας θέάσει.
19. 'Αλλὰ μὴν, ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, εἰς γε τὸ προ-
θυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώτας οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ
ἰκανώτερον εἶναι ἤ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν
ἀνθρώποις.
'Αλλ', ἐφη, ὡ παῖ, τούτῳ γε τοιοῦτῶν ἐστίν
οἶνοπερ εἰ τὶς κύνας ἐν θήρᾳ ἀνακαλοῦτο
ἀεὶ τῇ κλήσει ἢπερ ὅταν τὸ θήριον ὀρᾶ. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθύμως εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι ἔχει
ὑπακούσας. ἢν δὲ πολλάκις ψεῦδηται αὐτάς,
tελευτῶσαι οὖν ὅποταν ἄληθῶς ὀρῶν καλῇ
πεῖθονται αὐτῷ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων

1 ἐκαστα, ὡστε y, Dindorf, Gemoll, et al. ; ὡστε ἐκαστα xzR, Sauppe.

104
and they use up most extravagantly whatever they get, so that an army must never be left idle.”

18. “Methinks you mean, father,” said he, “that just as a lazy farmer is of no account, so also a lazy general is of no account at all.”

“But at any rate, as regards the energetic general,” said his father, “I can vouch for it that, unless some god do cross him, he will keep his soldiers abundantly supplied with provisions and at the same time in the best physical condition.”

“Yes,” said Cyrus; “but at all events, as to practice in the various warlike exercises, it seems to me, father, that by announcing contests in each one and offering prizes you would best secure practice in them, so that you would have everything prepared for use, whenever you might need it.”

“Quite right, my son,” said he; “for if you do that you may be sure that you will see your companies performing their proper parts like trained sets of dancers.”

19. “In the next place,” said Cyrus, “for putting enthusiasm into the soldiers nothing seems to be more effectual than the power of inspiring men with hopes.”

“Yes, my son,” said he; “but that is just as if any one on a hunt should always call up his dogs with the call that he uses when he sees the quarry. For at first, to be sure, he will find them obeying him eagerly; but if he deceives them often, in the end they will not obey him when he calls, even though he really does see a wild beast. So it stands with respect to those hopes also. If any one too
ΧΕΙ: ἵνα πολλάκις προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβαλῶν πρεύδηταί τις, οὖν ὅποταν ἀληθεῖς ἐλπίδας λέγη ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθεων δύναται. ἄλλα τὸν μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἢ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείη ἐγρηγορθοί δεῖ, ὃ παῖ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐνετοὶ 1 λέγοντες ταῦτ' ἂν διαπράττοιεν· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους δεῖ ὅσα μάλιστα ἐν πίστει διασώζειν.

'Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὃς πάτερ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ ὦτως ἤδιον. 20. τὸ γε μὴν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ὃ πάτερ· σὺ τὸ γάρ με εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαίδευες, σαντὶ πείθεσθαι ἀναγκάζον ἐπειτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπράττουν· ἔπει δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβων ἦμεν, ὃ ἀρχων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἱσχυρὸς ἐπεμέλετο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα δύο μάλιστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ τοίνυν κατανόον περὶ τοῦτων ἐν πάσιν ὃ ὅραν μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μάλιστα ὅν τὸ τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἀτιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ κολάζειν.

21. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸ ἀνώγηκη ἐπεσθαί αὐτῇ, ὃ παῖ, ἡ ὄδος ἐστὶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κρείττον τοῦτον πολὺ, τὸ ἑκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἄλλη ἐστὶ συντομωτέρα. Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἂν ἡγησονται περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐαυτοῖς φρονιμότερον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι, τοῦτο οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ ὑπερηφάνεως πείθονται. γνοῖς δ' ἂν ὅτι τοῦτό πολὺ ἐχει ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ

1 ἐνετοὶ Dindorf, most Edd.; ἐνετε xYG; αἴνεται AH; not in R.

196
often raises false expectations of good things to come, eventually he can gain no credence, even when he holds forth well-grounded hopes. But, my son, you should refrain from saying what you are not perfectly sure of; by making certain others your mouthpiece, however, the desired end may be accomplished; but faith in your own words of encouragement you must keep sacred to the utmost to serve you in the greatest crises.

"Yes, by Zeus, father," said Cyrus; "I think you are right in what you say, and I like your idea better. 20. And then in regard to keeping the soldiers in a state of obedience, I think, father, that I am not inexperienced in that direction; for you instructed me in obedience from my very childhood on, compelling me to obey you. Then you surrendered me to the charge of my teachers, and they pursued the same course; and when we were in the class of young men, the officer in charge paid especial attention to this same point; and most of the laws seem to me to teach these two things above all else, to govern and to be governed. And now, when I think of it, it seems to me that in all things the chief incentive to obedience lies in this: praise and honour for the obedient, punishment and dishonour for the disobedient."

21. "This, my son, is the road to compulsory obedience, indeed, but there is another road, a short cut, to what is much better—namely, to willing obedience. For people are only too glad to obey the man who they believe takes wiser thought for their interests than they themselves do. And you might recognize that this is so in many instances but particularly in the
καὶ ἐν τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ὡς προθύμως τοὺς ἑπιτάξοντας ὁ τι χρή ποιεῖν καλοῦσι: καὶ ἐν θαλάτῃ δὲ ὡς προθύμως τοὺς κυβερνήταις οἱ συμπλέοντες πείθονται καὶ οὐς γὰρ νομίσωσί τινες βέλτιον αὐτῶν ὅδοις εἰδέναι, ὡς ἵσχυρὸς τούτων οὐδ’ ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐθέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ οὖν ται πειθομενοι κακῶν τι λήψεσθαι, οὐτε ξημίας πάνυ τι ἔθελουσιν εἰκειν οὐτε δῶρος ἐπαιρεσθαι. οὖδὲ γὰρ δῶρα ἔπι τῷ αὐτοῦ κακῷ ἔκων οὖθελς λαμβάνει.

22. Λέγεις σύ, ὃ πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθομένους ἔχειν οὖθεν εἶναι ἀνυσιμώτερον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἁρχομένων.

Λέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη.

Καὶ πώς δὴ τις ἂν, ὃ πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν τάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύνατο;

Ὅυκ ἔστιν, ἐφη, ὃ παῖ, συντομωτέρα ὁδὸς ἔπι τό,1 περὶ ὅν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμος εἶναι ἢ τὸ γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ’ ἐν δέ ἐκαστον σκοπῶν γνώσει ὧτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω. ἤν γὰρ βούλῃ μὴ ὅν ἁγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἁγαθός, ἢ ἱππεύς ἢ ἰατρὸς ἢ αὐληθὴς ἢ ἅλλ’ ὅτι ἐννοεῖ τόσα σε δέοι ἂν μηχανάσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐνεκα. καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσας ἐπαινεῖν τέ σε πολλοὺς, ὅπως δόξαν λάβοις, καὶ κατασκευαζείς καλάς ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν κτήσαις, ἁρτὶ τε ἐξηπατηκῶς εἴης ἂν καὶ ὅλῳν υστερον, ὅπως πεῖραν δοίης, ἐξεληλεγμένος ἄν προσέτι καὶ ἀλαζῶν φαίνοι.
case of the sick: how readily they call in those who are to prescribe what they must do; and at sea how cheerfully the passengers obey the captain; and how earnestly travellers desire not to get separated from those who they think are better acquainted with the road than they are. But when people think that they are going to get into trouble if they obey, they will neither yield very much for punishment nor will they be moved by gifts; for no one willingly accepts even a gift at the cost of trouble to himself."

22. "You mean to say, father, that nothing is more effectual toward keeping one's men obedient than to seem to be wiser than they?"

"Yes," said he, "that is just what I mean."

"And how, pray, father, could one most quickly acquire such a reputation for oneself?"

"There is no shorter road, my son," said he, "than really to be wise in those things in which you wish to seem to be wise; and when you examine concrete instances, you will realize that what I say is true. For example, if you wish to seem to be a good farmer when you are not, or a good rider, doctor, flute-player, or anything else that you are not, just think how many schemes you must invent to keep up your pretensions. And even if you should persuade any number of people to praise you, in order to give yourself a reputation, and if you should procure a fine outfit for each of your professions, you would soon be found to have practised deception; and not long after, when you were giving an exhibition of your skill, you would be shown up and convicted, too, as an impostor."
XENOPHON

23. Φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοίσεων μέλλοντος πῶς ἢ τις τῇ ὀντι γένοιτο; 

Δήλων, ἔφη, ὥς παῖ, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἔστι μαθόντα εἰδέναι, μαθῶν ἄν, ὡσπερ τὰ τακτικὰ ἐμαθὲς. ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε μαθὴτα οὔτε προορατὰ ἀνθρωπὶς προοφά, διὰ μαντικῆς ἄν παρὰ θεῖον πυθανόμενος φρονιμῶτερος ἅλλων εἰσὶν; ὃ τι δὲ γνώσις βέλτιον ὃν πραξθήναι, ἐπιμελήμενος ἄν τούτον ὡς ἄν πραξθῇ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμέλεσθαι οὔ ἄν δέ φρονιμωτέρον ἄνδρος ἢ τὸ ἀμελεῖν. 

24. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόμενων, ὅπερ ἔμοιγε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δοκεῖ εἶναι, δήλων ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ὅδος ἦπερ εἶ τις ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων στέργεσθαι ἐπιθυμοῖ. εἶ γὰρ οἷμαι δεῖν ποιοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μέν, ἔφη, ὥς παῖ, χαλεπῶν τὸ ἀεὶ δύνασθαι εἰ ποιεῖν οἷς ἄν τις θέλῃ; τὸ δὲ συνηδόμενον τε φαίνεσθαι, ἢν τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνῃ, καὶ συναχθόμενον, ἢν τι κακὸν, καὶ συνεπικουρεῖν προθυμούμενον ταῖς ἄπορίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ φοβοῦμενον μῆ τι σφαλῶσι, καὶ προνοεῖν πειρώμενον ὡς μὴ σφάλλωνται, ταῦτα¹ πως δεῖ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν. 25. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων δὲ, ἢν μὲν ἐν θέρει ὡσι, τὸν ἀρχοντα δεῖ τοῦ ἡλίου πλεονεκτοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι; ἢν δὲ ἐν χειμῶν, τοῦ ψύχους; ἢν δὲ διὰ μόχθου,² τῶν

¹ ταῦτα Stobaeus, Edd.; ἐπὶ ταῦτα MSS.
² διὰ μόχθουν z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach; δὲν μοχθείν xyR, Gemoll.
23. "But how could one become really wise in foreseeing that which will prove to be useful?"

"Obviously, my son," said he, "by learning all that it is possible to acquire by learning, just as you learned tactics. But whatever it is not possible for man to learn, nor for human wisdom to foresee, that you may find out from the gods by the soothsayer's art, and thus prove yourself wiser than others; and if you know anything that it would be best to have done, you would show yourself wiser than others if you should exert yourself to get that done; for it is a mark of greater wisdom in a man to strive to secure what is needful than to neglect it."

24. "Yes; but as to the love of one's subjects—the way to win affection and this, it seems to me at least, is one of the most important questions—the same course that you would take if you wished to gain the affection of your friends leads also to that; that is, I think, you must show yourself to be their benefactor."

"Yes, my son," said he; "it is a difficult matter, however, always to be in a position to do good to whom you will; but to show that you rejoice with them if any good befall them, that you sympathize with them if any ill betide, that you are eager to help them in times of distress, that you are anxious that they be not crossed in any way, and that you try to prevent their being crossed; it is in these respects somehow that you ought rather to go hand in hand with them. 25. And in his campaigns also, if they fall in the summer time, the general must show that he can endure the heat of the sun better than his soldiers can, and that he can endure cold better than they if it be in winter; if the way lead through
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

πόνων· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ύπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συλλαμβάνει.

Δέγεις σὺ, ἐφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς καὶ καρπερώτερον δεῖ πρὸς πάντα τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι.

Δέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη. θάρρει μέντοι τοῦτο, ὦ παῖ· εὗ γὰρ ἦσθι ὅτι τῶν ὀμοίων σωμάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὐχ ὀμοίως ἀπτοῦται ἀρχοντὸς τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτου, ἀλλ’ ἐπικουφίζει τι ἡ τιμὴ τούς πόνους τῷ ἀρχοντὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ λαυθάνει ὃ τι ἄν ποιῇ.

26. Ὄποτε δέ, ὦ πάτερ, σοι ἡ ἡδὸν ἔχοιεν μὲν τάπτυθεια οἱ στρατιῶται, ὑμαῖνοιεν δέ, πονεῖν δὲ δύναντο, τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ἕσκηκότες εἴεν, φιλοτήμως δ’ ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἡδιόν εἴη τοῦ ἀπειθείαν, οὐκ ἀν τηνικάντα σωφρονεῖν ἃν τίς σοι δοκοίη διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὃς τάχιστα;

Ναι μὰ Δί’, ἐφη, εἰ μέλλοι γε πλείον ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔγωγ’ ἃν ὅσφ’ ὀλοίμην καὶ αὐτὸς βελτίων εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους βελτίωνας ἔχειν, τόσο δὲν μᾶλλον φυλαττοίμην, ὄσπερ καὶ τάλλα ἄν οἰομεθα πλείστου Ἴμων ἄξια εἶναι, ταῦτα πειρώμεθα ὡς ἐν ἐξυρωτάτῳ ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Πλείον δ’ ἐχεῖν, ὦ πάτερ, πολεμίων πὼς ἂν τίς δύνατο μάλιστα;

Οὐ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη, οὐκετε τοῦτο φαίλον, ὦ παῖ, οὐδ’ ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἐρωτᾶς· ἀλλ’ εὗ ἦσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιῆσειν καὶ ἐπίσβουλον εἶναι καὶ κρυψίνουν καὶ δολερῶν καὶ ἀπατεώνα

112
difficulties, that he can endure hardships better. All this contributes to his being loved by his men."

"You mean to say, father," said he, "that in everything the general must show more endurance than his men."

"Yes," said he, "that is just what I mean; however, never fear for that, my son; for bear in mind that the same toils do not affect the general and the private in the same way, though they have the same sort of bodies; but the honour of the general's position and the very consciousness that nothing he does escapes notice lighten the burdens for him."

26. "But, father, when once your soldiers had supplies and were well and able to endure toils, and when they were practised in the arts of war and ambitious to prove themselves brave, and when they were more inclined to obey than to disobey, under such circumstances do you not think it would be wise to desire to engage the enemy at the very first opportunity?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said he; "at any rate, if I expected to gain some advantage by it; otherwise, for my part, the better I thought myself to be and the better my followers, the more should I be on my guard, just as we try to keep other things also which we hold most precious in the greatest possible security."

27. "But, father, what would be the best way to gain an advantage over the enemy?"

"By Zeus," said he, "this is no easy or simple question that you ask now, my son; but, let me tell you, the man who proposes to do that must be designing and cunning, wily and deceitful, a thief"
καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ἅρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην τῶν πολεμίων.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ὡ Ἡράκλεις, οἶον σὺ λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ, δεῖν ἄνδρα με γενέσθαι.

Ὅταν οὖν ὁ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, δικαιότατος τε καὶ νομιμωτάτος ἀνήρ εἶτης.

28. Πῶς μὴν, ἔφη, παῖδας ὄντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔφηβους ταῦτα τούτων εὐδιδάσκετε;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ πολῖτας· ὅπως δὲ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύνασθε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐκ οἶσθα μανθάνοντας ἡμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας;

Οὐ δέχατα, ἔφη, ἐγνώρικα, ὦ πάτερ.

Τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, ἐμανθάνετε τοξεύειν; τίνος δὲ ἔνεκα ἀκουτίζειν; τίνος δὲ ἔνεκα δολοῦν ὡς ἄγριους καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ ὁρύγμασι; τί δὲ ἐλάφους ποδάγραις καὶ ἄρπεδώναις; τί δὲ λέουσι καὶ ἀρκτοῖς καὶ παρδάλεσιν οὐκ οἷς τὸ ἱσον καθιστάμενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονέξιας τινὸς αἰὲ ἐπειρᾶσθε ἄγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτά; ἢ οὐ πάντα γιγνώσκεις ταύτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀπάται καὶ δολώσεις καὶ πλεονέξια;

29. Ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, θηρίων γε ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἰ καὶ δοξαίμι βούλεσθαι ἐξαπατήσαί τινα, πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶδα λαμβάνων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οὐμαί, οὐδ' ἀκουτίζειν ἀνθρώπον ἐπετρέπομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν ἐδιδάσκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοῖτε

1 ἐν Hertlein, Edd.; not in MSS.
and a robber, overreaching the enemy at every point."

"O Heracles, father," said Cyrus with a laugh, "what a man you say I must become!"

"Such, my son," he said, "that you would be at the same time the most righteous and law-abiding man in the world."

28. "Why then, pray, did you use to teach us the opposite of this when we were boys and youths?"

"Aye, by Zeus," said he; "and so we would have you still towards your friends and fellow-citizens; but, that you might be able to hurt your enemies, do you not know that you all were learning many villainies?"

"No, indeed, father," said he; "not I, at any rate."

"Why," said he, "did you learn to shoot, and why to throw the spear? Why did you learn to ensnare wild boars with nets and pitfalls, and deer with traps and toils? And why were you not used to confront lions and bears and leopards in a fair fight face to face instead of always trying to contend against them with some advantage on your side? Why, do you not know that all this is villainy and deceit and trickery and taking unfair advantage?"

29. "Yes, by Zeus," said he, "toward wild animals however; but if I ever even seemed to wish to deceive a man, I know that I got a good beating for it."

"Yes," said he; "for, methinks, we did not permit you to shoot at people nor to throw your spear at them; but we taught you to shoot at a mark, in order that you might not for the time at
τοὺς φίλους, εἰ δὲ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύνασθε καὶ ἀνθρώπων στοχάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα μηδ’ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοιτε, εἰ δὲ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, μηδ’ τούτων ἀγυμναστοί εἴητε.

30. Οὐκοίν, ἔφη, ὡς πάτερ, εἰπὲ χρήσιμα ἐστιν ἀμφότερα ἐπιστασθαι, εὖ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἄνθρωποις, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἔδει ἐν ἁνθρώποις.

31. Ἀλλὰ λέγεται, ἔφη, ὡς παῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἄνηρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παιδῶν, ὃς ἔδιδασκεν ἄρα τοὺς παιδὰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὡσπερ σὺ κελευσὶ, μὴ γεύσεσθαι καὶ γεύσεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβάλλειν καὶ διαβάλλειν, καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διώριζε δὲ τούτων ἃ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέων καὶ ἃ πρὸς ἑχθροὺς. καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἔδιδασκεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς φίλους δίκαιον εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἀγαθόν, καὶ κλέπτειν τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἀγαθόν. 32. ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη καὶ γυμνάζειν ἦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς παιδὰς ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν πάλη φασὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας διδάσκειν ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ γυμνάζειν δὲ τοὺς παιδὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. γενόμενοι οὖν τινες οὕτως εὐφυεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖν οὖν ἀφυεῖς ὄντες, οὐκ ἀπεί.
least do harm to your friends, but, in case there should ever be a war, that you might be able to aim well at men also. And we instructed you likewise to deceive and to take advantage, not in the case of men but of beasts, in order that you might not injure your friends by so doing, but, if there should ever be a war, that you might not be unpractised in these arts."

30. "Well then, father," said he, "if indeed it is useful to understand both how to do good and how to do evil to men, we ought to have been taught both these branches in the case of men, too."

31. "Yes, my son," said he; "it is said that in the time of our forefathers there was once a teacher of the boys who, it seems, used to teach them justice in the very way that you propose; to lie and not to lie, to cheat and not to cheat, to slander and not to slander, to take and not to take unfair advantage. And he drew the line between what one should do to one's friends and what to one's enemies. And what is more, he used to teach this: that it was right to deceive friends even, provided it were for a good end, and to steal the possessions of a friend for a good purpose. 32. And in teaching these lessons he had also to train the boys to practise them upon one another, just as also in wrestling, the Greeks, they say, teach deception and train the boys to be able to practise it upon one another. When, therefore, some had in this way become expert both in deceiving successfully and in taking unfair advantage and perhaps also not inexpert in avarice, they did not
χοντών οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μὴ οὐ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι. 33. ἐγένετο οὖν ἐκ τούτων ῥήτρα, ἣ καὶ νῦν χρόμεθα ἔτι, ἀπλῶς διδάσκειν τοὺς παίδας ὡσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς διδάσκομεν ἀληθεύειν καὶ μὴ ἐξαιπταῖν καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰ δὲ παρά τῶντα ποιοῦν, κολάζειν, ὅπως σὺν ¹ τοιοῦτο ἔθει ἐθισθέντες προάτεροι πολίται γένοιτο. 34. ἔτει δὲ ἔχοιεν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἣδη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους νόμιμα ἔδοκει ἄσφαλες εἶναι διδάσκειν. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔτι ἐξενεχθῆναι δοκεῖτε πρὸς τὸ ἀγροῦ πολίται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰδεύσθαι ἀλλήλους συντεθραμμένοι ὡσπερ γε καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων οὐ διαλεγόμεθα ² πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν νέους, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῖς ῥαδιουργίας προσγενομένης ἀμέτρως αὐτῷ χρόνῳ οἱ νέοι.

35. Νὴ Δέ, ἔφη· ὥς τοῖνυν ὀψιμαθὴ ὡντα ἐμὲ τοῦτον τῶν πλεονεκτών, ὅ πατερ, μὴ φείδου εἰ τί ἔχεις διδάσκειν ὅπως πλεονεκτήσω ἐγὼ τῶν πολεμίων.

Μηχανῶ τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὅπως ἐστι δύναμις, τεταγμένοις τοῖς σαυτοῖς ἀτάκτους λαμβάνειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὁπλισμένοις ἀόπλους καὶ ἐγχηρορόποιοι ἐκσύνεις καὶ φανεροὶ σοι ὄντας ἀφανῆς αὐτῶς ὡν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐν δυσχώρια αὐτοῖς γνωριμένους ἐν ἐρυμυφί αὐτῶς ὁ ὑποδέξει.³

¹ σὺν MSS.; év Hug.
² διαλεγόμεθα MSS., Dindorf; διαλεγόμεθα Sauppe, Hug, Gemoll, et al.
³ ὑποδέξει MSS., Dindorf, most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug, et al.

118
refrain from trying to take an unfair advantage even of their friends. 33. In consequence of that, therefore, an ordinance was passed which obtains even unto this day, simply to teach our boys, just as we teach our servants in their relations toward us, to tell the truth and not to deceive and not to take unfair advantage; and if they should act contrary to this law, the law requires their punishment, in order that, inured to such habits, they may become more refined members of society. 34. But when they came to be as old as you are now, then it seemed to be safe to teach them that also which is lawful toward enemies; for it does not seem likely that you would break away and degenerate into savages after you had been brought up together in mutual respect. In the same way we do not discuss sexual matters in the presence of very young boys, lest in case lax discipline should give a free rein to their passions the young might indulge them to excess."

35. "True, by Zeus," said he; "but seeing that I am late in learning about this art of taking advantage of others, do not neglect to teach me, father, if you can, how I may take advantage of the enemy."

"Contrive, then," said he, "as far as is in your power, with your own men in good order to catch the enemy in disorder, with your own men armed to come upon them unarmed, and with your own men awake to surprise them sleeping, and then you will catch them in an unfavourable position while you yourself are in a strong position, when they are in sight to you and while you yourself are unseen."

119
36. Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, τις τοιαύτα, ὁ πάτερ, ἀμαρτάνοντας δύνατ’ ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους λαμβάνειν;

"Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, πολλὰ μὲν τοὺτων ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασχεῖν· συνοποιεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους, κοι- μᾶσθαι τε ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τάναγκαία σχεδὸν ἀμα πάντας δεῖ ἐσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὅποιαι ἂν ὁσι τοιαύταις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι. ὅ δε χρὴ σε πάντα κατανουντα, ἐν ὑ μὲν ἄν ὑμᾶς γηγόνοσχης ἀσθενεστάτους γιγνο- μένους, ἐν τούτῳ μᾶλστα φυλάττεσθαι· ἐν ό δʼ ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθάνη εὐχερωτοτάτους 1 γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μᾶλστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

37. Πότερον δε, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἐν τούτοις μόνον ἔστι πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισι;

Καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ· ἐν τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἱσχυρὰς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες ὅτι δέονται. οἱ δ’ ἐξαπα- τῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους δύνανται καὶ θαρρήσας ποιῆσαντες ἀφυλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξαι παράδοντες ἡευποτοῦς ἀτάκτους ποιῆσαι καὶ εἰς δυσχορίαν φυγὴ ὑπαγαγόντες ἐναιδῆ ἐπιτί- θεσθαι. 38. δεὶ δη, ἔφη, φιλομαθὴ σε τούτων ἀπάντων ὡς ὡς ὁς ἂν μάθῃ τοῦτοι μόνοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ποιῆτιν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μηχανημάτων, ὠσπέρ καὶ οἱ μοσικοὶ συκῆς ὁς ἂν μάθωσι τοῦτοι μόνον χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειρῶνται ποιεῖν. καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μοσικοῖς τὰ νέα 2

1 εὐχερωτοτάτουs Stephanus, Edd.; εὐχερω(οR)τάτουs MSS.
2 νέα zR, most Edd.; νέα μέλη x; μέλη y (sogba).
36. "And how, father," said he, "could one catch the enemy making such mistakes?"

"Why, my son," said he, "both you and the enemy must necessarily offer many such opportunities; for instance, you must both eat, and you must both sleep, and early in the morning you must almost all at the same time attend to the calls of nature, and you must make use of such roads as you find. All this you must observe, and you must be particularly watchful on the side where you know yourselves to be weaker, and you must attack the enemy above all in that quarter in which you see that they are most vulnerable."

37. "And is it possible to take advantage in these ways only," said Cyrus, "or in other ways also?"

"Aye, far more in other ways, my son," said he; "for in these particulars all men, as a rule, take strict precautions; for they know that they must. But those whose business it is to deceive the enemy can catch them off their guard by inspiring them with over-confidence; and, by offering them the opportunity of pursuit, can get them into disorder; and, by leading them on into unfavourable ground by pretended flight, can there turn and attack them.

38. However, my son," he continued, "since you are desirous of learning all these matters, you must not only utilize what you may learn from others, but you must yourself also be an inventor of stratagems against the enemy, just as musicians render not only those compositions which they have learned but try to compose others also that are new. Now if in
καὶ ἀνθρηὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καὶ ῥα μηχανήματα εὐδο-
κιμεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἔξαπατὰν δύναται τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.

39. Ἐἰ δὲ σὺ γε, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, μηδὲν ἄλλῳ ἢ μετενέγκοις ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπους τὰς μηχανὰς ἃς καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ τοὺς μικροὶς θηρίως ἐμηχαναὶ, σὺν οἴει ἃν, ἔφη, πρὸς ὅ παν ἐλάσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλεονεξίας; σὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶν ἀνιστάμενος ἐπορεύον νυκτός, καὶ πρὶν κυνεῖσθαι τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἐπεποίητο σοι αἱ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινμέ-

νον χωρίων ἐξείκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ ὀρνιθῆς δὲ ἐπεπαίδευτό σοι ὅστε σοι μὲν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν, τὰς δὲ ὁμοφύλους ὀρνιθὰς ἔξαπατὰν αὐτός δὲ ἐνήδρευες, ὅστε ὅραν μὲν αὐτὰς, μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἥσκηκες δὲ φθάνων ἐλκεῖν ἢ τὰ πτηνὰ φεύγειν. 40. πρὸς δ’ αὐ τὸν λαγὸ, ὅτι μὲν ἐν σκότει νέμεται, τὴν δ’ ἡμέραν ἀπο-
dιδράσκει, κύνας ἔτρεφες αὐ τῇ ὅσμῃ αὐτῶν ἀνηφρυσκον.1 ὅτι δὲ ταχὺ ἐφευγεῖν, ἐπεὶ εὐρεθεὶς, ἀλλὰς κύνας εἶχες ἐπιτετηδευμένας πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἱρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀποφῦγοι, τοὺς πόρους αὐτῶν ἔκμανθάνων καὶ πρὸς ολὰ χωρία

φεύγουσιν αἱροῦνται ἐν τῷ λαγῷ, ἐν τούτοις δίκτυα δυσόρατα ἐπετανύναι. ἄν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρῳ

φεύγειν αὐτὸς ἐκατόν ἐμπεσόν συνέδεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ μηδ’ ἐντεῦθεν διαφεύγειν σκοποῦς τοῦ γνυμομένου

1 ἀνηφρυσκον y, most Edd.; εὐρισκόν xzR, Sauppe.

2 πρὸς ... αἱροῦνται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [πρὸς] ... αἱροῦνται Hug (places which hares choose in their flight); πρὸς ... αἱ ὀρῶνται Gemoll; πρὸς ... ἀφικνοῦνται Marchant.
music that which is new and fresh wins applause, 
new stratagems in warfare also win far greater 
applause, for such can deceive the enemy even more 
successfully.

39. "And if you, my son," he went on, "should 
do nothing more than apply to your dealings with 
men the tricks that you used to practise so constantly 
in dealing with small game, do you not think that 
you would make a very considerable advance in the 
art of taking advantage of the enemy? For you 
used to get up in the coldest winter weather and go 
out before daylight to catch birds, and before the 
birds were astir you had your snares laid ready for 
them and the ground disturbed had been made 
exactly like the ground undisturbed; and your decoy 
birds had been so trained as to serve your purposes 
and to deceive the birds of the same species, while 
you yourself would lie in hiding so as to see them 
but not to be seen by them; and you had practised 
drawing your nets before the birds could escape. 

40. And again, to catch the hare—because he feeds 
in the night and hides in the daytime—you used 
to breed dogs that would find him out by the 
scent. And because he ran so fast, when he 
was found, you used to have other dogs trained 
to catch him by coursing. And in case he escaped 
even these, you used to find out the runs and the 
places where hares take refuge and may be caught, 
and there you would spread out your nets so as to be 
hardly visible, and the hare in his headlong flight 
would plunge into them and entangle himself. And 
lest he escape even from that, you used to station 
men to watch for what might happen and to pounce
καθιστης, οι εγνύθεν ταχυ εμελλων επιγενησεσθαι και αυτως μεν συ οπισθεν κραυγη ουδεν υπεριξουση του λαγω βοων εξεπληττες αυτων ωστε αφρωνα 1 αλησκεσθαι, τους δ' εμπροσθεν σιγαν διδαξας ενεδρευσας λαυθανεις εποιεις.

41. "Ωσπερ ουν προειπον, ει τοιαυτα θελησαις και επι τοις ανθρωποις μηχανασθαι, ουκ οιδ' έγωγε ει τινος λειποιο 2 αν των πολεμων. ην δε ποτε άρα ανάγκη γένηται και εν τι τοι δομεδεφ και εκ του εμφανους και οπλισμενοι αμφοτεροις μάχην συναπτειν, εν τω τοιουτω δη, ο παλ, αι εκ πολλου παρεσκευασμεναι πλεονεξαι μεγα δυνανται. τατας δε έγω λέγω ειναι, ην των στρατιωτων ευ μεν τα σώματα ήσηκημενα τη, ευ δε αι ψυχαι τεθηγμεναι, ευ δε αι πολεμικαι τεχναι μεμελετημεναι δωσιν. 42. ευ δε χρη και τοτο ειδεναι οτι οπόσους αν αξιοις σοι πεθεσθαι, και οκεινοι παντεις αξιωσοουι σε προ έαντων βουλευεσθαι. μηδετων ουν αφροντιστως εχε, αλλα της μεν νυκτος προσκοπετι τι σοι ποιησουσιν οι αρχομενοι, επειδον ημερα γενηται, της δ' ημερας οπως τα εις νυκτα κάλλιστα εξει. 43. οπως δε χρη ταττειν εις μάχην στρατιαν η οπως αγειν ημερας αυτος η στενας η πλατειας οδους η ορεινας η πεδινας, η οπως στρατοπεδευεσθαι, η οπως φυλακας νυκτερινας και ημερας καθισταναι, η οπως προσωγειν προς πολεμους η άπαγεiν απο πολεμους, η οπως παρα πολυν πολεμιαν

1 αφρων Hertlein, most Edd.; αφρ(αφθς)όνως MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 τινος λειποιο Hertlein, most Edd.; τινα λειτοις yR; τινας λειτοις z; τινα λειτοις ("leave any man alive") Dindorf.

124
upon him suddenly from a place near by. And you
yourself from behind shouting with a cry that kept
right up with the hare would frighten him so that
he would lose his wits and be taken; those in front,
on the other hand, you had instructed to keep silent
and made them lie concealed in ambush.

41. “As I said before, then, if you would employ
such schemes on men also, I am inclined to think that
you would not come short of any enemy in the world.
But if it is ever necessary—as it may well be—to
join battle in the open field, in plain sight, with both
armies in full array, why, in such a case, my son, the
advantages that have been long since secured are of
much avail; by that I mean, if your soldiers are
physically in good training, if their hearts are well
steeled and the arts of war well studied. 42. Besides,
you must remember well that all those from whom
you expect obedience to you will, on their part,
expect you to take thought for them. So never be
careless, but think out at night what your men are to
do for you when day comes, and in the daytime think
out how the arrangements for the night may best be
made. 43. But how you ought to draw up an army
in battle array, or how you ought to lead it by day or
by night, by narrow ways or broad, over mountains
or plains, or how you should pitch camp, or how
station your sentinels by night or by day, or how
you should advance against the enemy or retreat
before them, or how you should lead past a hostile
city, or how attack a fortification or withdraw from
XENOPHON

ἀγεῖν ἢ ὅπως πρὸς τεῖχος ἀγεῖν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὅπως νάπη ἢ ποταμοὺς διαβαίνειν, ἢ ὅπως ἰππικὸν φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἀκοντιστάς ἢ τοξότας, καὶ εἰ γε δὴ σοι κατὰ κέρας ἄγοντι οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφανεῖν, πῶς χρὴ ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἰ σοι ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγοντι ἄλλοθέν ποθεν οἱ πολέμοι φαίνοντο ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρὴ ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἂν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ ὅπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμοι ἦκιστα εἴδειν, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα¹ τί ἂν ἑγὼ λέγομι σοι; ὅσα τε γὰρ ἐγὼ γέγονεν, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας, ἄλλος τε ὅσις εἴδοκεν τι τούτων ἐπίστασθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὐδ' ἄδας γεγένησαι. δεὶ οὖν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἴμαι, τούτοις χρὴσθαι ὅποιον ἂν συμφέρειν σοι τούτων δοκῇ.

44. Μάθε δὲ μου καὶ τάδε, ὡς γαῦ, ἔφη, τὰ μέγιστὰ: παρὰ γὰρ ἴερὰ καὶ οἰωνοὶ μήτε σαυτῷ μηδέποτε μήτε στρατιὰ κινδυνεύσῃ, κατανοῶν ὡς ἀνθρώπων μὲν οἱροῦνται πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ἄπο πολίσι ἔσται αὐτῶν τάγαθα. 45. γνώρισθε δ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γιγανμένων πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἢδη πόλεις ἐπείσαν καὶ ταῦτα οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφῶτατοι εἶναι πόλεμον ἀρασθαὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὑφ' ὅν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ήξέβαζαν καὶ ἱδιώτας καὶ πόλεις ὑφ' ὅν αὐξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐπαθοῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱς ἔξερον φίλοις χρήσθαι καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν καὶ εὐ πᾶσχεν, τούτως δούλοις

¹ πάντα y, Edd.; not in xzR.
it, or how you should cross ravines or rivers, or how you should protect yourself against cavalry or spearmen or bowmen, and if the enemy should suddenly come in sight while you are leading on in column, how you should form and take your stand against them, and if they should come in sight from any other quarter than in front as you are marching in phalanx, how you should form and face them, or how any one might best find out the enemy’s plans or how the enemy might be least likely to learn his—why should I tell you all these things? For what I, for my part, know, you have often heard; and if any one else had a reputation for understanding anything of that kind, you never neglected to get information from him, nor have you been uninstructed. I think, then, that you should turn this knowledge to account according to circumstances, as each item of it may appear serviceable to you.

44. “Learn this lesson, too, from me, my son,” said he; “it is the most important thing of all: never go into any danger either to yourself or to your army contrary to the omens or the auspices, and bear in mind that men choose lines of action by conjecture and do not know in the least from which of them success will come. 45. But you may derive this lesson from the facts of history; for many, and men, too, who seemed most wise, have ere now persuaded states to take up arms against others, and the states thus persuaded to attack have been destroyed. And many have made many others great, both individuals and states; and when they have exalted them, they have suffered the most grievous wrongs at their hands. And many who
XENOPHON

μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἢ φίλοις χρήσθαι, ὅπ' αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἐδοσαν' πολλοῖς δ' οὖν ἤρκεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσι ξῆν ἥδεως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅν εἶχον ἀπέτυχον πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύευ-κτον πλοῦτον κατακτησάμενοι, διὰ τούτον ἀπώλοντο. 46. οὕτως ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδε τὸ ἀριστον αἱρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρού-μενος ὁ τι λάχοι τούτο τες πράττοι. θεοὶ δὲ, ὃ παῖ, ἄει ὄντες πάντα ἰσαί τὰ τε γεγενημένα καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ ὃ τι ἐξ ἐκάστοιν αὐτῶν ἀποβή-σεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν ὑλέφ ὤσι, προσημαίνουσι τε τε χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ὃ οὐ χρή. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάσιν ἐθέλουσι συμβου-λεύειν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὃν ἄν μὴ ἐθέλωσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι.
might have treated people as friends and done them favours and received favours from them, have received their just deserts from these very people because they preferred to treat them like slaves rather than as friends. Many, too, not satisfied to live contentedly in the enjoyment of their own proper share, have lost even that which they had, because they have desired to be lords of everything; and many, when they have gained the much coveted wealth, have been ruined by it. 46. So we see that mere human wisdom does not know how to choose what is best any more than if any one were to cast lots and do as the lot fell. But the gods, my son, the eternal gods, know all things, both what has been and what is and what shall come to pass as a result of each present or past event; and if men consult them, they reveal to those to whom they are propitious what they ought to do and what they ought not to do. But if they are not willing to give counsel to everybody, that is not surprising; for they are under no compulsion to care for any one unless they will.”
BOOK II

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY
1. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Περσίδος· ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀετὸς δεξίος φανεῖ προηγεῖτο, προσευξάμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἦρωσι τοῖς Περσίδικα γῆν κατέχουσιν ἱλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς, οὕτω διέβαινον τὰ ὅρια. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέβησαν, προσηύχοντο αὐθίς θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδίαις γῆν κατέχουσιν ἱλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ὠσπερ εἰκός, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπήει, Κύρος δὲ εἰς Μηδίους πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἐπορεύετο.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ὁ Κύρος εἰς Μηδίους πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην, πρὸτον μὲν ὠσπερ εἰκός ἑπτάσαντο ἀλλήλους, ἐπειτα δὲ ἥρετο τὸν Κύρον ὁ Κυαξάρης πόσον τι ἄγοι τὸ στράτευμα.

‘Ο δὲ ἔφη, Ἀλομυρίως 2 μὲν οἶοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφοίτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς μισθοφόροι· ἀλλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδέποτε ἐξελθόντων προσέρχοντα τῶν ὁμοτίμων.

Πόσοι τινες; ἔφη ο Κυαξάρης.

3. Οὐκ ἀν ὁ ἄριθμός σε, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον

1 Πέρσας x y, most Edd.; πῶλω z, Dindorf, Sauppe (to the capital).
2 τρισμυρίως Aldus, Edd.; δισμυρίως MSS.
BOOK II

I

1. In such conversation they arrived at the Persian frontier. And when an eagle appeared upon their right and flew on ahead of them, they prayed to the gods and heroes who watch over the land of Persia to conduct them on with grace and favour, and then proceeded to cross the frontier. And when they had crossed, they prayed again to the tutelary gods of the Median land to receive them with grace and favour; and when they had finished their devotions, they embraced one another, as was natural, and the father went back again to Persia, while Cyrus went on to Cyaxares in Media.

2. And when he arrived there, first they embraced one another, as was natural, and then Cyaxares asked Cyrus how large the army was that he was bringing.

"Thirty thousand," he answered, "of such as have come to you before as mercenaries; but others also, of the peers, who have never before left their country, are coming."

"About how many?" asked Cyaxares.

3. "The number," said Cyrus, "would give you no pleasure, if you were to hear it; but bear this in
XENOPHON

οτί ὀλίγοι ἄντες οὕτωι οἱ ὁμότιμοι καλούμενοι
pολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ἰδίως ἀρχοῦ-
σιν. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, δέει τι αὐτῶν ἡ μάτην ἐφοβή-
θης, οἱ δὲ πολέμωι οὐκ ἔρχονται;
Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη, καὶ πολλοὶ γε.
4. Πῶς τούτο σαφές;
"Οτι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἢκουντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον
τρόπον πάντες ταύτο λέγουσιν.
'Αγωνίστενοι μὲν ἄρα ἢμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας.
'Ανάγκη γάρ, ἔφη.
Τι οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
ἐλεξάς μοι, εἰ οἴσθα, τόση τις ή προσιοῦσα, καλ
πάλιν τὴν ἠμετέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφότερα πρὸς
ταύτα Βουλευόμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἀριστα ἀγωνιζό-
μεθα;
"Ακούε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. 5. Κροᾶσος μὲν
ὁ Λυδὸς ἂγειν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν ἰππέας,
pελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλεῖους ἢ τετρακιο-
μυρίους. 'Αρτακάμιαν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας
ἀρχοντα λέγουσιν ἰππέας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους
ἀγειν, λογχοφόρους δὲ σὺν πελταστάισ οὐ μεῖοις
τετρακισμυρίων, 'Αρίσταυον δὲ τὸν τῶν Καππα-
δοκῶν βασιλέα ἰππέας μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους, τοξότας
dὲ καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ μεῖοις τρισμυρίων, τὸν
'Αράβιον δὲ "Αραγόν ἰππέας τε εἰς μυρίους καὶ
ἀρματα εἰς ἐκατόν καὶ σφενδονητῶν πάμπολυ τι
χρήμα. τοὺς μέντοι "Ελληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
οἰκούντας οὐδὲν πω σαφές λέγεται εἰ ἐπονται.
τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ελλησπόντῳ συμ-
βαλέταν φασι Γάβαιδον ἐχοντα εἰς Καύστρου
Πεδίον ἐξακισχιλίους μὲν ἰππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ
134
mind, that though the so-called peers are few, they easily rule the rest of the Persians, many though they be. But," he added, "are you in any need of them, or was it a false alarm, and are the enemy not coming?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "they are coming and in great numbers, too."

4. "How is this so certain?"

"Because," said he, "many have come from there, and though one tells the story one way and another another, they all say the same thing."

"We shall have to fight those men, then?"

"Aye," said he; "we must of necessity."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "won't you please tell me, if you know, how great the forces are that are coming against us; and tell me of our own as well, so that with full information about both we may lay our plans accordingly, how best to enter the conflict."

"Listen then," said Cyaxares. 5. "Croesus, the king of Lydia, is said to be coming at the head of 10,000 horsemen and more than 40,000 peltasts and bowmen. And they say that Artacamas, the king of Greater Phrygia, is coming at the head of 8000 horse and not fewer than 40,000 lancers and peltasts; and Aribaeus, the king of Cappadocia, has 6000 horse and not fewer than 30,000 bowmen and peltasts; while the Arabian, Aragdus, has about 10,000 horsemen, about 100 chariots of war, and a great host of slingers. As for the Greeks who dwell in Asia, however, no definite information is as yet received whether they are in the coalition or not. But the contingent from Phrygia on the Hellespont, under Gabaedus, has arrived at Caystru-Pedium, it is said, to the number of 6000 horse and 10,000 peltasts."
eis μυρίους. Κάρας μέντοι καὶ Κίλικας καὶ Πα-
φλαγόνας παρακληθέντας οὐ φασίν ἐπεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
Ἀσσυρίως ὁ Βαβυλωνά τε ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
Ἀσσυρίαν ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι ἵππεας μὲν ἄξει οὕκ
ἐλάττως δισμυρίων, ἀρματα δὲ εὖ οἴδ' οὐ μεῖοι
διακοσίων, πεζοὺς δὲ οἴμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει
γοῦν ὅποτε δεῦρ' ἐμβάλλοι.
6. Σὺ, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, πολεμίους λέγεις ἵπ-
πέας μὲν ἔξακισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ
τοξότας πλεῖον ἢ εἰκοσι μυριάδας. ἂγε δὴ τῆς σῆς
dυνάμεως τί φῆς πλῆθος εἶναι;
Εἰσίν, ἐφη, Μήδων μὲν ἵππεῖς πλεῖους τῶν
μυρίων· πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γένουτ' ἀν πῶς
ἐκ1 τῆς ἤμετέρας κἀν ἔξακισμύριοι. Ἀρμενίων δ',
ἔφη, τῶν ὦμόρων ἡμῶν παρέσονται ἵππεῖς μὲν
τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμυρίοι.
Δέγεισι σὺ, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἵππεας μὲν ἡμῖν
eῖναι μείον ἢ τέταρτον ἡ μέρος τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων
ἵππικου, πεζοὺς δὲ αμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις.
7. Τί οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὀλίγους νομίζεις
Περσῶν εἶναι οὗς σὺ φῆς ἄγειν;
'Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος,
eἰτε καὶ μή, αὐθεσις συμβουλευόμεθα· τὴν δὲ
μάχην μοι, ἐφη, λέξων ἐκάστων ἥτις ἐστί·
Σχεδοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, πάντων ἡ αὐτὴ
τοξόται γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ οὐ τ' ἐκεῖνων καὶ
οἱ ἤμετεροι.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἄκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη
ἐστὶ τοιούτων γε τῶν ὀπλῶν ὄντων.
1 πως ἐκ Breitenbach, later Edd.; ὃς ἐπὶ MSS., except E, which omits ὃς.
2 τέταρτον Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; τρίτον ξξ, Dindorf (a third); τὸ τρίτον οὗ.
136
The Carians, however, and Cilicians and Paphlagonians, they say, have not joined the expedition, although they have been invited to do so. But the Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria, will bring, I think, not fewer than 20,000 horse and not fewer, I am sure, than 200 war-chariots, and a vast number of infantry, I suppose; at any rate, they used to have as many as that whenever they invaded our country."

6. "You mean to say," said Cyrus, "that the enemy have 60,000 horse and more than 200,000 peltasts and bowmen. And at how many, pray, do you estimate the number of your own forces?"

"There are," said he, "of the Medes more than 10,000 horse; and the peltasts and bowmen might be, from a country like ours, some 60,000; while from our neighbours, the Armenians, we shall get 4000 horse and 20,000 foot."

"That is to say," said Cyrus, "we have less than one-fourth as many horsemen as the enemy and about half as many foot-soldiers."

7. "Tell me, then," said Cyaxares, "do you not consider the Persian force small which you say you are bringing?"

"Yes," said Cyrus; "but we will consider later whether we need more men or not. Now tell me," he went on, "what each party's method of fighting is."

"About the same with all," said Cyaxares; "for there are bowmen and spearmen both on their side and on ours."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "as their arms are of that sort, we must fight at long range."
XENOPHON

8. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης.
Οὐκοίν ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἡ νῖκη; πολὺ γὰρ ἂν θάττον οἱ ὀλίγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τιτρωσκόμενοι ἀναλωθεῖσαν ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων.¹

Εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ Κυρῆς, τί ἄν ἄλλο τις κρείττον εὑροὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ εἰς Πέρσας, καὶ ἀμα μὲν διδάσκειν αὐτοῦς ὅτι εἰ τι πείσονται Ἔδοι, εἰς Πέρσας τὸ δείσων ἤξει, ἀμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλεῖον στράτευμα;

Ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κυρῆς, εὐ Ίσθι ὅτι, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντες ἐλθοὺν Πέρσας, πλῆθει οὐχ ὑπερβαλοῖμεθʼ ἄν τοὺς πολεμίους.

9. Τι μὴν ἄλλο ἐνορᾶς ἀμείνων τούτου;

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Κυρῆς, εἰ σὺ εἴην, ὡς τάχιστα ὅπλα ποιώμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις τοῖς προσκινοῦσιν οἵπερ ἠκούτως ἔρχονται παρ' ἦμῶν οἱ τῶν ὁμοτίμων καλούμενοι· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ θώραξ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρου δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν, κοπίζει δὲ ἡ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν· κἂν ταῦτα παρασκευάσῃς, ἢμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ όμοσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰέναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μέειν αἰρετῶτερον. τάττομεν δὲ, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας· οἱ γε μεντὰν αὐτῶν φεύγωσι, τούτοις ὡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ὑπτοίς νέμομεν, ὡς μὴ σχολάζωσι μήτε μέειν² μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

10. Κυρῆς μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξε· τῷ δὲ Κυαξάρη

¹ Οὐκοίν ... ὀλίγων erroneously given to Cyaxares by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.
² μέειν υ, most Edd.; φεύγειν χξ, Sauppe (to make their escape).
8. "Yes," said Cyaxares, "that will be necessary."
"In that case, then, the victory will be with the side that has the greater numbers; for the few would be wounded and killed off by the many sooner than the many by the few."
"If that is so, Cyrus, then what better plan could any one think of than to send to Persia to inform them that if anything happens to the Medes, the danger will extend to the Persians, and at the same time to ask for a larger army?"
"Why," said Cyrus, "let me assure you that even though all the Persians were to come, we should not surpass the enemy in point of numbers."
9. "What better plan do you see than this?"
"If I were you," said Cyrus, "I should as quickly as possible have armour made for all the Persians who are coming here just like that of the so-called peers who are coming from our country—that is, a corselet to wear about the breast, a small shield upon the left arm, and a scimitar or sabre in the right hand. And if you provide these weapons, you will make it the safest procedure for us to fight at close quarters with the enemy, while for the enemy flight will prove preferable to standing their ground. And it is for us," he continued, "to range ourselves against those who hold their ground, while those of them who run away we propose to leave to you and the cavalry, that they may have no chance to stand their ground or to turn back."
10. Thus Cyrus spoke. And to Cyaxares it seemed
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

εδοξέ τε εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πλείους μεταπέμπονται, παρασκευάζοντε δὲ ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα. καὶ σχεδὸν τε ἔτοιμα ἦν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ ὁμότιμοι παρῆσαν ἔχοντες τὸ ἀπὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

11. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος συναγαγὼν αὐτούς. Ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισμένους οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρασκευασμένους ὡς εἰς χεῖρας συμμίξοντας τοῖς πολέμιοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὑμῖν Πέρσας γιγαντικῶς οὕτως ἐισήλθοι εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῖς τινὶς καὶ ἔρημοι συμμάχων συμπίπτοντες πολεμίοις πολλοῖς πάθοιτε τι. νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, σώματα μὲν ἔχοντες ἀνδρῶν ἢ κάποιοι μὲν μεμπτάς ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὁμοία τοῖς ἡμετέροις. τὰς γε μέντοι ψυχὰς θήγειν αὐτῶν ἡμέτερου ἔργου. ἄρχοντος γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπὸ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἁγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἄλλα δὲι καὶ τῶν ἄρχομένων ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὦς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται.

12. Ὡ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν οἱ δὲ ἔστησαν μὲν πάντες, νομίζοντες μετὰ πλείονων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι. εἰς δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 13. Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἵσως δόξῃ λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλεύω τι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν μὲλλοντες συμμάχονται, ἀλλὰ γιγαντικῶς γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἰκανοτάτων καὶ εὑ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι οὕτως καὶ μάλιστα ἐνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκούοντων καὶ δόρα ἣν διδώσων οἱ τοιούτοι, καὶ μεῖο τυχάνη ὄντα ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅμως μείζονος αὐτὰ τιμῶνται οἱ λαμβάνοντες, καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται

140
that he spoke to the point; and he no longer talked
of sending for reinforcements, but he set about pro-
curing the arms as suggested. And they were
almost ready when the Persian peers came with the
army from Persia.

11. Thereupon Cyrus is said to have called the
peers together and said: "My friends: When I saw
you thus equipped and ready in heart to grapple with
the enemy in a hand-to-hand encounter, and when I
observed that those Persians who follow you are so
armed as to do their fighting standing as far off as
possible, I was afraid lest, few in number and unaccom-
panied by others to support you, you might fall in
with a large division of the enemy and come to some
harm. Now then," said he, "you have brought with
you men blameless in bodily strength; and they are
to have arms like ours; but to steel their hearts is
our task; for it is not the whole duty of an officer to
show himself valiant, but he must also take care that
his men be as valiant as possible."

12. Thus he spoke. And they were all delighted,
for they thought they were going into battle with
more to support them. And one of them also spoke
as follows: 13. "Now," he began, "it will perhaps
sound strange if I advise Cyrus to say something on
our behalf, when those who are to fight along with us
receive their arms. But I venture the suggestion,
for I know that when men have most power to do
both good and ill, then their words also are the most
likely to sink deep into the hearts of the hearers.
And if such persons give presents, even though the
gifts be of less worth than those given by equals,
still the recipients value them more highly. And
now," said he, "our Persian comrades will be more
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

υπὸ Κύρου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥσθησονται ἢ ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν παρακαλοῦμενοι, εἰς τοὺς ὁμοτίμους καθιστά-μενοι βεβαιοτέρως σφίσιν ἤγησονται ἐχεῖν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασιλέως τε παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ γενόμενον ἢ εἰ ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο. ἀπεῖνα μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὁ τι ἀν οὕτωι βελτίωνες γένονται.

14. Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καταθέεις τὰ ὁπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς Περσῶν στρατιώτας ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 15. Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐφυτε ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτράφητε, καὶ τὰ σώματά τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν χείρονα ἔχετε, ψυχάς τε οὐδὲν κακώνας ἡμῖν προσήκει ἡμῶν ἔχειν. τοιούτοι δ᾽ οἴντας ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι οὐ μετείχετε τῶν ἵσων ἡμῶν, οὐχ ὕφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπελαθέντες ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ τάπιτηδεια ἀνάγκην ἡμῖν εἶναι πορίζε-σθαι. νῦν δὲ ὡς μὲν ταῦτα ἔχετε ἐμοὶ μελήμερες σὺν τοῖς θεώσι: ἔξεστι δ᾽ ἡμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε, λαβόν-τας ὁπλα ολίτεροι οἱμεῖς ἐχομεν1 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κίνδυνον ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ τὴ ἐκ τοῦτων καλὸν κἀγαθὸν γίγνεται, τῶν ὁμοίων ἡμῖν ἀξιοῦσθαι.

16. Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν χρόνον ὑμεῖς τε τοξό-ται καὶ ἀκοντισταῖ τῇ τε καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ εἰ τὰ χείρους ἡμῶν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἴστε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν' οὐ γὰρ ἢν ἡμῖν σχολή ὁσπρη ἡμῖν τούτων ἐπιμέλεσθαι· ἐν δὲ ταῦτῃ τῇ ὁπλίσει οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς ἦμῶν προεξο-μεν. θώραξ μὲν γε περὶ τὰ στέρνα ἅρμοττων

1 After ἐχομεν ηζ and (in the margin) F add καὶ εἰ τὶ χείρονες ἡμῶν ἐστὶ (although you are somewhat inferior to us). 142
highly pleased to be exhorted by Cyrus than by us; and when they have taken their place among the peers they will feel that they hold this honour with more security because conferred by their prince and their general than if the same honour were bestowed by us. However, our co-operation must not be wanting, but in every way and by all means we must steel the hearts of our men. For the braver these men are, the more to our advantage it will be."

14. Accordingly, Cyrus had the arms brought in and arranged to view, and calling all the Persian soldiers together he spoke as follows: 15. "Fellow-citizens of Persia, you were born and bred upon the same soil as we; the bodies you have are no whit inferior to ours, and it is not likely that you have hearts in the least less brave than our own. In spite of this, in our own country you did not enjoy equal privileges with us, not because you were excluded from them by us, but because you were obliged to earn your own livelihood. Now, however, with the help of the gods, I shall see to it that you are provided with the necessaries of life; and you are permitted, if you wish, to receive arms like ours, to face the same danger as we, and, if any fair success crowns our enterprise, to be counted worthy of an equal share with us.

16. "Now, up to this time you have been bowmen and lancers, and so have we; and if you were not quite our equals in the use of these arms, there is nothing surprising about that; for you had not the leisure to practise with them that we had. But with this equipment we shall have no advantage over you. In any case, every man will have a corselet fitted to his
XENOPHON

ἐκάστῳ ἔσται, γέρρου δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ὁ πάντες εἰδίσμεθα φορεῖν, μάχαρα δὲ ἦ σάγαρις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ἢ δὴ παίειν τοὺς ἐναντίονς δεήσει οὐδὲν φυλαττομένους μὴ τι πάιοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. 17. τί οὖν ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἐτέροις ἐτέρου διαφέροι ήμῶν πλὴν τόλμη; ἢν οὔδεν ὑμῖν ἠττον προσήκει ή ἠττον ὑποτρέφεσθαι. νίκης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢ τὰ καλὰ πάντα καὶ τάγαθα κτᾶται τε καὶ σῶξει, τί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν προσήκει; κράτους τε, δὲ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἠττόνων τοῖς κρείττοσι δωρεῖται, τί εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δεῖσθαι;

18. Τέλος εἶπεν, Ἀκηκόατε πάντα· ὀρᾶτε τὰ ὅπλα· ὁ μὲν χρῆζων λαμβανέτω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπογραφέσθω πρὸς τὸν ταξιάρχαν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν τάξιν ἡμῖν· ὅτε δὲ ἀρκεῖ ἐν μυσθοφόρον χώρα εἶναι, καταμεμενέτω ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ὅπλοις.

'Ο μὲν οὔτως εἶπεν. 19. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐνόμισαν, εἰ παρακαλούμενοι ὅστε τὰ ὁμοιὰ πονοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν τυχόναι μὴ ἐθελήσουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δικαίως ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμηχανοῦντες βιοτεύεις. οὔτω δὴ ἀπογράφονται πάντες ἀνέλαβόν τε τὰ ὅπλα πάντες.

20. Ἐν γὰρ δὲ οἱ πολέμοι ἔληγοντο μὲν προσίεναι, παρῆσαν δὲ οὔδέπω, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κύρος ἀσκειν μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν μεθ' ἕαυτοῦ εἰς ἱσχύν, διδάσκειν δὲ τὰ τακτικά, θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά. 21. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λαβὼν παρὰ Κυνάξαρον ὑπηρέτας προσέταξεν

144
breast, upon his left arm a shield, such as we have all been accustomed to carry, and in his right hand a sabre or scimitar with which, you see, we must strike those opposed to us at such close range that we need not fear to miss our aim when we strike. 17. In this armour, then, how could any one of us have the advantage over another except in courage? And this it is proper for you to cherish in your hearts no less than we. For why is it more proper for us than for you to desire victory, which gains and keeps safe all things beautiful and all things good? And what reason is there that we, any more than you, should desire that superiority in arms which gives to the victors all the belongings of the vanquished?

18. "You have heard all," he said in conclusion. "You see your arms; whosoever will, let him take them and have his name enrolled with the captain in the same companies with us. But whosoever is satisfied to be in the position of a mercenary, let him remain in the armour of the hired soldiery."

Thus he spoke. 19. And when the Persians heard it, they thought that if they were unwilling to accept, when invited to share the same toils and enjoy the same rewards, they should deserve to live in want through all time. And so they were all enrolled and all took up the arms.

20. And while the enemy were said to be approaching but had not yet come, Cyrus tried to develop the physical strength of his men, to teach them tactics, and to steel their hearts for war. 21. And first of all he received quartermasters from Cyaxares and commanded them to furnish ready made...
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

έκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἴκανόνς ἡ ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασκεύασαν τοῦτο δὲ παρα-
σκευάσας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλεοῦσε ἢ ἀσκείν τὰ ἀμφί τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνο δοκῶν καταμεμαθη-
κέναι ὦτι οὕτω κράτιστοι ἔκαστα γίγνονται οἴ
ἀν ἀφέμενοι τοῦ πολλοίς προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν
ἐπὶ ἐν ἔργον τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν
πολεμικῶν περιελὼν καὶ τὸ τόξῳ μελητᾶν καὶ
ἀκοντίων κατέλυπε τοῦτο μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν
μαχαίρα καὶ γέρρῳ καὶ θώρακι μάχεσθαι· ὡστε
εὑρίσκων αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε τὰς γρώμας ὧς ὡμός
ἐτέον εἰς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡ μολόσυνον μηδενὸς
εἶναι ἄξιοις συμμάχους· τοῦτο δὲ χαλεπών ὑμβο-
λογήσαι οὐτίνες ἢν εἰδώσων ὡτι οὐδὲ δι’ ἐν
ἀλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅποις μαχοῦνται ἦπερ τῶν
τρεφόντων.

22. "Ετι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοῆσας ὦτι περὶ
ὀπόσων ἢν ἐγγέννωται ἀνθρώποις φιλονικίαι; ὲ
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταῦτ’ ἀσκείν, ἀγώνιας τε
αὐτοῖς προείπεν ἀπάντων ὡπόσα ἐγίγνοσκεν
ἀσκείσθαι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ
προείπε τάδε, ἴδιώτη μὲν ἦαυτὸν παρέχειν εὑρείθῃ
τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἔθελοπον καὶ φιλοκαίνουν
μετ’ ἐνταξίας καί ἐπιστήμων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν
καὶ φιλόκαλον περὶ ὅπλα καὶ φιλότυμον ἐπὶ πάσι
τοῖς τοιούτοις, πεμπαδάρχῳ δ’ αὐτὸν ὄντων ὁλόντερ
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἴδιώτην καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ
δυνάτον τοιαύτην παρέχειν, δεκαδάρχῳ δὲ τὴν
dekáda ὁσαύτως, λοχαγῷ δὲ τῶν λόχων, καὶ

1 ἴκανόν Castalio, Edd.; ἴκανος MSS.
2 ἐγγέννωται ... φιλονικίαι Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; ἐγέν-
νηται ... φιλονεικία y; γένωνται ... φιλονεικίαι zz, Dindorf.

146
for each of the soldiers a liberal supply of everything that he needed. And when he had provided for this, he had left them nothing to do but to practise the arts of war, for he thought he had observed that those became best in any given thing who gave up paying attention to many things and devoted themselves to that alone. So, in the drill itself he relieved them of even the practice with bow and spear and left them only the drill with sword and shield and breastplate. And so he at once brought home to them the conviction that they must go into a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy or else admit that as allies they were good for nothing. But such an admission is hard for those who know that they are being maintained for no other purpose than to fight for those who maintain them.

22. And as, in addition to this, he had further observed that people are much more willing to practise those things in which they have rivalry among themselves, he appointed contests for them in everything that he knew it was important for soldiers to practise. What he proposed was as follows: to the private soldier, that he show himself obedient to the officers, ready for hardship, eager for danger but subject to good discipline, familiar with the duties required of a soldier, neat in the care of his equipment, and ambitious about all such matters; to the corporal, that, besides being himself like the good private, he make his squad of five a model, as far as possible; to the sergeant, that he do likewise with his squad of ten, and the lieutenant
ταξιάρχῳ ἀνεπίκλητον αὐτὸν ὑπακούσαντες καὶ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἀρχόντων ὁποῖς ἐκείνοι αὐτῷ ἄν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσι τὰ δέοντα ποιοῦντας.

23. Ἀθλα δὲ προφήτη τούτων μὲν ταξιάρχους ὡς τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις παρεσκευάσθαι χυλιάρχους. ἔσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστοις δόξαι τοὺς λόχους ἀποδεικνύναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας ἐπαναβῆσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρατίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ πεμπαδάρχων ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν δεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπαδάρχων. ὑπήρχε δὲ πάσιν τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρώτον μὲν θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχομένων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τιμαὶ αἱ πρεπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο. ἔπανετείνυτο δὲ καὶ μείζονες ἑπίδεις τοῖς ἁξίοις ἑπαίνων, εἰ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἀγαθὸν μεῖζον φανοῖτο. 1

24. προεῖπε δὲ νυκτῆρια καὶ ὅλους ταῖς τάξεις καὶ ὅλους τοῖς λόχοις, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ ταῖς πεμπάσιν, αὐτὸν ἄν φαίνωνται εὐπιστό-

1 φανοῖτο Cobet, most Edd.; φανοῖτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 αὖ ἀν Dindorf, most Edd.; ἀν MSS., Sauppe.

148
with his platoon; and to the captain, that he be unexceptionable himself and see to it that the officers under him get those whom they command to do their duty.

23. As rewards, moreover, he offered the following: in the case of captains, those who were thought to have got their companies into the best condition should be made colonels; of the lieutenants, those who were thought to have put their platoons into the best condition should be advanced to the rank of captains; of the sergeants, those who were the most meritorious should be promoted to the rank of lieutenant; in the same way, the best of the corporals should be promoted to the rank of sergeants; and finally of the privates, the best should be advanced to the rank of corporal. Moreover, all these officers not only had a right to claim the respect of their subordinates, but other distinctions also appropriate to each office followed in course. And to those who should deserve praise still greater hopes were held out, in case in time to come any greater good fortune should befall. 24. Besides, he offered prizes of victory to whole companies and to whole platoons and to squads of ten and of five likewise, if they showed themselves implicitly obedient to the

1 The divisions of Cyrus's army were as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 men</td>
<td>1 corporal's squad (περίκρατος)</td>
<td>corporal (περίκρατος)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 corporals' squads</td>
<td>1 sergeant's squad (δεκάδαρχος)</td>
<td>sergeant (δεκάδαρχος)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sergeants' squads</td>
<td>1 platoon (λόχος)</td>
<td>lieutenant (λοχετός)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 platoons</td>
<td>1 company (τάφεις)</td>
<td>captain (τάφεις)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 companies</td>
<td>1 regiment (χιλιαρχός)</td>
<td>colonel (χιλιαρχός)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 regiments</td>
<td>1 brigade (μυριαρχός)</td>
<td>general (μυριαρχός)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

tatai tois arxousin oudai kai probhamotata
askeousai ta proeirnymena. 6n de tautais ta
nikhteria oia de eis plhthos prpetei.

Tahta mne de proeirhoti te kai hskine to h
stratia.

25. Skhnas de authis kateiskeiase, plthos me
osoi taziarchoi hsan, megathos de wsst ikanas
einai th taxeis ekasth. 6 de1 taxeis 6n ekath
andres. eskhnoun mne de oustow kata taxeis:
6n de to omou skhnoyn edokou mne autfh
phileisthai prosto ton mellonta angwia touto 6ti
euroyn allhlos omoiws trephmenous kai ouk
enin prophasis meiunexias wsste ufiesethai tinas2
kakw eteron eterow einai prosto tou polemous.

phileisethai de edokoun auth kai prosto to gynw
skhei allhlos omou skhnoyn. 6n de to gynw
skethai kai to aiskynthai pansi dokesi malkon
egyngnesethai, ois de anynomeioi radionygein pws
malkon dokousin, wspere en skotei qntes. 26. edo
coum de auth kai eis to tas taxeis akriboun
megala phileisethai dia thn synkhian. eichon
gar ois mne taziarchoi yf 6eanous tas taxeis
kekasmemenas wspere opote eis ena porenoto h
taxeis, ois de logogoi toux logous wsautous, ois
dekadaarchoi dekadas, peumpadascharchi peumpadas.

27. to de diakriboun tas taxeis sfodra edokei
auth 6gathon einai kai eis to m spathesthai
kai eis paraxhein thttou katashtnai, wspere

1 ekasth. 6 de y, most Edd.; ekasth 6i z; ekasth de x.
2 tinas Hug, later Edd.; tina MSS., earlier Edd.

150
officers and very ready in performing the afore-mentioned duties. And the prizes of victory for these divisions were just such as were appropriate to groups of men.

Such, then, were the competitions appointed, and the army began to train for them.

25. Then, he had tents made for them—in number, as many as there were captains; in size, large enough to accommodate each a company. A company, moreover, was composed of a hundred men. Accordingly, they lived in tents each company by itself; for Cyrus thought that in occupying tents together they had the following advantages for the coming conflict: they saw one another provided for in the same way, and there could be no possible pretext of unjust discrimination that could lead any one to allow himself to prove less brave than another in the face of the enemy. And he thought that if they tented together it would help them to get acquainted with one another. And in getting acquainted with one another, he thought, a feeling of considerateness was more likely to be engendered in them all, while those who are unacquainted seem somehow more indifferent—like people when they are in the dark.

26. He thought also that their tenting together helped them not a little to gain a perfect acquaintance with their positions. For the captains had the companies under them in as perfect order as when a company was marching single file, and the lieutenants their platoons, and the sergeants and corporals their squads in the same way. 27. He thought, moreover, that such perfect acquaintance with their places in the line was exceedingly helpful both to prevent their being thrown into confusion and to restore
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

γε καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἂν δὲ ἡ συναρμοσθῆναι, ἔστι, καν ὁπωσοῦν καταβεβλημένα τύχῃ, συναρ-μόσαι αὐτὰ εὑπετῶς, ἢν ἔχῃ γυνωρίσματα ὡστ’ εὐδήλην εἶναι ἐξ ὁποίας ἐκαστὸν χώρας αὐτῶν ἔστων. 28. ἔδοκον δ’ ὄφελείσθαι αὐτῷ ὅμοι τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦττον ἀλλήλους ἔθελεν ἀπολείπειν, ὅτι εἰώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ συντρε-φόμενα δεινὸν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἦν τις αὐτὰ διασπα ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων.

29. Ἔπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Κύρος ὅπως μὴ ποτε ἀνίδρωτοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ δείπνου εἰςίοιει. ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ θῆραν ἐξάγων ἱδρῶτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν, ἢ παιδίάς τοιαύτας ἔξηγήσκεν αἱ ἱδρῶτα ἔμελλον παρέχειν, ἢ καὶ πράξαι εἴ τι δεόμενος τῦχοι, ὡς ὑπό τῆς πράξεως ὡς μὴ ἐπανύοιεν ἀνιδρωτὶ. τούτῳ γὰρ ἤγείτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ἐσθείειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πονεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλους δὲ προστέρους εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἤγείτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ὑποί συμπονοῦντες ἀλλήλους πρόστεροι συν-εστήκασι. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγα-λοφονέστεροι γίγνονται οὐ ἀν συνειδᾶσιν ἑαυτοῖς εἰ ἡσκηκότες.

30. Κύρος δ’ ἐαυτῷ σκηνὴν μὲν κατεσκευάσατο ὡστε ἵκανην ἔχειν οἷς καλοίς ἐπὶ δείπνου. ἐκάλει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων ὡς καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖ εἶναι, ἐστὶ δ’ ὁτε καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ

152
order sooner in case they should be thrown into confusion; just as in the case of stones and timbers which must be fitted together, it is possible to fit them together readily, no matter in how great confusion they may chance to have been thrown down, if they have the guide-marks to make it plain in what place each of them belongs. 28. And finally, he thought that comradeship would be encouraged by their messing together and that they would be less likely to desert one another; for he had often observed that even animals that were fed together had a marvellous yearning for one another, if any one separated them.

29. Cyrus also took care that they should never come to luncheon or to dinner unless they had had a sweat. For he would get them into a sweat by taking them out hunting; or he would contrive such sports as would make them sweat; or again, if he happened to have some business or other to attend to, he so conducted it that they should not come back without having had a sweat. For this he considered conducive to their enjoying their meals, to their health, and to their being able to endure hardships, and he thought that hardships conduced to their being more reasonable toward one another, for even horses that work together stand more quietly together. At any rate, those who are conscious that they have been well drilled are certainly more courageous in the face of the enemy.

30. And for himself Cyrus had a tent made big enough to accommodate all whom he might invite to dinner. Now he usually invited as many of the captains as he thought proper, and sometimes also some of the lieutenants and sergeants and corporals;
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

τῶν δεκαδάρχων τινὰς καὶ τῶν πεμπαδάρχων ἐκάλει, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἔστι δ’ ὅτε καὶ πεμπάδα ὅλην καὶ δεκάδα ὅλην καὶ λόχων ὅλων καὶ τάξιν ὅλην. ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐτίμα ὅποτε τινὰς ἰδοὺ τοιούτον τι ποιήσαντας δ’ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο ποιεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ παρατιθέμενα αἰεὶ ἴσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἐπὶ δείπνου.

31. Καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸ στρατεύμα δὲ υπηρέτας ἑσομοίροις πάντων ἀεὶ ἐποίει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦτον τιμὰν ἀξίουν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ υπηρέτας οὐτε κηρύκων οὐτε πρέσβεων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοὺς ἡγεῖτο δεῖν εἶναι τούτους καὶ ἑπιστήμονας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετοὺς, προσέτι δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ἀόκνους καὶ ἀπαράκτους. πρὸς δ’ ἐτι ἀ οἱ βέλτιστοι νομίζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγίγνοσκεν ὁ Κύρος δεῖν τοὺς υπηρέτας ἔχειν, καὶ τούτο ἀσκεῖν ὡς μηδὲν ἀναίνοιτο ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζοιεν πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πράττειν οὐσα ἄρχων προστάττοι.

II

1. Ἄεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπεμέλετο ὁ Κύρος, ὅπωτε συνεκηνοῦεν, ὅπως εὐχαριστότατοί τε ἁμα λόγοι ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρομοίοτες εἰς τάγαθον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τόνδε ποτὲ τὸν λόγον.

Ἀρά γε, ἐφι, ὡ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐνδέεστεροί τι ἡμῶν διὰ τούτο φαίνονται εἰναι οἱ ἐταῖροι ὡς οὐ πεπαίδευντες τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἄρα

1 αὐτὸς xz, most Edd.; πάντας y, Gemoll.

154
and occasionally he invited some of the privates, sometimes a squad of five together, or a squad of ten, or a platoon, or a whole company in a body. And he also used to invite individuals as a mark of honour, whenever he saw that they had done what he himself wished everybody to do. And the same dishes were always placed before those whom he invited to dinner as before himself.

31. The quartermasters in the army he always allowed an equal share of everything; for he thought that it was fair to show no less regard for the purveyors of the army stores than for heralds or ambassadors. And that was reasonable, for he held that they must be trustworthy, familiar with military affairs, and intelligent, and, in addition to that, energetic, quick, resolute, steady. And still further, Cyrus knew that the quartermasters also must have the qualities which those have who are considered most efficient and that they must train themselves not to refuse any service but to consider that it is their duty to perform whatever the general might require of them.

II

1. Whenever Cyrus entertained company at dinner, he always took pains that the conversation introduced should be as entertaining as possible and that it should incite to good. On one occasion he opened the conversation as follows:

"Tell me, men," said he, "do our new comrades seem to be any worse off than we because they have not been educated in the same way as we, or pray do you think that there will be no difference
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

dioisewn himon ou't en taiv syvounisiai osute otan
agwutheisthai prós tonu polemous déh;
2. Kaí 'Stastaspas upolabow eítpe, 'Allh'
opoiou men tines ésoventai eis tonu polemous ouw
égwge épistamai: én méntoi tì syvounia dúskoloi
kai ma tò theous éniov autòv faívonontai. prófh
mén ge, éfhe, Kynárrhth eptémphe eis tin tāxi
ékasthn íereia, kai égénéto kréa ékástow himon
tria ἢ kai pleiow tò periferómena. kaí ἅρxato
mén ò maýgeiros ap' émou tìn prwtí tò periboló
periférow, òte dé tò déuterov eisýhe perioíswon,
ékaleusa égò apò tòu televtaíon árxeisthai kai
ánapalin féresin. 3. ánakrapwòw ouv tis tòn
kata méson tòu kúklou katakeüménov stratiosítów
Mà Δí', éfhe, tòvndè men óudèn íson éstíon, éiγe
af' himon ge tòn en méso oudeis oudēptote ärxeita.
kaí égò ákoussas òxhèsthnh, eì tì meíon dokoièn
echièn, kai ékaleasa eúthiè autòv pròs éme. ó dé
mála ge touto euvatçtwos úptíkousen. òs dé tò
periferómena òke pròs himás, áte oímai ústátous
lambánontas, tò mikrókata leleiména òn.
entáda dh ekeínoi pánvi aníathedèn dèlos òn kai éíte
pròs autòv. Tìs túchh, tò éme wun klythènta déurop
tuchèn. 4. kaí égò eítou, 'Allh ma phóntiè-
aútika yáρ af' himon ärxeita kai su pròtós
lývei to máxistov. kai en touto periférevo to
tritòv, óster dh loftòv òn tìs periforás: kákei-
nos elébhe, kàt' édoghe autòv meíon labeín
catè-
balen ouv 1 ò elébhew ose éteron lphpómenos. kai

1 kàt' . . . ouv xz, Edd.; met' éme déuterom. òs ò tò tritò
élabe kai édogh en autòv meíon èaotòv labeín katabaalei y (next
after me); and when the third man was served, and my man

156
between us either in social intercourse or when we shall have to contend with the enemy?"

2. "Well," said Hystaspas in reply, "for my part, I cannot tell yet how they will appear in the face of the enemy. But in social intercourse, by the gods, some of them seem ill-mannered enough. The other day, at any rate," he explained, "Cyaxares had meat sent in to each company, and as it was passed around each one of us got three pieces or even more. And the first time round the cook began with me as he passed it around; but when he came in the second time to pass it, I bade him begin with the last and pass it around the other way. 3. Then one of the men sitting in the middle of the circle called out and said, 'By Zeus, this is not fair at all—at any rate, if they are never going to begin with us here in the middle.' And when I heard that, I was vexed that any one should think that he had less than another and I called him to me at once. He obeyed, showing good discipline in this at least. But when that which was being passed came to us, only the smallest pieces were left, as one might expect, for we were the last to be served. Thereupon he was greatly vexed and said to himself: 'Such luck! that I should happen to have been called here just now!' 4. 'Well, never mind,' said I. 'They will begin with us next time, and you, being first, will get the biggest piece.' And at that moment the cook began to pass around the third time what was left of the course; and the man helped himself; and then he thought the piece he had taken too small; so he put back the piece he had, with the intention of taking another. And the cook, thought his neighbour had got a bigger piece than he, he threw down etc.).
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ὁ ἀρταμὸς οἰόμενος αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι δείσθαι ὁψιν, ἀχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτερον. 5. ἕνταῦθα δὴ οὗτω βαρέως ἤνεγκε τὸ τάθος ὡστε ἀνήλωτο μὲν αὐτῷ δ ἐιλήψει ὁψιν, δὲ ἐτι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἢ του ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τούτῳ πως ὕπο τοῦ ἐκκεπλήχθαι τε καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὁργίζεσθαι δυσθετούμενος ἀνέτρεψεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὁ ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἵδων συνεκρότησε τὸ χεῖρε καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ηὐφραίνετο. ἡγὼ μέντοι, ἐφη, προσεποιούμην βῆτεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν γέλωτα κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἐνα, ὁ Κύρη, τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπιδεικνύω.

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ὡστερ εἰκὸς ἐγέλασαν. 6. ἄλλος δὲ τις ἔλεξε τῶν ταξιάρχων. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ, ὁ Κύρη, ὡς ἕοικεν, οὕτω δυσκόλω ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὥσ τι διδάξας ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπέπεμψας καὶ ἐκέλευσας διδάσκειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστον τάξιν ἃ παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγώ, ὡστερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔποιοι, ἐλθὼν ἐδίδασκον ἑνα λόχον. καὶ στῆσας τὸν λοχαγὸν πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀνδρα νεανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ ύμην δεῖν, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόχον, ἴνα κυριαρχεῖ καὶ ἐνεργεῖ προϊέναι ἐκελεύσα. 7. καὶ ἀνήρ σοι ὁ νεανίας ἐκείνος προειδῶν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρὸτερος ἐπορεύετο. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι ἐποίησε, Ἀνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ δὴ ἐφη, Προέρχομαι ὡστερ σὺ κελευθεροῦς. καὶ γὰρ ἐποίησε, Ἀλλα ὅντι ἔγω σὲ μόνου ἐκελεύον ἀλλὰ πάντας προϊέναι. καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας τοῦτο μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς λοχίτας ἐίπες. Οὔκ ἀκούετε, ἐφη, λοιδορομέον; προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἄνδρες πάντες παρελθόντες

158
thinking that he did not want any more to eat, went on passing it before he got his other piece. 5. Thereupon he took his mishap so to heart that he lost not only the meat he had taken but also what was still left of his sauce; for this last he upset somehow or other in the confusion of his vexation and anger over his hard luck. The lieutenant nearest us saw it and laughed and clapped his hands in amusement. And I," he added, "pretended to cough; for even I could not keep from laughing. Such is one man, Cyrus, that I present to you as one of our comrades."

At this they laughed, of course. 6. But another of the captains said: "Our friend here, it seems, Cyrus, has fallen in with a very ill-mannered fellow. But as for me, when you had instructed us about the arrangement of the lines and dismissed us with orders each to teach his own company what we had learned from you, why then I went and proceeded to drill one platoon, just as the others also did. I assigned the lieutenant his place first and arranged next after him a young recruit, and the rest, as I thought proper. Then I took my stand out in front of them facing the platoon, and when it seemed to me to be the proper time, I gave the command to go ahead. 7. And that young recruit, mark you, stepped ahead—of the lieutenant and marched in front of him! And when I saw it, I said: 'Fellow, what are you doing?' 'I am going ahead, as you ordered,' said he. 'Well,' said I, 'I ordered not only you, but all to go ahead.' When he heard this, he turned about to his comrades and said: 'Don't you hear him scolding? He orders us all to go ahead.' Then the men all ran past their lieutenant.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

tὸν λοχαγὸν ἦσαν πρὸς ἐμέ. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς αὐτῶν ἀνεχόριζεν, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἔλεγαν, Ποτέρφ δὴ πείθεσθαι χρή; νῦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει προΐέναι, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔδ. ἔγω μέντοι ἐνεγκὼν ταῦτα πράως ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς καταχωρίσας ἔτηνον μηδένα τῶν ὁπίσθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἀν ὁ πρόσθεν ἢγήται, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μόνον ὅραν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν ἔπεσθαι. 9. ὡς δ᾽ εἰς Πέρσας τις ἄπτων ἠλθεῖ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἔκλεψεσθε με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἢν ἐγραψα oικάδε δοῦναι, κἀγὼ, ὁ γὰρ λοχαγὸς ἦδει ὁποιον ἐκεῖτο ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν δραμόντα ἐνεγκείν τινὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔτρεχεν, ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐκείνος εἶπεν τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος ἰδὼν ἐκείνου συνέτρεχον καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἄνδρες φέροντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. οὕτως, ἐφῆ, ὁ γ᾽ ἐμὸς λόχος σοι ἄκριβοι πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ.

10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῇ δορυφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὁ δὲ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ὡς Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί, οὕτως ἄρα ἡμεῖς ἐχομεν ἀνδρας ἐταίρους, οἱ γε εὐθεράτευτοι μὲν οὕτως εἰσὶν ὅστ᾽ εἶναι αὐτῶν καὶ μικρῷ δύψω παμπόλλιος φίλους ἀνακτήσασθαι, πιθανοὶ δὲ οὕτως εἰσὶ τινες ὡστε πρὶν εἰδέναι τὸ προστατόμενον πρῶτον πείθοντα. ἔγω μὲν οὐκ οἶδα πολὺς τινὰς χρή μᾶλλον εὑξασθαι ἢ τοιούτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν.

11. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἀμα γελῶν οὕτως ἐπήνεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ ἐτύγχανε τις ἄν ὁ τῶν ταξιάρχων Ἀγκαίταδας ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ τῶν τρόπων τῶν στρατιφυστέρων ἄνθρωπων, οὐτωσι 160
and came toward me. 8. But when the lieutenant ordered them back to their places, they were indignant and said: ‘Pray, which one are we to obey? For now the one orders us to go ahead, and the other will not let us.’ I took this good-naturedly, however, and when I had got them in position again, I gave instructions that no one of those behind should stir before the one in front led off, but that all should have their attention on this only—to follow the man in front. 9. But when a certain man who was about to start for Persia came up and asked me for the letter which I had written home, I bade the lieutenant run and fetch it, for he knew where it had been placed. So he started off on a run, and that young recruit followed, as he was, breastplate and sword; and then the whole fifty, seeing him run, ran after. And the men came back bringing the letter. So exactly, you see, does my company, at least, carry out all your orders.”

10. The rest, of course, laughed over the military escort of the letter, and Cyrus said: “O Zeus and all the gods! What sort of men we have then as our comrades; they are so easily won by kindness that we can make many of them our firm friends with even a little piece of meat; and they are so obedient that they obey even before the orders are given. I, for my part, do not know what sort of soldiers one could ask to have in preference to these!”

11. Thus Cyrus praised his soldiers, laughing at the same time. But one of his captains, Aglaitadas by name, one of the most austere of men, happened to be in Cyrus’s tent at the same time and he spoke somewhat as follows: “You don’t mean to say,
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΟΝ

πώς εἶπεν Ἡ γὰρ οἶει, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τούτους ἀληθῆ λέγειν ταῦτα;

'Αλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ψεῦ-

dονται;

Τί δ' ἀλλο γ', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν ἐθέλου-
tες ὑπὲρ οὖν λέγονσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀλαξονεύονται.

12. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Εὐφήμης, ἔφη, μηδὲ λέγε
ἀλαξόνας εἶναι τούτους. ο μὲν γὰρ ἀλαξῶν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ὅνομα κεϊσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιο-
μένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἡ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρειο-
tέροις καὶ ποιήσειν ἀ μὴ ἰκανὸι εἰσίν ὑπισχυο-
μένοις, καὶ ταῦτα φανερῶς γιγνομένοις ὅτι τοῦ
λαβεῖν τι ἑνεκά καὶ κερδᾶναι ποιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ μη-
χανῶμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνοῦσι μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ
άυτῶν κέρδει μήτ' ἐπὶ ξημὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων μήτε
ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μηδεμα, πῶς οὐν οὕτωι ἀστείοι ἄν
καὶ εὐχάριτες δικαιότεροι ὄνομαξοντο μᾶλλον ἢ
ἀλαξόνες;

13. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελογήσατο περὶ
tῶν τῶν γέλωτα παρασκόντων αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ταξι-
αρχὸς ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόχου χαριτίαν διηγησάμενος
ἔφη. Ηποῦ ἂν, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀγαλαϊτάδα, εἰ γε κλαίειν
ἐπειρώμεθα σε ποιεῖν, σφόδρα ἄν ἡμῖν ἐμέμψο
ὡςτερ έναι καὶ ἑν ϕῶδας καὶ ἑν λόγοις οἰκτρά
tων λογοποιούντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρώνται ἄγειν,
ὅποτε γε νῦν καὶ αὐτός εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐφράειν μὲν
tι σε βουλόμεθα, βλάψαί δ' οὕδεν, ὃμως οὕτως
ἐν πολλῇ ἁτιμίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἔχεις.

14. Ναὶ μὰ Δῇ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγαλαϊτάδας, καὶ δικαὶ Ὡς

1 ὁ ταξιαρχὸς Zeune, Dindorf, Gemoll, Breitenbach; ὁ λοχαγὸς MSS.; [ὁ λοχαγὸς] Bornemann, Marchant.
162
Cyrus, that you think what these fellows have been telling is true?"

"Well," said Cyrus, "what object could they have, pray, in telling a lie?"

"What object, indeed," said the other, "except that they wanted to raise a laugh; and so they tell these stories and try to humbug us."

12. "Hush!" said Cyrus. "Don't call these men humbugs. For to me, the name 'humbug' seems to apply to those who pretend that they are richer than they are or braver than they are, and to those who promise to do what they cannot do, and that, too, when it is evident that they do this only for the sake of getting something or making some gain. But those who invent stories to amuse their companions and not for their own gain nor at the expense of their hearers nor to the injury of any one, why should these men not be called 'witty' and 'entertaining' rather than 'humbugs'?"

13. Thus Cyrus defended those who had furnished the fun, and the captain himself who had told the anecdote about his platoon said: "Verily, Aglaïtadas, you might find serious fault with us, if we tried to make you weep, like some authors who invent touching incidents in their poems and stories and try to move us to tears; but now, although you yourself know that we wish to entertain you and not to do you any harm at all, still you heap such reproaches upon us."

14. "Aye, by Zeus," said Aglaïtadas, "and justly,
XENOPHON

γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλαίοντας ἔπει, καθιζουντος τοὺς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἐμούγε δοκεῖ ἐλάττονος ἄξια διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτοῖς μηχανώμενος. εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ σὺ, ἢν ὀρθῶς λογίζῃ, ἐμὲ ἀληθῇ λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατέρες γάρ σωφροσύνην μηχανώνται καὶ διδάσκαλος παισὶν ἀγαθὰ μαθήματα, καὶ νόμοι γε πολίτας διὰ τοῦ κλαίοντας καθιζεΐν εἰς δικαιοσύνην προτρέπουται τοὺς δὲ γέλωτα μηχανωμένους ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἢ σώματα ὀψωλύνται ἢ ψυχὰς οἰκονομικωτέρας τι ποιοῦντας ἢ πολιτικωτέρας;

15. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ 'Τστάσπας ὅδε πως εἶπε· ἢ ἡ ἕφη, δό 'Ἀγλαϊτάδα, ἢν ἔμοι πείθῃ, εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολέμου ἄξιον, καὶ κλαίοντας ἐκείνους πειράσει καθιζέιν· ἢ μὲν δὲ πάντως, ἔφη, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις τοῦτο τοῦ ὀλίγου ἄξιον, τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπιδαπελεύσει. καὶ γὰρ οἷς δὴ τολύσο ἕστιν ἀποκείμενος· οὐτε γὰρ αὐτοῦ χρώμαν ἀνησίμωκας αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ εἴναι ἔκειν έκών εἰναι γέλωτα παρέχες. ἢς τῷ οὐνεμία σοι πρὸφασίς ἔστιν ὅσι παρεκτέον σοι ἢ μὲν γέλωτα.

Καὶ δ’ Ἀγλαϊτάδας εἶπε, Καὶ οὔει γε, δό 'Τστάσπα, γέλωτα περιποιεῖν εἴς ἐμοῦ;

Καὶ δ’ ταξίαρχος εἶπε, Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἀνόητος ἀρα ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἴμαι, ῥαον ἀν τις ἐκτρίψεις ἢ γέλωτα ἔξαγαγότο.

16. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὐ τε ἄλλου ἐγέλασαν, τοῦτον τρόπον εἰδότες αὐτοῦ, δ’ ἡ Ἀγλαϊτάδας ἐπεμειδάσε. καὶ δ’ Κύρος ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ φαίδρω-

1 κλάοντας Cobet, Edd.; κλαέων MSS.
2 ταξίαρχος Philelphus, Edd.; λοχαγὸς MSS.

164
too, since he that makes his friends laugh seems to me to do them much less service than he who makes them weep; and if you will look at it rightly, you, too, will find that I speak the truth. At any rate, fathers develop self-control in their sons by making them weep, and teachers impress good lessons upon their pupils in the same way, and the laws, too, turn the citizens to justice by making them weep. But could you say that those who make us laugh either do good to our bodies or make our minds any more fitted for the management of our private business or of the affairs of state?"

15. Hereupon Hystaspas answered somewhat as follows: "If you will heed me, Aglaïtadas, you will freely expend this very valuable commodity upon your enemies and will try to set them to weeping; but upon us and your friends here you will please to lavish this cheap article, laughter. And you can, for I know you must have a great quantity of it stored up; for you have never spent it upon yourself nor do you ever afford any laughter for your friends or for your enemies if you can help it. So you have no excuse for begrudging us a laugh."

"What!" said Aglaïtadas; "do you really think, Hystaspas, to get a laugh out of me?"

"Well, by Zeus," said the other captain, "he is a very foolish fellow, let me tell you, if he does; for I believe one might rub fire out of you more easily than provoke a laugh from you."

16. At this, of course, the rest laughed; for they knew his character, and Aglaïtadas himself smiled at the sally. And Cyrus seeing him brighten up said:
XENOPHON

θέντα, Ἀδικεῖς, ἐφη, δε ταξιαρχεῖ, ὰτι ἄνδρα ἡμῖν τὸν σπουδαίοτατον διαφθείρεσιν γελᾶν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα, ἐφη, οὕτω πολέμιον ὁντα τῷ γέλωτι.

17. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἑνταῦθα ἐλήξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάντας οδε ἐλέξεν. 18. Ἀλλ’ ἐγώ, ἐφη, δὸ Κῦρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐννοώ ὅτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελτίωνες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείωσος ἅξιοι. ἦν δὲ τι γένηται ἀγαθόν, ἀξιώσουσιν οὕτω πάντες ισομορεῖν. (καί τοι ἐγὼ γιγάντων ἀνισότερων νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰναι ἢ τοῦ ἱσοῦ τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαί.)

Καὶ ο Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς τούτο, Ἄρ’ οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, κράτιστον ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου βουλήν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, πότερα δοκεῖ, ἢν τι ἐκ τῶν πόνων δῆ γ’ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθόν, ἱσομοίρους πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκοποῦντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστη προστιθέναι;

19. Καὶ τί δέει, ἐφη ο Χρυσάντας, ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ προεπείν ὁτι οὕτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας οὕτω προεῖπας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα;

Ἄλλ’ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη ο Κῦρος, οὐχ ὡμοία ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοις; ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἂν στρατευόμενοι κτῆσωμαι, κοινὰ οἴμαι εαυτῶν ἡγησόμεθα εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατιάς ἐμὴν ἴσως ἔτι οἴκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὥστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὕτως οἴμαι ἀδικεῖν νομίζουσιν.

1 ταξιαρχεῖ Philelphus, Edd.; λοχαγε MSS.
"It is not right, captain, for you to corrupt our most serious man by persuading him to laugh, and that, too," said he, "when he is such a foe to laughter."

17. With that, the subject was dropt. But at this point Chrysantas spoke as follows: 18. "Cyrus," said he, "and all you here present, I observe, for my part, that some have come out with us who are of superior merit, others who are less deserving than we. Now, if we meet with success, these will all expect to have share and share alike. And yet I do not believe that anything in the world is more unfair than for the bad and good to be awarded equal shares."

"Well; then, in the name of the gods, my men," Cyrus replied to this, "will it not be a very good thing for us to suggest to the army a debate on this question: shall we, in case God gives us any success to reward our toils, give to all an equal share or shall we take into consideration each man's services and bestow increased rewards upon him commensurate with them?"

19. "And what is the use," said Chrysantas, "of starting a discussion concerning this matter? Why not rather announce that you propose to do thus and so? Pray, did you not announce the games and offer the prizes that way?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "but this is not a parallel case. For what the men obtain by fighting, that, I suppose, they will consider their own common property; but the command of the army they still consider fairly to be mine, so that when I appoint the judges, I am sure they think I am within my rights."
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

20. Ἡ καὶ οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ψηφίσασθαι ἄν τὸ πλήθος συνελθὼν ὅστε μὴ ἵσων ἔκαστον τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαίς καὶ δόροις πλεονεκτεῖν;

'Εγγώ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οἶμαι, ἀμα μὲν ἡμῶν συναγωγεύοντων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχρῶν δὴ ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν πλείστα καὶ πονοῦντα καὶ ὠφελοῦντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτον καὶ μεγίστων ἄξιονσθαι. οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τῶς κακίστοις συμφέρον φανείσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν.

21. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ἑνεκα τῶν ὀμοτίμων γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα. βελτίων γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτῶν ἤγειτο τοῦτος εἶναι, εἰ εἰδεῖν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν έργων καὶ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἄξιων τεῦξονται. κατόρθωσις οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι μν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τοῦτον ψήφου, ἐν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀμοτίμῳ ὁκνοῦν τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου ἰσομοιρίαν. οὕτω δὲ συνεδόκει τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τοῦτον λόγους καὶ συναγορεύειν ταῦτα ἐφασαν χρῆναι δοστισσέρ ἄνηρ οἴοντο εἶναι.

22. Ἐπυγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξιάρχων τις εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀνδρὰ οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου δς συνερεῖ ὅστε μὴ εἰκῆ ὑπὸς ἰσομοιρίαν εἶναι.

'Αλλος δ' ἀντήρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Εστι νῦ Δί' ἄνηρ ἡμῶν σύσκηνος, δς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλέον ἔχειν.

'Αλλος δ' ἐπήρετο αὐτῶν, 'Η καὶ τῶν πόνων;
Μὰ ΔΙ', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γε ψευδό-

168
20. "And do you really believe," said Chrysantas, "that the mass meeting would adopt a resolution that each one should not have an equal share, but that the best should have the preference both in honours and gifts?"

"Yes," said Cyrus, "I do, partly because we recommend it, and partly because it is mean to oppose a proposition that the one who suffers the most and does the most for the state should also receive the highest rewards. And I think," said he, "that even to the worst it will seem proper that the good should have the larger share."

21. Now Cyrus wished for the sake of the peers themselves that this measure should pass; for he thought that even they themselves would be better, if they knew that they also should be judged by their works and should receive according to their deserts. And so it seemed to him to be the proper time to bring this matter to a vote now, while the peers also were questioning the commoners' claims to equality. Accordingly, those in the tent agreed to submit the question to a discussion and they said that whoever thought himself to be a man ought to advocate it.

22. But one of the captains said with a laugh: "Well, I know a man of the commoners, too, who will support the proposition not to have share and share alike in that indiscriminate fashion."

Another asked him whom he meant; and he answered: "By Zeus, he is a messmate of ours, who in everything does his best to get the largest share."

"What! the largest share of hard work, too?" asked another.

"No, by Zeus," said he; "not by any means; but
XENOPHON

μενος ἐάλωκα. καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὁρῶ πάνυ θαρραλέως βουλόμενον μεῖον ἔχειν παρ’ ὑπνιαοῦν.

23. Ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁ ἄνδρες, γιγνώσκω τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ὁλον καὶ οὕτως υἱὸν λέγει, εἰπέρ δεὶ ἐνεργοῦ καὶ πειθό-

μενον ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρετέους ἐιναι ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐναι ὁλον ἔπεσαθαι ἢ ἂν τις ἥγηται. ἄγεϊν δ’ οἴμαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ μὲν
cαλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κἀγαθά, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ
ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. 24. καὶ πολλάκις τοῖνυν πλείονας ὁμογγυμνονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαύλοι ἢ οἱ σπου-
daioi. ἡ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παραντίκα ἡδονῶν
πορευομένη ταύτας ἔχει συμπειθοῦσας πολλοὺς
αυτὴ ὁμογνωμονεῖν ἢ δ’ ἄρετή πρὸς ὄρθιον
ἀγονασιν οὐ πάνυ δεινῆ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραντίκα
eικῇ συνεπιστὰσθαι, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἂν ἄλλοι
ἀσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανὲς καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀντιπαρακα-
λοῦντες. 25. καὶ τοῖνυν ὅταν μὲν τῖνες βλακεῖα
cαὶ ἀπονία μόνον κακοὶ ὡς, τούτους ἐγὼ νομίζω
ὡσπερ κηφήνας δαπάνῃ μόνον ξημοῦν τοὺς
κοινώνας. 2 οἱ δ’ ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὡς
κοινωνοὶ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδροὶ καὶ
ἀναίσχυντοι, οὕτω καὶ ἥγεμονικοὶ εἰσὶ πρὸς τὰ
πονηρά. πολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν
πλεονεκτοῦσαν ἀποδεικνύναι. ὡστε παντάπασιν
ἐξαιρετεῖν ἡμῖν οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσι.

1 ἐξαιρετέους Stephanus, Edd.; ἐξαιρέτου MSS. (choice).
2 τοὺς κοινώνας Pantazides, Hertlein, most Edd.; τοὺς κοινωνοὺς χῦ; τῆς καινωνίας z, Dindorf, Sauppe.

170
here I have been caught in a falsehood. For my observation is that he very good-naturedly consents to have a smaller share of hard work and other things of that sort than anybody else.

23. Well, men," said Cyrus, "I am convinced that such fellows as this one of whom our friend has just been telling us must be weeded out of the ranks, if we are to keep our army industrious and obedient. For it seems to me that the majority of the soldiers are the sort to follow wherever any one leads; and the good and noble, I think, try to lead only to what is good and noble, and the vicious to what is vicious. 24. And therefore the base oftentimes find a larger following of congenial spirits than the noble. For since vice makes her appeal through the pleasures of the moment, she has their assistance to persuade many to accept her views; but virtue, leading up hill, is not at all clever at attracting men at first sight and without reflection; and especially is this true, when there are others who call in the opposite direction, to what is downhill and easy. 25. And so, when people are bad only because of laziness and indolence, I believe that they, like drones, damage their associates only by the cost of their keeping. But those who are poor companions in toil, and also extravagant and shameless in their desire for any advantage, these are likely also to lead others to what is vicious; for they are often able to demonstrate that vice does gain some advantage. And so we must weed out such men at any cost.
26. Καὶ µὴ µέντοι ἐσπερ ὑποὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ἢπιοὶ οἱ ἄρσιτοι ὡς τω, οὐχ οἱ ἄρσιτοι πατριώται, τούτους ξητείτε, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων ὅπιοι ἄροι δοκώσι μάλιστα συνισχυρίειν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ συγκοσμήσειν, τούτους λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεὶ δὲ µοι καὶ τόδε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὕτω γὰρ Ἄρμα δήπου ταχύ γένοιτ’ ἀν ὑπεράνω ἦπιοι ἐνόπτων οὕτω δίκαιων αἰδίκων συνεξεργάζοντες, οὐδὲ οἶκος δύνατ’ ἀν εὐ οἰκείωσθαι πονηρῶς οἰκέταις χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενοις οἰκετῶν ἥττον σφάλλεται ή ὑπὸ αἰδίκων ταραττόμενοι.

27. Ἐν δὲ ἱστε, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς ἐφί, φίλοι, ὃτι οὗδε τοῦτο µόνον ὑφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαιρεθήντες ὅτι κακοὶ ἁπέσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οἱ µὲν ἀνεπίµπλατο ἢδ’ κακίας, ἀποκαθαροῦνται πάλιν ταύτης, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἰδόντες ἀτιμασθέντας πολὺ εὐθυμοτερον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθέξονται.

28. 'Ο µὲν οὕτως εἴπε τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πάσιν συνέσχε ταύτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκώμματο ήρχετο ὁ Κύρος. κατανοήσας γὰρ τινὰ τῶν λοχαγῶν σύνδεσµον καὶ παρακλήσιν πεποιηµένον ἄνδρα ὑπέρδασιν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον, ἀνακαλέσας τὸν λοχαγὸν ὑνοµιστὶ εἴπεν ὅδε: "Ὤ Σαµβαύλα, ἐφί, ἄλλ’ ἡ καὶ σύ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον, ὅτι

1 καὶ µὴ µέντοι Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; µηδὲ µέντοι z, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; καὶ µηδὲ µέντοι yÇ; καὶ µέντοι µηδὲ E.
2 After πάντων Hug omits ἀνθρώπων; Gemoll brackets ἀνθρώπων.
26. "Do not, however, endeavour to fill up their places in the ranks with your own countrymen only; but, just as in selecting a team you seek out not horses that are home-bred but those which are best, so also in the case of men, take them from all sources—whoever you think will be most likely to contribute to your strength and to your honour. And I have the following illustrations to prove the worth of my suggestion: a chariot would never go fast, I am sure, if slow horses were attached to it, nor would it be serviceable if horses unfit for service were harnessed to it; nor yet could a house be well managed if it employed vicious servants, but it would suffer less from having no servants at all than from being kept in confusion by incapable servants.

27. "Let me assure you of this, too, my friends," he added, "that the weeding out of the vicious will bring not only this advantage, that the vicious will be out of the way, but also among those who remain the ones that have already been infected with vice will be purged of it, while the virtuous seeing the vicious disgraced will cleave more eagerly to virtue."

28. With that he concluded; and all his friends agreed that what he said was true, and they began to act upon that principle.

After that Cyrus began again to jest with them; for he had observed that one of the lieutenants had brought along as a guest and companion at table an exceedingly hairy and exceedingly ill-favoured man; and addressing the lieutenant by name he spoke as follows: "Well, Sambaulas," said he, "so you also have adopted the Greek fashion, have you, and take
καλὸν ἐστὶ, περιάγει τὸ τοῦ μειράκιον τὸ παρακατακείμενον σοι;
Νὴ τὸν Δί, ἐφη ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ἦδομαι γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ θεομενὸς τοῦτον.

29. Ἀκοῦσαντες ταῦτα οἱ σύσκηνοι προσέβλεψαν ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἄνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλων αἶσχει, ἐγέλασαν πάντες· καὶ τις εἶπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Σαμβαύλα, ποῦ φημὶ ποτὲ σε ἔργῳ ὁ ἄνηρ οὖτος ἀνήρτηται; 2

30. Καὶ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἕγῳ ὑμῖν νῦ τὸν Δία, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἔρω. ὁποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἰτε νυκτὸς εἰτε ἡμέρας, οὐπώποτε μοι οὔτ' ἀσχολίαν προφασίσατο οὔτε βάδην ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τρέχων ὁποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πρᾶξαι τι προσέταξα, οὐδὲν ἄνδρωτι ποτὲ αὐτὸν εἶδον ποιοῦντα. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκαδέας πάντας τοιοῦτος, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνύς οἶους δεὶ εἴναι.

31. Καὶ τις εἶπε, Κάπειτα τοιοῦτον ὁντα οὐ φιλεῖς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς;
Καὶ ὁ αἰσχρὸς ἑκεῖνος πρὸς τοῦτο ἐφη· Μὰ Δία· οὐ γὰρ φιλόποινός ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ ἥρκει ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔμε ἥθελε φιλεῖν, τότε ἀντι πάντων τῶν χρυσασίων.

1 περιάγει: Juntine ed., Cobet, most Edd.; περιάγη (above the line -ei) F; περιάγεις xzd, Dindorf.
2 ἀνήρτηται Muretus, Edd.; ἄν(προ-Ε) ήρτηται MSS.
3 τῶν xyGh, Gemoll, Marchant; not in A, Dindorf, et al. (all kinds of exercises).

174
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Hug: Xenophontis Institutio Cyri, recensuit Arnoldus Hug. Lipsiae: 1905. (The basis of the present text.)


Schneider: Xenophontis quae exstant. Ex librorum scriptorum fide et virorum doctorum coniecturis recensuit et interpretatus est Joannes Gottlob Schneider. 6 voll. Lipsiae: 1790–1849.

Stephanus: Χενοφῶντος ἀπαντά τὰ σωσθενεία βιβλια. Multorum veterum exemplarium opera purgata... cum Latina interpretatione F. Filelfi... Genevae: 1561; 1581.

Weiske: Xenophontis Scripta, in usum lectorum, Graecis litteris tinctorum ad rerum et verborum intelligentiam illustrata a Benjamin Weiske. 6 voll. Lipsiae: 1798–1804.


xvi
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The most important manuscripts of Xenophon are ascribed to three families, x, y, and z. The following are cited in the notes:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{x} & \text{C} & \text{Parisinus C} \\
\text{E} & \text{Etonensis} & \text{Eton} \\
\text{D} & \text{Bodleianus} & \text{Oxford} \\
\text{y} & \text{F} & \text{Erlangensis} \\
\text{R} & \text{Bremensis} & \text{Bremen} \\
\text{z} & \text{G} & \text{Guelferbytanos} \\
\text{H} & \text{Escorialensis} & \text{Escorial} \\
\text{V} & \text{Vaticanus} & \text{Rome} \\
\pi_2 & \text{Fragmenta Oxyrhynch} & \text{Milan} \\
m & \text{Ambrosianus (I.)} & \text{Third century} \\
\text{v. 7-14; III.} & \text{Tenth century} \\
\text{iii. 44-45} & \text{Twelfth century} \\
\end{array}
\]

The earliest printed edition of Xenophon is the Latin version of Francis Philelphus, 1476.

The Princeps of the Greek text was published by Giunta at Florence in 1516 (second edition, 1527), printed from a good manuscript now lost. The title-page runs: τάδε ἐνεστίν ἐν τῇ βιβλῳ Χενοφῶντος Κύρου Παιδείας βιβλία ἡ κ.τ.λ. Hæc in hoc libro continentur: Xenophontis Cyripedias Libri VIII.; Anabaseos Libri VII.; Apomemoneumaton; de Venatione; de Re Equestri; de Equis Alendid; Lacedaemoniorum Respublica; Atheniensium Respublica; Oeconomic; Hieron; Symposium; de Graecorum Gestiis Libri VII. In aedibus P. Juntae: Florentiae, 1516.


Dindorf: Xenophontis Institutio Cyri, ex Recensione et cum Annotationibus Ludovici Dindorfi. Oxonii: 1857. (Referred to in the notes as Dindorf or Dindorf3.)

Dindorf: Xenophontis Institutio Cyri, recensuit et præfatus est Ludovicus Dindorfius. Editio IV. emendator. Lipsiae: 1875. (Referred to in the notes as Dindorf4.)
about with you everywhere this youngster who is now beside you, because he is so handsome?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said Sambaulas; "at all events I enjoy both his company and his looks."

29. When his messmates heard this, they looked at the man; and when they saw that his countenance was exceedingly ugly, they all laughed. And one of them said: "In the name of the gods, Sambaulas, what has this fellow done to make such a hit with you?"

30. "By Zeus, fellows," he answered, "I will tell you. Every time that I have called him, whether by day or by night, he has never made any excuse saying that 'he had not time,' nor has he answered my call slowly, but always on a run. And as often as I have bidden him do anything, I have never seen him perform it without sweat; and besides, by showing them not by precept but by example what sort of men they ought to be, he has made his whole squad of ten just like himself."

31. "And yet," said one of the men, "although he is such an excellent fellow, you don't kiss him as you do your relatives?"

And the homely man answered this and said: "No, by Zeus, for he is not fond of hard work; for if he wished to kiss me, that would be an ample substitute for all his drill-work."
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΗ

III

1. Σουάντα μὲν δὴ καὶ γελοία καὶ σπούδαία καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας σπούδας ποίησαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τάγαθα τῇ σκηνῇ εἰς κοίτην διέλυνον. τῇ δ’ ύστεραίᾳ ὁ Κύρος συνέλεξε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐλέξει τοιάδει.

2. Ἀνδρες φίλοι, ο μὲν ἀγὼν ἔγνυς ἡμῖν προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι. τὰ δ' ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, ἣν μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν (τοιοῦτο γὰρ, ἐφη, δει καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν), δήλων ὅτι οἱ τε πολέμιοι ἠμέτροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγαθα πάντα: ἢν δὲ ἡμεῖς αὖ νικώμεθα, καὶ οὐτω τὰ τῶν νικωμένων πάντα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀεὶ ἄθλα πρόκειται. 3. οὖτω δὴ, ἐφη, δεὶ ύμᾶς γιγνώσκειν ὡς ὅταν μὲν ἄνθρωποι κοινοὶ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔκαστοι ἔχωσιν ὡς, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τις προσυμήσεται, οὔτεν ἔσωμεν τῶν δεοντών, ταχὺ πολλά καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται: οὔτεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἁργεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων; ὅταν δ' ἐκαστὸς διανοηθῇ ὡς ἄλλος ἔσται ὁ πράττων καὶ ὁ μαχόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς μαλακίζηται, τούτοις, ἐφη, εὖ ὅτε ὅτι πᾶσιν ἁμα πάντα ἤκει τὰ χαλεπὰ φερόμενα. 4. καὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὖτω πως ἐποίησε τοὺς μὴ θέλοντοι ἑαυτοῖς προστάτευεν ἐκπονεῖν τάγαθα ἄλλονς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτακτήρας δίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τίς, ἐφη, λεγέτω.
III

1. Things of this sort, both grave and gay, were said and done at the dinner party. And finally when they had made the third libation and prayed to the gods for their blessings, the party broke up, and they all went to bed. Then on the morrow, Cyrus called all his soldiers together and spoke as follows:

2. "Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemy are approaching. As for the prizes of victory, if we are victorious—and we must assume that we shall be and work to that end—it is evident that the enemy and all that is theirs will belong to us. But, on the other hand, if we are defeated—in this case, too, all the possessions of the vanquished are invariably the prizes set for the victors. 3. Accordingly," said he, "you must realize that when men who are united as comrades in war are fully persuaded that nothing will come out as it should unless each individual man exerts himself, then many splendid achievements are speedily accomplished; for nothing that needs to be done is neglected. But when each one assumes that there will be some one else to do and to fight, even if he proves a weakling; let me assure you," said he, "that to such men, all alike, all that is grievous comes in a flood. 4. And God has ordained it in some such way as this: in the case of those who will not compel themselves to work out their own good, he assigns others to be

1 Xenophon here introduces a Greek custom; the Persians poured no libations. But at the conclusion of a dinner, the Greeks poured three libations: the first, to the gods; the second, to the heroes; the third to Zeus, or to Hermes.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

ἐνθάδε ἀναστάς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου ποτέρως ἂν τὴν ἁρετὴν μᾶλλον οὔτει ἄσκεισθαι παρ᾿ ἥμιν, εἰ μέλλων ὁ πλείστα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἢ ἂν εἰδώμεν ὦτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακὸν εἶναι ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἰδῶν τευξόμεθα.

5. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναστάς Χρυσάντας, εἰς τῶν ὁμοτίμων, ἀνὴρ οὔτε μέγας οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς ἰδεῖν, φρονήσει δὲ διαφέρων, ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλ᾿ οἶμαι μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, οὐδὲ διανοούμενον σε ὠς δεῖ ἵσον ἐχειν τοὺς κακοὺς τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ᾿ ἀποπειρώμενον εἰ τις ἁρὰ ἔσται ἀνὴρ ὅστις ἔθελησει ἐπιδείξαι ἑαυτὸν ὡς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν κάγαθον ποιῶν, ἂν ἄλλοι τῇ ἁρετῇ καταπράξομαι τοῖς ἵσομαιρεῖν.

6. ἔγω δ᾿ ἔφη, οὔτε ποσίν εἰμι ταχὺς οὔτε χερῶν ἰσχυρός, γιγαντιάκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἔγω τῇ ἐμῷ σώματι ποιήσω, οὐ κριθεῖν οὔτε ἂν πρώτος οὔτε ἂν δεύτερος, οἶμαι δ’ οὖν ἂν χιλιστός, ἵσως δ’ οὖν ἂν μυριστός· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπί- σταμαι ὅτι εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀντιλήψονται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἁγαθοῦ τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὧσον ἂν δίκαιον ἦ· εἰ δ’ οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἁγαθοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ ἀθύμως ἔξουσι, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλείον μέρος ἢ ἐγὼ βούλομαι.

7. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ οὔτως εἶπεν. ἀνέστη δ᾿ ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ Φεραύλας, Πέρσης τῶν δημοτῶν, 178
their commanders. Now, therefore, let any one stand up and speak to this question before us, whether he thinks that valour would be more cultivated among us, if the one who will do and dare most is also to receive the greatest rewards, or if we know that it makes no difference whether a man be a coward or not, as we shall all share and share alike."

5. Hereupon Chrysantas, one of the peers, a man neither large nor powerful to look upon, but pre-eminent in understanding, stood up and spoke: "Well, Cyrus," said he, "I think that you are introducing this discussion not because you think that the bad ought to have an equal share with the good, but because you wish to prove whether a single man will really be found who will care to let it be known that he thinks that, even if he himself does nothing good and noble, he should have an equal share of that which others win by their valour."

6. Now I," he went on, "am neither fleet of foot nor strong of arm, and I know that in view of what I shall accomplish by my bodily strength I should not be judged either the first or the second, or even, I suppose, the thousandth, and perhaps not even the ten thousandth. But on this point I am perfectly clear, that if those who are powerful men take matters vigorously in hand, I shall have as large a share of any good fortune that may come as I deserve. But if the bad do nothing and the good and strong lose heart, I am afraid," said he, "that I shall have a larger share than I wish of something other than good."

7. Thus spoke Chrysantas. And after him Pheraulas stood up, one of the Persian common-
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Κύρω πως ἐτι οἰκοθεν συνήθης καὶ ἀρεστός ἀνήρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄκτος, καὶ τὴν ψυχήν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ ἀνδρὶ έοικώς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 8. ᾐγώ, ἐφη, ὡς Κύρω καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Πέρσαι, ἥγουμαι μὲν ἦμας πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἰσοῦ νῦν ὅρμασθαί εἰς τὸ ἀγονίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς. ὡρῶ γὰρ ὅμοια μὲν τροφὴ πάντας ἦμας τὸ σῶμα ἀσκοῦντας, ὅμοιας δὲ συνουσίας πάντας ἀξιομένους, ταῦτα δὲ πᾶσιν ἦμιν πρόκειται. τὸ τε γὰρ τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι πείθεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ δὲ ἂν φαύνῃ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιοῦν, τοῦτον ὅρῶ παρὰ Κύρων τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα. τὸ τε 2 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλκιμον εἶναι οὐ τῷ μὲν προσήκον τῷ δ’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τούτο προκέκριται κάλλιστον εἶναι.

9. Νῦν δ’, ἐφη, ἦμιν καὶ δείκνυται 3 μάχη, ἸΗ ἐγώ ὅρῳ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει ἐπίσταμένους, ὅσπερ γε καὶ τάλλα ζῶα ἐπίσταται των μάχην ἐκαστα οὔδε παρ’ ἐνὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα ἡ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἶον ὁ βοῦς κέρατο πάλαιν, ὁ ἵππος ὀπλῆ, ὁ κύων στόματι, ὁ κάπρος ὀδόντω. καὶ φυλαττεσθαι γ’, ἐφη, ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἐπίσταται ἀφ’ ὅν μάλιστα δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐδενός διδασκαλόν πώποτε φοιτήσαντα. 10. καὶ ἐγώ, ἐφη, ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἀπιστάμην πρὸ τοῦτων ὁ τι φύμη πληγήσεθαι εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τῷ χείρῃ προέχων ἐνεπο-

1 τὸ σῶμα xz, Marchant; τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἄφης γ, most Edd. (not physically unfit).
2 τὸ τε C, Breitenbach, Marchant; τὸ τ’ αδ γG, Dindorf, Gemoll.
3 δείκνυται x, Marchant, Gemoll; δέδεικται yz, most Edd.

180
ers, but a man who for some reason or other had from the beginning won Cyrus's confidence and affection; besides he was well-favoured in body and a gentleman at heart. His speech was as follows: 8. "I think, Cyrus," said he, "and all you Persians here assembled, that we are all now starting on an equal footing in a contest of merit; for I observe that we are all taking the same bodily exercise, that we all have the same rations, that we are all considered worthy to move in the same society, and that the prizes are offered alike to all. For obedience to the officers has been enjoined equally upon us all, and whoever shows himself prompt to comply, I observe that he receives honour from Cyrus. Again, to be brave in the face of the enemy is not a thing to be expected of one and not of another, but it is considered far the noblest thing for all alike.

9. "And now," he continued, "we have been initiated into a method of fighting, which, I observe, all men naturally understand, just as in the case of other creatures each understands some method of fighting which it has not learned from any other source than from instinct: for instance, the bull knows how to fight with his horns, the horse with his hoofs, the dog with his teeth, the boar with his tusks. And all know how to protect themselves, too, against that from which they most need protection, and that, too, though they have never gone to school to any teacher. 10. As for myself, I have understood from my very childhood how to protect the spot where I thought I was likely to receive a blow; and if I had nothing else I put out my hands to hinder as well as I could.
XENOPHON

diξον ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παίοντα· καὶ τούτο ἐποίουν οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἄλλα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παίδε- 
μενος, εἰ προβαλομὲν: μάχαιραν γε μὴν εὑθὺς 
παιδίον ὁν ἦρπαξον ὅπου ἰδοίμη, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς 
οὐδὲ τούτο μαθῶν ὅπως δεί λαμβάνειν ἢ παρὰ 
τῆς φύσεως, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι. ἐποίουν γοῦν καὶ 
tούτῳ κωλυόμενος, οὐ διδασκόμενος· ὡσπερ καὶ 
ἀλλα ἐστίν ὁ εἰργόμενος καὶ υπὸ μητρὸς καὶ υπὸ 
patρὸς υπὸ τῆς φύσεως πράττειν ἡμαγκαζόμην. 
kαὶ ναι μὰ Δία ἐπαίον γε τῇ μαχαίρᾳ πᾶν ὁ τι 
dυναίμην λαμβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον φύσει ἦν, 
ὡσπερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἄλλα καὶ ἦδυ 
πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι τούτῳ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι.

11. Ἔπει δ' οὖν, ἐφη, αὕτη ἡ μάχη κατα-
λείπεται, ἐν ἣ προθυμίας μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης ἔργον 
estί, πῶς ἢμῖν οὖχ ἠδέως πρὸς τούσδε τοὺς 
ὀμοτίμους ἀγωνιστέου; ὅπου γε τὰ μὲν ἄθλα τῆς 
ἀρετῆς ἵσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ οὐκ 
ἵσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἵμεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν ἐντιμοῦν, 
ὡσπερ μόνος ἢδιστος, βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπίτοπον μὲν, 
ἀτιμῶν δὲ, ὡσπερ οὐμαί χαλεπώτατος.

12. Μάλιστα δέ, ὁ ἄνδρες, τούτο με [εὐθὺ-
μος]¹ εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν πρὸς τούσδε παρομα-
δὶ Κῦρος ὁ κρίνων ἐσται, δὲ οὐ φθορὰς κρίνει, 
ἀλλὰ (σὺν θεῶν ὅρκῳ λέγω) ἢ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ 
Κῦρος οὔστινας ἄν ὀφρα ² ἀγαθοὺς φιλεῖν οὐδὲν 
ἡττου ἐαυτοῦ· τούτους γοῦν ὅρῳ αὐτὸν ὁ τι ἄν ἔχῃ

¹ εὐθύμος MSS.; bracketed or omitted by most Edd.; 
eὐθύς ποσ Gemoll (straight on).
² ἀν ὀφρ ο, most Edd.; ὀφρ xz, Gemoll.
182
the one who was trying to hit me. And this I did not from having been taught to do so, but even though I was beaten for that very act of putting out my hands. Furthermore, even when I was a little fellow I used to seize a sword wherever I saw one, although, I declare, I had never learned, except from instinct, even how to take hold of a sword. At any rate, I used to do this, even though they tried to keep me from it—and certainly they did not teach me so to do—just as I was impelled by nature to do certain other things which my father and mother tried to keep me away from. And, by Zeus, I used to hack with a sword everything that I could without being caught at it. For this was not only instinctive, like walking and running, but I thought it was fun in addition to its being natural.

11. "Be that as it may," he went on, "since this method of fighting awaits us, which demands courage more than skill, why should we not gladly compete with the peers here? For the prizes proposed for excellence are equal, but we shall go into the trial not having at stake interests equal with theirs; for they have at stake a life of honour, which is the most happy of all, while we risk only a life of toil unhonoured, which I think is most burdensome.

12. "And this, comrades, gives me the most courage for the competition with these gentlemen, that Cyrus is to be the judge; for he decides not with partiality, but (I swear it by the gods) I verily think that Cyrus loves no less than himself those whom he recognizes as valiant. At any rate, I observe that, whatever he has, he is much more pleased to give it to them than to keep it
ΧΕΝΟΨΗΟΝ

ηδιον¹ διδόντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα. 13. καὶ-
tοι, ἐφη, οἶδα ὅτι οὗτοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν ὅτι
πεπαιδευνται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμῶν καὶ δὴν καὶ
πρὸς ρήγος καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα
ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονος διδασκάλου πεπαιδεύμεθα
ἡ οὕτω. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι διδάσκαλος οὐδὲις τοῦτων
κρείττων τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἡ ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν ταῦτ᾽
ἀκριβοῦν εἴδιδαξε. 14. καὶ ποιεῖν οὗτοι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα
φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἂ ἐστιν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις
ηὑρημένα ὡς ἄν εἰσφορῶτατα εἰη, ἡμεῖς δὲ γ', ἐφη,
ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν
ἡμαγκαζόμεθα, ὅστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὅπλων
φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον ἐοικέναι ἢ φορτίῳ.
15. Ὅς οὖν ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἀγνοιούμενον καὶ
ὁποῖος ἃν τις ὅ γα κατά τὴν ἄξιαν με τιμᾶν
ἀξιώσοντος, οὕτως, ἐφη, ὃ Κύρε, γίγνωσκε.
καὶ ὑμῖν γ', ἐφη, ὃ ἄνδρες δημοται, παραινώ
εἰς ἐριν ὀρμᾶσθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς
πεπαιδευμένους τοῦσκε. νῦν γὰρ ἄνδρες² εἰλημ-
μένου εἰσὶν ἐν δημοτικῆ ἀγωνίᾳ.
16. Φεράύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἰπεν. ἀνίσταντο
de καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων συναγορεύοντες.
ἐδοξε κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τιμᾶσθαι ἐκατων, Κύρου
de τὸν κρίνοντα εἰναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω
προκεχωρήκει.
17. Ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπὶ δείπνουν ὁ Κύρος καὶ ὅλην
ποτὲ τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τοὺς
μὲν ἡμῖνες τῶν ἄνδρῶν τῆς τάξεως ἀντιτάξαντα
ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς ἐμβολὴν, θώρακας μὲν ἀμφοτέρους

¹ ἠδιον y, most Edd. ; not in xz, Gemoll.
² ἄνδρες Schneider, Edd. ; ἄνδρες MSS.
for himself. 13. And yet I know that these men pride themselves upon having been trained, as they say, to endure hunger and thirst and cold, but they do not know that in this we also have been trained by a better teacher than they have had; for in these branches there is no better teacher than necessity, which has given us exceedingly thorough instruction in them. 14. And they have been in training for hard labour by carrying weapons, which all men have so devised that they may be as easy as possible to bear; while we, on our part, have been obliged to walk and to run with heavy burdens, so that the carrying of arms now seems to me more like having wings than bearing a burden.

15. “Let me inform you, therefore, Cyrus,” said he, “that I, for one, shall not only enter this contest, but I shall also expect you to reward me according to my deserts, whatever I am, for better or worse. And you, my fellow-commoners,” he concluded, “I recommend you to enter with alacrity into the competition with these gentlemen in this sort of warfare; for now they have been trapped in a contest with commoners.”

16. Thus Pheraulas spoke. And many others from both orders rose to speak in favour of the measure. They decided that each one should receive rewards according to his deserts, and that Cyrus should be the judge. Thus, then, the matter was satisfactorily settled.

17. And once Cyrus invited a captain and his whole company to dinner, because he had noticed him drawing up one half of the men of his company against the other half for a sham battle. Both sides
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ Χ

έχοντας καὶ γέρρα ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς δεξιὰς νάρθηκας παχεῖς τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν ἔδωκε, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους εἶπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δείησοι ἀναίρου-μένους ταῖς βῶλοις.

18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι οὕτως ἔστησαν, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον ταῖς βῶλοις καὶ ἔστιν οἱ ἐτύγχανον καὶ θωράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ κνημίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οὶ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἔχοντες ἐπαίουν τῶν μὲν μηροῦς, τῶν δὲ χείρας, τῶν δὲ κνῆμας, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπικυπτόντων ἐπὶ βῶλοις ἐπαίουν τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νῶτα. τέλος δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἔδιωκον οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι παίοντες σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι καὶ παιδιᾷ. ἐν μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἑτεροὶ λαβόντες πάλιν τοὺς νάρθηκας ταῦτα ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βῶλοις βάλλοντας.

19. Ταῦτα δ’ ἀγασθεῖς ὁ Κύρος, τοῦ μὲν ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθώ, ὅτι ἁμα μὲν ἔγνωσίζοντο, ἁμα δὲ ἡθοῦμοντο, ἁμα δὲ ἐνίκων οἱ εἰκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὁπλάσει, τούτοις δὴ ἤσθεῖς ἐκάλεσέ τε ἐπὶ δειπνον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἱδὼν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους, τὸν μὲν τινα ἀντικνήμου, τὸν δὲ χείρα, ἥρωτά τι πάθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἐλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖεν ταῖς βῶλοις. 20. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπηρώτα πότερον ἐπεὶ ὁμοῖ ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐλεγον ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῖ ἐγένοντο, παιδιὰν ἔφασαν εἶναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι. οἱ δὲ
had breastplates and on their left arms their shields; in the hands of the one side he placed stout cudgels, while he told the other side that they would have to pick up clods to throw.

18. Now when they had taken their stand thus equipped, he gave the order to begin battle. Then those on the one side threw their clods, and some struck the breastplates and shields, others also struck the thighs and greaves of their opponents. But when they came into close quarters, those who had the cudgels struck the others—some upon the thighs, others upon the arms, others upon the shins; and as still others stooped to pick up clods, the cudgels came down upon their necks and backs. And finally, when the cudgel-bearers had put their opponents to flight, they pursued them laying on the blows amid shouts of laughter and merriment. And then again, changing about, the other side took the cudgels with the same result to their opponents, who in turn threw clods.

19. In this Cyrus admired both the captain's cleverness and the men's obedience, and he was pleased to see that they were at the same time having their practice and enjoying themselves and also because that side was victorious which was armed after the fashion of the Persians. Pleased with this he invited them to dinner; and in his tent, observing some of them wearing bandages—one around his leg, another around his arm—he asked them what the matter was; and they answered that they had been hit with the clods. 20. And he inquired further, whether it had happened when they were close together or far apart. And they said it was when they were far apart. But when they came to close quarters, it was capital fun—so
XENOPHON

συγκεκομμένοι τοῖς νάρθηξιν ἀνέκραγον ὡς ὁὐ σφίσι δοκοῖ παιδιὰ εἶναι τὸ ὁμόθεν παῖεσθαι· ἀμα δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθήκων τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχήλοις, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις. καὶ τότε μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις.

Τῇ δ' ύστεραία μεστὸν ἦν τὸ πεδίον πάν τῶν τούτων μιμομεμένων καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι σπον- δαίτερον πράττοιεν, ταύτῃ τῇ παιδιᾷ ἐχρώντο.

21. Ἄλλον δὲ ποτὲ ἰδὼν ταξιάρχον ἣγοντα τὴν τάξιν ἄπο τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἐφ' ἐνὸς, καὶ ὅποτε δοκοῖ αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παραγγέλ- λοντα τὸν ύστερον λόχον παράγειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον

1 πάν τῶν Stephanus, Edd.; πάντων MSS.

---

The manoeuvre here described is perfectly simple: they are coming up from the river, from the left, thus (letting . stand for private, † for corporal, ‡ for sergeant, * for lieutenant [in command of a division of twenty-five], § for captain):—

First Formation—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fourth division</th>
<th>third division</th>
<th>second division</th>
<th>first division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>§</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first division halts, and the other three, in succession, line up abreast with the first; the second formation has the four lieutenants abreast in front and is twenty-five men deep:

Second Formation—

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>§</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then each division doubles up, and the third formation, with the eight sergeants abreast in front, and the eight corporals abreast further back is

188
the cudgel-bearers said; but those who had been thoroughly drubbed with the cudgels cried out that it did not seem any fun to them to be beaten at close quarters, and at the same time they showed the marks of the cudgels on their arms and their necks and some also on their faces. And then, as was natural, they laughed at one another.

On the following day the whole plain was full of men following their example; and if they had nothing more important to do, they indulged in this sport.

21. And once he saw another captain leading his company up from the river left about in single file and ordering when he thought it was proper, the second division\(^a\) and then the third and the fourth

\[\text{Third Formation—}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot
\end{array}
\]

With another doubling up of ranks, they assume a front of sixteen men and a depth of six:

\[\text{Fourth Formation—}\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccccccccccc}
\cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot
\end{array}
\]

Finally in these groups of six each, they are led, single file, in to dinner.
καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μετώπῳ
οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐγένοντο, παραγγέλθησεν εἰς δύο ἄγειν
τὸν λόχον· ἔκ τούτων δὴ παρῆγγγαν οἱ δεκάδαρχοι
eἰς μέτωπον· ὅποτε δ' αὐτὸι καὶ ῥός
eἶναι, παραγγείλειν εἰς τέταρας τὸν λόχον· οὔτω
dὴ οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι αὐτ' παρῆγγγαν εἰς τέταρας· ἐπεὶ
dὲ ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγείλας
αὐτ' εἰς ἕνα οὖτως ἐισῆγη τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ
tὸν δεύτερον τούτου καὶ τὸν θύραν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπε-
σθαι, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ὑσαήτως
παραγγείλας ἢγείτο εἰςω. οὔτω δὲ εἰσαγαγών
κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὦσπερ εἰσεπορεύοντο·
tούτοις οὖν ο Κύρος ἄγασθείς τῆς τε πράγματος
τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐκάλεσε ταύ-
tην τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ.

22. Παρὼν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῷ δεύτερῳ κεκλημένος
ἄλλος ταξιάρχος, Τὴν δ' ἐμὴν, ἔφη, τάξιν, ὃ
Κύρε, οὐ καλεῖς εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν; καὶ μὴν ὦταν γε
παρῆγγγαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον, πάντα ταύτα ἡμεῖς·
καὶ ὦταν τέλος ἡ σκηνὴ ἐχθρ., ἐξάγει μὲν τὸν
ὑσαύτος, ἔφη, ὃ τοῦ τελευταῖον λόχον τὸν λόχον, ὧστα-
tους ἐχθροὺς τῶν πρῶτος τεταγμένος εἰς μάχην·
ἐπείκτι τῷ δεύτερος τοὺς τοῦ εὐτερού λόχον ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tοις, καὶ τὸ τρίτος καὶ τὸ τέταρτος ὑσαύτως, ὡς
ἔφη, καὶ ὦταν ἀπαγεῖν δέη ἀπὸ πολεμίων,
ἐπίστοις ποτὲ ὡς δεῖ ἀπειναὶ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ, ἔφη,
καταστώμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρμον ἔνθα περιπατοῦ-
μεν, ὦταν μὲν πρὸς ἐω ἱσωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι,
to advance to the front; and when the lieutenants were in a row in front, he ordered each division to march up in double file. Thus the sergeants came to stand on the front line. Again, when he thought proper, he ordered the divisions to line up four abreast; in this formation, then, the corporals in their turn came to stand four abreast in each division; and when they arrived at the doors of the tent, he commanded them to fall into single file again, and in this order he led the first division into the tent; the second he ordered to fall in line behind the first and follow, and, giving orders in like manner to the third and fourth, he led them inside. And when he had thus led them all in, he gave them their places at dinner in the order in which they came in. Pleased with him for his gentleness of discipline and for his painstaking, Cyrus invited this company also with its captain to dinner.

22. Now there was present another captain who had been invited to the dinner and he said: "Cyrus, will you not invite my company to your tent? My company, too, does all this when we go to mess, and when the meal is finished the rear-guard leader of the last division leads that division out, keeping in the rear those whose place in the battle line is in front; then, next after them, the second rear-guard leader brings out the men of the second division, and the third and the fourth in like manner, in order that," he explained, "they may also know how to withdraw, if ever it is necessary to retreat before the enemy. And when we take our places on the parade-ground, I take the lead, when we march toward the east, and the first division of the company
καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ὡς δεῖ, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λό- χων δεκάδες καὶ πεμπάδες, ἠώς ἀν παραγγέλλω ἐγώ· ὅταν δ’, ἔφη, πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἱωμεν, ὁ οὐ- ραγός τε καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι πρῶτοι ἀφηγοῦνται· ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὖτω πείθονται υστέρῳ ἰόντι, ἴνα ἐθίζωνται καὶ ἐπεσθαί καὶ ἤγείσθαι ὁμοίως πειθόμενοι.

23. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Ἡ καὶ ἀεὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖτε; Ὁποσάκις ἐγε, ἔφη, καὶ δειπνοποιούμεθα, νὴ Δία.

Καλῶ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς τάξεις μελετάτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἀμα δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἀμα δ’ ὅτι τὰ τε σώματα περιπατοῦντες ἄσκειτε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὧφελείτε διδάσκοντες. ἐπεὶ οὖν πάντα διπλά ποιεῖτε, διπλὴν ὑμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐ- ωχίαν παρέχειν.

24. Μὰ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ ταξίαρχος, μήτοι ή’ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, εἰ μὴ καὶ διπλᾶς ἦμῖν τὰς γαστέρας παρέξεις.

Καὶ τὸτε μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπτείχατο. τῇ δ’ υστεραίᾳ ὁ Κύρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὡστερ ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰ- σθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐμμοῦντο.

IV

1. Ἑξέτασιν δὲ ποτε πάντων τοῦ Κύρου ποιού- μένου ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ σύνταξιν ἥλθε παρὰ Κυκάρου ἀγγελός λέγων ὅτι Ἰουδῶν παρείη πρεσ-
goes first, the second in its proper order, and then
the third and the fourth and the squads of ten and
five in each division, until I give the order for some
change of formation; then," said he, "when we
march toward the west, the rear-guard leader and
the rear-guard lead off first. Still, even so, they
have to look to me for the commands, though I
march last, so that they may get into the habit of
obeying just the same whether they follow or whether
they lead."

23. "Do you always do that way?" asked Cyrus.
"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "as often as we go to
dinner."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "I will invite you,
because you give your lines practice both in coming
and in going, by night and by day, and also because
you give your bodies exercise by marching about, and
improve your minds by instruction. Since, therefore,
you do all this doubly, it is only fair that I should
furnish you a double feast also."

24. "No, by Zeus," said the captain, "at any rate
not on the same day, unless you will furnish us with
double stomachs as well."

Thus they brought that dinner to a close. And on
the following day Cyrus invited that company, as he
had promised, and again the next day. And when
the others heard about it, they all followed, in the
future, the example of that company.

IV

1. Once when Cyrus was holding a general review
and parade of all his men under arms, a messenger
came from Cyaxares saying that an embassy had
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

βεία. Κελεύει ούν σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. φέρω
dέ σοι, ἐφ' οὖν ἀγγελος, καὶ στολὴν τὴν καλ-
λίστην παρὰ Κυαξάρου ἐβοῦλετο γάρ σε ὡς
λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσμότατα προσάγειν, ὡς
ὀψιμένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως ἄν προσῆκα.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος παρήγγειλε τῷ
πρώτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῳ εἰς μέτωπον στήναι,
ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἁγιώτατα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑξοντα ἑαυτὸν,
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα τοῦτο παραγ-
γεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδίδοναι ἐκέλευ-
σεν. οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι ταχὺ μὲν παρῆγγελλον,
tαχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐποίουν, ἐν ὁλίγῳ
δὲ χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο τὸ μὲν μέτωπον ὕπ' ἑπίκοςίων,1
tοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταξιάρχοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἐκατὸν.
3. ἔπει δὲ κατέστησαν, ἔπεσαν ἐκέλευ-
σεν ὡς ἄν αὐτῶς ἡγῆται καὶ εὐθὺς τροχάζων
ἡγεῖτο. ἔπει δὲ κατευόσθησε τὴν ἀγνιάν τὴν πρὸς
τὸ βασιλείουν φέρουσαν στενότεραν οὖσαν ἢ ὡς
ἐπὶ μετώπου πάντας διεῖναι, παραγγεῖλας τὴν
πρώτην χιλιοστὴν ἔπεσαν κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ
δευτέραν καὶ οὐρὰν ταύτης ἀκολουθεῖν, καὶ διὰ
πάντων οὕτως, αὐτῶς μὲν ἡγεῖτο οὐκ ἀναπαυο-
μένος, αἰ δὲ ἅλλα χιλιοστὺς καὶ οὐρὰν ἐκάστη
τῆς ἐμπρόσθεν ἐποίουτο.

4. Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἔπι τὸ στόμα
τῆς ἀγνιάς, ὅπως εἰ τις ἀγνοοή, σημαίνοιεν τὸ
δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκουστι ἔπι τὰς Κυαξάρου
θύρας, παρῆγγειλε τῷ πρώτῳ ταξιάρχῳ τὴν τάξιν

1 τριακοσίων Muretus, Edd.; διακοσίων MSS. (two hundred).
arrived from India. "He therefore bids you come as soon as possible. Moreover," said the messenger, "I am bringing you a very beautiful robe from Cyaxares; for he expressed the wish that you appear as brilliant and splendid as possible when you come, for the Indians will see how you approach him."

2. And when Cyrus heard this, he gave orders to the captain who was stationed first to take his stand at the head of the line, bringing up his company in single file and keeping himself to the right; he told him to transmit the same order to the second captain and to pass it on through all the lines. And they obeyed at once and passed the order on, and they all executed it promptly, and in a little while they were three hundred abreast on the front line, for that was the number of the captains, and a hundred men deep.

3. And when they had got into their places, he ordered them to follow as he himself should lead. And at once he led them off at a double quick step. But when he became aware that the street leading to the king's headquarters was too narrow to admit all his men with such a front, he ordered the first regiment in their present order to follow him, the second to fall in behind the first, and so on through them all, while he himself led on without stopping to rest, and the other regiments followed, each the one before it.

4. And he sent also two adjutants to the entrance of the street, to tell what was to be done, if any one did not understand. And when they arrived at Cyaxares's doors, he ordered the first captain to draw up his company twelve deep, while the sergeants
eis ὁδόεκα τάττειν βάθος, τοὺς δὲ ὀδοεκάρχους ἐν μετώπῳ καθιστάναι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ταύτα ἐκέλευσε παραγγείλαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως. 5. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ᾽ ἐποίουν· ὁ δ᾽ εἰσήγη πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ οὔδέν τι ὑβρισμένην. ἤδων δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κυαξάρης τῷ μὲν τάχει ᾦδῃ, τῇ δὲ φαύλωτη τῆς στολῆς ἠχθέσθη, καὶ εἶπε, Τι τοῦτο, ὁ Κύρε; ὅπων πετούκηκας οὕτω φανεῖς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; ἔγω δ᾽, ἐφη, ἐβουλόμην σὲ ὡς λαμπρότατον φανῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀν κόσμος ἦν τοῦτο, ἐμῆς δὲτα ἀδελφῆς ὑπὸν ὅτι μεγαλοπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι.

6. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταύτα εἶπε, Καὶ ποτέρος ἂν, ὁ Κυαξάρης, μᾶλλον σὲ ἐκόσμουν, εἴπερ πορφυρίδα ἐνδύσ καὶ ψέλμα λαβὼν καὶ στρεπτός περιθέμενος σχολή κελεύοντι ὑπήκοουν σοι, ἢ νῦν ὅτε σὺν τοιαύτη καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει οὕτω σοι οξέως ὑπακούως διὰ τὸ σὲ τιμᾶν ἱδρῶτι καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ·αὐτὸς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεικνύει σοι οὕτω πειθομένους;

Κύρος μὲν οὖν ταύτα εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης νομίσας αὐτὸν ὄρθως λέγειν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. 7. οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσεθήνοντες ἐλέξαν ὅτι πέμψει σφᾶς ὁ Ίνδων βασιλεὺς κελεύων ἐρωτῶν ἐξ ὅτου ὁ πόλεμος εἰς Μῆδοις τε καὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀκούσαμεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντας αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον κάκειν ταύτα πυθέσθαι· τέλος ὁ ἀμφοτέρους εἴπειν ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, τὸ δικαίων σκεψάμενος, φαίη μετὰ τοῦ ἡδικημένου ἐσεθαί.

8. Ποὺς ταύτα ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπεν, Ἐμοῦ μὲν

196
were to take their places on the front line about the king's headquarters. He bade him transmit the same orders to the second captain, and so on to all the rest; 5. and they proceeded to do so, while he presented himself before Cyaxares in his Persian dress, which was not at all showy. When Cyaxares saw him, he was pleased at his promptness but displeased with the plainness of his dress and said: "How is this, Cyrus? What do you mean by appearing thus before the Indians? Now I wished you to appear with as much magnificence as possible, for it would have been a mark of respect to me to have my sister's son appear in all possible grandeur."

6. "Should I be showing you more respect, Cyaxares," Cyrus made reply to this, "if I arrayed myself in purple and adorned myself with bracelets and put on a necklace and at my leisure obeyed your orders, than I have in obeying you with such dispatch and accompanied by so large and so efficient an army? And I have come myself adorned with sweat and marks of haste to honour you and I present the others likewise obedient to you."

Thus Cyrus spoke, and Cyaxares recognizing that he was right summoned the Indians. 7. And when the Indians came in they said that the king of India had sent them with orders to ask on what ground the Medes and the Assyrians had declared war. "And he has ordered us," they said, "when we have heard your statement, to go also to the Assyrian and ask him the same question; and finally, he bade us say to both of you that the king of India declares that when he has weighed the merits of the case, he will side with the party wronged."

8. "Well, then," Cyaxares made reply to this,
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

toίνων ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικοῦμεν τὸν Ἀσσύριον οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνον δ', εἰ δείσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὅ τι λέγει.

Παρών δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἦρετο τὸν Κυαξάρην, Ἡ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, εἴπω ὅ τι τι γιγνώσκω; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκέλευσεν.

Τρεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπαγγείλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ τάδε, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο Κυαξάρη δοκεί, ὅτι φαμὲν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τι φησίν ύφ' ἡμῶν ἀδικεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, αἱρέσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἤχωντο. 9. ἐπεῖ δὲ ἐξήλθον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὁ Κύρος πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦρξατο λόγον τοιούτου:

Ὡ Κυαξάρη, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον οὐδὲν τι πολλὰ ἔχων ἰδίᾳ χρήματα οἴκοθεν ὅποσα δ' ἦν, τούτων πάνω ὅληγα λοιπὰ ἔχω ἀνήλωκα δέ, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τούτο ἱσως, ἔφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἔγω ἀνήλωκα σοι αὐτοὺς τρέφοντος· εὖ δ' ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος, δην τω ἀγαθῶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 10. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι, ἔφη, πάντας μὲν οὐσ ἀν τις βούληται ἀγαθοῦς συνεργοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ὅποιοι τινὸς οὐν πράγματος, Ὑδιον εἶναι εὖ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιοῦντα παρομάν μᾶλλον ἢ λυποῦντα καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα· οὐς δὲ δὴ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργαν ποιῆσασθαί τις βούλοιτο συνεργοὺς προθύμως, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμουγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατεύον εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. φίλους γὰρ, οὐκ ἐχθροὺς, δεὶ εἶναι τοὺς ἐλλάντας ἀπορραφλητοὺς συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ ἄρχοντος φθονήσοντας μήτε ἐν τοῖς 198
"let me tell you that we are not guilty of doing any wrong to the Assyrian; but go now, if you wish, and ask him what he has to say."

Cyrus, who was present, asked Cyaxares, "May I also tell them what I think?" And Cyaxares bade him say on.

"Well then," said he, "if Cyaxares has no objection, tell the king of India that we propose, in case the Assyrian says he has been wronged by us, to choose the king of India himself to be our arbitrator."

Upon hearing this, they went away. 9. And when they had gone out, Cyrus addressed Cyaxares as follows:

"Cyaxares, I came from home without very much money of my own, and of what I had I have very little left. I have spent it," he said, "upon my soldiers. Now you wonder, perhaps, how I have spent it upon them, when you are maintaining them; but I want you to know that it has gone for nothing else than rewards and entertainments, whenever I am pleased with any of my soldiers. 10. For," said he, "in the case of all those whom one wishes to make efficient coadjutors in any enterprise of any sort whatsoever, it seems to me pleasanter to draw them on by kind words and kind services rather than by compulsion and force; but in the case of those whom one wishes to make enthusiastic followers in his plans of war, one must by all means try to capture them with kind words and kind offices. For those men who are to be trusty comrades, who will not envy their commander in his successes nor betray him in his adversity, must be his friends and
XENOPHON

κακοίς προδώσοντας. 1 11. ταύτ’ οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προγνώσκων χρημάτων δοκῶ προσδείσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντα ὁρᾶν δὴ αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανόντα ἀτοπόν μου δοκεῖ εἶναι: σκοπεῖν δ’ ἀξίω κοινῇ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιλείψῃ χρήματα. ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ ἀφθονὰ ἔχῃς, οἴδας ὅτι καὶ ἐμὸι δὲν εἰη λαμβάνειν ὁπότε δεοίμην, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ εἰς τοιοῦτον τι λαμβάνομι δ’ μέλλοι καὶ σοὶ δαπανηθήνει βέλτιον εἶναι.

12. Ἐναγχος οὖν ποτὲ σου μέμνημαι ἀκοῦ- σας ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοῖ σου νῦν, ὦτι ἀκούει τοὺς πολέμιους προσιόντας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὔτε τὸ 2 στράτευμα πέμπτου οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ὃν ἔδει ἀπάγοι.

Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταύτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, ἐκεῖνος; ὡστε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τοὺς πότερον μοι κρείττον στρατεύσθαι καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἄναγκην αὐτῶ προσβείναι ἢ 3 ἔσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τούτον πολέμιον πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους προσβωμέθα.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔτηρετο, Αἴ δ’ ὁικήσεις αὐτῶ πότερον ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις εἰσὶν ἢ καὶ ποι ἐν εὔεφόδοις;

Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπεν, Αἴ μὲν ὁικήσεις οὔ πάνυ ἐν ἐχυροῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτου οὐκ ἠμέλουν· ὅρθε μέντοι ἔστιν ἐνθα δύνατ’ ἀν ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα ἐν ἀσφαλεί εἰναι τού μὴ αὐτὸς γε ὑποχειρίῳ γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὡσα ἐνταῦθα δύνατο

1 προδώσοντας χΑΗ, Edd.; ἀρρωθήσοντας χΓ (shrink in fear).
2 τὸ Schneider, Edd.; not in MSS.
3 ἡ Hug, et al.; ἡ λυσιτελεῖ(-ἡ E) χF, Dindorf; λυσιτελεῖν χDG²; νῦν χ.

200
not his enemies. 11. Accordingly, as I recognize this in advance, I think I need more money. However, it seems to me unreasonable for every one to be looking to you, who, I observe, are put to great expense; but I think that you and I should together lay plans that funds may never fail you. For if you have plenty, I am sure it would be possible for me to draw money whenever I needed it, especially if I should take it to spend for something that would be more to your advantage also.

12. "Now I remember hearing you say one day recently that the Armenian king despises you now, because he has heard that the enemy are coming against you, and that therefore he is neither sending troops nor paying the tribute which is due."

"Yes, Cyrus," he answered; "that is just what he is doing; and so, for my part, I am in doubt whether it is better to proceed against him and try to enforce allegiance or to let him alone for the present, for fear we bring him also upon us as an enemy, in addition to the others."

13. "But his residences," asked Cyrus, "are they all in fortified places or are perhaps some of them in places easy of approach?"

"His residences," answered Cyaxares, "are in places not very well fortified; I did not fail to attend to that. However, there are mountains where he could take refuge and for a time be safe from falling into our hands himself, and where he could insure the safety of whatever he could have carried up.
XENOPHON

υπεκκομίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις πολιορκοῦσθαι προσκαθήμενος, ὡσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.

14. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει τάδε: Ἀλλ' εἰ θέλοις, ἔφη, ἐμὲ πέμψαι, ἵππεις μοι προσθεῖς ὅποσοι δοκοῦσί μέτριοι εἰναί, οἴμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ποίησαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμόν σου έτι δὲ ἐλπίζω καὶ φίλον αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν γενήσεσθαι ἢ νῦν ἔστι.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπε, Καὶ ἔγω, ἔφη, ἐλπίζω ἐκείνους ἔλθείν ἃν πρὸς σὲ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀκοῦσαι γὰρ καὶ συνθηρευτὰς τινὰς τῶν παίδων σοι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ· ὅστ' ἰδοὺς ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἐλθοιν πρὸς σὲ ὑποχειρίων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάντα πραξθείη ἢ ἢ ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα.

Οὗκοιν σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σύμφορον εἶναι τὸ λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς ταῦτα βουλεύοντας;

Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καὶ ἐλθοι τις αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἰ τις ὁρμῶτο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπαράσκευοι ἂν λαμβάνοιτο.

16. Ἀκούει τοῖς, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἃν τί σοι δόξω λέγειν. ἔγω πολλάκις δὴ σὺν πάσιν τοῖς μετ' ἐμοὶ τεθήκακα ἀμφι τὰ δρια τῆς τε σῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἵππεις τινὰς ἢ ἢ προσλαβῶν τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐταϊρῶν ἀφικόμην.

Τὰ μὲν τοῖς ὁμοίων ποιῶν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ἂν ὑποπτεῦοι· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλεῖστων ἢ δύναμις φαίνοιτο ἢ ἢ ἔχων εἰσώθης θηρᾶν, τούτο ἢ ἢ ἐν τούτω ἂν γένοιτο.

1 ἀπαράσκευοι: Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἀπαρασκευάστοι z, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀπαρασκευαστότεροι y.
there secretly, unless some one should occupy the approaches and hold him in siege, as my father did.”

14. “Well,” Cyrus then made answer, “if you would give me as many horsemen as you think reasonable and send me there, I think that with the help of the gods I could make him send the troops and pay the tribute to you. And besides, I hope that he will be made a better friend to us than he now is.”

15. “I also have hopes,” Cyaxares replied, “that they would come to you sooner than to me; for I understand that some of his sons were among your companions in the chase; and so, perhaps, they would join you again. And if they should fall into your hands, everything would be accomplished as we wish.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “do you think it good policy to have this plan of ours kept a secret?”

“Yes, indeed,” said Cyaxares; “for then some of them would be more likely to fall into our hands, and besides, if one were to attack them, they would be taken unprepared.”

16. “Listen then,” said Cyrus, “and see if you think there is anything in what I say. Now I have often hunted with all my forces near the boundary between your country and the Armenians, and have even gone there with some horsemen from among my companions here.”

“And so,” said Cyaxares, “if you were to do the same again, you would excite no suspicion; but if they should notice that your force was much larger than that with which you used to hunt, this would at once look suspicious.”
17. Ἀλλ' ἦστω, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ πρό-
φασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἀπιστον,
καὶ ἦν τις ἐκείσε ἐξαγγείλη, ὡς ἐγὼ βουλομένη
μεγάλην θήραν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἵππεας, ἐφη, αἰτο-
ὴν ἂν σε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.

Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἐφη ὁ Κυαξάρης· ἐγὼ δὲ
σοι οὐκ ἠθελήσω διδόναι πλὴν μετρίους τινάς,
ὡς βουλομένος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἔλθειν τὰ πρὸς
tῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὑντὶ, ἐφη, βούλομαι
ἐλθὼν κατασκευάσαι αὐτά ὡς ἐχυρώτατα. ὅποτε
de σὺ προεληλυθοῖς σὺν ἦ ἔχοις δυνάμει καὶ
θηρός καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας, πέμψαμι ἂν σοι
ικανοὺς ἵππεας καὶ πεζῶν τῶν παρ' ἔμοι ἡθροι-
μένων, οὕς σὺ λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἂν ἱοι,1 καὶ αὐτὸς
d' ἂν ἔχων τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειρόμην μὴ
πρόσω ύμῶν εἶναι, ἵνα, εἰ τοῦ καιρὸς εἰ, 
ἐπιφανεῖν.

18. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης εὐθέως πρὸς
tὰ φρούρια ἡθροῖζεν ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ
ἀμάξας δὲ σὸν προὔπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια
ὁδὸν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ
ἀμα πέμπτων ἐπὶ τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦτει τῶν νεω-
tέρων ἵππεων. ὁ δὲ πάνω πολλῶν βουλομένων
ἐπεσεβάς ὃ πολλοὺς ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ.

Προεληλυθότος δ' ἦδη τοῦ Κυαξάρου σὺν
dυνάμει πεζῆ καὶ ἱππικῆ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια
ὁδὸν γύρνεται τῷ Κῦρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον
ἰέναι2 καλά καὶ οὕτως ἐξάγει δὴ ὡς εἰς θήραν
παρεσκευασμένος.

1 ἢν ιοῖς Stephanus, Edd.; ἢνοις MSS.
2 ἢναι xy, Breitenbach, et al.; omitted by Dindorf, et al.;

204
17. "But," said Cyrus, "it is possible to devise a pretext that will be credited both here and also there, if some one bring them word that I wish to institute a great hunt; and horsemen I should ask of you openly."

"A very clever scheme!" said Cyaxares; "and I shall refuse to give you more than a reasonable number, on the ground that I wish to visit the outposts on the Assyrian border. And that will be no lie, for in reality," said he, "I do wish to go there and to make them as strong as possible. And when you have gone ahead with the forces you have and have already been hunting for two days, I will send you a sufficient number of the cavalry and infantry that are mustered with me, and you may take them and make an inroad at once. And I myself, with the rest of my forces, will try to be not far away from you, to make my appearance upon the scene, should occasion require it."

18. Thereupon Cyaxares at once proceeded to get his cavalry and infantry together for visiting the outposts, and to send out wagon-loads of provisions on the road to the outposts. But Cyrus proceeded to offer sacrifice in behalf of his expedition, and at the same time he sent to Cyaxares and asked for some of his younger horsemen. But, although very many wished to go along, Cyaxares would not give him many.

Now after Cyaxares with his forces of cavalry and infantry had already started off on the road to the outposts, Cyrus's sacrifice turned out favourable for proceeding against the Armenian. Accordingly, he led his men out equipped as if for hunting.
19. Πορευομένως δ’ αυτῷ εύθυς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ χωρίῳ ὑπαιστᾶται λαγὸς· ἀετός δ’ ἑπιπτόμενος ἁίσιος, κατιδὼν τὸν λαγὸν φεύγοντα, ἐπιφερόμενος ἐπαισί τε αὐτὸν καὶ συναρπάζας ἐξήρε, κάτενεγκών ἐπὶ λόφου τινα ὁ πρόσω ἐχρήτο τῇ ἄγρᾳ δ’ τι ἥθελεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Κύρος τὸ σημείον ἴσθη τε καὶ προσεκύνησε Δία βασίλεα, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, Ἡ μὲν θῆρα καλὴ ἔσται, ὁ ἀνδρείς, ἢν ὁ θεὸς θελήσῃ.

20. Ὅς δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίῳς ἐγένοντο, εὔθυς ὢσπερ εἰώθει ἐθήρα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων ὄγμευον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπι-όντες τὰ θηρία ἐξανασταίεν· οἱ δὲ ἄρσιοι καὶ πεζί. καὶ ἵππεις διέστασαν καὶ τάνυστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἱρουν πολλοὺς καὶ σὺς καὶ ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ὄνους ἀγρίους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὄνοι καὶ νῦν ἐτί γίγνονται.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔληξε τῆς θῆρας, προσμέξας πρὸς τὰ ὀρία τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἑδειπνοποιήσατο· καὶ τῇ ύστεραιᾳ αὖθις ἐθήρα προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ ὦρη ὁ ἔργετο. ἔπει δ’ αὐ ἔληξεν, ἑδειπνοποιεῖτο. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Κυβέρνου στράτευμα ὡς ἔσθετο προσιον, ὑποπέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ἀπέχοντας αὐτοῦ ἑδειπνοποιεῖσθαι ὡς δύο παρα-σάγχας, τοῦτο προὶδῶν ὡς συμβαλλεῖται πρὸς τὸ λαυθάνειν ἔπει δὲ δειπνήσειαν; εἶπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτούς. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δειπνοῦν

1 ἑπιπτόμενος Cobet, most Edd.; ἑπιπτόμενος MSS., Gemoll.
2 κατιδὼν Dindorf, Edd.; δ’ κατιδὼν ξζ.; ὡς κατείδην ξ.
3 δειπνήσειαν Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; δειπνήσειαν MSS., Marchant, Gemoll.

206
19. And as he proceeded on his way, in the very first field a hare started up. And an eagle flying up from the east\(^1\) caught sight of the hare as it ran and swooping down struck it, seized it, and carried it up, then bore it away to a hill not far off and disposed of his prey at his pleasure. Then Cyrus, observing the omen, was delighted and did homage to Sovereign Zeus and said to those who were by: "Our hunt, comrades, please God, will be successful."

20. When they arrived at the frontier, he at once proceeded to hunt, as he used to do; and the most of his men, on foot and on horseback, were marching in a straight line before him, in order to start up the game as they approached. But the best of his foot and horse stood at intervals and lay in wait for what was started up, and pursued it in relays. And they took many boars, deer, antelope, and wild asses; for many wild asses breed in those regions even unto this day.

21. And when he stopped hunting, he marched up to the Armenian border and dined; and on the following day, he went up to the mountains toward which he was aiming and hunted again. And when again he stopped, he sat down to dinner; but when he saw the army from Cyaxares approaching, he sent to them secretly and bade them take their dinner at a distance of about two parasangs, for he foresaw that this also would contribute to the secrecy of his design; but he ordered their commander to come to him when they had finished their dinner. Then,

\(^1\) *adrios* means, strictly speaking, "auspicious," "bringing (good) omens;" and good omens came from the east, the home of light.
XENOPHON

touς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλει· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆσαν, ἔλεξεν ὡδὲ.

22. Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμένιος πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμμαχος ἦν καὶ ύπήκοος Κυαξάρη. νῦν δὲ ὡς ἴσθετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἑπιόντας, καταφρονεῖ καὶ οὐτε τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει ἡμῖν οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀποδίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τούτον θηρᾶσαι, ἢν δυνώμεθα, ἡλθομεν. ὥδ' οὖν, ἵφη, δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. σὺ μὲν, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἔτειδαν ἄποκοιμηθῆς ὑσον μέτρον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡμέσεις Περσῶν τὸν σὺν χμῖν ἵδι τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ κατάλαβε τὰ ὅρη, εἰς' ἀ ψαφίν αὐτὸν, ὅταν τι φοβηθῇ, καταφεύγειν ἠγεμόνας δὲ σοι ἔγω δῶσω. 23. ψαφί
μὲν οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὅρη ταύτα εἶναι, ὡστ' ἐλπίς ύμᾶς μή ὄφθηναι· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμπων πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐξώνοις ἂνδρας λησταῖς ἐωικότας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς στολὰς, οὕτωι ἄν σοι, εἰ τινὶ ἐντυγχάνοιεν τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν κωλύοιεν τῶν ἐξαγγελιῶν, οὕς δὲ μὴ δύναιτο λαμβάνειν, ἀποσοβοῦντες ἄν ἐμποδῶν γῆνοιτο τοῦ 1/μὴ ὅραν αὐτοὺς τὸ δόλου στράτευμα σοι, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ κλωπῶν βουλεύεσθαι. 24. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἵφη, οὕτω ποθεῖ· ἔγω δὲ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦς ἡμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχον, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, πορεύσομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀνθιστήται, δὴλον δὴ ταῖς μάχεσθαι δεήσει· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑποχωρῆσι τοῦ πεδίου, δήλον ὅτι μεταθεῖν δεήσει· ὥς δ' εἰς τὰ ὄρη φεύγη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἤφη, σὺν ἔργον μηδένα

1 τοῦ MSS., most Edd.; τὸ Dindorf, Hug.

208
after dinner, he called together his captains; and when they had come he addressed them as follows:

22. “My friends, the Armenian king formerly was both an ally and a dependent of Cyaxares; but now since he has seen the enemy coming upon us, he is insolent and neither sends us his complement of soldiers nor pays his tribute. Now, therefore, he is the game we have come to catch, if we can. And here is the plan that I think we should pursue: do you, Chrysantas, when you have had as much rest as you reasonably need, take half of the Persians who are with us, and following the mountain road take possession of the heights to which they say he flees for refuge when anything alarms him. I will furnish you with guides. 23. Now they say that these mountains are thickly wooded, and so I have hopes of your not being seen. Nevertheless, suppose you send ahead of your army some active men, in the guise of brigands both as to numbers and accoutrements; these, if they met any Armenians, would capture them and so prevent their spreading any reports; or, if they failed to capture them, they would frighten them away and so prevent their seeing the whole of your army, and would thus cause them to take precautions as against only a band of thieves. 24. Do you, then,” said he, “do this; but I, at break of day, with half the infantry and all the cavalry, will proceed through the plain straight toward the capital. And if he resists, we shall have to fight, of course; and if he abandons the field, of course we shall have to chase him; but if he flees to the mountain, then it is your business not to let any one of those who come your way escape.
XENOPHON

άφιέναι τῶν πρὸς σὲ ἀφικνουμένων. 25. νόμιζε δὲ ὁσπερ ἐν θήρᾳ ἡμᾶς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας ἔσεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄρκυσι: μέμνησον οὖν ἔκεινο ὅτι φθάνειν δεῖ πεφραγμένοις τοὺς πόρους πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. καὶ λειτθέναι δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στόμασιν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφέρομενα. 26. μὴ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, οὕτως αὐτοὶ ὁσπερ ἐνίοτε διὰ τὴν φιλοθηρίαν πολλάκις γὰρ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἀντιπος πραγματεύει· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐάσαι χρῆ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς τὸ μέτριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὡς ἄν δύνωνται ὕπνομαχεῖν.

27. Μηδὲ γε, ὅτι οὐκ ἥγεμόνας ἔχων ἀνθρώπους πλανᾷ ἀνὰ τὰ ὀρη, ἀλλ’ ὅπη ἄν τὰ θηρία υφηγη- ται, ταύτῃ μεταθεΐς, μήτι καὶ νῦν οὕτω τὰ δύσβατα πορεύου, ἀλλὰ κέλευε σοι τοὺς ἥγεμόνας, ἐὰν μὴ πολὺ μάσσων ἢ ὀδὸς ἢ, τὴν βάστην ἥγεισθαι· στρατιὰ γὰρ ἡ βάστη ταχίστη. 28. μηδὲ γε, ὅτι σὺ εἴθυσαι τρέχειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὀρη, μήτι δρόμῳ ἡγήσῃ, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄν δύνῃται σοι ὁ στρατὸς ἐπεσθαι, τῷ μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ. 29. ἅγαθὼν δὲ καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν τῶν καὶ προθύμων ὑπομενοῦντῶς τινας ἐνίοτε παρακελεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ κέρας, παροξυντικὸν εἰς τὸ σπεῦδειν πάντας παρὰ τοὺς βαδίζοντας τρέχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι.

30. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἀκούσας καὶ ἐπιγαυρώθεις τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς ἥγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγέλας δὲ ἐδει τοὺς ἀμα αὐτῷ μέλλουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπάντετο. ἐπεί

1 ἐπιζητοῦντας Stephanus, Edd.; ἐπιζητήσωσι MSS.
25. And bear in mind that, just as in hunting, we shall be the ones beating out the game, you the man in charge of the nets. Remember this, then, that the runs must be blocked before the game starts; and those at the entrance to those runs must keep out of sight, if they are not to turn the animals aside as they come on. 26. However,” he added, “do not in this case do as you sometimes do, Chrysantas, in your fondness for hunting: you often keep yourself busy all night without sleeping; but now you should let your men rest long enough, so that they may be able to resist drowsiness.

27. “Again, do not, because you personally are accustomed to wander up and down the mountains without following human guides but running after the game wherever it leads you—do not now go into such dangerous and difficult places, but order your guides to lead you by the easiest road, unless it is much too long; for the easiest road is the shortest for an army. 28. And do not lead your men at a run because you are used to running up mountains, but lead with moderate haste, that your army may be able to follow you easily. 29. And it is a good thing for some of the strongest and most zealous to fall back sometimes and encourage the rest; and when the column has passed by them, it is an incentive to all to hasten when these are seen running past them as they walk.”

30. On hearing this, Chrysantas was elated with his commission from Cyrus; he took his guides and went away, and after giving what orders he thought necessary to those who were to go with him he went
31. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ μέρα ἐγένετο, ἄγγελον μὲν προύπεμπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅδε. Κύρος, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, κελεύει οὖτω ποιεῖν σε ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα ἔχων οἶσεις ἵνα τὸν δασμὸν καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα. ἦν δὲ ἐρωτᾶ ὅπου εἰμί, λέγει τάληθη ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις. ἦν δὲ ἐρωτᾶ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχομαι, λέγει κἂνταῦθα τάληθη ὅτι οὐκ οἶσθα. εἶαν δὲ ὁπόσοι ἐσμὲν πυνθάνηται, συμπέμπτειν τινὰ κέλευε καὶ μαθείν.

32. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπεστέιλας ταῦτα ἐπέμψε, νομίζων φιλικῶτερον οὖτως εἶναι ἢ μὴ προειπόντα πορεύεσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος ἢ ἀριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτευν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἰ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα ἀδίκειν, καὶ εἰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε παραγγέλλειν καὶ ἀγορᾶν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν ὁσίων, εἴτε σίτα εἴτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πωλεῖν βουλόμενοι.

1 ἔχων οἶσεις F²G, Dindorf; ἐκών οἶσεις Pantazides; ἔχων οἶσεις ΔΗ; ἔχων ἁπίσης DF¹; ἔχων ἁπίσης καὶ οἶσεις EC² (ἔχων ἁπίσης καὶ οἶσης C¹) (that you go away with and bring); ἔχων εἰσίης Gemoll (that you come in with); ἔχων ἁπίση Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant, Breitenbach (that he [Cyrus] may return with).
to rest. And when they had slept as long as he thought reasonable, he started for the mountains.

31. And when it was day, Cyrus sent forward a messenger to the Armenian with instructions to speak to him as follows: "'King of Armenia, Cyrus bids you take steps as quickly as possible to deliver to him the tribute and the troops.' And if he asks where I am, tell the truth and say that I am at the frontier. And if he asks whether I also am coming in person, tell the truth in that case also and say that you do not know. But if he inquires how many men we are, bid him send some one along with you and find out."

32. With such instructions he sent the messenger off, for he thought that this was a more friendly course than to march upon him without notice. And he himself set out with his army in the formation which he thought best adapted both for covering distance and for fighting if necessary. He ordered his soldiers to molest no one, and, if any one met any Armenians, to bid them have no fear but to say that if any one of them wished to sell food or drink, he should feel free to bring it wherever they were and open a market.
BOOK III

THE CONQUEST OF ARMENIA AND SCYTHIA

THE FIRST GREAT BATTLE
Γ

I

1. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἄρμενιος ὡς ἠκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὰ παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐξεπλάγη, ἐννοήσας δὴ ἅδικοῖς καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λείπουν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα οὐ πέμπουν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐφοβείτο, δὴ ὅφθησεσθαι ἐμελλε τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχόμενος ὡς ἀν ἴκανα ἀπομάχεσθαι εἰς. 2. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ὅκνων ἀμα μὲν διέπεμπεν ἄθροίζον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀμα δ' ἐπέμπεν εἰς τὰ ὅρη τὸν νεώτερον ὕδων Σάβαρην καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ νιόυ, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας· καὶ κόσμον δὲ καὶ κατασκευήν τὴν πλεῖστον ἄξιαν συναπέμπεμπε προπομπούς δοὺς αὐτοῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμα μὲν κατασκευασμένους ἐπέμπε τὰ πράττοι Κῦρος, ἀμα δὲ συνέτατε τοὺς παραγγελμένους τῶν Ἀρμενίων· καὶ ταχὺ παρῆσαν ἄλλοι λέγοντες δὴ καὶ δὴ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ.

3. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁυκέτα ἐτῆθεν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπεχώρει. ὡς δὲ τούτ' εἶδον ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρμενίοι, διεδίδρασκον ἢδη ἐκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὰ ὄντα ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι.

216
BOOK III

I

1. Cyrus was thus employed; but when the Armenian king heard from the envoy the message of Cyrus, he was alarmed, for he knew that he was doing wrong in withholding the tribute due and in failing to send the troops, and he was afraid most of all because he saw that he was sure to be detected in the act of beginning to build his palace in such a way as to render it strong enough for armed resistance. 2. Disturbed by the consciousness of all these faults, he sent around and collected his forces, and at the same time he sent away to the mountains his younger son, Sabaris, and the women, both his queen and his son's wife, and his daughters. And he sent along with them his most valuable jewels and chattels and gave them an escort. At the same time he sent scouts to spy out what Cyrus was doing, while he went on assigning positions in his service to the Armenians as they came in to him. Presently still others arrived with the news that the man himself was quite near. 3. Then he no longer had the courage to join battle with him but retreated. When the Armenians saw him act thus, they dispersed at once, each to his own possessions, wishing to get their belongings out of the way.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἔσωμα διαθέοντων καὶ ἐλαυνόντων τὸ πεδίον μεστὸν, ὑποτέμπων ἐλεγεν ὅτι οὖν δὲν πολέμοις εἰ η τῶν μενόντων. εἰ δὲ τίνα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολεμίῳ χρῆσοντο. οὐτὼ δὴ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κατέμενον, ἂσαν δὲ οἱ ὑπεχώρουν σὺν τῷ βασιλεί.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶ προϊόντας ἐνέπεσον εἰς τους ἐν τῷ ὅρει, κραυγήθη τε εὐθὺς ἐποίουν καὶ φεύγοντες ἠλίσκοντο πολλοὶ γε αὐτῶν. τέλος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ἐδάλωσαν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγομένα ἔτυχεν.

'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς, 1 ὡς ἔσθεντο τὰ γυνόμενα, ἀπορῶν ποῖ τράποιτο ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ καταφεύγει. 5. οὗ δ' αὖ Κύρος ταῦτα ἰδὼν περισταται τὸν λόφον τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι, καὶ πρὸς Χρυσάνταν πέμψας ἐκέλευεν φυλακῆν τοῦ ὅρους καταλιπόντα ἤκειν. τὸ μὲν δὴ στράτευμα ἠθροίζετο τῷ Κύρῳ.

'Ο δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμενίου κήρυκα ἤρετο ὅτι. Εἰπὲ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμενίῳ, πότερα βούλει αὐτοῦ μένων τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῷ δίσει μάχεσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ ἱσόπεδον καταβᾶς ἢμῖν διαμάχεσθαι;

Ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀρμενίῳς ὅτι οὐδετέρους βούλοιτο μάχεσθαι. 6. πάλιν ὁ Κύρος πέμψας ἤρωτα Τί οὖν κάθησαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐ καταβάινεις;

Ἀπορῶν, ἔφη, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν.

1 aitós Pantazides, most Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

218
And when Cyrus saw the plain full of men running about and driving away, he sent secretly to say that he had no quarrel with any who remained; but he declared that if he caught any one trying to get away, he should treat him as an enemy. Accordingly, the most of them remained, but some retreated with the king.

4. Now as those with the women in charge went forward they came upon the forces in the mountain. At once they raised a cry and as they tried to escape many of them were caught. And finally the young prince and the wives and daughters were captured and all the treasure that happened to be in the train.

When the king himself learned what was going on, he was in a quandary which way to turn and took refuge upon a certain hill. 5. And when Cyrus saw this he surrounded the hill with the troops he had with him and sent orders to Chrysantas to leave a guard upon the mountains and come. Thus Cyrus's army was being brought together.

Then he sent a herald to the Armenian to ask him the following question: "Tell me, king of Armenia," he said, "whether you prefer to remain there and fight against hunger and thirst, or to come down into the plain and fight it out with us?"

The Armenian answered that he had no wish to fight against either. 6. Again Cyrus sent to him and asked: "Why then do you sit there and refuse to come down?"

"Because," he answered, "I am in a quandary what to do."
'Αλλ' ούδεν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀπορεῖν σε δεῖ· ἐξετάζει γάρ σοι ἐπὶ δίκην καταβαίνειν. 
Τίς δ', ἔφη, ἔσται ὁ δικάζων; 
Δῆλον δὲ ὃ ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε καὶ ἄνευ δίκης χρήσθαι σοι δ' τι βούλοιτο. 
'Ενταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀρμένιος γυνώσκων τὴν ἀνάγκην καταβαίνειν· καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον κάκεινον καὶ τάλλα πάντα περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ὅμοιο ἦδη πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος 1 παῖς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Τιγράνης ἔς ἀποδημίας τινὸς προσέγει, δὲ καὶ σύνθηρος ποτε ἐγένετο τῷ Κύρῳ· καὶ ὡς ἢκουσε τὰ γεγενημένα, εὐθὺς πορεύεται ἀσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον. ὡς δ' εἶδε πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς 2 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα αἰχμαλώτους γεγενημένους, ἑδάκρυσεν, ἀσπερ εἰκός. 8. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἱδὼν αὐτῶν ἄλλο μὲν ούδεν ἐφιλοφρονήσατο αὐτῷ, εἶπε δ' ὅτι Εἰς καὶρόν ἥκεις, ἔφη, ὅπως τῆς δίκης ἀκούσῃς 3 παρὼν τῆς ἁμφί τοῦ πατρός.

Καὶ εὐθὺς συνεκάλει τοὺς ἱγεμόνας τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μῆδων προσεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἶ ὑπ' τῶν Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἐνίμων παρῆν. καὶ τὰς γυναικές ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξεις παροῦσας οὐκ ἀπήλασεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀκούσεν.

9. 'Οπότε δὲ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἥρξετο τοῦ λόγου, Ὡ 'Ἀρμένει, ἔφη, πρὸ τοῦ μὲν σοι συμβουλεύω ἐν τῇ δίκῃ τάληθ' λέγειν, ἵνα σοι ἐν γε

1 πρεσβύτεροςἑ, Edd.; πρεσβύτατος ἵδι (oldest). 
2 ἀδελφοὺς Weiske, later Edd.; τὰς ἀδελφὰς MSS. 
3 ἀκούσῃς xzD, Dindorf², Breitenbach, Gemoll, Marchant, et al.; ἀκούσους F.; ἀκούσα Dindorf ³, Hug.

220
“But,” said Cyrus, “there is no occasion whatever for that; for you are free to come down for trial.”

“And who,” said he, “will be my judge?”

“He, to be sure, to whom God has given the power to deal with you as he will, even without a trial.”

Then the Armenian, recognizing the exigency of his case, came down. And Cyrus received both the king and all that belonged to him into the midst and set his camp round them, for by this time he had all his forces together.

7. Now at this juncture Tigranes, the king’s elder son, returned from a journey abroad. He it was who had been Cyrus’s companion once on a hunt; and when he heard what had occurred, he came at once, just as he was, to Cyrus. And when he saw his father and mother and brothers and sisters and his own wife all made prisoners, he wept, as might be expected.

8. But Cyrus, when he looked upon him, showed him no token of friendship, but merely remarked: “You have come just in time to attend your father’s trial.”

And immediately he called together the officers of both the Medes and the Persians and all the Armenian nobles who were present. And the women who were there in their carriages he did not exclude but permitted them to attend.

9. When everything was in order, he began his examination: “King of Armenia,” said he, “I advise you in the first place in this trial to tell the truth,
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ἀπ' τὸ εὕμοργοτάτον· τὸ γὰρ ψευδόμενον φαινεθαί εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ τοῦ συγγρώμης τινὸς τυχανῶν ἐμποδῶν μᾶλθα ἀνθρώπως ἄγνηται· ἑπεὶ δ', ἔφη, συνίσσασι μὲν σοι καὶ οἱ παιδες καὶ οἱ γυναῖκες αὐταί πάντα ὅσα ἐπραξας, καὶ Ἀρμενίων οἱ παρόντες· ἂν δὲ αἰσθάνονται σε ἀλλα ἢ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντα, νομούσι σε καὶ αὐτὸν καταδικάζειν σεαυτού πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἦν ἐγὼ τάληθη πῦθωμαι.

'Αλλ' ἔρωτα, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρος, ὁ τι βούλει, ὡς τάληθή ἐροῦντος· τούτου ἕνεκά καὶ γενέσθω δ' τι βούλεται.

10. Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ἐπολέμησας ποτὲ Ἀστυάγει τῷ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πατρί καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Μήδοις;

Ἐγώγ', ἔφη.

Κρατήσεις δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνωμολόγησας δασμὸν οἰσεῖν καὶ συστρατεύσεσθαι 1 ὅποι 2 ἐπαγγέλλοι, καὶ ἐρύματα μὴ ἔξειν;

'Ἡν ταῦτα.

Νῦν οὖν διὰ τί οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀπῆγες οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα ἔπεμπτες, ἑτεῖχιζες τε τὰ ἐρύματα;

'Ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθύμουν· καλὸν γὰρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ παισίν ἑλευθερίαν καταλιπεῖν.

11. Καὶ γὰρ ἐστιν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καλὸν μάχεσθαι, ὅπως μῆποτέ τις δούλος μέλλοι γενήσεσθαι· ἂν δὲ δὴ ἢ πολέμῳ κρατήσεις ἢ καὶ

1 συστρατεύσεσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; συστρατεύσεσθαι xy; συστρατεύσασθαι z.
2 ὅποι Dindorf, later Edd.; ὅποι MSS.
that you may be guiltless of that offence which is hated more cordially than any other. For let me assure you that being caught in a barefaced lie stands most seriously in the way of a man's receiving any mercy. In the next place," said he, "your children and your wives here and also the Armenians present are cognizant of everything that you have done; and if they hear you telling anything else than the facts, they will think that you are actually condemning your own self to suffer the extreme penalty, if ever I discover the truth."

"Well, Cyrus," said he, "ask what you will, and be assured that I will tell the truth, let happen what will as a result of it."

10. "Tell me then," said the other, "did you ever have a war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?"

"Yes," he answered, "I did."

"And when you were conquered by him, did you agree to pay tribute and to join his army, wherever he should command you to go, and to own no forts?"

"Those are the facts."

"Why, then, have you now failed to pay the tribute and to send the troops, and why have you been building forts?"

"I longed for liberty; for it seemed to me to be a glorious thing both to be free myself and to bequeath liberty to my children."

11. "You are right," said Cyrus; "it is a noble thing to fight that one may never be in danger of becoming a slave. But if any one has been conquered
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

άλλον τινά τρόπον δουλωθεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν τις φαινότατον ἀποστερεῖν ἑαυτοῦ, τούτων σὺ πρῶτος πότερον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καλὰ πράττοντα τιμᾶς ἢ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, ἢν λάβης, κολάζεις;

Κολάζω, ἔφη, οὐ γὰρ ἔσσι σὺ ψεῦδεσθαι.

12. Λέγε δὴ σαφῶς, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστον ἥν ἄρχων τις τύχῃ σοι καὶ ἀμάρτῃ, πότερον ἔσσι ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλοιν καθίστῃς ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ;

'Αλλον καθίστημι.

Τί δὲ, ἢν χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχῃ, ἔσσι πλοῦτεῖν ἢ πέννητα ποιεῖς;

'Αφαιροῦμαι, ἔφη, ἀν ἔχων τυγχάνῃ.

'Ην δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους γυνώσκῃς αὐτοῖν ἀφιστάμενον, τί ποιεῖς;

Κατακαίνω, ἔφη· τί γὰρ δεῖ ἐλεγχθέντα ὅτι ψεῦδομαι ἀποθανείν μᾶλλον ἢ τάληθη λέγοντα;

13. 'Ενθα δὴ ὁ μὲν παῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥκουσε τάυτα, περιεσπάσατο τὴν τιάραν καὶ τοὺς πέπλους κατερρήξατο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀναβοσίπασαι ἐδρύπποντο, ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀπολωλότων σφῶν ἡ ἡδη. καὶ ὁ Κύρος σιωπήσας κελεύσας εἶπεν,2 Εἰεν· τὰ μὲν δὴ σὰ δίκαια τάυτα, ὁ Αρμένιος ἤµῖν δὲ τὶ συμβουλεύεις ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖν;

'Ο μὲν δὴ Αρμένιος ἐσιώπα ἀπορῶν πότερα

1 σφῶν C1G1F1, most Edd.; πάντων σφῶν xyz, Dindorf.
2 εἶπεν δὲ, most Edd.; πάλιν εἶπεν xy, Gemoll.

224
in war or in any other way reduced to servitude and
is then caught attempting to rob his masters of him-
self, are you the first man to reward him as an honest
man and one who does right, or do you punish him
as a malefactor if you catch him?"

"I punish him," said he; "for you will not let me
tell a lie."

12. "Answer each of these questions explicitly
then," said Cyrus; "if any one happens to be an
officer under you and does wrong, do you permit him
to continue in office or do you put another in his
place?"

"I put another in his place."

"And what if he has great possessions—do you
allow him to continue rich, or do you make him
poor?"

"I confiscate all that he may happen to possess,"
said he.

"And if you find out that he is trying to desert to
the enemy, what do you do?"

"I put him to death," said he; "I may as well
confess, for why should I convict myself of lying
and be put to death for that, instead of telling the
truth?"

13. Then his son, when he heard this, stripped off
his turban and rent his garments, and the women
cried aloud and tore their cheeks, as if it were all
over with their father and they were already lost.
But Cyrus bade them be silent and said: "Very
well, king of Armenia; so that is your idea of justice;
in accordance with it, then, what do you advise us to
do?"

Then the Armenian was silent, for he was in a
XENOPHON

συμβουλεύοι τῷ Κύρῳ κατακαίνειν αὐτὸν ἢ τάναντια διδάσκοι δὲν αὐτὸς ἐφη ποιεῖν. 14. ὁ δὲ παῖς αὐτοῦ Τυγράνης ἐπήρετο τὸν Κύρον. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης, ἔπει ὁ πατὴρ ἀποροῦντι ἔοικεν, ἡ συμβουλεύσω περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ οἴμαι σοι βέλτιστα εἶναι;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, ἰσθημένος, ὑπενεθήρα αὐτῷ ὁ Τυγράνης, σοφιστὴν τινα αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ θαυμαξόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυγράνου, πάνυ ἑπεθύμει αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι ὁ τι ποτ’ ἐρόης καὶ προθύμως ἐκέλευσε λέγειν ὁ τι γνωστόκοι.

15. Ἕγω τούτων, ἐφη ὁ Τυγράνης, εἰ μὲν ἀγασαί τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ ὁσα βεβούλευται ἡ ὁσα πέπραχε, πάνυ σοι συμβουλεύω τούτου μυμεῖσθαι: εἰ μέντοι σοι δοκεῖ πάντα ἡμαρτηκέναι, συμβουλεύω τούτου μὴ μυμεῖσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ἢκιστ’ ἂν τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα μμοῦμήν.

"Εστιν, ἐφη, ταῦτα.

Κολαστέουν ἄρ’ ἂν εἰς κατά γε τὸν σύν λόγον τὸν πατέρα, εἰπέρ τὸν ἄδικοντα δίκαιον κολάζειν.

Πότερα δ’ ἤγει, ὁ Κύρης, ἀμεινον εἶναι σὺν τῷ σῷ ἁγαθῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ποιεῖσθαι ἢ σὺν τῷ σῷ ζημίᾳ;

"Εμαυτῶν ἄρα, ἐφη, οὕτω γ’ ἂν τιμωροῖμην.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἐφη ὁ Τυγράνης, μεγάλα γ’ ἂν ζημιοῦν, εἰ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ κατακαίνοις τότε ὁπότε σοι πλείστου ἄξιοι εἰεν κεκτήσθαι.

226
quandary whether to advise Cyrus to put him to
death or to propose to him a course opposite to that
which he admitted he himself always took. 14. But
his son Tigranes put a question to Cyrus, saying:
"Tell me, Cyrus, since my father seems to be in
doubt, may I advise you in regard to him what I
think the best course for you?"

Now Cyrus had observed when Tigranes used to
go hunting with him that there was a certain
philosopher with him who was an object of
admiration to Tigranes; consequently he was very
eager to hear what he would say. So he bade him
express his opinion with confidence.

15. "Well," said Tigranes, "if you approve either
of my father's theory or his practice, then I advise
you by all means to imitate him. But if you think
he has done wrong throughout, I advise you not to
imitate him."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "if I should do what is
right, I should surely not be imitating the one who
does wrong."

"That is true," said he.

"Then, according to your reasoning, your father
must be punished, if indeed it is right that the one
who does wrong should be punished."

"Which do you think is better for you, Cyrus, to
mete out your punishments to your benefit or to
your own injury?"

"In the latter case, at least," said he, "I should
be punishing myself."

16. "Aye, but you would be doing yourself a
great injury," said Tigranes, "if you should put your
friends to death just at the time when it was of the
greatest advantage to you to have them."
XENOPHON

Πῶς δ’ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τότε πλείστου ἀξιοῦ γίγνοντο ἀνθρωποὶ ὅτι θέτε ἄδικούντες ἄλλοςκοιντο;

Εἰ τότε, οἷμαι, σώφρονες γίγνοντο. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀνευ μὲν σωφροσύνης οὐδὲ ἄλλης ἄρετής οὐδὲν ὑφελος εἶναι· τί γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, χρῆσαι’ ἂν τις ἵσχυρος ή ἄνδρεψι μὴ σώφρονι [ἡ ἵππική], τί δὲ πλουσίως, τί δὲ δυνάστη ἐν πόλει; οὖν δὲ σωφροσύνη καὶ φίλος πᾶς χρῆσιμος καὶ θεράπτων πᾶς ἄγαθος.

17. Τοῦτ’ οὖν, ἔφη, λέγεις οὕς καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐν τῇ̣ τὴ μα ἰμέρα ἐξ ἄφρονος σώφρων γεγένηται;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Πάθημα ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς σὺ λέγεις εἶναι τῆς σωφροσύνης, ὡσπερ λύπην, οὐ μάθημα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δῆπον, εἰγε φρόνιμον δεὶ γενέσθαι τῶν μέλλοντα σώφρονα ἐσεσθαι, παραχρήμα ἐξ ἄφρονος σώφρων ἀν τῆς γένουτο.

18. Τί δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτω ὑςθου καὶ ἕνα ἄνδρα δι’ ἄφροσύνης μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντα κρείττοινε ἀυτοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἢττηθῇ, εὐθὺς πεπαυμένον τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἄφροσύνης; πάλιν δ’, ἔφη, οὕτω ἐφορακας πόλιν ἀντιτατομένην πρὸς πόλιν ἑτέρου, δὴ ἐπειδὰν ἢττηθῇ παραχρήμα ταύτη ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι πεῖθεσθαι ἔθελει;

1 [ἡ ἵππική] Schneider, most Edd.; ἵππική MSS.; τί δ’ ἵππικ Dindorf, Sauppe, et al.

228
"How," said Cyrus, "could men be of the greatest advantage to me just at the time when they were caught doing wrong?"

"They would be, I think, if at that time they should become discreet. For it seems to me to be true, Cyrus," said he, "that without discretion there is no advantage at all in any other virtue; for what," he continued, "could one do with a strong man or a brave man, or what with a rich man or a man of power in the state if he lacked discretion? But every friend is useful and every servant good, if he be endowed with discretion."

17. "Do you mean to say, then," Cyrus answered, "that in one day's time your father has become discreet when he was indiscreet before?"

"Yes," said he, "I do, indeed."

"By that you mean to say that discretion is an affection of the soul, as sorrow is, and not an acquisition. For I do not suppose that a man could instantly pass from being indiscreet to being discreet, if indeed the one who is to be discreet must first have become wise."

18. "What, have you never observed, Cyrus," said he, "that when a man indiscreetly ventures to fight a stronger man than himself and has been worsted, he is instantly cured of his indiscretion toward that particular man? And again," he continued, "have you never seen how when one state is in arms against another it is at once willing, when defeated, to submit to the victor instead of continuing the fight?"

1 Xenophon makes Cyrus apparently accept the Socratic doctrine that wisdom and the other virtues are matters for learning, the results of study and practice—not a mood, like sorrow, anger, or any other emotion.
XENOPHON

19. Ποίαν δ', ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ σὺ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦτταν λέγων οὕτως ἰσχυρίζει σεσωφρονίσθαι αὐτῶν;

"Ἡν νὴ Δ', ἐφη, σύνοιδεν ἐαυτῷ ἑλευθερίας μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας, δούλος δ' ὡς οὐδεπότετε γενόμενος, ἀν δὲ φήσῃ χρήμαι λαθεῖν ἢ φθάσαι ἡ ἀποβιάσασθαι, οὕτως τούτων ἰκανός γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι. σὲ δὲ οἴδε, ἃ μὲν ἔβοιλήσης ἐξαπατήσαι αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἐξαπατήσαντα ὡσπερ ἀν τις τυφλοὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ μηδ' ὁτίοι σφυντροῦντας ἐξαπατήσειεν· ἀν δὲ φήσῃς λαθεῖν χρήμα, οὐτω σὲ οἴδε λαθόντα ὡστε ἀ εὐνόμεζεν ἐαυτῷ ἑχυρὰ χωρία ἀποκείσθαι, τάντα σὺ εἰρκτας αὐτῷ ἡ ἐλαθεῖς προκατασκευάσας· τάχει δὲ τοσοῦτον περιεγένου αὐτοῦ ὡστε πρόσωθεν ἐφθασας ἐλθὼν σὺν πολλῷ στόλῳ πρὸν τοῦτον τὴν παρ' ἐαυτῷ δύναμιν ἀθροίσασθαι.

20. Ἐπειτα δοκεῖ σοι, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ἦττα σωφρονίζειν ἰκανῇ εἶναι ἀνθρώπους, τὸ γνῶναι ἄλλους ἐαυτῶν βελτίωνας ὀντας;

Πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἐφη ὁ Τυγράνης, ἢ ὅταν μάχῃ τις ἠττηθῇ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύι κρατηθεῖς ἐστιν ὅτε φήσῃ σωμασκήσας ἀναμαχεῖσθαι καὶ πόλεις γε ἀλοῦσαι συμμάχους προσλαβοῦσαι ὁἷον ἄναμαχεσάσθαι ἂν· οὖς δ' ἂν βελτίως τινὲς ἐαυτῶν ἢγήσωσται, τούτως πολλάκις καὶ ἂνεν ἀνάγκης ἔθελονι πείθεσθαι.

1 ἡ χypsy, most Edd.; not in z, Zeune, Sauppe, Hug.
2 αὐτῷ xFD³, Gemoll; ἐαυτῷ D¹; σου z (in G marked for erasure); σαυτῷ Ed.; σον Sauppe, Dindorf.

230
19. "To what defeat of your father's do you refer," said Cyrus, "that you are so confident that he has been brought to discretion by it?"

"Why that, by Zeus," Tigranes answered, "which he is conscious of having sustained, inasmuch as when he aimed at securing liberty he has become more of a slave than ever, and as he has not been able to accomplish a single thing of all that he thought he should effect by secrecy or by surprise or by actual force. And he knows that when you desired to outwit him, you did it as effectually as one could do who set out to deceive men blind or deaf or deprived of all their senses; and when you thought you ought to act secretly, you acted with such secrecy that the fortified places which he thought he had provided for his own safety you had secretly turned into prisons for him in advance. And so much did you surpass him in dispatch, that you came from a distance with a large army before he could muster the forces he had at home."

20. "Well," said Cyrus, "do you really think that such a defeat is adequate to make men discreet—I mean, when they find out that others are their superiors?"

"Yes," said Tigranes, "much more than when they are defeated in combat. For the one who is overcome by strength sometimes conceives the idea that, if he trains his body, he may renew the combat. Even cities too, when captured, think that by taking on new allies they might renew the fight. But if people are convinced that others are superior to themselves, they are often ready even without compulsion to submit to them."
XENOPHON

21. Σύ, ἐφή, έοικας οὖν οἴεσθαι τοὺς ὑβριστὰς γιγνώσκειν τοὺς ἦαυτῶν σωφρονεστέρους, οὐδὲ τοὺς κλέπτας τοὺς μὴ κλεπτόντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ψευδομένους τοὺς τάληθη λέγοντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας: οὐκ οἶπος, ἐφή, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἔψευστο καὶ οὐκέτι ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκες, εἴδως ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐδὲ ὄτι οὐκέτι οἶπος ἔστησε τὸν Ἀστυάγης συνεθετο παραβαίνομεν;

22. Ἀλλ' οὖν ἔγει τοῦτο λέγω ὅτι τὸ γενόμενον μόνον τοὺς βελτίωνας σωφρονίζει ἄνευ τοῦ δίκην διδόναι ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίωνων, ὡσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ νῦν δίδωσιν.

Ἀλλ', ἐφη ο Κύρος, ὅ γε σὸς πατὴρ πέπονθε μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὐκεὶ πω κακὸν φοβεῖταί γε μὲντοι εὔνων οὐδὲ ὅτι μὴ πάντα τὰ ἐσχάτα πάθη.

23. Όιεί οὖν τι, ἐφη ο Τιγράνης, μᾶλλον καταδουλούσθαι ἀνθρώπως τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ φόβου; οὐκ οἰαθ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῇ ἰσχυροτάτῳ κολασματι νομιζομένῳ σιδήρῳ παιόμενοι ομος ἐθέλουσι καὶ πάλιν μάχεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς; οὐδ' ὁ γὰρ σφόδρα φοβηθῶσιν ἀνθρώπωτοι, τούτοις οὐδὲ παραμυθοῦ- 

μένοις ἐτί ἀντιβλέπεις δύνανται;

24. Καὶ σύγε, ἐφη, οἴπος ὃς ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἔργῳ κακοῦ- 

θαί μᾶλλον κολάζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

1 οὐκέτι' ἡμετέρου Cobet, Edd. ; οὐκ έκημπέδου MSS.
2 Bracketed by Madvig and most later Edd. (are despond-
21. "You seem to think," said the other, "that the insolent do not recognize those more discreet than they, that thieves do not recognize honest men, that liars do not recognize the truthful, and wrong-doers those who do right. Do you not know," he continued, "that even now your father has played false and has not kept his agreement with us, although he knew that we have not been violating any of the agreements made by Astyages?"

22. "Yes; but neither do I mean that simply recognizing their superiors makes people discreet, unless they are punished by those superiors, as my father now is."

"But," said Cyrus, "your father has not yet suffered the least harm; but he is afraid, to be sure, that he will suffer the worst."

23. "Do you think, then," said Tigranes, "that anything breaks a man's spirit sooner than abject fear? Do you not know that those who are beaten with the sword, which is considered the most potent instrument of correction, are nevertheless ready to fight the same enemy again; but when people really fear anyone very much, then they cannot look him in the face, even when he tries to cheer them?"

"You mean to say," said he, "that fear is a heavier punishment to men than real correction."

24. "And you," said he, "know that what I say is true; for you are aware that, on the one hand, those who are afraid that they are to be exiled from their native land, and those who on the eve of battle are afraid that they shall be defeated, ent, and those who at sea fear that they are going to be wrecked,); [καὶ ... ναυαγήσωσι] Gemoll.
XENOPHON

φοβούμενοι, οὖν τοι μὲν οὔτε σίτου οὔθ' ὑπνου δύνανται λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβου· οἱ δὲ ήδη μὲν φυγάδες, ήδη δὲ ἦττημένοι, ήδη δὲ δουλεύοντες, ἐστιν ὅτε δύνανται καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων ἐσθείεν τε¹ καὶ καθεύδειν. 25. ἐτι δὲ φανερώτερον καὶ ἐν τοίς ὁλοῖν φορήματα τοῦ φόβου· ἕνω ὁ φοβοῦμενοι μὴ ληφθέντες ἀποθάνωσι προαποθνήκουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, οἱ μὲν ριπτοῦντες έαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἀπαγχόμενοι, οἱ δ' ἀποσφατόμενοι· οὕτω πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μάλιστα καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχὰς. τῶν δ' ἐμὸν πατέρα, ἐφη, νῦν πῶς δοκεῖς διακεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχήν, δι' οὐ μόνον περὶ έαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ εὐμοῦ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν τέκνων [δουλείας]² φοβεῖται;

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἐμοιγε οὐδὲν ἀπίστουν τούτου οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα ἐξυβρίσαι καὶ πταίσαντα ταχὺ πτηξαί, καὶ ἀνεθέντα γε πάλιν αὐ μέγα φρονῆσαι καὶ πάλιν αὐ πράγματα παρασχεῖν.

27. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, ἔχει μὲν προφάσεις τὰ ήμέτερα ἀμαρτήματα ὡστ' ἀπιστεῖν ἦμῖν· ἔξεστι δὲ σοι καὶ φρούρια ἐντειχίζειν καὶ τὰ ἐχύρα κατέχειν καὶ ἀλλο οἱ τὰν βούλη πιστὸν λαμβάνειν. καὶ μέντοι, ἐφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἔξεις οὐδέν τι τούτους μέγα λυπομένους· μεμησόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν αἰτοῦ ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ τινὶ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων παραδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν

¹ ἐσθείεν τε x, most Edd.; ἐσθείεν τε καὶ πίνειν yz, Gemoll (both eat and drink).
² δουλείας xyz, Dindorf.; not in Vaticanus 987; [δουλείας] most Edd.
and those who fear slavery or bondage, all such
can neither eat nor sleep for fear; whereas those
who are already in exile or already defeated or
already in slavery can sometimes eat and sleep better
than those enjoying a happier lot. 25. And from the
following considerations it is still clearer what a
burden fear is: some, for fear that they will be
catched and put to death, in terror take their own
lives before their time—some by hurling themselves
over a precipice, other by hanging themselves, others
by cutting their own throats; so does fear crush
down the soul more than all other terrors. As for
my father,” he added, “in what a state of mind
do you think he is? For he is in dread not only
for himself, but also for me, for his wife, and for all
of his children.”

26. “Well,” answered Cyrus, “it is not at all un-
likely, I suppose, that he is for the moment in such
a state of mind. However, it seems to me that we
expect of a man who is insolent in success and
abject in failure that, when set on his feet once more,
he will again wax arrogant and again cause more
trouble.”

27. “Well, by Zeus, Cyrus,” said he, “our wrong-
doing does, no doubt, give you cause to distrust us;
but you may build forts in our country and occupy
the strongholds already built and take whatever else
you wish as security. And yet,” he added, “you
will not find us very much aggrieved by your doing
so; for we shall remember that we are to blame for
it all. But if you hand over our government to some
one of those who have done no wrong and yet show
XENOPHON

ἀπιστῶν αὐτοῖς φανεῖ, δρα μὴ ἀμα τε εὐ ποιῆσεις καὶ ἀμα οὐ φίλου νομοῦσί σε· εἰ δ’ αὐ φυλαττόμενος τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὴ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτοῖς ζυγὰ τοῦ μὴ ὑβρίσαι, δρα μὴ ἐκεῖνος αὐ δεήσει σε σωφρονίζειν ἐτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἠμᾶς νῦν ἔδέσσεν.

28. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοῦς, ἔφη, τοιούτοις μὲν ἐγώγη ὑπηρέταις, οὐς εἰδεῖν ἀνάγκη ὑπηρετοῦντας, ἀπείδας ἢ μοι δοκῶ χρῆσθαι· οὔς δὲ γνωστέκειν δοκοῦν ὅτι εὐνοεῖ καὶ φιλία τῇ ἐμῇ τὸ δέον συλλαμβάνοιεν, τούτοις ἢ μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας βά ν φέρειν ἢ τοὺς μυστήρας μὲν, ἐκπλεω δὲ πάντα ἀνάγκη διαπονομένους.

Καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης εἶπε πρὸς ταύτα, Φίλιαν δὲ παρὰ τίνων ἄν· ποτε λάβοις τοσαύτην ὅσην σοι παρ’ ἠμῶν ἐξεστι κτήσασθαι νῦν;

Παρ’ ἐκείνων οἶμαι, ἔφη, [παρὰ] 1 τῶν μηδέποτε πολεμίων γεγενημένων, εἰ ἔθελομι εὐργητεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅσπερ σοῦ νῦν με κελεύεις εὐργητεῖν ὑμᾶς.

29. Ἡ καὶ δύναιρ ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι νῦν εὑρεῖν ὅτῳ ἄν χαρίσαι ὅσαπερ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί; αὐτίκα, ἔφη, ἢ τινα ἔστι ζῆν τὸν σε μηδέν ἡδικηκότοι, τίνα σοι τούτου χάριν οἰει αὐτοῦ εἰσεσθαι; τί δ’, ἢ αὐτοῦ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφαιρήν, τίς σε τούτον ἐνεκε φιλήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ νομίζων προσήκειν αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθήναι; τὴν δ’ Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν εἰ μὴ ἔξει, οἰσθά τινα, ἔφη, ἄλλον μᾶλλον λυπούμενον ἢ ἠμᾶς; ὑκοῦν καὶ τούτ’, ἔφη, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα λυπούμενος εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς εἰς οὗτος καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἀν σοι χάριν

1 παρὰ MSS., Dindorf, Hug; [παρὰ] Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll.

236
that you distrust them, see to it lest they regard you as no friend, in spite of your favours to them. But if again, on your guard against incurring their hatred, you fail to place a check upon them to keep them from rebellion, see to it lest you need to bring them to discretion even more than you did in our case just now."

28. "Nay, by the gods," said he, "I do not think I should like to employ servants that I knew served me only from compulsion. But if I had servants who I thought assisted me, as in duty bound, out of goodwill and friendship toward me, I think I should be better satisfied with them when they did wrong than with others who disliked me, when they performed all their tasks faithfully but from compulsion."

To this Tigranes replied: "From whom could you ever get such friendship as you now can from us?"

"From those, I presume," said he, "who have never been my enemies, if I would do them such favours as you now bid me do you."

29. "But, Cyrus," said he, "as things now are, could you find any one to whom you could do as great favours as you can to my father? For example, if you grant any one of those who have done you no wrong his life, what gratitude do you think he will feel toward you for that? And again, who will love you for not depriving him of his wife and children more than he who thinks that it would serve him right to lose them? And do you know of any one who would be more grieved than we, not to have the throne of Armenia? Well, then," he added, "it is evident that he who would be most grieved not to be king, would also be most grateful for receiving the throne."
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

eίδετη. 30. εἰ δὲ τί σοι, ἔφη, μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὡς ἥκιστα τεταραγμένα τάδε καταλυπεῖν, ὅταν ἀπίθης, σκόπει, ἔφη, πότερον ἂν οἴει ἱρμεστέρως ἔχειν τὰ ἐνθάδε καίνης γενομένης ἀρχῆς ἢ τῆς εἰσοθύνας καταμενοῦσης· εἰ δὲ τί σοι μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὡς πλείστην στρατιὰν ἔξαγεν, τίν' ἂν οἴει μᾶλλον ἐξετάσαι ταῦτῃ ὅρθώς τοῦ πολλάκις αὐτής κεχρημένου; εἰ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἀνήσθη, τίνα ἂν ταῦτα νομίζεις κρείττων ἐκπορίσαι τοῦ καὶ εἰδότος καὶ ἔχοντος πάντα τὰ ὅντα; ὅγαθε, ἔφη, Κύρε, φύλαξαι μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλων σαντὸν ζημωσὶς πλείω ἢ ὁ πατὴρ ἐδυνηθῆ σε βλάψαι.

Ο μὲν τοιαύτα ἔλεγεν. 31. ὁ δὲ ΚΥρος ἀκούσαν ὑπερήδετο, ὅτι ἐνώμιζε περαινεσθαι πάντα αὐτῷ ὅσοπερ ὑπέσχετο τῷ Κναξάρῃ πράξειν· ἔμεμνητο γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ φίλον οἰοντο μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν πονήσειν.

Καὶ ἐκ τούτοι δὴ τὸν Ἀρμενίου ἔρωτα, Ἡν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα πείδωμαι ὑμῖν, λέγε μοι, ἔφη, σύ, ὁ Ἀρμένεις, πόσην μὲν στρατιὰν μοι συμπέμψεις, πόσα δὲ χρήματα συμβαλλεῖ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον;

32. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμενίος, Οὐδὲν ἔχω, ὃς Κύρε, ἔφη, ἀπλούστερον εἰπέιν οὔδε δικαίότερον ἢ δείξαι μὲν ἐμὲ πάσαν τὴν ὀυσίαν δύναμιν, σὲ δὲ ἰδόντα ὡς μὲν ἂν σοι δοκῇ στρατιᾷν ἄγειν, τὴν δὲ καταλυτεῖν τῆς χώρας φυλακῆν. ὅς δ' αὐτός περὶ χρημάτων δηλώσαι μὲν ἐμὲ δικαιόν σοι πάντα τὰ ὅντα, σὲ δὲ τούτων αὐτὸν γνώντα ὡς σε αὐτὸ ὅποσα τε ἂν βούλῃ φέρεσθαι καὶ ὡπόσα ἂν βούλῃ καταλυτεῖν.
30. And if you care at all to leave matters here in as little confusion as possible when you go away, consider whether you think the country would be more tranquil under the beginning of a new administration than if the one we are used to should continue. And if you care to take with you as large an army as possible, who do you think would be in a better position to organize the troops properly than he who has often employed them? And if you need money also, who do you think could supply it better than he who knows and commands all the sources of supply? My good Cyrus," he added, "beware lest in casting us aside you do yourself a greater injury than any harm my father has been able to do you."

Thus he spoke. 31. And Cyrus was more than pleased at hearing him, for he thought that everything that he had promised Cyaxares to do was in course of accomplishment; for he remembered having told him that he would make the Armenian more his friend than he was before.

"Tell me, king of Armenia," he therefore asked, "if I yield to you in this matter, how large an army will you send with me and how much money will you contribute to the war?"

32. "I have nothing to propose more simple or more fair, Cyrus," the Armenian replied to this, "than for me to show you all the forces I have and for you, when you have seen them, to take as many as you see fit, leaving the rest here to protect the country. And in the same way in regard to the money, it is proper for me to show you all that I have, and for you to decide for yourself and take as much as you please and to leave as much as you please."
33. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἰδὴ λέξον μοι πόση σοι δύναμὶς ἔστι, λέξον δὲ καὶ πόσα χρήματα.
'Ενταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Ἰππεῖς μὲν τοῖς εἰσὶν ['Αρμενίων] ¹ εἰς ὀκτακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ εἰς τέταρτας μυριάδας χρήματα δ', ἐφ' σὺν ² τοῖς θησαυροῖς οίς ὁ πατήρ κατέλειπεν ἔστιν εἰς ἀργύριον λογισθέντα τάλαντα πλεῖον τῶν τρισχίλιων.

34. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὅν τις ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εἴπε, Τῆς μὲν τοῖνυν στρατιάς, ἐπεὶ σοι, ἐφ' εἰς οἱ ὅμοροι Χαλδαίοι πολεμοῦσι, τοὺς ἡμῶς μοι σύμπεμπτες τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων δὲ ἐφερες δασμὸν διπλάσια Κναβάρη ἀρξόσις, ὃτι ἐλπίς τὴν φοράν ἔμοι δ', ἐφ', ἀλλὰ ἐκατὸν δάνεισον ἕγω δὲ σοι ὑπισχυόμει, ἢν ὁ θεὸς εὖ διδὼ, ἀνθ' ὅν ἄν ἔμοι δανεῖσης ἢ ἀλλὰ πλεῖον ἀξία εὐρεγιεσθεὶς ἢ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαριθμήσεις, ἢν δύνωμαι ἢν δὲ μὴ δύνωμαι, ἀδύνατος ἂν φανομήν, οἷμαι, ἀδικοῦ δ' οὐκ ἄν δικάιος κρινοίμην.

35. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐφ', ὁ Κῦρε, μή οὖν τῶν ἔπες εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ θαρροῦντά με ἐξεις ἀλλὰ νόμιζες, ἐφ', ἀν καταλίπῃς μηδὲν ἢττον σὰ εἶναι δὲν ἂν ἔχων ἀπίθη.
Εἶπεν, ἐφ', ὁ Κῦρος ὡς τε δὴ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐφ' πόσα ἂν μοι χρήματα δοίης;
'Οπόσα ἄν δυναίμην, ἐφ'.
Τί δὲ, ὡς τοὺς παίδας;
Καὶ τούτων, ἐφ', ὅποσα ἄν δυναίμην.

¹ 'Αρμενίων MSS.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
² σὺν γC¹, Edd.; ἐν C²EHG (among the treasures); αὐτοῖς Ἁ.

240
33. "Come then," said Cyrus, "tell me how large your forces are and how much money you have."

"Well," the Armenian then answered, "there are about eight thousand cavalry and about forty thousand infantry. And the property," said he, "including the treasures that my father left me, amounts, when reduced to cash, to more than three thousand talents."

34. And without hesitation, Cyrus replied: "Send with me then," said he, "only half the army, since your neighbours, the Chaldaeans, are at war with you. And of the money, instead of the fifty talents which you used to pay as tribute, pay Cyaxares double that sum because you are in arrears with your payments. And lend me personally a hundred more," said he; "and I promise you that if God prospers me, I will in return for your loan either do you other favours worth more than that amount or at least pay you back the money, if I can; but if I cannot, I may seem insolvent, I suppose, but I should not justly be accounted dishonest."

35. "For heaven's sake, Cyrus," said the Armenian, "do not talk that way. If you do, you will make me lose heart. But consider," said he, "that what you leave here is no less yours than what you take away."

"Very well," said Cyrus; "now how much money would you give to get your wife back?"

"As much as I could," said he.

"And how much to get your children?"

"For these also," said he, "as much as I could."
XENOPHON

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ταύτα μὲν ἦδη διπλάσια τῶν ὄντων. 36. σὺ δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ Τυγράνη, λέξον μοι πόσου ἀν πρᾶπο οὐστε τὴν γυναίκα ἀπολαβεῖν.

"Ὁ δὲ ἔτυγχανε νεόγαμος τε ἄν καὶ ὑπερφιλῶν τὴν γυναίκα.

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, καὶ τὴς ψυχῆς πρι-αιμήν οὕστε μήποτε λατρεύσαι ταύτην.

37. Σὺ μὲν τούτων, ἔφη, ἀπάγου τὴν σήν, οὖν δὲ γὰρ εἰλήφθαι ἔγωγε αἰχμάλωτον ταύτην νομίζω σοῦ γε μητρόποτε φυγόντος ἡμᾶς. καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἀπάγου τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταθέεις, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι πρὸς σὲ ἀπέρχονται, καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἔφη, δειπνείτε παρ' ἡμῖν· δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε ὅποιοὶ ὑμῖν θυμός. οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναι.

38. Διασκηνούντων δὲ μετὰ δείπνου ἐπήρετο ὁ Κύρος, Εἰπὲ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Τυγράνη, ποῦ δὴ ἐκεῖνός ἔστιν ὁ ἄνηρ δὲ συνεθῆρα ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ μοι μᾶλλα ἐδόκεις θαυμαζέων αὐτὸν.

Οὐ γὰρ, ἔφη, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν οὕτω οὗτοι ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ;

Τι λαβὼν ἄδικοντα;

Διαφθείρειν αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐμέ. καίτοι γ', ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, οὕτω καλὸς κἀγάθος ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὡς καὶ ὅτε ἀποδηνήσκειν ἔμελλε προσκαλέσας με εἰπέ, Μὴ τι σὺ, ἔφη, ὁ Τυγράνη, ὅτι ἀποκτείνει με, χαλεπανθής τῷ πατρί; οὐ γὰρ κακονοία τινὶ ¹ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἄγροια· ὅποσα δὲ ἄγροια ἀνθρωποὶ ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, πάντ' ἀκούσα ταύτ' ἐγώγε νομίζω.

¹ τινὶ zED, Dindorf; τῇ σῇ F, most Edd. (toward you); τῇ σῇ γε Hug, supposedly after C.

242
"Well then," said Cyrus, "that makes already twice as much as you have. 36. And you, Tigranes," said he, "tell me how much you would pay to get your wife back?"

Now it happened that he was newly married and loved his wife very dearly.

"I would give my life, Cyrus," said he, "to keep her from slavery."

37. "Well then," said he, "take her back; she is his own. For I, for my part, do not consider that she has been made a prisoner of war at all, since you never ran away from us. And you too, king of Armenia, may take back your wife and children without paying any ransom for them, that they may know that they return to you free men and women. And now," said he, "stay and have dinner with us; and when you have dined you may drive away wherever you have a mind to go." So they stayed.

38. And after dinner, as the party was breaking up, Cyrus asked: "Tell me, Tigranes, where is the man who used to hunt with us? You seemed to admire him very much."

"Ah," he replied, "did not my father here have him put to death?"

"What wrong did he find him doing?"

"He said that he was corrupting me. And yet, Cyrus," said he, "he was so noble and so good that when he was about to be put to death, he called me to him and said: 'Be not angry with your father, Tigranes, for putting me to death; for he does it, not from any spirit of malice, but from ignorance, and when men do wrong from ignorance, I believe they do it quite against their will.'"
39. Ὁ μὲν δὲ Κύρος ἐπὶ τούτους εἶπε, Φεῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος ἔλεξεν, Οὔτοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, οὐδὲ οἱ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν γυναιξὶ λαμβάνοντες συνόντας ἀλλοτρίους ἄνδρας οὐ τοῦτο αὐτώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακαίνουσιν ὁς ἄφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναίκας, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες ἀφαίρεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, διὰ τοῦτο ὡς πολεμίως αὐτοὺς χρῶνται. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνῳ, ἐφη, ἐφθάνουν, ὅτι μοι ἐδόκει τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἢ ἔμε.

40. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἀνθρώπινα μοι δοκεῖς ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Τιγράνης, συγγίγνωσκε τῷ πατρί.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες καὶ φιλοφρονηθέντες ὁσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ συναλλαγῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρμαμάξας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἅπηλαυνον εὐφραίνομενοι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οὐκαδε, ἔλεγον τοῦ Κύρου ὁ μὲν της τὴν σοφίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν καρτερίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν πραοτητά, ὁ δὲ της καὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μέγεθος.

Ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὴν γυναίκα, Ἡ καὶ σοί, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρμενία, καλὸς ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος εἶναι:

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί, ἐφη, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἐθεώμην.
Ἀλλὰ τίνα μὴν; ἐφη ὁ Τιγράνης.

1 κατακαίνουσιν Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll; κατακτεῖνουσιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 ἄφρονεστέρας Stephanus, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ἄμαθεστέρας yC, Marchant; σοφρονεστέρας zE; ἀκρατεστέρας Gemoll.
3 ποιοῦντας yC, Edd.; ποιοῦντες zE.
39. "Poor man!" Cyrus exclaimed on hearing this.

Here the Armenian king interrupted: "Do not men who discover strangers in intercourse with their wives kill them, not on the ground that they make their wives more inclined to folly, but in the belief that they alienate from them their wives' affections—for this reason they treat them as enemies. So I was jealous of him because I thought that he made my son regard him more highly than he did me."

40. "Well, by the gods, king of Armenia," said Cyrus, "your sin seems human; and you, Tigranes, must forgive your father."

Then when they had thus conversed and showed their friendly feelings toward one another, as was natural after a reconciliation, they entered their carriages and drove away with their wives, happy.

41. And when they got home they talked, one of Armenian appreciation of Cyrus Cyrus's wisdom, another of his strength, another of his gentleness, and still another of his beauty and his commanding presence.

Then Tigranes asked his wife: "Tell me, my Armenian princess," said he, "did you, too, think Cyrus handsome?"

"Why, by Zeus," said she, "I did not look at him."

"At whom, then?" asked Tigranes.

245
XENOPHON

Τὸν εἰπόντα νῦν Δία ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀν πρίαμος ὅστε μή με δουλεύειν.
Τότε μὲν δὴ ὅσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τοιούτων ἀνεπαύνον-
το σὺν ἀλλήλοις.

42. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραία ὁ Ἀρμένιος Κύρος μὲν καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπάση ξένια ἔσημε, προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, οὗς δεήσοι στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς τρίτην ἡμέ-
ραν παρεῖναι· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος
dιπλάσια ἀπηρίθμησεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὅσα εἴπε
λαβὼν τὰλλα ἀπέπεμψεν ἠρετο δὲ πότερος
ἔσται ὁ τὸ στρατευμα ἄγων, ὁ παῖς ἡ αὐτός.
eἰπέτην δὲ ἄμα ὁ μὲν πατὴρ οὕτως, Ὁπότερον ἄν
σὺ κελεύῃ· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὕτως, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ
ἀπολείψομαι σου, ὁ Κύρε, οὐδ’ ἂν σκευοφόρον
ἐμὲ δέχῃ σοι οὐ δυνακολουθεῖν.

43. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπε, Καὶ ἐπὶ
πόσῳ ἂν, ἡφι, ἔθελοις θην γυναικά σου ἀκούσαι
ὅτι σκευοφορεῖς;

’Αλλ’ οὐδέν, ἡφι, ἀκούεις δεήσει αὐτήν ἀξῶ
γάρ, ὅστε ὅραν εξέσται αὐτῇ ὃ τι ἂν ἑγὼ πράττω.
’Ὡρα ἂν, ἡφι, συνσκευάζεσθαι ύμῖν εἴη.

Νόμιζε, ἡφι, συνσκευασμένος παρέσεσθαι δ’
ti ἂν ὁ πατὴρ δῆ.
Τότε μὲν δὴ ἔνισθενετε οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκοιμη-
θησαν.

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 δέχῃ σοι Stephanus, Edd.; δεῦρε τυ; δεῦρε Ε.; δεῦρη C.
246
"At him, by Zeus, who said that he would give his life to keep me from servitude."

Then as might be expected after such experiences, they went to rest together.

42. And on the following day the Armenian king sent guest-presents to Cyrus and all his army, and he commanded those of his men who were to take the field to present themselves on the third day; and he paid Cyrus double the sum of money that he had named. But Cyrus accepted only the amount specified and returned the rest. Then he asked which of the two was to go in command of the forces, the king himself or his son. They both answered at the same instant, the father saying: "Whichever you command"; and the son: "I will never leave you, Cyrus, not even if I have to accompany you as a camp-follower."

43. And Cyrus, laughing, said: "How much would you take to have your wife told that you were a camp-follower?"

"Why," said he, "she will not need to be told anything about it; for I shall take her with me, so that she will be in a position to see whatever I do."

"Then," said he, "it may be high time for you to be getting your things together."

"Be sure," said he, "that we shall be here with everything brought together that my father gives us."

And when the soldiers had received their presents they went to bed.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ Ν

II

1. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κύρος τοῦ Τυγράνην καὶ τῶν Μήδων ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ὑπόσους καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, περιελαύνων τὴν χώραν κατεθάτο, σκοτῶν ποὺ τειχίσειε φρούριον. καὶ ἐπ’ ἄκρον τι ἐλθὼν ἐπηρώτα τὸν Τυγράνην ποῖα ἐγὼ τῶν ὅρεων ὀπόθεν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταθέοντες λήξονται. καὶ ὁ Τυγράνης ἐδείκνυ. 1 ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἤρετο, Νῦν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὑρη ἔρημα ἐστίν;

Οὐ μὰ Δλ’, ἔφη, ἀλλ’ ἂεὶ σκοτοὶ εἰςν ἐκείνων οἱ σημαίνουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧ τι ἄν ὀρώσι.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ποιοῦσιν, ἔπην αἰσθώνται;

Βοηθοῦσιν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα, ὡς ἄν ἐκαστὸς δύνηται.

2. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἡκηκόει. σκοτῶν δὲ κατενάχτι πολλὴν τῆς χώρας τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ἔρημοι καὶ ἄργον οὐσαν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δευτησάντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ αὐτῶς τῇ Τυγράνης παρῆν συνεσκευασμένος καὶ ῥπεῖς εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους συνελέγοντο αὐτῷ καὶ τοξόται εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ πελτασταὶ ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι.

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ἐν ὧ συνελέγοντο ἔθυσεν: ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν αὐτῷ, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς τῇ τῶν

1 ἐδείκνυ Dindorf, Hug; ἐδείκνυν MSS., Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll.

248
II

1. On the morrow Cyrus took with him Tigranes, the best of the Median horsemen, and as many of his own friends as he thought proper, and rode around to inspect the country with a view to finding a place in which to build a fort. And when he had come to a certain eminence he asked Tigranes which were the mountains from which the Chaldaeans were accustomed to descend to make forays into the country. And Tigranes pointed them out. And again he asked: "And are these mountains now unoccupied?"

"No, by Zeus," said he; "but they always have scouts up there who signal to the rest whatever they see."

"Then," said he, "what do they do, when they receive the signals?"

"They run out to the heights to help," said he, "each as best he can."

2. Such was the account to which Cyrus listened; and as he looked he observed that a large portion of the Armenians' country was deserted and uncultivated as a result of the war. And then they went back to camp and after they had dined they went to rest.

3. On the following day Tigranes presented himself with his baggage all ready for the start; and under his command were assembled about four thousand horsemen and about ten thousand bowmen and as many peltasts besides.

While they had been coming together, Cyrus had been sacrificing; and when his sacrifice gave favourable omens, he called a meeting of the officers of the
Περσῶν ἤγεμόνας καὶ τῶν τῶν Μῆδων. 4. ἐπεῖ δ' ὁμοῦ ἦσαν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

"Ανδρες φίλοι, ἔστι μὲν τὰ ὅρη ταύτα ἅ ὀρῷ-μεν Χαλδαίων· εἰ δὲ ταύτα καταλάβοιμεν καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀκρον γένοιτο ἡμέτερον φρούριον, σωφρονεῖν ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέροις, τοῖς τε Ἀρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαῖοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱερὰ καλὰ ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ προθυμία εἰς τὸ πραχθῆναι ταύτα οὐδὲν οὖσι μέγα σύμμαχον ἂν γένοιτο ὡς τάχος. ἢν γὰρ φθάσωμεν πρὸν τοὺς πολεμίοις συλλεγή-ναι ἀναβάντες, ἡ παντάπασιν ἁμαχεῖ λάβοιμεν ἂν τὸ ἀκρον ἡ ὀλύγοι τε καὶ ἀσθενέσι χρησάμεθ' ἂν πολεμίοις.

5. Τῶν οὖν πόνων οὔδείς ῥάων οὔδ᾽ ἀκινδυνότε-ρος, ἕφη, ἐστι τοῦ νῦν καρτηρῆσαι σπεύδοντας. ἵτε οὖν ἔπι τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ . . . "

"Τμεῖς μὲν, ὁ Μῆδοι, ἐν ἄριστερὰ ἡμῶν πορεύ-εσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Ἀρμενίοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμῖν εὐν δεξιά, οἱ δὲ ἡμῖνες ἐμπροσθὲν ἡμῶν ἡγεῖσθε· ὑμεῖς δ', ὃ ἵππεϊς, ὅπισθεν ἐπεσθε παρακελευόμενοι καὶ ἀθούντες ἄνω ἡμᾶς, ἢν δὲ τις μαλακύνηται, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε.

6. Ταῦτ᾽ εἴτων ὁ Κύρος ἡγεῖτο ὅρθιοις ποιη-σάμενος τοὺς λόχους. οἱ δὲ Χαλδαιοὶ ὡς ἔγνωσαν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἄνω οὖσαν, εὐθὺς ἐσήμαινον τε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ συνεβόων ἀλλήλους καὶ συνη-θροίζοντο.

"Ο δὲ Κύρος παρηγγύα, "Ανδρες Πέρσαι, ἡμῖν

---

1 A lacuna, in which preparations are effected, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 ἀλλήλους Schneider, Edd.; ἀλλήλους MSS.
Persians and of the Medes; 4. and when they were come together, he spoke as follows:

"My friends, these mountains which we see belong to Chaldaea; but if we should seize them and have a fort of our own built upon the summit, both parties—the Armenians, I mean, and the Chaldaeans—would have to behave with discretion toward us. Now, the sacrifices give us favourable omens; but, for the execution of our plan, nothing would be so strong an ally to human zeal as dispatch. For if we get up there before the enemy have time to come together, we may gain possession of the heights altogether without a battle, or we may at least find enemies few in number and without strength.

5. "Of the tasks before us, therefore, none is easier or less fraught with danger," said he, "than now bravely to endure the strain of haste. Therefore, to arms! And...

"You, Medes, march on our left; and you, Armenians, half keep to our right and half lead on in front; while you, cavalrymen, shall follow behind, to encourage and push us on upward; and if any one is inclined to show weakness, do not allow it."

6. With this command Cyrus brought his companies to ploy into column and took his place at their head. And when the Chaldaeans realized that the movement was directed toward the heights, they immediately gave the signal to their people, called to one another to assemble, and began to come together.

And Cyrus gave command: "Fellow-Persians, they
XENOPHON

σημαίνονσι σπεύδειν. ἡν γὰρ φθάσωμεν ἄνω γενόμενοι, οὔδὲν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δυνήσεται.

7. Εἶχον δ' οἱ Χαλδαῖοι γέρρα τε καὶ παλτὰ δύο· καὶ πολεμικῶτατοι δὲ λέγονται οὕτωι τῶν περὶ ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν εἶναι· καὶ μισθοῦ στρατεύονται, ὅπόταν τις αὐτῶν δέχεται, διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸ τε καὶ πένητες εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα αὐτοῖς ὀρεινὴ τε ἐστὶ καὶ οὐληγῇ ἡ τὰ χρήματα ἐξούσα.

8. Ὡς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπλησίαζον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον τῶν ἄκρων, ο Ἰγράνης σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ πορευόμενος εἶπεν, Ἡ Κύρε, ἀρ' οἶοθ', ἔφη, ὅτι αὐτούς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα δεήσει μάχεσθαι; ὡς οὖ γε Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέχονται τῶν πολεμίως.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰδείη τούτο, εὔθὺς παρηγγύησε τοῖς Πέρσαις παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὡς αὐτίκα δεήσουν διόκειν, ἐπειδὰν ὑπαγάγωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγουτε οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ὡς τ' ἐγγύς ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.

9. Οὕτω δὲ ἦγοντο μὲν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι τῶν δὲ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρόντες, ὡς ἐπλησίαζον οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, ἀλαλάζαντες ἔθεον, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, εἰς αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. 10. ὡς δὲ διώκοντες οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐδούν ἑνατίους μαχαιροφόρους ἱεμένους ἄνω, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτοῖς πελάσαντες ταχὺ ἀπέθνησαν, οἱ δ' ἐφευγον, οἱ δ' τινες καὶ ἐάλωσαν αὐτῶν, ταχὺ δὲ ἐξετο τὰ ἄκρα. ἔπει δὲ τὰ ἄκρα εἶχον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον, καθεώροιν τε τῶν Χαλδαίων τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ ἰσθάνοντο φεύγουτας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐγγύς οἰκήσεων.

11. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὥς πάντες οἱ στρατιώται
are signallng us to hasten; for if we get up there first, the enemy's efforts will be of no avail."

7. Now the Chaldaeans carried each a wicker shield and two spears, and they were said to be the most warlike of the peoples in that region. They also serve for hire when any one wants them, for they are fond of war and poor of purse; for their country is mountainous and only a small part of it is pro-
ductive.

8. But when Cyrus and his men were getting nearer to the heights, Tigranes, who was marching with Cyrus, said: "Do you know, Cyrus, that we ourselves shall have to do the fighting, and in a very few moments? For the Armenians, I am sure, will never sustain the enemy's attack."

Cyrus answered that he knew that and gave the command to the Persians to make ready, as it would be necessary in a moment to give chase, as soon as the Armenians by pretending flight should decoy the enemy into close quarters.

9. So the Armenians led on. And when they came near, the Chaldaeans already there raised the battle cry, according to their custom, and charged upon them. And the Armenians, according to their custom, failed to sustain the charge. 10. But when the Chaldaeans in pursuit saw before them the swordsmen rushing up against them, some came near and were cut down at once, others fled, and some others of their number were taken prisoners; and soon the heights were taken. And when Cyrus and his men were in possession of the heights, they looked down on the dwellings of the Chaldaeans and saw the people fleeing from their homes near by.

11. Then when the soldiers were all together,
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

όμοι ἐγένοντο, ἀριστοποιείσθαι παρήγγειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡριστήκεσαν, καταμαθὼν ἐνθα αἱ σκοπαὶ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἑρμηνύον τε ὑν καὶ ἐνυδρον, εὐθὺς ἐτείχιζε φρούριοι καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐκέλευεν πέμπτειν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ κελεύειν παραγενεσθαι ἔχοντα ὁπόσοι εἶχεν τέκτονες τε καὶ λιθοτόμοι. 1 ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρμενίων φίλητο ἀγγελος· ο ὃς Κύρος τοὺς παρούσιοι ἔτειχιζεν.

12. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ προσάγοσι τῷ Κύρῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ τετρωμένους· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν, εὐθὺς λύειν μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τετρωμένους ἱατροὺς καλέσας θεραπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ὃτι ἦκοι οὔτε ἀπολέσαι ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκείνους οὔτε πολεμεῖν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνην βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Χαλδαίοις.

Πρὶν μὲν οὖν ἔχεσθαι τὰ ἀκρα ὅδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐδείσθε εἰρήνης· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑμέτερα ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἤγετε καὶ ἐφέρετε· νῦν δὲ ὅρατε δὴ ἐν οἵῳ ἐστέ. 13. ἔγω οὖν ἄφιημ ὑμᾶς οἴκαδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους, καὶ δίδωμι ὑμῖν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις βουλεύσασθαι εἴτε βούλεσθε πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν εἴτε φίλοι εἰναι. καὶ ἢ μὲν πόλεμον αἰρῆσθε, μηκέτι ἢκετε δεῦρο ἀνεύ ὀπλῶν, εἴ σωφρονεῖτε· ἢν δὲ εἰρήνης δοκήτε

1 λιθοτόμοι: Dindorf, most Edd.; λιθοδόμοι MSS.; λιθολόγοι Valckenaer.

254
CYROPAEDIA, III. ii. 11-13

Cyrus bade his men take luncheon; and when they had lunched and he had discovered that the place where the scouts had their posts of observation was strong and well supplied with water, he at once proceeded to build a fort there. He also bade Tigranes send for his father and bid him come with all the carpenters and masons that he had. So a messenger was off to bring the Armenian king, but Cyrus proceeded to build the wall with the men he had at hand.

12. At this juncture they brought to Cyrus the prisoners in chains and also some that had been wounded. And when he saw them he at once ordered that the fetters be taken off, and he sent for surgeons and bade them attend to the wounded men. And then he told the Chaldaeans that he had come with no wish to destroy them and with no desire to make war, but because he wished to make peace between the Armenians and the Chaldaeans.

"Now I know that before the heights were taken you had no wish at all for peace, for everything of yours was secure, while you carried off and plundered the property of the Armenians; but now see in what a predicament you are! 13. Now I am going to let you who have been captured go home and consult with the rest of the Chaldaeans whether you wish to have war with us or to be our friends. And if you choose war, do not come this way again without weapons, if you are wise; but if you decide that you desire peace, come without arms. I shall see to
XENOPHON

δεύσθαι, ἀνευ ὁπλῶν ἦκετε· ὡς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ύμέτερα, ἥν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει.

14. Ἀκοῦσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ δεξιωσάμενοι τὸν Κύρον ὤχοντο ὅικαδε.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος ώς ἤκουσε τὴν τε κλῆσιν τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὴν πράξιν, ἀλαβὼν τοὺς τέκτονας καὶ τἀλλα ὅσων φέτο δεῖν, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ώς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. 15. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὸν Κύρον, ἐλεξεν, "Ὤ Κύρε, ὃς ὅλιγα δυνάμενοι προορᾶν ἀνθρώποι 1 περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειροῦμεν πράττειν. νῦν γὰρ ἐκ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐλευθερίαν μὲν μηχανάσθαι ἐπιχειρήσας δούλος ὡς οὐδεπότε ἐγενόμην· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐάλωμεν, σαφῶς ἀπολογλέναι γομίσαντες νῦν ἀναφαινόμεθα σεσωμένοι ὡς οὐδεπότε. οὐ γὰρ οὐδεπότε ἐπαύνατο πολλὰ κακὰ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντες, νῦν ὅρω τούτους ἔχοντας ὡσπερ ἐγὼ ηὐχόμην. 16. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίστω, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὡστε ἀπελάσαι Χαλδαίους ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀκρῶν πολλαπλάσια ἀν ἐδωκα χρήματα δὲν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις παρ’ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἂ ὑποχνοῦ ποιήσειν ἁγαθὰ ἡμᾶς ὅτ’ ἐλάμβανε τὰ χρήματα, ἀποτελέσται σοι ἡδή, ὡστε καὶ προσοφεύγοιτε σὺ ἀλλ’ χάριτας ἀναπεφύμεν, ὡς ἡμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ κακοὶ ἔσμεν, ἀσχυνοίμεθα ἀν σοι μὴ ἀποδιδόντες. 17. ὁ μὲν Ἀρμένιος τοσαῦτ’ ἐλεξεν.

Οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ήκον δεόμενοι τοῦ Κύρου εἰρήνην σφίζει ποιήσαν. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο αὐτοὺς, Ἀλλο τι, ἔφη, ὁ Χαλδαῖο, ἢ τούτου

1 ἀνθρώποι. Dindorf, later Edd.; ἀνθρώποι MSS.

256
it that you have no cause to complain, if you become our friends."

14. And when the Chaldaeans heard this, they commended Cyrus highly, shook hands with him heartily, and departed for home.

Now, when the king of Armenia received Cyrus's summons and heard of his plans, he came to Cyrus as quickly as he could with the carpenters and all that he thought was necessary. 15. And when he saw Cyrus, he said: "How little of the future, Cyrus, we mortals can foresee, and yet how much we try to accomplish. Why, just now, when I was striving to secure liberty, I became more a slave than ever before; and when we were taken prisoners, we then thought our destruction certain, but we now find that we are saved as never before. For those who never ceased to do us no end of injury I now behold in just the condition that I desired. 16. And believe me, Cyrus," said he, "when I say that to have driven the Chaldaeans from these heights I would have given many times as much money as you now have from me; and the benefit that you promised to do us, when you received the money, you have already conferred so fully that we obviously now owe you a new debt of gratitude besides; and we on our part, if we have not lost all self-respect, should be ashamed if we did not repay it to you."

17. Thus the Armenian king spoke.

Now the Chaldaeans had come back with the request that Cyrus should make peace with them. And Cyrus asked them: "Is this the reason that you, Chaldaeans, now desire peace, because you
XENOPHON

ἐνεκα εἰρήνης νῦν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ὅτι νομίζετε ἀσφαλέστερον ἄν δύνασθαι ζῆν εἰρήνης γενομένης ἢ πολεμοῦντες, ἐπειδή ἦμεις τάδ’ ἔχομεν;

"Εφασαν ἡ Χαλδαῖοι.

18. Καὶ ὦς, ὅτι δ’, ἔφη, ἐκαὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀγάθα προσγένουτο διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην;

"Ετι ἂν, ἔφασαν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοιμεθα.

"Ἀλλο τι οὖν, ἔφη, ἢ διὰ τὸ γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετε εἶναι;

Συνέφασαν καὶ τοῦτο.

Τι οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, βούλοισθ’ ἂν ἀποτελοῦντες δοσαρεῖ ἂν ἂλλοι Ἀρμενίου ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν τῆς Ἀρμενίας γῆς ἐργάζεσθαι ὁπόσην ἂν θέλητε;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, Εἰ πιστεύοιμεν μὴ ἀδικήσεθαι.

19. Τι δε, σὺ, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμενίου, βούλω ἂν σοι τὴν νῦν ἄργον ὁδοὺς γῆν ἐνεργοὺς γενέσθαι, εἰ μέλλοις τὰ νομιζόμενα παρὰ σοι ἀποτελεῖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι;

"Εφη ὁ Ἀρμενίους πολλοὺ ἂν τοῦτο πρίασθαι πολὺ γὰρ ἂν αὐξάνεσθαι τῆς πρόσδοκαν.

20. Τι δ’, ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ὁ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ ὁρῇ ἀγαθά ἔχετε, ἐθέλοιτ’ ἂν εἰ ἐνα ἑμένα ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, εἰ ὑμῖν μέλλοις οἱ νέμοντες τὰ δίκαια ἀποτελεῖν;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ὀφελεῖσθαι οὐδὲν πονοῦντες.

1 τάδ’ ἔχομεν; ἔφασαν ξ, most Edd.; τὰ ἡκρα ἔχομεν; ἔφασαν Hug.; τάλλα ἔχομεν ἔφασαν Φ.; τάλλα ἔφασαν ἔχομεν ξ; ταῦτ’ ἐλέγομεν τάλλα ἔχομεν ἔφασαν D.

2 ἄργαν Stephanus, Edd.; ἄργαν MSS.

258
think, that since we are in possession of these heights, you could live in greater security if we had peace than if we were at war?"

The Chaldaeans assented.

18. "And what," said he, "if still other blessings should accrue to you as a result of the proposed peace?"

"We should be still more pleased," they answered.

"Well," said he, "do you think that you are now poor for any other reason than because you have so little fertile land?"

In this also they agreed with him.

"Well then," said Cyrus, "would you avail yourselves of the permission to till as much Armenian land as you wish on condition that you paid in full just as much rental as other tenants in Armenia do?"

"Yes," said the Chaldaeans, "if we could be sure of not being molested."

19. "Tell me, King of Armenia," said he, "would you be willing that that land of yours which now lies uncultivated should be cultivated, if those who cultivate it would pay you the usual rental?"

The Armenian answered that he would give a great deal to have it so; for in this way his revenues would be greatly increased.

20. "And tell me, Chaldaeans," said he, "seeing that you have fine mountains, would you be willing to let the Armenians pasture their herds there, if the herdsmen would pay you what is fair?"

The Chaldaeans said they would; for they would get large profits by it, without any labour on their own part.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Σὺ δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ Ἰρμένως, ἐθέλοις ἂν ταῖς τούτων νομαῖς χρῆσθαι, εἰ μέλλοις μικρὰ ὠφελῶν Χαλ-δαῖως πολὺ πλεῖον ὠφελήσεσθαι;

Καὶ σφόδρα ἄν, ἔφη, εἰπέρ οἰόμην ἀσφαλῶς νέμειν.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν νέμοιτε, εἰ τὰ ἄκρα ἔχοιτε σύμμαχα;

"Εφη ὁ Ἰρμένως.

21. Ἀλλὰ μᾶ Δί, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζόμεθα μὴ ὅτι τὴν τούτων, ἀλλ' οὖν ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ οὗτοι τὰ ἄκρα ἔχοιεν.

Εἰ δ' ύμῖν αὖ, ἔφη, τὰ ἄκρα σύμμαχα εἰν;

Οὕτως ἄν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν καλῶς ἔχοι.

Ἀλλὰ μᾶ Δί, ἔφη ὁ Ἰρμένως, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν αὖ καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ οὗτοι παραλήψονται πάλιν τὰ ἄκρα ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τετείχισμένα.

22. Καὶ ὁ Κύρρος εἶπεν, Οὕτως τούνων, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· οὐδέτεροις ύμῶν τὰ ἄκρα παραδῶσω, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς φυλάξομεν αὐτά· κἂν ἀδικώσων ύμῶν ὀπότεροι, σὺν τοῖς ἀδικομένοις ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα.

23. Ὡς δ' ἦκουσαν ταῦτα ἁμφότεροι, ἐπήνεσαν καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὕτως ἂν μόνος ἡ εἰρήνη βεβαιά γένοιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔδοσαν καὶ ἐλαβον πάντες τὰ πιστά, καὶ ἐλευθέρους μὲν ἁμφότερους 260
"And you, King of Armenia," said he, "would you be willing to rent their pasture lands, if by letting the Chaldaeans have a little profit you were to get much greater profit for yourself?"

"Why, of course," said he, "if I thought I could pasture my cattle there in security."

"Well then," said he, "could you pasture them there in security, if the heights were in the possession of your friends?"

"Yes," said the Armenian.

21. "But, by Zeus," said the Chaldaeans, "we could not even work our own farms in security, to say nothing of theirs, if they were to have possession of the heights."

"But," said Cyrus, "suppose on the other hand that the heights were in the possession of your friends?"

"In that case," they answered, "we should be all right."

"But, by Zeus," said the Armenian, "we, on our part, should not be all right, if they are again to get possession of the heights, especially now that they have been fortified."

22. "This then," said Cyrus, "is what I shall do: I shall not give possession of the heights to either of you, but we shall keep a garrison there ourselves; and if either of you does wrong, we shall side with the injured party."

23. And when they heard this proposal, both sides gave it their approval and said that only in this way could the peace be effective; and upon these conditions they interchanged assurances of friendship, and agreed that each party should be independent of the other, that there should
XENOPHON

άπ’ ἄλληλων εἶναι συνετέθεντο, ἑπιγαμίας δ’ εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, καὶ ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ κοινὴν, εἰ τις ἀδικοὶ ὅποτέρους.

24. Οὔτω μὲν οὖν τότε διεπράχθη καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι οὔτω διαμένουσιν οἱ τότε γενόμεναι συνθήκαι Χαλδαίοις καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἑχοντι. ἐπειδ’ δὲ αἱ συνθήκαι ἐγεγένητο, εἰ ὑπὸ συνετεῖχιζον τε ἀμφότεροι προθύμως ὡς κοινὸν φρούριον καὶ τάπιτήδεα συνεισήγησιν.

25. Ἐπειδ’ δὲ ἐστερέα προσῆκε, συνδείπνουσι ἔλαβεν ἀμφότερους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς φίλους ἡδή. συσκηρνοῦντων δὲ εἰπὲ τις τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σφῶν πᾶσιν εὐκτᾶ ταύτα εἰς εἰς ὅ τι τινὶς τῶν Χαλδαίων οἱ ληχόμενοι ξῶσι καὶ οὔτ’ ἄν ἐπιστάται ἐργάζεσθαι οὔτ’ ἄν δῦναι το, εἰθισμένοι ἀπὸ πολέμου βιοτεύειν ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐλήξουτο ἡ ἐμισθοφόρουν, πολλάκις μὲν παρὰ τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ (καὶ γὰρ, ἐφασάν, πολύχρυσος ἀνήρ) πολλάκις δέ καὶ παρ’ Ἀστυάγει.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη. Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ μισθοφοροῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ δῶσω ὅσον τις καὶ ἀλλὸς πλεῖστον δῆποτε ἐδώκε. Συνέφασαν [οἱ], καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἐσεσθαι ἔλεγον τοὺς ἔθελήσοντας.

27. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δ’ οὖν συνωμολογεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἦκουσεν ὅτι πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδῶν οἱ Χαλδαίοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἀναμνησθεὶς ὃτι

[1] [οἱ] omitted by Dindorf and bracketed by later Edd.; οἱ MSS.
be the right of intermarriage and of mutual tillage and pasturage in each other's territory, and that there should be a defensive alliance, in case any one should injure either party.

24. Such, then, was the agreement entered into at that time; and to this day the covenants which were then made between the Chaldaeans and the king of Armenia still continue in force. And when the treaty was made, they both together began with enthusiasm at once to build the fort for their common protection, and then together they stocked it with provisions.

25. When evening was drawing on, he entertained both sides, now made friends, as his guests at dinner. And while the party was in progress, one of the Chaldaeans said that to all the rest of them this state of affairs was desirable; but there were some of the Chaldaeans, so they said, who lived by plundering and would not know how to farm and could not, for they were used to making their living by the business of war; for they were always making raids or serving as mercenaries; they were often in the service of the Indian king (and he paid well, they said, for he was a very wealthy man) and often in the service of Astyages.

26. "Then why do they not enter my service now?" asked Cyrus; "I will pay as much as any one ever did."

They assented and said that the volunteers would be many.

27. These terms were thus agreed upon; and when Cyrus heard that the Chaldaeans made frequent trips to the Indian king, remembering that represen-
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

oriously pair its Methodos
that its pragmata and όχιντο προς τοὺς
paleomous, ὅπως αὐτό καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων κατίδωσιν,
δεβούλετο μαθεῖν τὸν Ἰνδοῦ τὰ ἐαυτῷ πεπραγμένα.
28. ἢρξατο οὐν λόγου τοιοῦτος·

’Ω Αρμένιος, ἔφη, καὶ ύμείς, ὧν Χαλδαίοι,
εἶπατό μοι, εἴ τινα ἐγὼ νῦν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποστέλ-
λομι πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδοῦ, συμπέμψατ' ἂν μοι τῶν
ὑμετέρων οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν τε ὄδον ἁγιώτατο ἂν
καὶ συμπράττοιεσσον ὥστε γενέσθαι ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ ἂ ἐγὼ βούλομαι; ἐγὼ γὰρ χρήματα μὲν
προσγενέσθαι ἐτὶ ἂν βουλοίμην ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἐξο
καὶ μισθοῦν ἄφθονος διδόναι οἷς ἂν δὲ καὶ τιμῶν
καὶ δωρεῖσαι τῶν συστρατευομένων τῶν ἀξίους·
τούτων δὲ ἑνεκα βούλομαι ὡς ἀφθονῶτα
χρήματα ἐχεῖν, δείσαι τούτων νομίζων. τῶν
dὲ υμετέρων ἡδύ μοι ἀπέχεσθαι. φίλους γὰρ
ὑμᾶς ἢδη νομίζω παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἢδέως ἂν
λάβοιμι, εἰ διδοθή.

29. Ὡ οὖν ἀγγελος, ὦ κελεύω ύμᾶς ἠγειρόναι
δόναι καὶ συμπράκτορας γενέσθαι, ἐλθὼν ἐκείσε
όδε λέξει. Ἔπεμψε καὶ Κύρος, ὁ Ἰνδός, πρὸς σὲ·
φησὶ δὲ προσδεῖσθαι χρήματον, προσδεχόμενος
ἄλλην στρατιὰν οἴκοθεν ἐκ Περσῶν· (καὶ γὰρ
προσδέχομαι, ἔφη·) ἂν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψῃ ὅποσα
σοι προχωρεῖ, φησίν; ἂν θεος ἄγαθος τέλος διδῷ
αὐτῷ, πειράσεσθαι ποιῆσαι ὥστε σε νομίζειν κα-
λῶς θεοῦλεον μαθησθαι χαρίσματον αὐτῷ. 30. ταῦτα
μὲν ὁ παρ' ἐμοὶ λέξει. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ύμείς αὐ
ἐπιστέλλετε ὅ τι ὑμῖν σύμφορον δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ

1 κατασκεψάμενοι Stephanus, Edd.; κατασκεψάμενοi MSS.
2 διδῷ MSS., most Edd.; δὶ Hug, after Weckherlin.

264
tatives from him had once come to Media to investigate conditions there and had then visited the enemy to inquire into theirs also, he wished to have him learn what he had done. 28. Accordingly, he began to speak as follows:

"King of Armenia," said he, "and you Chaldaeans, tell me—if I should now send one of my men to the Indian king, would you send along some of yours to conduct him on the way and to co-operate with him in getting what I want from the king of India? Now I should like to have more money, in order to be in a position both to pay generous wages when I ought, and to honour with rewards those of my fellow-soldiers who deserve it; and the reason why I wish to have as generous a supply of money as possible is that I expect to need it, and I shall be glad to spare yours; for I now count you among my friends; but from the Indian king I should be glad to accept a contribution, if he would offer it.

29. "Now, when the messenger, to whom I am asking you to furnish guides and co-workers, arrives there, he will speak on this wise: 'King of India, Cyrus has sent me to you; he says that he needs more funds, for he is expecting another army from his home in Persia'—and that is true," said he, "for I am expecting one—'if, therefore, you will send him as much as you conveniently can, he says that if God will give him good success, he will try to make you think that you were well advised in doing him this favour.' 30. This my envoy will say; do you now, in your turn, give your representatives such instructions as you think expedient for you. And if we get any-
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ην μὲν λάβωμεν, ἐφη, παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀφθονωτέρος χρησόμεθα· ήν δὲ μὴ λάβωμεν, εἰσόμεθα ὅτι οὐδεμιαν αὐτῷ χάριν ὄφειλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέσται ἡμῖν ἐκείνον ἐνεκεν πρὸς τὸ ἣμετέρον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι.

31. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, νομίζων τούς ἴόντας Ἀρμενίων καὶ Χαλδαίων τοιάυτα λέξειν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἷα αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ, ὅποτε καλῶς εἶχε, διαλύσαντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἀνεπαύνοντο.

III

1. Τῇ δ' ὕστερα ὅ τε Κύρος ἔπεμπτε τῶν ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ὅσαπερ ἐφη καὶ ὁ Ἀρμενῖος καὶ οἱ Χαλδαίοι συνέπεμπτον οὕς ἱκανωτάτους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι καὶ συμπράξαι καὶ εἶπείν περὶ Κύρου τὰ προσήκοντα.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου κατασκευάσας ὁ Κύρος τὸ φρούριον καὶ φύλαξεν ἱκανοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις πᾶσι καὶ ἀρχοντ' αὐτῶν καταλιπτῶν Μήδον διὸ φέτος Κυνάξαρη ἀν μάλιστα χαρίσασθαι, ἀπῆκε συλλαβῶν τὸ στράτευμα ὅσον τε ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ ὅ παρ'. Ἀρμενίων προσέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Χαλδαίων εἰς τετρακισχίλιους, οὐ φοντο καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων κρείττονες εἶναι.

2. Ὡς δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐδὲς ἐμείνεν ἐνδὸν Ἀρμενίων οὔτ' ἀνήρ οὔτε γυνὴ.

1 κατασκευάσας Poppo, most Edd.; παρασκευάσας z (made ready); ἐπιτελέσας xy (completed).

266
thing from him, we shall have more abundant funds to use; and if we do not, we shall know that we owe him no thanks, but may, as far as he is concerned, settle everything with a view to our own interests."

31. Thus Cyrus spoke; and he believed that those of the Armenians and Chaldaeans who were to go would say such things of him as he desired all men to say and to hear of him. And then, when it was time, the banquet came to an end, and they went to rest.

III

1. On the following day Cyrus gave the envoy the commission of which he had spoken and sent him on his way; and the Armenian king and the Chaldaeans sent along those who they thought would be most competent to co-operate and to say what was appropriate concerning Cyrus.

Then he manned the fort with a competent garrison, supplied it with all things necessary, and left in command a Mede who he thought would be most acceptable to Cyaxares; and then he departed, taking with him not only the army which he had brought with him but also the reinforcements that he had received from the Armenians, and about four thousand Chaldaeans, who considered themselves actually better than all the rest put together.

2. And when he came down into the inhabited part of the country, not one of the Armenians remained indoors, but all, both men and women, in
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπήντων ἡδόμενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες ὃ τι ἐκαστὸς ἄξιον εἶχεν. καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος τούτοις οὐκ ἤχθετο, οὔτως ἀν νομίζων καὶ τὸν Κύρον μᾶλλον ἤδεσθαι τῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ. τέλος δὲ ὑπῆντησε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὰς θυγατέρας ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν νεότερον νἰόν, καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις δόροις τὸ χρυσίον ἐκόμιζεν ὃ πρῶτον οὐκ ἦθελε λαβεῖν Κύρος.

3. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ίδὼν εἶπεν, 'Τρεῖς ἐμὲ οὐ ποιήσετε μεθοῦ περιόντα εὔεργετεῖν, ἄλλα σὺ, ὃ γύναι, ἔχουσα ταῖτα τὰ χρήματα δὲ φέρεις ἀπίθηι, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἀρμενίῳ μηκέτι δός αὐτὰ κατορύξαι, ἐκπεμψον δὲ τὸν νἰόν ὃς κάλλιστα ἀπ' αὐτῶν 1 κατασκευάσασα ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν κτῶ καὶ σαντή καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς νἰοῖς ὃ τι κεκτημένοι καὶ κοσμήσεσθε κάλλιον καὶ ἤδιον τὸν αἰῶνα διάξετε: εἰς δὲ τῆν γῆν, ἐφ', ἀρκεῖτο τὰ σώματα, ὅταν ἐκαστὸς τελευτήσῃ, κατακρύπτειν.

4. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν παρήλαυνεν δ' ὁ Ἀρμένιος συμπροϊμπέπτε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρώποι, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὔεργετήν, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἐως ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆ. συναπτέστειλε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρμένιος καὶ στρατιὰν πλείονα, ὡς εἰρήνης ὁικού ὀρύσης.

5. Οὔτω δὴ 2 ὁ Κύρος ἀπῆκε κεχρηματισμένος οὐχ ἄ ἔλαβε μόνον χρήματα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλείονα τούτων ἦτοιμασμένος διὰ τὸν τρόπον, ὅστε λαμβάνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέοιτο.

1 ἀπ' αὐτῶν zD, Edd.; ἀπάντων x; ἀπαντῶν F.
2 δὴ MSS., most Edd.; δ' Hug.

268
their joy at the restoration of peace, came forth to meet him, each one carrying or bringing whatever he had of value. And their king did not disapprove, for he thought that Cyrus would thus be all the better pleased at receiving honour from all. And finally also the queen with her daughters and her younger son came up to him bringing not only the money which before Cyrus had refused to take, but other gifts as well.

3. And when he saw it Cyrus said: "You shall not make me go about doing good for pay! No, good queen; take back home with you this money which you bring; and do not give it to the king again to bury, but with it get your son as fine an outfit as possible and send him to the army; and with what is left get both for yourself and your husband, your daughters and your sons, anything the possession of which will enable you to adorn yourselves more handsomely and spend your days more happily. But let it suffice," he added, "to bury in the earth only our bodies, when the end shall come to each."

4. Thus he spoke and rode past her. And the king of Armenia escorted him on his way, as did all the rest of the people, proclaiming him again and again their benefactor, their valiant hero. And this they continued to do until he had quitted their borders. And as there was now peace at home, the king increased the contingent of troops that he sent with him.

5. Thus Cyrus departed, not only enriched with the ready money that he had received, but also having secured by his conduct far larger funds in reserve, to draw upon in time of need.
XENOPHON

Καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Κναξάρην· ὁ δὲ πλησίον ἦν, ὡσπερ ἔφησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν Τιγράνῃ καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἁράστοις ἔθηρα ὀπονπερ ἐπιτυγχάνοιεν θηρίοις καὶ ηὐφραίνετο.

6. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀφίκετο εἰς Μήδους, τῶν χρημάτων ἔδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχοις ὡσα ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ ἰκανὰ εἶναι, ὡποὺς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἔχοιεν τιμᾶν, εἴ τινας ἄγαντο τῶν ὑφ’ ἐαυτούς· ἐνομίζε γάρ, εἰ ἔκαστος τὸ μέρος ἄξιοῦν ποιῆσει, τὸ ὅλων αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὃ τι ποὺ καλὸν ἴδοι δὲν εἰς στρατιάν, ταῦτα κτῶμενοι διεδωρεῖτο τοῖς ἀεὶ ἄξιοτάτοις, νομίζω δ’ τι καλὸν κάγαθὸν ἔχοι τὸ στράτευμα, τοῦτοις ἀπασιν αὐτὸς κεκοσμήσθαι.

7. Ἡνίκα δὲ αὐτοῖς διεδίδου δὲν ἐλαβεῖν, ἐλεξεν ὡδὲ πως εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ πάντων ὅσους ἐτίμα. ὁ Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, δοκεῖ ἢμῖν εὐφροσύνη τῆς νῦν παρεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι εὐπορία τῆς προσγεγένηται καὶ ὅτι ἔχομεν ἄφ’ ὄν τιμᾶν ἔχομεν οὐς ἀν βουλόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὡς ἀν ἔκαστος ἄξιος ἦ. 8. πάντως δὴ ἀναμμηνησκόμεθα τὰ ποὺ ἀτ’ ἔργα τοὺτον τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἐστὶν αὕτως· σκοπούμενοι γὰρ εὐρήσετε τὸ τε ἁγιωτησάς καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ σπεύσαι καὶ τὸ μή εἰξαί τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὕτως οὖν χρὴ

1 by Hug, Breitenbach; not in MSS. or most Edd.
That night he encamped upon the frontier, and the next day he sent the army and the money to Cyaxares; for he was near by, as he had promised to be. But Cyrus himself went hunting with Tigranes and the best of his Persians, wherever they came across game, and he was delighted with the sport.

6. Now when he came back to Media he gave to each of his captains as much of the money as he thought sufficient, so that they in turn might be able to reward any of the men under them with whose conduct they were pleased; for he thought that if each one made his division worthy of commendation, he would find the whole army in fine condition. And whenever he himself saw anywhere anything calculated to improve his army, he always procured it and distributed it in presents from time to time among the most deserving; for he thought that everything that his army had that was beautiful and fine was an adornment to himself.

7. And when he was about to distribute a portion of what he had received, he took his place in the midst of the captains, lieutenants, and all whom he was about to reward, and spoke to this effect: "My friends, there seems now to be a kind of gladness in our hearts, both because some degree of prosperity has come to us and because we have the means of rewarding those whom we will and of receiving rewards, each according to his deserts. 8. But let us be sure to remember to what kind of conduct these blessings are due; for if you will consider, you will find that it is this—watching when occasion demanded, undergoing toil, making due haste, and never yielding to the enemy. Accordingly, we must
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΤΟΣ

καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, γιγνώσκοντας
ὅτι τὰς μεγάλας ἢδονὰς καὶ τἀγαθὰ τὰ μεγάλα
ἡ πειθὼ καὶ ἡ καρτερία καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ πόνοι
καὶ κίνδυνοι παρέχονται.

9. Κατανοοῦν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εὐ μὲν αὐτῷ εἶχον
τὰ σώματα οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι
στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους φέρειν, εὑ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς
πρὸς τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔπιστήμονες
δὲ ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἔκαστοι ὁπλίσει,
καὶ πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν
ἐώρα πάντας εὐ παρεσκευασμένους, ἐκ τούτων
οὖν ἐπεθύμει τι ἢδη τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
πράττειν, γιγνώσκον ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέλλειν πολλάκις
τοῖς ἄρχονται καὶ τῆς καλῆς παρασκευῆς ἀλλούτως τι.

10. Ἐτι δ’ ὅρων ὅτι φιλοτίμοις ἔχοντες, ἐν
οἷς ἀντηγωνίζοντο, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιφθόνως εἶχον
πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων
ἐνεκα ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβούλετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν
ὡς τάχιστα, εἴδος δὲ τοῖς κινδυνοῖς φιλο-
φρόνως ποιοῦσιν ἔχειν τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς
ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν τούτῳ οὐτε τοῖς ἐν
ὁπλοῖς κοσμούμενοις φθονοῦσιν οὔτε τοῖς δόξῃς
ἐφιεμένοις, ἄλλα μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπανοῦσι καὶ ἀσπά-
ζονται τοὺς τοίούτους ὑμοίους, νομίζοντες συν-
εργοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἄγαθοῦ εἶναι.

11. Οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐξώπλωσε τὴν στρα-
τιὰν καὶ κατέταξεν ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστά τε καὶ
ἀμειβαίνει, ἐπειτα δὲ συνεκάλεσε μυριάρχους καὶ
χελιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς. οὕτωι

1 τούτων. Breitenbach, later Edd.; τών δὲ xy, Dindorf,
Sauppe; τούτων δὲ z.

272
in future also be brave men, knowing that obedience, perseverance, and the endurance of toil and danger at the critical time bring the great pleasures and the great blessings.”

9. Cyrus now saw that his soldiers were in good physical condition to endure the fatigue of military service, that their hearts were disposed to regard the enemy with contempt, that they were skilled each in the exercise adapted to his kind of armour, and that they were all well disciplined to obey the officers; accordingly, he was eager to undertake some move against the enemy at once, for he knew that generals often find some even of their best laid plans brought to naught through delay.

10. And he further observed that, because they were so eager to excel in those exercises in which they vied with one another, many of the soldiers were even jealous of one another; for this reason also he wished to lead them into the enemy's country as soon as possible. For he knew that common dangers make comrades kindly disposed toward one another, and that in the midst of such dangers there is no jealousy of those who wear decorations on their armour or of those who are striving for glory; on the contrary, soldiers praise and love their fellows even more, because they recognize in them co-workers for the common good.

11. Accordingly, he first completely armed his forces and marshalled them in the best and most imposing order possible; then he called together the generals, colonels, captains, and lieutenants; for
XENOPHON

γὰρ ἀπολελυμένοι ἦσαν τοῦ καταλέγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς ἄριθμοῖς, καὶ ὅποτε δέοι ἢ ύπακούειν τῷ στρατηγῷ ἢ παραγγέλλειν τι, οὔτε ὡς οὐδὲν ἀναρχὸν κατελείπετο, ἀλλὰ δωδεκάδροις καὶ ἕξαδροις πάντα τὰ καταλειπόμενα διεκοσμεῖτο.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον οἱ ἐπικαίροι, παρὰ γων αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἢ ἔκαστον ἰσχυρὸν ἢν τῶν συμμαχικῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κακείνους ἐποίησεν ἑρωτικὸς ἔχειν τοῦ ἣδη ποιεῖν τι, εἴπεν αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἀπείναυ ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ διδάσκειν ἔκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἑκείνους, καὶ πειράσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν πάσι τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι, ὅπως εὐθυμό- τατα πάντες ἐξορμήσω, ἐρῆφ δὲ πρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξαρήν θύρας. 13. τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες οὕτω πάντες ἐποίουν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν οἱ ἐπικαίροι ἐπὶ θύραις. σὺν τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύρος εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦρχετο λόγον τοιούτῳ:

Ὅτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Κυαξάρης, ὅτι ἀ μέλλω λέγειν σοὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' ἵσως αἰσχύνει λέγειν αὐτὰ, μὴ δοκῇς ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τρέφεις ἡμᾶς ἐξόδου μεμνήσθαι. 14. Ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ σιωπᾶς, ἐγὼ λέξω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

1 οἱ ἐπικαίροι are literally "the most timely," "the most important," "the chief officers." It is consistently rendered by "staff-officers" in this translation, though the word may
these had been exempted from enrolment in the lines of the regular battalions; and even when it was necessary for any of them to report to the commander-in-chief or to transmit any order, no part of the army was left without a commanding officer, for the sergeants and corporals kept in proper order the divisions from which the superior officers had gone.

12. And when the staff-officers had come together, he conducted them along the ranks, showed them in what good order everything was and pointed out to them the special strength of each contingent of the auxiliaries. And when he had filled them with an eager desire for immediate action, he bade them then go to their own several divisions and tell their men what he had told them and try to inspire in them all a desire to begin the campaign, for he wished them all to start out in the best of spirits; and early in the morning they were to meet him at Cyaxares's gates. 13. Thereupon they all went their way and proceeded so to do. At daybreak on the following day the staff-officers presented themselves at the gates of the king. So Cyrus went in with them to Cyaxares and began to speak as follows:

"I am sure, Cyaxares," said he, "that you have this long time been thinking no less than we of the proposition that I am going to lay before you; but perhaps you hesitate to broach the subject for fear it should be thought that you speak of an expedition from here because you are embarrassed at having to maintain us. 14. Therefore, since you do not say anything, I will speak both for you and for ourselves. be applied to all who are in authority, whether military or civil."
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ἡμὼν γὰρ δοκεῖ πᾶσιν, ἐπείπερ παρεσκευάσμεθα, μὴ ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν σὴν χώραν, τότε μάχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ φίλιᾳ καθήμενος ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν, ἀλλά λέναι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν. 15. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρᾳ ὄντες πολλὰ τῶν σῶν σινόμεθα ἀκοντεῖ· ἢν δὲ εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἵωμεν, τὰ ἑκείνων κακῶς ποιήσομεν ἡδόμενοι.

16. Ἐπειτα νῦν μὲν σὺ ἡμᾶς τρέφεις πολλὰ δαπανῶν, ἢν δ’ ἐκστρατευσόμεθα, θρεψόμεθα ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας. 17. ἦτι δὲ εἰ μὲν μείζων τις ἡμῖν ὁ κύνδυνος ἐμελλέων εἰναι ἕκει ἡ ἐνθάδε, ἰσως τὸ ἁσφαλέστατον ἢν αἰρετέον. νῦν δὲ ἵσοι μὲν ἑκεῖνοι ἐσονται, ἢν τε ἐνθάδε ὑπομένωμεν ἢ τε εἰς τὴν ἑκείνων ὄντες ὑπαντῶμεν αὐτοῖς. ἵσοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες μαχοῦμεθα, ἢν τε ἐνθάδε ἑπιόντας αὐτοὺς ἰσχώμεθα ἢν τε ἐπ’ ἑκείνους ὄντες τὴν μάχην συνάπτωμεν. 18. πολὺ μέντοι ἡμεῖς βελτίωσι καὶ ἐρρομενεστέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν χρησόμεθα, ἢν ἵωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μὴ ἀκοντεῖς ὅραν δοκῶμεν τοὺς πολεμίους. πολὺ δὲ κάκεινοι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς φοβήσονται, ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι οὐ φοβοῦμενοι πτήσομεν αὐτοὺς οἴκου καθήμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ αἰσθανόμεθα προσίοντας, ἀπαντῶμεν τε αὐτοῖς, ἢν ός τάχιστα συμμίξωμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἐως ἄν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται, ἀλλὰ φθάνοντες ἢδη δηοῦμεν τὴν ἑκείνων γῆν. 19. καίτοι, ἐφη, εἰ τι ἑκείνως μὲν φοβερωτέρους ποιήσομεν, ἡμᾶς δ’ αὐτοὺς ταρραλεστέρους, πολὺ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐγὼ πλεονέκτημα νομίζω, καὶ τὸν κύνδυνον οὕτως ἡμῖν μὲν ἐλάττω λογίζομαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μείζω. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ 276
We are all agreed that, inasmuch as we are quite ready, it is best not to sit down here in a friendly country and wait till the enemy have invaded your territory before we begin to fight, but to go as quickly as possible into the enemy's country. 15. For now, while we are in your country, we do your people's property much injury quite against our will; but if we go into the enemy's country, we shall do injury to theirs with all our hearts.

16. "In the second place, you support us now at great expense; whereas, if we take the field, we shall get our support from the enemy's country. 17. And then again, if we were likely to be in any greater danger there than here, we should, perhaps, have to choose the safer course. But their numbers will be the same, whether we wait here or whether we go and meet them in their own territory. And our numbers in the fight will be just the same, whether we engage them as they come hither or whether we go against them to join battle. 18. We shall, however, find the courage of our soldiers much better and stronger, if we assume the offensive and show that we are not unwilling to face the foe; and they will be much more afraid of us, when they hear that we do not sit down at home and cower in fear of them, but that, when we hear that they are coming, we advance to meet them to join battle as soon as possible, and do not wait until our country is ravaged, but take the initiative and devastate theirs. 19. And surely," he added, "if we make them more afraid and ourselves more courageous, I think it would be a great gain to us and it would, as I reckon it, lessen the danger under such circumstances for us and increase it for the enemy." And my father
πατήρ ἀει λέγει καὶ ζοῦ φῆς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὡς αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ρώμαις.

20. ὦ μὲν οὖτως εἰπεί. Κυναξάρης δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλ᾿ ὅπως μὲν, ὥς Κύρε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, ἐγὼ ἀχθομαι ὡμᾶς τρέφων μηδ᾿ ὑπονοεῖτε· τὸ γε μέντοι ἱέναι εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἡδὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντα.

Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ἐφι ο Κύρος, ὁμογνωμονοῦμεν, συσκευαζόμεθα καὶ ἢν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν θάττων συγκαταψύχη, ἔξωμεν ὡς τάχιστα.

21. Ἐκ τούτου τοῖς μὲν στρατιῶταις εἰπον συσκευαζόμεθα· ο δὲ Κύρος ἔθευ πρῶτον μὲν Διὸς βασιλεῖ, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οὐς ἦτείτο Ἑλεως καὶ εὑμηνεῖς ἄντος ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραστάτας ἁγάθους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ συμβουλίους τῶν ἁγάθων. 22. συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ ἠρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτορας καὶ κηδεμόνας.

Ἐπεὶ δ᾿ ἐκαλλιεργήσει τε καὶ ἄθροον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς ὁρίους, τότε δὴ οἰωνοῦς χρησάμενος αἰσθάνεται ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα διέβη τὰ ὀριά, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸ καὶ Γῆν ἱλασκετο χραῖς καὶ θεοὺς θυσίαις καὶ ἠρωας Ἀσσυρίας οἰκήτορας ἡμενίζετο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὸς Διὸς πατρέως ἔθευ, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος θεῶν ἀνεφάνετο, οὐδενὸς ἠμέλει.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὸς ταῦτα εἰχεν, εὖθυς τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς προαγαγόντες οὐ πολλήν ὥδ᾿ ἐστρατο-
always says, and so do you, and all the rest agree, that battles are decided more by men's souls than by the strength of their bodies."

20. Thus he spoke; and Cyaxares answered: "Do not let yourselves imagine, Cyrus and the rest of you Persians, that I am embarrassed at having to support you. As for invading the enemy's country at once, however, I too consider that the better plan from every point of view."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "since we are agreed, let us make ready and, as soon as ever the gods give us their sanction, let us march out without a moment's delay."

21. Hereupon they gave the soldiers the word to make ready to break camp. And Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice first to Sovereign Zeus and then to the rest of the gods; and he besought them to lead his army with their grace and favour and to be their mighty defenders and helpers and counsellors for the common good. 22. And he called also upon the heroes who dwelt in Media and were its guardians.

And when the sacrifice was found to be favourable and his army was assembled at the frontier, then amid favourable auspices he crossed into the enemy's country. And as soon as he had crossed the boundary, there again he made propitiatory offerings to Earth with libations and sought with sacrifices to win the favour of the gods and heroes that dwelt in Assyria. And when he had done this he sacrificed again to Zeus, the god of his fathers; and of the other divinities that were brought to his attention he neglected not one.

23. And when these rites were duly performed, they at once led the infantry forward a short distance
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΕ

πεδεύοντο, τοῖς ὀποῖοι καταδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι
περιβάλοντο πολλὴν καὶ παντοταν λείαν. καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμεταστρατοπεδεύομενοι καὶ ἔχοντες
ἀφθονα τάπιτηδεια καὶ δηούντες τὴν χώραν ἀνέ-
μενον τοῖς πολεμίους.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ προσιόντες ἐλέγοντο οὐκέτι δέχ
딲154

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνέδοξε τῷ Κναξάρῃ, οὕτω
ἵπτερα συνεταχμένοι προήχαν τοσοῦτον καθ’ ἡμέραν
ὅσον ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ δείπνουν μὲν
ἀεὶ κατὰ φῶς ἐποιοῦτο, πυρὰ δὲ νύκτωρ οὐκ
ἐκασώ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐμπροσθεν μέντοι τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ἐκασώ, ὡς ὅρων μὲν εἰ τινὲς νυ-
κτὸς προσίδειν διὰ τὸ πῦρ, μὴ ὀρόμεν δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν
προσιόντων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὀπίσθεν τοῦ στρα-
τοπέδου ἐπιρρόλουν ἀπάτης ἐνεκα τῶν πολεμίων.
ὅστ’ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατάσκοποι ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὰς
προφυλακὰς αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ὀπίσθεν τὰ πυρὰ εἶναι
ἐτὶ πρόσω 1 τοῦ στρατοπέδου οἴομεν εἶναι.

26. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς,
ἐπεὶ ἦδη ἐγγύς ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατεύματα ἐγί-
γνετο, τάφρον περιβάλοντο, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ
ποιοῦσι οἱ βάρβαροι βασιλεῖς, ὅπου ἄν. στρατο-
πεδεύονται, τάφρον περιβάλλονται εὐπετῶς διὰ
tὴν πολυχειρίαν· ἱσασι γὰρ ὅτι ἵππικον στρά-

1 πρόσω z, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; πόρρω χυ, Gemoll (far from).

280
and pitched camp, while with the cavalry they made a raid and got possession of a large quantity of every sort of booty. And thenceforward they shifted their camp from time to time, kept provisions supplied in abundance, and ravaged the country, while they awaited the enemy's approach.

24. And when rumours came that the enemy were advancing and no longer ten days' march away, then Cyrus said: "Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to go to meet them and not to let either the enemy or our own men suppose that we fail to advance against them out of fear, but let us make it clear that we are not going to fight against our will."

25. As Cyaxares agreed to this, they advanced in battle order each day as far as they thought proper. Their dinner they always prepared by day-light, and at night they never lighted a fire in camp. They did, however, keep fires burning in front of the camp, in order that if any one approached in the dark, they might see him by the light of the fire but not be seen. And frequently also they kept fires burning in the rear of the camp for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; and so sometimes the enemy's scouts fell into the hands of the pickets; for because the fires were behind, they supposed themselves to be still far in front of the camp.

26. Then, when the two armies were near each other, the Assyrians and their allies drew a ditch around their camp, as even to this day the barbarian kings do whenever they go into camp; and they throw up such entrenchments with ease because of the multitude of hands at their command. They take this precaution because they know that cavalry
τέμμυ αν νυκτὶ ταραχώδες ἐστὶ καὶ δύσχρηστον ἀλλώς τε καὶ βάρβαρον. 27. πεποδισέμενος γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἔπι ταῖς φάτναις, καὶ εἰ τις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἔργον μὲν νυκτὸς λύσαι ἵππους, ἔργον δὲ χαλινώσαι, ἔργον δὲ ἐπισάξαι, ἔργον δὲ θωρακίσασθαι, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐφ’ ἵππων ἐλάσαι διὰ στρατοπέδου παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἐρύματα περιβάλλονται, καὶ ἀμα αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν ἑχυρῷ εἶναι ἐξουσίαν παρέχειν ὅταν βοῦλωνται μάχεσθαι.

28. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιόντες ἀπείχον ὅσον παρασάγγην, οἱ μὲν Ἄσσύριοι οὕτως ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ὡσπερ εἴρηται, ἐν περιτεταφρευμένῳ μὲν καταφανεὶ δὲ, ὦ δὲ Κῦρος ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐν ἀφανεστάτῳ, κόμας τε καὶ γηλόφους ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος, νομίζων πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξαιρήνης ὁρώμενα φοβερῶτερα τοὺς ἑναντίους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνης μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὡσπερ ἐπρεπε προφυλακᾶς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

29. Τῇ δ’ υστεραίᾳ ο μὲν Ἄσσύριοι καὶ ὁ Κροίσσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἀνέπαυον τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ ἑχυρῷ. Κῦρος δὲ καὶ Κωνέαρης συνταξάμενοι περιέμενον, ὡς εἰ προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, μαχούμενοι. ὡς δὲ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔξιοι ὁ πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑρύματος οὔτε μάχην ποιήσουσι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὦ μὲν Κωνέαρης καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἐλέει τοιάδε. 30. Δοκεῖ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ ἀνδρες, ὡσπερ τυχχανομεν συντε-
troops—especially barbarian cavalry—are at night prone to confusion and hard to manage. 27. For they keep their horses hobbled at the mangers, and if any enemy should make an attack, it is a difficult task to loose the horses in the darkness, it is difficult to bridle them, difficult to saddle them, difficult to put on a coat of mail, and utterly impossible to mount and ride through camp. For all these reasons and also because they think that if they are behind fortifications they are in a position to choose their time for fighting, the Assyrians and the rest of the barbarians throw up breastworks.

28. With such tactics the armies were approaching each other; but when, as they advanced, they were only about a parasang apart, the Assyrians encamped in the manner described in a place surrounded, indeed, by a ditch, but open to view. Cyrus, on the other hand, encamped in a place as much out of sight as possible, keeping under cover behind the hills and villages, for he thought that if all one’s equipment for war flashes suddenly into view, it inspires more terror in the enemy. And that night each side stationed advance guards, as was proper, and went to rest.

29. And on the following day the Assyrian king and Croesus and the other commanders let their troops rest within the entrenchments; but Cyrus and Cyaxares awaited them in battle array, ready to fight if the enemy should come on. But when it was evident that the enemy would not come out from behind their breastworks nor accept battle that day, Cyaxares called Cyrus and the staff officers besides and spoke as follows: 30. "Men," said he, "I propose to march up to those fellows' breast-
XENOPHON

tαγμένοι οὖτως ίέναι πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι θέλομεν μάχεσθαι. οὖτω γάρ, ἔφη, ἔαν μὴ ἀντεπεξῆσθων ἑκείνοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες ἀπίασιν, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ τὴν τόλμαν ἰδόντες ἡμῶν μᾶλλον φοβήσονται.¹

31. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖτως ἐδόκει. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Κυαζάρη, οὖτω ποιήσωμεν. εἰ γὰρ ἧδη ἐκφανέντες πορευόμεθα, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, νῦν τε προσίσταται ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι θεάσονται οὐδὲν φοβούμενοι, εἴδοτες ὅτι ἐν ἀσφαλεί ἐστί τού μηδὲν παθεῖν, ἑπειδῶν τε μηδὲν ποιήσωμες ἀπίσιμον, πάλιν καθορῶμες ἡμῶν τῷ πλῆθος πολὺ ἔνδεστερον τοῦ ἐαυτῶν καταφρονήσουσι, καὶ αὐριὸν ἔξιασι πολὺ ἐρρωμενεστέραις ταῖς γυναικίς. 32. νῦν δ', ἔφη, εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι πάρεσμεν, οὐχ ὀρῶντες δὲ ἡμᾶς, εὐ τούτο ἐπίστω, οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν, ἄλλα φροντίζουσι τί ποτε τούτο ἔστι, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ ἡμῶν ἐγγευτῇ ὅτι οὐδὲν παύονται. ὅταν δ' ἔξισωσι, τότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀμα φανεροῦσι τε ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι καὶ ίέναι εὐθὺς ὁμός, εἰληφότας αὐτοὺς ἕνα πάλαι ἐβουλόμεθα.

33. Λέξαντος δ' οὖτω Κύρου συνέδοξε ταῦτα καὶ Κυαζάρη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ τότε μὲν δεινοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν φυλακῶν καύσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.

34. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾷ πρὸς Κύρος μὲν ἐστεφανωμένοι ἔθυνε, παρηγγείλε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμοτίμους ἐστεφανωμένους πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ παρεῖναι.

¹ φοβήσονται: Dindorf, most Edd.; φοβηθόσονται MSS., Sauppe.

284
works, drawn up just as we are now, and show them that we are eager to fight. For," said he, "if we do that and they do not come out against us, our men will come back to camp more full of courage, and the enemy seeing our daring will be more frightened."

31. Such was his proposal. But Cyrus said: "No, by the gods, Cyaxares, let us not do that; never! For if we march out and show ourselves, as you suggest, the enemy will see us marching up but will have no fear, for they know that they are secure against any injury; and when we withdraw without having accomplished anything, they will furthermore see that our numbers are inferior to their own and despise us; and to-morrow they will come out with much stouter hearts. 32. But as matters stand now," said he, "as they know that we are here but do not see us, you may be sure that they do not despise us but inquire anxiously what in the world this means, and I am positive that they are talking about us all the time. But when they come out, then we must show ourselves and at once engage them hand to hand, when we shall have them where we have long since been wishing to have them."

33. When Cyrus had thus spoken, Cyaxares and the rest agreed with him. And then, when they had dined and stationed their sentinels and lighted many fires in front of the outposts, they went to rest.

34. Early on the following day Cyrus crowned himself with a garland and prepared to sacrifice, and sent word to the rest of the peers to attend the sacrifice and exHORTS the peers
XENOPHON

ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἰχεν ἡ θυσία, συγκαλέσας αὐτούς ἐλέξειν Ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ μὲν θεοί, ὡς οἱ τε μάντεις φασί καὶ ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖ, μάχην τ' ἔσεσθαι προ- ἀγγέλλουσι καὶ νίκην διδάσκαι καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑπεσχυόνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. 35. ἔγω δὲ ὑμῖν μὲν πάραμινον ποιόνς τινὰς χρῆ εἶναι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καὶ αἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν ὀλίγα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἐπισταμένους καὶ μεμελημένους καὶ ἀκούοντας διὰ τέλους [οἴστε ἐγώ], 1 ὡστε καὶ ἄλλους εἰκότως τὸν διδάσκοντε. τάδε δὲ εἰ μὴ τυγχάνετε κατανευρήσκετε, ἀκούσατε.

36. Οὗς γὰρ νεωστὶ συμμάχους τε ἔχομεν καὶ πειρώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ποιεῖν, τούτους δὲ ἡμᾶς δεὶ ύπομιμήσκειν ἐφ' οἷς τε ἐτρεφόμεθα ὑπὸ Κυαξάρου, ἀ τῇ ἡσκοῦμεν, ἐφ' ἂ τε αὐτοὺς παρακεκλήκαμεν, ὅν τε 2 ἀσμένοι ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἔφασαν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι. 37. καὶ τούτῳ δ' αὐτοῖς ύπομιμήσκετε ὅτι ἦδεν ἡ ἡμέρα δείξει ὃν ἕκαστός ἔστιν ἄξιος. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ὑψιμαθεῖς ἀνθρώπων γένωται, οὐδὲν θαναμαστὸν εἰ τινὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ύπομιμησκοντός δέοντο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς δύναντο Ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοὶ εἶναι. 38. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πράττοντες ἀμα καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πείραν λήψεσθε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καὶ ἄλλους βελτίως ποιεῖν εἰκότως ἂν ἦδη καὶ ἑαυτῷ συνει- δείῃ τελέως ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ ὃν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τούτων ύπόμνησιν αὐτοῦ μόνους ἔχων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγαπῶν,

1 οἴστε ἐγώ τι, Dindorf, Marchant; ἀπερ ἐγώ γι, Gemoll; ἀστερ ἐγώ κα; omitted by Pantazides; bracketed by Hug, Breitenbach.
2 ὡστε τε Schneider, Edd.; ἀστε χυ; παρακεκλημένων τε τι.
service with chaplets on their heads. And when the sacrifice was concluded, Cyrus called them together and said: "Men, the gods announce, as the soothsayers say and also as I interpret it, that there is to be a battle; through the omens of the sacrifice they grant us victory and promise us no loss. 35. Now I should be ashamed indeed to suggest to you how you ought to conduct yourselves at such a time; for I know that you understand what you have to do, that you have practised it, and have been continually hearing of it just as I have, so that you might properly even teach others. But if you happen not to have had this other matter called to your attention, listen.

36. "Those whom we recently took as our comrades and whom we are trying to make like ourselves—these men we must remind of the conditions on which we have been maintained by Cyaxares, what we have been in training for, why we have invited them to join us, and what it is in which they said they would gladly be our rivals. 37. And remind them also that this day will prove what each one is worth. For when people are late in learning anything, it is not surprising that some of them actually need a monitor; and we may be content if they manage even with the help of a suggestion to prove themselves valiant. 38. And in doing this, you will at the same time be getting a proof of yourselves also. For he who on such an occasion can make others more valiant would naturally also gain the consciousness that he is himself a thoroughly valiant man; he, on the other hand, who keeps all to himself the admonition to such conduct and rests satisfied with
eikótως δὲν ἡμιτελῆ αὐτῶν¹ νομίζοι. 39. τούτων δ’ ἔνεκα οὐκ ἔγω, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς λέγω, ἀλλ’ ὑμᾶς κελεύω λέγειν, ἣν καὶ ἀρέσκειν ὑμῖν πειρῶνται· ὑμεῖς γὰρ καὶ πλησιάζετε αὐτοῖς ἔκαστος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μέρει. εὗ δ’ ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἢν θαρροῦντας τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιεικνύστε, καὶ τούτους καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ’ ἐργῷ θαρρεῖν διδάξετε. 40. τέλος εἶπεν ἀπίόντας ἀριστάν ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ σπουδαῖς ποιησμένους ἤκειν εἰς τὰς τάξεις αὐτοῖς στεφάνους.

'Επεὶ δ’ ἀπῆλθον, αὕθες τοὺς οὐραγοὺς προσεκάλεσε, καὶ τούτοις τοιάδε ἐνετέλλετο. 41. Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀμοτίμων γεγόνατε καὶ ἐπικελευμένοι ἐστέ, οἵ δοκεῖτε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς κρατίστοις ὑμοιοι εἶναι, τῇ δ’ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ φρονιμώτεροι. καὶ τοίνυν χώραν ἔχετε οὐδὲν ἓττον ἐντιμον τῶν πρωτοστατῶν² ὑμεῖς γὰρ ὅπισθεν ὅντες τοὺς τ’ ἀγαθοὺς ἄν ἐφορώντες καὶ ἐπικελεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ κρείττους ποιοῖτε, καὶ εἰ τις μαλακίζοιτο, καὶ τούτων ὅροντες οὐκ ἄν ἐπιτρέπετο αὐτῷ. 42. συμφέρει δ’ ὑμῖν, εἰπέρ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ, τὸ νικάν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς στολῆς. ἤν δ’ ἀρα ὑμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἐμπροσθέν ἀνακαλούντες ἔπεσθαι παρεγγυῶσιν, ὑπακούετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῶν ἡττηθῆσθε, ἀντιπαρακελεύομενοι αὐτοῖς θάττον ἡγεῖσθαι³ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

¹ αὐτῶν Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS.
² πρωτοστατῶν Dindorf, later Edd.; πρωτοστατῶν MSS.
³ ἡγεῖσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; ἡγεῖσθε MSS.

288
that might properly consider himself but half valiant. 39. The reason why I do not speak to them but bid you do so is that so they may try to please you, for you are in touch with them, each in his own division. And remember this, that if in their eyes you prove yourselves courageous, you will teach not only your comrades but many others also, not by precept merely but by example, to be courageous.” 40. In concluding, he told them to go with their chaplets on and take luncheon and when they had poured the libation to go, still wearing the chaplets, to their posts.

And when they had gone away, he called in the officers of the rear-guard and gave them the following instructions: 41. “Men of Persia, you also have now taken your places among the peers, and you have been selected for your positions because you are considered in every way equal to the bravest, and by virtue of your years even more discreet than they. And so you occupy a place not at all less honourable than that of our front-rank men. For as you are behind, you can observe those who are valiant and by exhorting them make them still more valiant; and if any one should be inclined to hang back and you should see it, you would not permit it. 42. And because of your years and because of the weight of your armour it is more to your advantage than to any others’ that we should be victorious. And if those in front call to you and bid you follow, obey them and see that you be not outdone by them even in this respect but give them a counter cheer to lead on faster against the enemy. Now go and

289
καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἔφη, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστεφανωμένοι εἰς τὰς τάξεις.

43. Οἳ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον ἐν τούτοις ἤσαν· οἴ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ δὴ ἱρυστηκότες ἔξησάν τε θρασέως καὶ παρετάττωντο ἐρωμένως. παρέταττε δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη ἄρματος παρελαύνον καὶ τοιάδε παρεκελεύετο. 44. Ἄνδρες Ἀσσύριοι, νῦν δεῖ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι· νῦν γὰρ ὑπὲρ 1 ψυχῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 γῆς ἐν ἦ ἐφυτε καὶ 2 οἴκων ἐν οἷς ἐτράφητε, καὶ ὑπὲρ 1 γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὑπὲρ πέπασθε ἁγαθῶν. νυκήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντῶν τούτων ὑμεῖς ὡσπερ πρόσθεν κύριοι ἔσσεσθε· εἰ δ᾽ ἠττηθήσεσθε, εὐ ἵστε ὅτι παραδώσετε ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 45. ἂτε σὺν νίκης ἐρωτεῖσθε μένοντες μάχεσθε. μῶρον γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀσπλά καὶ ἀχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ξην βουλομένου φεύγειν ἐπιχειροῖ, εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσι μᾶλλον τῶν μενόντων· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἰ τις χρημάτων ἐπιθυμῶν ἦτταν προσέται. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες τά τε ἐαυτῶν σώζονται καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττομένων προσλαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἠττῶμενοί ἀμα ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν πάντα ἀποβάλλουσιν;

1 ὑπὲρ z, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; περὶ xym, Gemoll.
2 καὶ Hug; καὶ περὶ MSS., Dindorf; [καὶ περὶ] Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll.

290
get your luncheon and then go with your chaplets on your heads with the others to your posts."

43. Thus Cyrus and his men were occupied; and the Assyrians, when they had lunched, came out boldly and bravely drew up in line. And the king in person rode along in his chariot and marshalled the lines and exhorted them as follows: 44. “Men of Assyria, now is the time for you to be brave men; for the struggle now impending is one for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for the homes in which you were bred, for your wives and children and all the blessings you enjoy. For if you are victorious, you will have possession of all that, as before; but if you are defeated, be well assured that you will surrender it all to the enemy. 45. Therefore, as you desire victory, stand and fight; for it would be folly for men who desire to win a battle to turn their backs and offer to the enemy the side of their body that is without eyes or hands or weapons; and any one who wishes to live would be a fool if he tried to run away, when he knows that it is the victors who save their lives, while those who try to run away are more likely to meet their death than those who stand their ground. And if any one desires wealth, he also is foolish if he submits to defeat. For who does not know that the victors not only save what is their own but take in addition the property of the vanquished, while the vanquished throw both themselves and all they have away?”
46. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος ἐν τούτοις ἦν. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης πέμπτων πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἥδη καίρος εἰή ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐὰν γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, ἔτι ὀλίγοι εἰσίν οἱ ἕξω τοῦ ἐρύματος, ἐν θετοὶ προσίωμεν πολλοὶ ἔσονται· μὴ οὖν ἀναμείνωμεν ἕως ἂν πλείους ἡμῶν γενωμένην· ἀλλ' ἑώμεν ἕως ἔτι οἵμεθα εὑπετῶσ ἂν αὐτῶν κρατήσαμεν.

47. Ὅ δ' αὐ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὡν Κυαξάρης, εἰ μὴ ύπερ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἔσονται οἱ ἤττηθέντες, εὑρισθήσθαι δι' ἧμᾶς μὲν ἔρουσιν φοβομένους τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὀλίγου ἐπιχειρήσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ νομοφθεὶς ἤττηθέναι, ἀλλ' ἅλλης σοι μάχης δεσθεί, ἐν ἢ ἁμείνων ἀνίσωσ βούλευσαντο ἡ νῦν βεβούλευνται, παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμείεσθαι ὡς οὕτως ὑποσε ἄν βούλωμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι.

48. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄγγελοι ταύτ' ἀκούσαντες φίλοντο· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἤκε Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἅλλοι τινὲς τῶν ὀμοτίμων αὐτομόλους ἁγοντες. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὁσπερ εἰκὸς ἡρώτα τοὺς αὐτομόλους τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξιόμεν τῇ ἡδῇ σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ παρατάττοι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ὧν καὶ παρακελεύσωτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἄει ἔξω ὅσι πολλά τε καὶ ἴσχυρά, ὡς ἐφασαν λέγειν τοὺς ἄκούοντας.

49. Ἐθα δὴ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἐιπε, Τί δ', ἔφη, ὁ Κύρος, εἰ καὶ σὺ συγκαλέσας ἕως ἔτι ἔγειστι παρακελεύσαι, εἰ ἀρτα τι καὶ σὺ ἀμείνους ποιήσαις σοι στρατιώτας·

50. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἴπεν, Ὡν Χρυσάντα, μηδέν
46. Thus the Assyrian was occupied; and Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that now was the time to advance upon the enemy. "For," said he, "although those outside the fortifications are as yet but few, they will become many while we are advancing; let us therefore not wait until their numbers are more than our own, but let us go while yet we think we could defeat them easily."

47. "But, Cyaxares," Cyrus answered, "if it is not more than half of them that are defeated, you may rest assured that they will say that we attacked only a few because we were afraid of their main body, and they will maintain that they have not been defeated; the result will be that you will find another battle necessary; and then they may perhaps plan better than they have now in delivering themselves so completely to our disposal that we may fight as many or as few of them as we please."

48. The messengers received this answer and were gone. And at this juncture Chrysantas, the Persian, and certain other peers came up with some deserters. And Cyrus, as a matter of course, asked the deserters what was going on among the enemy; and they said that the troops were already coming out under arms and that the king was out in person marshalling them and addressing them with many earnest words of exhortation as they came out in succession. So, they said, those reported who heard him.

49. "How would it do, Cyrus," Chrysantas then asked, "for you to get your men together, too, while yet you may, and exhort them, and see if you also might make your soldiers better men."

50. "Do not let the exhortations of the Assyrian
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

σὲ λυποῦντος αἱ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου παρακελεύσεις· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἔστων οὐτω καλὴ παραίνεσις ἂτις τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἁγαθοὺς αὐθημεροῦν ἀκούσαντας ἁγαθοὺς ποιήσει· οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοξότας γε, εἰ μὴ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦτω μεμελετηκότες εἶεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀκούσας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ γε σώματα ἰκανοὺς πονεῖν, ἂν μὴ πρόσθεν ῥηκη-
κότες ὁσί.

51. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν, Ἀλλ᾽ ἀρκεῖ τοι, ὁ Κῦρε, ἢν τὰς ἐγχώσας αὐτῶν ἁμένοις παρα-
κελεσάμενος ποιήσῃς.

Ἡ καὶ δύνατ᾽ αὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς λόγος ῥηθεῖσς αὐθημεροῦν οἴδον μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὰς ἐγχώσας τῶν ἀκούσαντος, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν κωλύσαι, προτέρησαι δὲ ὃς χρῆ ἐπαίνου μὲν ἐνεκα πάντα \( \) μὲν τόνου, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι, λα-
βεῖν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις βεβαιῶς τούτῳ ὡς αἰρετῶ-
τερόν ἐστι μαχομένον ἀποθνήσκειν μᾶλλον ἡ
φεύγοντας σώζεσθαι; 52. ἀρ’ οὖν, ἔφη, εἰ μέλ-
λοναί τιοντια διάνοια ἐγγραφήσεσθαι ἀνθρώ-
ποι καὶ ἐμμονοὶ ἐσεῖθαί, πρῶτον μὲν νόμους ἡ
πάρξαι δεὶ τοιοῦτος δι᾽ ὅν τοῖς μὲν ἁγαθοῖς ἐντιμος καὶ ἐλευθέριος ὁ βίος παρασκευασθήσεται, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ταπεινῶς τε καὶ ἀλεγεῖν καὶ
ἀβίωτος ὁ αἰῶν ἐπανακέλεσται;

53. Ἐπειτα διδασκάλους οἷοι δεῖ καὶ ἀρ-
χοντας ἐπὶ τούτους γενέσθαι οἱ τινες διέξουσι τε ὁρθῶς καὶ διδάξουσι καὶ ἐθιοῦσι ταῦτα δράν, ἐστ᾽ ἂν ἐγγεύεται αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἁγαθοῖς καὶ εὐ-
κλεῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτους τῷ ὄριτο νομίζειν, τοὺς
294
trouble you in the least, Chrysantas," Cyrus answered; "for no speech of admonition can be so fine that it will all at once make those who hear it good men if they are not good already; it would surely not make archers good if they had not had previous practice in shooting; neither could it make lancers good, nor horsemen; it cannot even make men able to endure bodily labour, unless they have been trained to it before."

51. "But, Cyrus," answered Chrysantas, "it is really enough if you make their souls better with your words of exhortation."

"Do you really think," returned Cyrus, "that one word spoken could all at once fill with a sense of honour the souls of those who hear, or keep them from actions that would be wrong, and convince them that for the sake of praise they must undergo every toil and every danger? Could it impress the idea indelibly upon their minds that it is better to die in battle than to save one's life by running away?"

52. And," he continued, "if such sentiments are to be imprinted on men's hearts and to be abiding, is it not necessary in the first place that laws be already in existence such that by them a life of freedom and honour shall be provided for the good, but that upon the bad shall be imposed a life of humiliation and misery which would not be worth living?

53. "And then again, I think, there must be, in addition to the laws, teachers and officers to show them the right way, to teach them and accustom them to do as they are taught, until it becomes a part of their nature to consider the good and honourable men as really the most happy, and to look upon

295
XENOPHON

dè kakou is kal duxkleièis òthlèwtatous èpánntow òhgeiòsai. ouótow gêr dèi diatehìnai toûs ìklonías toù àppò tôw polémwv fòðouv tôw mà-
thèswv kreîttovna parèxeòsai. 54. ei dè toû lòn-
tovn èis màxhèn swùn òplois, èn ò poûloì kai tôw
palaiwv màthiìmatov ðèiòtanta, èn tôu tên ðèi-
setai tòs àpporaraphèías pararîhìa àndras
polêmikovs poiòsai, pàntovn òn ròstov èi và
matein kai diðaçai tôn meigüsw tôv èn àndwroûs
àrètwv. 55. èpei ìgòw'ì, èpè, ouóì àn tôu tôs èpí-
steunov èmûnois òseòsai ouû vûn òhronî parò
hûn autóis èsèkouvèn, èi mì kai èmûs èfouw
paròntas, òì kai paraðeîgmatâ autòis èseòsè
óûs chrèi èiûna kai ùpòbaleîn ðinòsàsè, õi tô
èplhândàwuwntai. toûs ò ìpàdeítovs pàント-
pasil àrètwûs ðaumàzovì àn, èpè, ò Õrhvóânta,
ei tô plèov àn ðfelhîswèi lôgous kalôwv ðèthei
eis àndravgathîan õ tôsò àpàdeítovs muòsìkhs
ìsma kalôwv èsthein eis muòsìkìn.

56. Òi mên tûta diælekûnto. ò dè Kuxaârns
pàlîw pèmpwv ðlégeîn õti èxamaratâvou diàtrîwv
kai ouû ògouv às tâxîstà èpí tôs polêmiov:
kai ô Kûros àpékrimato ðè tôte tôs àngylòws,
'All èv mên èstos, èpè, õti ouûw èsiw òjow ðsouw
dêì kai tûta àppagèllswtê autòf èn àpàsìv
òmow dêì, èpei èkêinw ðokeì, òjow èỳd.

57. Tûtê èîpòn và prosèvûmewv tôis ðheòis
ëçìge to stàrtêmâa. às ô ðèìçàto àgouv, èỳdè
ò ðàttov ìheîto, ôì ô èîpònò èutàktowv mêv dià

1 èỳnd Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; èti ñy; èpèì z; àv-
òùì < ëka> Gemoll; omitted by Dindorf.

296
the bad and the disreputable as the most wretched of all people. For such ought to be the feelings of those who are going to show the victory of training over fear in the presence of the enemy. 54. But if, when soldiers are about to go armed into battle, when many forget even the lessons oft learned of old, if then any one by an oratorical flourish can then and there make men warlike, it would be the easiest thing under heaven both to learn and to teach the greatest virtue in the world. 55. For even in the case of those whom we have kept and trained among ourselves, I, for my part, should not trust even them to be steadfast, if I did not see you also before me, who will be an example to them of what they ought to be and who will be able to prompt them if they forget anything. But I should be surprised, Chrysantas, if a word well spoken would help those wholly untrained in excellence to the attainment of manly worth any more than a song well sung would help those untrained in music to high attainments in music."

56. Thus they conversed. And again Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that he was making a serious mistake to delay instead of leading as soon as possible against the enemy. And then Cyrus answered the messengers saying: "Very well; but I want him to know that there are not yet as many of them outside the breastworks as we ought to have; and tell him this in the presence of all. Nevertheless, since he thinks best, I will lead on at once."

57. When he had said this, he prayed to the gods and led out his army. And as soon as he began to advance, he led on at a double-quick pace and they
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

tὸ ἐπίστασθαι τε καὶ μεμελετηκέναι ἐν τάξει
πορεύεσθαι, ἐρρωμένους δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν
πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ σώματα ἐκπεπο-
νήσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτο-
στάτας εἶναι, ἦδεως δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν· ἡπὶ-
σταντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ οὕτως ἐμμαθήκεσαν
ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι καὶ βάστων τὸ ὀμόσσε ἴεναι
τοῖς πολεμίως, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἀκοντι-
σταίς καὶ ἵππεύσιν.

58. Ἕως δ’ ἐτι ἐξώ βελῶν ἦσαν, παρηγγύα ὁ
Κύρος σύνθημα Ζεὺς σύμμαχος καὶ ἱγμενώ.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦκε τὸ σύνθημα ἀνταποδιδόμενον,
ἐξήρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύρος¹ παίανα τὸν νομιζό-
μενον· οἱ δὲ θεοσέβαστες πάντες συνιπήκασαν
μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ
dεισιδαιμόνες ἠττόν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται.
59. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ παιὰν ἐγένετο, ἀμα πορεύόμενοι οἱ
ὁμότιμοι φαιδρό [πεπαιδευμένοι]² καὶ παρο-
ρώντες εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὄνομάζοντες παραστάτας,
ἐπιστάτας, λέγοντες πολὺ τὸ Ἀγετ’ ἄνδρες φίλοι,
Ἀγετ’ ἄνδρες ἄγαθοί, παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους
ἐπεσθαί. οἱ δ’ ὀπίσθεν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἀντι-
παρεκκλείοντο τοῖς πρῶτοις ἥγεσθαι ἐρρωμένως.
Ћὴν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας,
φιλοτιμίας, ῥώμης, θάρρους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σω-
φροσύνης, πειθοῦς, ὀπερ οἶμαι δεινότατον τοῖς
ὑπεναντίοις.

¹ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύρος Hug, Breitenbach, Nitsche, Marchant,
Gemoll; αδ διοσκόρ(·ou γ)ροις yC (again to the sons of Zeus [Castor and Pollux]); αδ ὁ Κύρος zC²F², Dindorf; ὁ Κύρος ἀμα
dιοσκόροι E.
² πεπαιδευμένοι MSS., Dindorf, et al.; bracketed by Hug,

298
followed in good order, for they understood marching in line and had practised it; moreover, they followed courageously, because they were in eager rivalry with one another and because their bodies were in thorough training and because the front-rank men were all officers; and they followed gladly, because they were intelligent men; for they had become convinced by long instruction that the easiest and safest way was to meet the enemy hand to hand—especially if that enemy were made up of bowmen, spearmen, and cavalry.

58. While they were still out of range, Cyrus passed the watchword, Zeus our Helper and our Guide. And when the watchword came back and was delivered again to him, Cyrus himself began the usual paean, and they all devoutly joined with a loud voice in the singing, for in the performance of such service the God-fearing have less fear of men. 59. And when the paean was ended, the peers marched on cheerily [], well-disciplined], looking toward one another, calling by name to comrades beside them and behind them, and often saying: “On, friends,” “On, brave fellows;” thus they encouraged one another to the charge. And those behind, hearing them, in their turn cheered the front line to lead them bravely on. So Cyrus’s army was filled with enthusiasm, ambition, strength, courage, exhortation, self-control, obedience; and this, I think, is the most formidable thing an enemy has to face.

Breitenbach, Marchant; τε πεπ. ύ.; <ά> τε πεπαιδευμένοι Gemoll.
60. Τών δ’ Ἀσσυρίων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων προμαχοῦντες, ὡς ἔγγυς ἤδη προσεμίγην τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος, ἀνέβαινον τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἄρματα καὶ ὑπέζηγον πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ τοξώται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ σφενδονηταὶ αὐτῶν ὠφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺ πρὶν ἔξικνεσθαι. 61. ὁς δ’ ἐπίοντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφεμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγξατο δὴ ὁ Κύρος, Ἀνδρες ἄριστοι, ἡδὴ θάττον τις ἵνα ἐπιδεικνύω ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρεγγυσώ. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεδίδοσαν· ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμάχια δρόμον τινὲς ἦρξαν, συνεφέπτετο δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ. 62. καὶ αὐτὸς δε ὁ Κύρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳ ἤγειτο, καὶ ἀμα ἐφθέγγυτο· Τίς ἔφεται; Τίς ἀγάθος; Τίς πρῶτος ἀνδρὰ καταβαλεῖ;

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα τότε ἐφθέγγυτο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὁσπερ παρηγγύοι οὔτως ἔχορει· Τίς ἔφεται; Τίς ἀγάθος;

63. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι οὔτως ἔχουντες ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· οἱ γε μὴν πολέμοιο οὐκέτι ἔδυναντο μένειν, ἄλλα στραφέντες ἐφευγον εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. 64. οἱ δ’ οὐ Πέρσαι κατὰ τε τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφεπέμβανοι ὡθομένων αὐτῶν πόλλους κατεστρώνουσαν, τοὺς δ’ εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἔμπιπτοτας ἐπειση-Δώντες ἐφόνευον ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰπποὺς· ἔνια γὰρ τῶν ἀρμάτων εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἡμαργάσθη φεῦ-γοντα ἐμπεσεῖν. 65. καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ’ ἰππείς ὀρώντες ταῦτα ἠλαυνοῦν εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας τοὺς τῶν ἱππείς τῶν
60. But when the main body of the Persians began to get close to them, those of the Assyrians who dismounted from their chariots and fought in front of their army remounted their chariots and gradually drew back to their own main body, while the bowmen, spearmen, and slingers let fly their missiles long before they could reach the enemy. 61. And when the Persians, charging on, set foot upon the missiles that had been discharged, Cyrus shouted, "Bravest of men, now let each press on and distinguish himself and pass the word to the others to come on faster." And they passed it on; and under the impulse of their enthusiasm, courage, and eagerness to close with the enemy some broke into a run, and the whole phalanx also followed at a run. 62. And even Cyrus himself, forgetting to proceed at a walk, led them on at a run and shouted as he ran: "Who will follow? Who is brave? Who will be the first to lay low his man?"

And those who heard him shouted with the same words, and the cry passed through all the ranks as he had started it: "Who will follow? Who is brave?"

63. In such spirit the Persians rushed to the encounter, and the enemy could not longer stand their ground but turned and fled back into their entrenchments. 64. And the Persians on their part, following them up to the gates, mowed many of them down as they were pushing and shoving one another; and upon some who fell into the ditches they leaped down and slew them, both men and horses; for some of the chariots were forced in their flight to plunge into the ditches. 65. And when the Median cavalry saw this, they also charged
XENOPHON

πολεμίων οί δ' ἐνέκλων καὶ αὐτός. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἵππων διωγμὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ φῶνος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἑρύματος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφρου τοξεύειν μὲν ἡ ἀκούτιζειν εἰς τοὺς κατακαλύνοντας οὔτε ἐφρόνουν οὔτε ἐδύνατο διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὁράματα καὶ διὰ τῶν φόβων. τάχα δὲ καὶ καταμαθόντες τῶν Περσῶν τινας διακεκοφότας πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους τοῦ ἑρύματος ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν ἑνδον. 67. Ἰδοῦσαι δ' οἱ γυναικεῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἦδη φυγῆν καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἔθεον ἐκπεπληγμέναι, αἱ μὲν καὶ τέκνα ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ νεότεραι, καταρρηγνύμεναι τε πέπλους καὶ δρυπτόμεναι, καὶ ἱκετεύουσαι πάντας ὅτι τὸν ἐντυγχάνουν μὴ φεύγειν καταλιπόντας αὐτὰς, ἀλλ' ἀμύναι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἑαυταῖς καὶ σφίσων αὐτοῖς.

68. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτός οἱ βασιλεῖς σὺν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις στάντες ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ αὐτός ἐμάχοντο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο.

69. Ὅς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Κύρος τὰ γηγόρεμα, δέισας μή, καὶ εἰ βιάσαιτο εἰσώ, ὅλγοι ὄντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖν τι, παρηγήγησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνέγειν ἔξω βελῶν [καὶ πείθεσθαι].

70. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔγνω τις ἃν τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πεπαί-

---

1 αὐτός Sauppe, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; τοῦτοι z, Dindorf; τοῦτοις xy; οὗτοι Pantazides.
2 δὲ Pantazides, most Edd.; εἰ MSS., Dindorf.
3 τῶν ἑνδον z, Edd.; ἐφευγὼν xy.
4 καὶ πείθεσθαι MSS., Dindorf; bracketed by Wörner and most Edd.

302
upon the enemy's cavalry; but the latter gave way, like the rest. Then followed a pursuit of horses and men and slaughter of both.

66. And those of the Assyrians inside the fort who stood upon the rampart of the breastworks neither had the presence of mind to shoot arrows or hurl spears at the enemy who were mowing down their ranks, nor had they the strength to do so because of the awful spectacle and their own panic fear. And presently, discovering that some of the Persians had cut their way through to the gates in the embankment, they turned away even from the inner rampart of the breastworks. 67. And the women of the Assyrians and their allies, seeing the men in flight even inside the camp, raised a cry and ran panic-stricken, both those who had children and the younger women as well, while they rent their garments, tore their cheeks, and begged all whom they met not to run away and leave them but to defend both them and their children and themselves as well.

68. Then even the kings themselves with their most trusty followers took their stand at the gates, mounted upon the ramparts, and both fought in person and encouraged the rest to fight.

69. But when Cyrus realized what was going on, he feared lest his men, even if they did force their way in, might be worsted by superior numbers, for his own men were but few; so he gave orders to retreat still facing the foe, until they were out of range.

70. Then one might have seen the ideal discipline
Δευμένοις ὡς δεὶ ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπείθουντο, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους παρήγγειλεν. ὡς δ’ ἔξω βελῶν ἐγέρνοις, ἔστησαν κατὰ χώραν, πολὺ μᾶλλον χορὸν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅπου ἔδει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.
of the peers; for they themselves obeyed at once and
at once passed on the word to the rest. And when
they were out of range, they halted in their regular
positions, for they knew much more accurately than
a chorus, each the spot where he should stand.
BOOK IV.

THE CAPTURE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND CAMPS OF THE ASSYRIANS
1. Μείνας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος μέτριον χρόνον αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ δηλώσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοί εἰσί μάχεσθαι εἰ τις ἐξέρχοντο, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆ, ἀπήγαγεν ὅσον ἔδοκεν καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο. φυλακᾶς δὲ κατάστησάμενος καὶ σκοπούς προπέμψας, στὰς εἰς τὸ μέσον συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδει·

2. Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ ὅσον δύναμαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες, οἴμαι· νίκης τε γὰρ τετυχήκαμεν καὶ σωτηρίας. τούτων μὲν οὐν χρὴ χαριστήρια ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔχωμεν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποτελείν. ἐγὼ δὲ σύμπαντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἢδη ἐπαινῶ τὸ γὰρ γεγενημένον ἔργον σύμπασιν ὑμῖν καλῶς ἀποτελέσται· ὅτι δ’ ἕκαστος ἄξιος, ἐπειδὰν παρ’ ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν πῦθωμαι, τὸτε τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειράσομαι ἀποδιδόναι. 3. τὸν δ’ ἐμοῦ ἐγγύτατα ταξίαρχον Χρυσάνταν οὐδὲν ἄλλων δέομαι πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς οἶδα οἷος ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ οἶμαι καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐποιεῖτε· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγὼ παρηγγύησα ἐπανάγειν καλέσας αὐτὸν.
BOOK IV

I

1. Cyrus remained there for a while with his army and showed that they were ready to do battle, if any one should come out. But as no one did come out against him, he withdrew as far as he thought proper and encamped. And when he had stationed his outposts and sent out his scouts, he called together his own men, took his place in their midst, and addressed them as follows:

2. "Fellow-citizens of Persia, first of all I praise the gods with all my soul; and so, I believe, do all of you; for we not only have won a victory, but our lives have been spared. We ought, therefore, to render to the gods thank-offerings of whatsoever we have. And I here and now commend you as a body, for you have all contributed to this glorious achievement; but as for the deserts of each of you individually, I shall try by word and deed to give every man his due reward, when I have ascertained from proper sources what credit each one deserves. 3. But as to Captain Chrysantas, who fought next to me, I have no need to make enquiry from others, for I myself know how gallant his conduct was; in everything else he did just as I think all of you also did; but
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

όνομαστί, ἀνατεταμένος οὕτος τὴν μάχαιραν, ὡς παίσων πολέμων, ὑπήκουσέ τε ἐμοὶ εὐθὺς ἀφείς τε ὃ ἐμελλε ποιεῖν τὸ κελεύμενον ἔπραττεν· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐπανῆγγε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλα ἐπιστερχῶς παρηγγύα· ὡςτ' ἐφθασεν ἐξω βελῶν τὴν τάξιν ποιήσας πρὸν τοὺς πολέμους κατανοήσαι ὅτι ἀνεχωρούμεν καὶ τὸξα ἐντείνασθαι καὶ τὰ παλτὰ ἐπαφεῖν: ὥστε αὐτὸς τε ἀβλαβῆς καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας ἀβλαβεῖς διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι παρέχεται. 4. ἄλλους δ', ἔφη, ὦρῳ τετρωμένους, περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ σκεψάμενος ἐν ὅποιῳ χρόνῳ ἐτρώθησαν, τότε τὴν γρώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφανοῦμαι. Χρυσάντων δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐργάτην τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἱκανόν καὶ ἄρχειν χιλιαρχία μὲν ἡδη τιμῶ· ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἁγάθον ὁ θεὸς δῷ, οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιλήσομαι αὐτοῦ.

5. Καὶ πάντας δὲ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, ὑπομνήσας· ὅ γὰρ νῦν εἶδες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ, ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι μήποτε παύεσθε, ἵνα παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ κρίνητε πότερον ἡ ἀρετὴ μᾶλλον ἡ ἡ φυγὴ σώξει τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πότερον οἱ μάχεσθαι ἑθέλοντες ῥάον ἀπαλλάττουσιν ἢ οἵ οὐκ ἐθέλοντες, καὶ πολὺν τινὰ ἡδονὴν τὸ νικῶν παρέχει· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν ἁριστα κρίνων· ἀν πείραν τε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ἄρτι γεγενημένου τοῦ πράγματος. 6. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἀεὶ διανοούμενοι βεβλήσως ἄν εἴητε.

Νῦν δὲ ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ ἁγάθοι καὶ σώφρονες

1 ὡςτ' xy, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; ἔστ' z, Dindorf, Hug (until). 310
when I gave the word to retreat and called to him by name, even though he had his sword raised to smite down an enemy he obeyed me at once and refrained from what he was on the point of doing and proceeded to carry out my order; not only did he himself retreat but he also with instant promptness passed the word on to the others; and so he succeeded in getting his division out of range before the enemy discovered that we were retreating or drew their bows or let fly their javelins. And thus by his obedience he is unharmed himself and he has kept his men unharmed. '4. But others," said he, "I see wounded; and when I have enquired at what moment of the engagement they received their wounds, I will then express my opinion concerning them. But Chrysantas, as a mighty man of war, prudent and fitted to command and to obey—him I now promote to a colonelship. And when God shall vouchsafe some further blessing, then, too, I shall not forget him.

5. "I wish also to leave this thought with all of you," he went on: "never cease to bear in mind what you have just seen in this day's battle, so that you may always judge in your own hearts whether courage is more likely to save men's lives than running away, and whether it is easier for those to withdraw who wish to fight than for those who are unwilling, and what sort of pleasure victory brings; for you can best judge of these matters now when you have experience of them and while the event is of so recent occurrence. 6. And if you would always keep this in mind, you would be more valiant men.

"Now go to dinner, as men beloved of God and
XENOPHON

άνδρες δειπνοποιεῖσθε καὶ σπουδᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖσθε καὶ παίανα ἡξάρχεσθε καὶ ἀμα τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνεῖτε.

7. Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς ἔπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἦλασε καὶ πρὸς Κυνάρην ἐλθὼν καὶ συνησθεὶς ἐκείνῳ κοινῇ ὡς εἰκὼς καὶ ἰδὼν τὰκεὶ καὶ ἐρόμενος εἶ τι δέσιτο, ἀπῆλλανεν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κύρου δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι ὡς ἐδει ἐκοιμήθησαν.

8. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ἄτε καὶ τεθνηκότος τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ σχεδὸν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων, ἴδυμον μὲν πάντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδύδρασκον αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὥρωντες δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τὸ Κροίσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἴδυμον· πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἦν χαλεπὰ· ἀθυμίαν δὲ πλείστην παρέχει πάσιν ὅτι τὸ ἱγγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φύλον διέφθαρτο τὰς γνώμας. οὐκὼ δὴ ἐκλείπουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπέρχονται τῆς νυκτὸς. 9. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἔρημον ἄνδρον ἐφανῇ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, εὐθὺς διαβιβάζει ὁ Κύρος τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτους· κατελέπτοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα, πολλοὶ δὲ βόες, πολλαὶ δὲ ἀμαξαὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεσταί· εἰ δὲ τοὺτον διεβαίνου ἡδη καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυνάρην Μήδοι πάντες καὶ ἱριστοποιοῦντο ἐνταῦθα. 10. ἔπει δὲ ἡρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κύρος τοὺς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχους καὶ ἔλεγε τοιάδεη·

Οἶνα μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ὅσα ἄγαθὰ, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἀφεῖναι, θεών ἡμῖν αὐτὰ διδόντων. νῦν γὰρ ὅτι 1 δὲ Zeune, Edd.; τε z; not in xy.
brave and wise; pour libations to the gods, raise the song of victory, and at the same time be on the lookout for orders that may come.”

7. When he had said this, he mounted his horse and rode away to Cyaxares. They exchanged congratulations, as was fitting, and after Cyrus had taken note of matters there and asked if there were anything he could do, he rode back to his own army. Then he and his followers dined, stationed their pickets duly, and went to rest.

8. The Assyrians, on the other hand, inasmuch as they had lost their general and with him nearly all their best men, were all disheartened, and many of them even ran away from the camp in the course of the night. And when Croesus and the rest of their allies saw this, they too lost heart; for the whole situation was desperate; but what caused the greatest despondency in all was the fact that the leading contingent of the army had become thoroughly demoralized. Thus dispirited, then, they quitted their camp and departed under cover of the night. 9. And when it became day and the enemy’s camp was found to be forsaken of men, Cyrus at once led his Persians first across the entrenchments. And many sheep and many cattle and many wagons packed full of good things had been left behind by the enemy. Directly after this, Cyaxares also and all his Medes crossed over and had breakfast there. 10. And when they had breakfasted, Cyrus called together his captains and spoke as follows:

“What good things, fellow-soldiers, and how great, have we let slip, it seems, while the gods were
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

οί πολέμοι ἡμᾶς ἀποδεδράκασιν αὐτοὶ ὀράτε·
οὕτως δὲ ἐν ἐρύματι ὄντες ἐκλιπόντες τοῦτο
φεύγουσι, πώς ἃν τις τούτους οἴοιτ' ἂν μεῖναι
ἰδόντας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ; οὕτως δὲ ἡμῶν
ἀπειροί ὄντες οὕχ ὑπέμειναν, πώς νῦν γ' ἂν
ὑπομείνειαν, ἔπει ἦττηταί τε καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ
ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπόνθασιν; ὡν δὲ οἱ βέλτιστοι ἀπο-
λώλασι, πώς οἱ πονηρότεροι ἐκείνων μᾶχεσθαι ἂν
ἡμῖν ἐδέλουεν;

11. Καὶ τις εἶπε, Τί οὖν οὐ διώκομεν ὡς
tάχιστα, καταδήλων γε οὕτω τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄντων;
Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, ὁτί ἵππων προσδέομεθα· οἱ
μὲν γὰρ κράτησον τῶν πολεμίων, οὕς μάλιστα
καίρος ἢν ἡ λαβεῖν ἡ κατακανεὶν,¹ οὐσὶν ἔφο
ἵππων ὥχουνται·² οὕς ἡμεῖς τρέποντες μὲν σὺν
τοῖς θεοῖς ἰκανοί, διώκοντες δὲ αἴτειν οὕξ ἰκανοί.

12. Τί οὖν, ἐφασαν, οὐκ ἐλθὼν Κυνάρη
λέγεις
tαῦτα;
Καὶ ὃς εἶπε, Συνέπεσθε τοῖνυν μοι πάντες,
ὡς εἰδή ὅτι πάσιν ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ.
Ἐκ τούτου εἶποντο τε πάντες καὶ ἔλεγον οἶα
ἐπιτήδεια ἐδοκοῦν εἶναι ὑπέρ ὧν ἐδέοντο.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κυνάρης ἁμα μὲν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἠρχον
tοῦ λόγου, ὡσπερ ὑπεθόνευε· ἁμα ὧς ἵσως καλῶς
ἐχειν ἐδοκεὶ αὐτῷ μῆ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς τε περὶ εὐθυμίαν ἐτύγχανεν ὧν καὶ τῶν

¹ κατακανεῖν Dindorf, Edd.; κατακάνειν z; ἀποκτεῖναι xy.
² ὥχουνται Cobet, Breitenbach, Marchant; νόονται xF¹, Dindorf (are moving off); <κί> νοοῦνται Gemoll; έσονται zDF².

314
CYROPAEDIA, IV. i. 10-13

delivering them into our hands! Why, you see with your own eyes that the enemy have run away from us; when people behind fortifications abandon them and flee, how would any one expect them to stand and fight, if they met us in a fair and open field? And if they did not stand their ground when they were yet unacquainted with us, how would they withstand us now, when they have been defeated and have suffered heavy loss at our hands? And when their bravest men have been slain, how would their more cowardly be willing to fight us?"

11. "Why not pursue them as swiftly as possible," said one of the men; "now that the good things we have let slip are so manifest to us?"

"Because," he replied, "we have not horses enough; for the best of the enemy, those whom it were most desirable either to capture or to kill, are riding off on horseback. With the help of the gods we were able to put them to flight, but we are not able to pursue and overtake them."

12. "Then why do you not go and tell Cyaxares this?" said they.

"Come with me, then, all of you," he answered, "so that he may know that we are all agreed upon this point."

Thereupon they all followed and submitted such arguments as they thought calculated to gain their object.

13. Now Cyaxares seemed to feel some little jealousy because the proposal came from them; at the same time, perhaps, he did not care to risk another engagement; then, too, he rather wished to stay where he was, for it happened that he was
XENOPHON

άλλων Μῆδων ἔωρα πολλοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας·
εἶπε δὲ οὖν ὡδὲ· 14. Ὁ Ἀλλ', ὁ Κῦρε, ὅτι μὲν
tῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἄνθρώπων μελετᾶτε ὡμείς
οἱ Πέρσαι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡδονὴν ἀπλήστως
dιακεῖσθαι καὶ ὅρων καὶ ἄκουσιν οἶδα· ἐμοὶ δὲ
dοκεῖ τῇς μεγίστης ἡδονῆς πολὺ μάλιστα συμ-
φέρειν ἐγκρατὴ εἶναι. μεῖζω δὲ ἡδονήν τί παρέχει
ἀνθρώπων εὐτυχίας ἢ νῦν ἡμῖν παραγεγένηται;

15. Ἡν μὲν τοῖνυν [ἔπειλεν εὐτυχοῦμεν], 2 σωφρό-
νως διαφυλάττωμεν αὐτὴν, ἵσως δυναίμεθα ἄν
ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονοῦντες γηρᾶν· εἰ δὲ ἀπλήστως
χρώμενοι ταύτῃ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πιερασόμεθα
dιώκειν, ὀρᾷτε μη πάθωμεν ἀπερ πολλοὺς μὲν
λέγουσιν ἐν θαλάσσῃ πεποιθέναι, διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν
οὐκ ἔθελοντας παύσασθαι πλέοντας ἀπολέσθαι
πολλοὺς δὲ νίκης τυχόντας ἔτερας ἐφιμενούν
καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀποβαίλειν. 16. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν
οἱ πολέμοι ἥττους ὄντες ἡμῶν ἔφευγον, ἵσως
ἄν καὶ διώκειν τοὺς ἥττους ἀσφαλῶς εἴχε. νῦν
δὲ κατανόησον πόστερ μέρει αὐτῶν πάντες μαχε-
σάμενοι γενικῆς ὑποκαταφέροντες· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄμαχοι εἰςιν
οὔς εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀναγκάζομεν μάχεσθαι, ἀνυψώσαν
cαὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔαυτος δὲ ἀμαθίαν καὶ μαλακίαν
ἀπιάσαν ἐι δὲ γνώσονται ὅτι ἀπίστους οὐδὲν

1 τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον z, Dindorf, Breitenbach ; κάλλιστα x,
Marchant, Gemoll ; μᾶλιστα y.
2 [ἔπειλεν εὐτυχοῦμεν] bracketed by Hug.

316
busily engaged in making merry himself, and he saw that many of the other Medes were doing the same. However that may be, he spoke as follows: 14. "Well, Cyrus, I know from what I see and hear that you Persians are more careful than other people not to incline to the least intemperance in any kind of pleasure. But it seems to me that it is much better to be moderate in the greatest pleasure than to be moderate in lesser pleasures; and what brings to man greater pleasure than success, such as has now been granted us?

15. "If, therefore [when we are successful], we follow up our success with moderation, we might, perhaps, be able to grow old in happiness unalloyed with danger. But if we enjoy it intemperately and try to pursue first one success and then another, see to it that we do not share the same fate that they say many have suffered upon the sea, that is, because of their success they have not been willing to give up seafaring, and so they have been lost; and many others, when they have gained a victory, have aimed at another and so have lost even what they gained by the first. 16. And that is the way with us; for if it were because they were inferior to us in numbers that the enemy are fleeing from us, perhaps it might be safe for us actually to pursue this lesser army. But, as it is, reflect with what a mere fraction of their numbers we, with all our forces, have fought and won, while the rest of theirs have not tasted of battle; and if we do not compel them to fight, they will remain unacquainted with our strength and with their own, and they will go away because of their ignorance.
ΧΕΝΟΡΗΝ

ήττον κινδυνεύουσιν ἡ μένοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκάσομεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ μὴ βούλωνται, ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι. 17. ἤσθι γὰρ ὅτι ὅποι οὖν μᾶλλον τὰς ἐκείνων γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἡ ἐκεῖνοι σῶσαι. ἐννόει δ' ὅτι καὶ αἱ σὺς ἐπειδὰν ὁθώσι, φεύγουσι, καὶ πολλαὶ ὅσι, σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπειδὰν δὲ τις αὐτῶν θηρᾶ τι τῶν τέκνων, οὐκέτι φεύγει οὐδ' ἢν μία τύχῃ οὕσα, ἀλλ' ἵσται ἐπὶ τὸν λαμβάνειν πειράμενον. 18. καὶ νῦν μὲν κατακλείσαντες ἔαντος εἰς ἔρυμα παρείσχον ἡμῖν ταμεύεσθαι ὡστε ὅποιος ἐβουλόμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι: εἰ δ' ἐν εὐρυχωρία πρόσπρωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαθήσονται χωρίς γενόμενοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῖν ὀστερ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οἱ δ' έκ πλαγίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπισθεν, ὅρα μὴ πολλῶν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν χειρῶν δεήσει καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν. προσέτι δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐθέλοιμι, ἐφ' ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅραν Μήδους εὐθυμομένους, ἐξαναστήσεσαν ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύοντάς ἰέναι.

19. Καὶ ο Κύρος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ σύγε μηδένα ἀναγκάσῃς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς μοι ἔπεσον δός: καὶ ἵσως ἃν σοι καὶ τῶν σῶν φίλων τούτων ἥκιμεν ἐκάστῳ ἄγοντες ἐφ' οἷς ἁπαντες εὐθυμήσεσθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ἰμείσε γε τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ' διωξόμεθα· πῶς γὰρ ἄν καὶ καταλάβοιμεν; ἤν δὲ τῇ ἀπεσχυσμένον τοῦ στρατεύματας λάβωμεν ἢ τῇ ὑπολειπόμενον,

1 ἀναγκάσομεν Dindorf, Edd.; ἀναγκάσωμεν MSS.
and cowardice. But if they discover that they are in no less danger if they go away than if they remain in the field, beware lest we compel them to be valiant even against their will. 17. And let me assure you that you are not more eager to capture their women and children than they are to save them. And bethink you that even wild swine flee with their young, when they are discovered, no matter how great their numbers may be; but if any one tries to catch one of the young, the old one, even if she happens to be the only one, does not think of flight but rushes upon the man who is trying to effect the capture. 18. And now, when they had shut themselves up in their fortifications, they allowed us to manage things so as to fight as many at a time as we pleased. But if we go against them in an open plain and they learn to meet us in separate detachments, some in front of us (as even now), some on either flank, and some in our rear, see to it that we do not each one of us stand in need of many hands and many eyes. And besides,” said he, “now that I see the Medes making merry, I should not like to rout them out and compel them to go into danger.”

19. “Nay,” said Cyrus in reply; “please do not place anybody under compulsion; but allow those who will volunteer to follow me, and perhaps we may come back bringing to you and each of your friends here something for you all to make merry with. For the main body of the enemy we certainly shall not even pursue; for how could we ever overtake them? But if we find any detachment of their army straggling or left behind, we shall bring them

319
XENOPHON

ἐξομεν πρὸς σὲ ἄγοντες. 20. ἐννοεῖ δ', ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶ σὺ ἐδέω, ἠλθομεν σοι χαριζόμενοι μακράν ὁδόν· καὶ σὺ οὖν ἡμῖν δίκαιος εἶ ἀντι- χαρίζεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἐχοντες τι οίκαδ' ἀφικόμεθα καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν σὸν θησαυρὸν πάντες ὀρῶμεν.

21. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κυαξάρης, Ἀλλ' εἶ γε μέντοι ἐθέλων τις ἐποιείτο, καὶ χάριν ἔγογκε σοι εἰδείην ἂν.

Σύμπεμψον τοῖνυν μοι τινα, ἐφη, τῶν ἄξιο-πίστων τούτων, δι' ἐρεῖ ἂν σὺ ἐπιστεῖλης.

Λαβὼν δὴ ἰδί, ἐφη, ὄντων ἐθέλες τούτων.

22. Ἐγνα δὴ ἔτυχε παρὼν 1 ὁ φίλος σος ποτὲ συγγενής αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ φίληθεις [παρ' αὐτοῦ]. 2 εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀρκεῖ μοι, ἐφη, οὕτως.

Οὗτος τοῖνυν σοι ἐπέσθω. καὶ λέγει σὺν, ἐφη, τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἴεναι μετὰ Κύρου.

23. Οὗτος δὴ λαβὼν τὸν ἄνδρα ἔξηε. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξήλθον, 3 ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Νῦν δὴ σὺ δηλώσεις εἰ ἄληθή ἔλεγες, ὅτε 4 ἐφης ἥδεσθαι θεώμενος ἐμέ.

Οὐκοῦν ἀπολείψομαι γε σου, ἐφη ὁ Μῆθος, εἰ τούτῳ λέγεις.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Οὖκοῦν καὶ ἄλλους προθυ-μως εξῆξεις;

Ἐπομόσας οὖν ἐκείνος Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἐφη, ἔστε γ' ἄν ποιήσω καὶ σε ἔμε ἥδεως θεᾶσθαι.

24. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκπεμφθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυαξάρου

1 παρὼν Schneider, Edd.; δν MSS.
2 παρ' αὐτοῦ x, Hug, Gemoll; omitted in z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach.
3 ἐξῆλθον Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐξῆλθον MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
4 ὅτε MSS., all Edd. except Hug, who writes δτ.
to you. 20. And remember," he added, "that we also, when you asked us, came a long journey to do you a favour; and it is therefore only fair that you should do us a favour in return, so that we may not have to go home empty-handed nor always be looking to your treasury here for support."

21. "Very well," said Cyaxares then; "if indeed any one will volunteer to follow you, I for my part should be really grateful to you."

"Well, then," said he, "send with me some one of these notables in positions of trust to announce your commands."

"Take any of them you wish," said the other, "and go."

22. Now it happened that the man who had once pretended to be a kinsman of his and had got a kiss from him was present there. Cyrus, therefore, said at once: "This man will do."

"Let him follow you, then," said Cyaxares. "And do you," he added to Artabazus, "say that whoever will may go with Cyrus."

23. So then he took the man and went away. And when they had come out, Cyrus said: "Now then, you shall prove if you spoke the truth when you said that you liked to look at me."

"If you talk that way," said the Mede, "I shall never leave you."

"Will you do your best, then, to bring others also with you?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered with an oath, "to such an extent that I shall make you also glad to look at me."

24. Then, as he had his commission from Cyaxares
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

tά τε ἀλλα προθύμως ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς Μήδους καὶ προσετίθει ὄτι αὐτός γε ὦκ ἀπολείψω ἀνδρός καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγονότος.

II

1. Πράττοντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρου ταῦτα θείως πῶς ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπὸ Ὁρκανίων ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Ὁρκάνιοι ὀμοροὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔσιν, ἔθνος δὲ οὐ πολύ, διὸ καὶ ὑπῆκοοι ἦσαν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων· εὐπιπποὶ ¹ ἔδηκαν καὶ τότε ἔδοκοκουν εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοκοῦσιν· διὸ καὶ ἔχρωντο αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀσσυρίοι ὄστερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Σκιρταίς, οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐν πόνοις οὔτ' ἐν κινδύνοις· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὑποσθοφυλακεῖν ἐκέλευσον αὐτοὺς ὡς χιλιόνθες ἔπεισας ὑπετας, ὅπως εἰ τε ὅπισθεν δεινὸν εἴη, ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ αὐτῶν τοῦτ’ ἔχοιεν. 2. οἱ δὲ Ὁρκάνιοι, ἀτε μέλλοντες ὑστατοὶ πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας τὰς ἔαντων καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑστάτων εἰχον. στρατεύονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ μὲθ’ ὄστερ καὶ οἰκοῦν· καὶ τότε δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο ὑστός οἱ Ὁρκάνιοι.

3. Ἐνυνθέθετες δὲ οἶα τε πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ὅτι νῦν τεθνητὰ ἡμῶν οὗ ἄρχων αὐτῶν, ἡττημένοι δ’ εἰεν, φόβος δ’ ἐνείη τῷ στρατεύματι, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἀσθύμως ἔχοιεν καὶ ἀπολείποιεν, ταῦτα ἐνθυμομένοις εἴο- ¹ εὐπιπποὶ Fischer, Edd.; ἕπιπποι MSS. (on horseback).
also, he not only gave his message to the Medes with enthusiasm, but he added that, for his part, he himself would never leave the noblest and best of men, and what was more than all, a man descended from the gods.

II

1. While Cyrus was thus occupied, messengers came as if providentially from the Hyrcanians. Now the Hyrcanians are neighbours of the Assyrians; they are not a large nation; and for that reason they also were subjects of the Assyrians. Even then they had a reputation for being good horsemen, and they have that reputation still. For this reason the Assyrians used to employ them as the Spartans do the Sciritae, sparing them neither in hardships nor in dangers. And on that particular occasion they were ordered to bring up the rear (they were cavalrymen about a thousand strong), in order that, if any danger should threaten from behind, they might have to bear the brunt of it instead of the Assyrians. 2. But as the Hyrcanians were to march in the very rear, they had their wagons also and their families in the rear. For, as we know, most of the Asiatic peoples take the field accompanied by their entire households. So in this particular campaign, the Hyrcanians had taken the field thus attended.

3. But as they reflected how they were being treated by the Assyrians, that the Assyrian monarch was now slain and the army defeated, that there was great panic throughout the ranks, and that the allies were discouraged and deserting—as they thought
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ξεν αὐτοῖς νῦν καλὸν εἶναι ἀποστῆναι, εἰ θέλοιεν
οἶ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον συνεπιθέσατο. καὶ πέμπουσιν
ἀγγέλους πρὸς Κῦρον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς μάχης τὸ
toῦτον ἄνωμα μέγιστον ἡξῆρτο. 4. οἱ δὲ πεμ-
θέντες λέγουσι Κῦρο πτι μισοῖες τε τοὺς Ἀσσυ-
ρίους δικαίως, νῦν τ., εἰ βούλιοτο ἑναι ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς,
καὶ σφεῖς σύμμαχοι ὑπάρξοιεν καὶ ἡγήσουσι
ἀμα δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοι δημούντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων
ὡς ἠγόυ, ἑπαίταις βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον στρατεύε-
σθαι αὐτῶν.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο αὐτοὺς. Καὶ δοκεῖτε
ἂν, ἐφη, ἐτὶ ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἐν
τοῖς ἐρύμασιν εἰναι; ἥμεις μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, μάλα
συμφοράν τοῦτο ἠγούμεθα εἰναι ὅτι ἔλαθον ἡμᾶς
ἀποδράντες. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε βουλόμενοι αὐτοὺς
ὡς μέγιστον φρονεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσιν.

6. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι καὶ αὐριον, ἐσθεν
εἰ εὐξωνοι πορεύοιτο, καταλήψοιντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ
τοῦ ὑχλοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σχολὴ πορεύεσθαι
αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἀμα, ἐφασαν, τὴν προτέραν νῦκτα
ἀγρυπνῆσαντες νῦν μικρὸν προελθόντες 1 ἑστρα-
τοπεδένται.

7. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐφη, Ἐχετε οὖν ὅν λέγετε
πιστὸν τι ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἀληθεύετε;
Ὀμήρους γ’, ἐφασαν, ἔθελομεν αὐτικα ἐλάσαντες
τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγαγεῖν μόνον καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν πιστὰ
θεῶν [πετολήσα] 2 καὶ δεξιὰν δός, ἵνα φέρομεν
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ ἀν αὐτοὶ λάβωμεν
παρὰ σοῦ.

1 προελθόντες Zeune, Edd., προσελθόντες z.; πορευθέντες xy.
2 [πετολήσα] Cobet, Breitenbach; πετολήσα z., Dindorf, Mar-
cham; πολήσαν xy.
over these conditions, they decided that now was a
good opportunity to revolt, if Cyrus and his followers
would join them in an attack. So they sent envoys to Cyrus; for in consequence of the battle his name
had been very greatly magnified. 4. And those who
were sent told Cyrus that they had good reason to
hate the Assyrians and that now, if he would proceed
against them, they would be his allies and his guides
as well. And at the same time they also gave him
an account of the enemy's plight, for they wished
above all things to incite him to push the campaign.

5. "Do you really think," Cyrus enquired, "that we
could still overtake them before they reach their
strongholds? For we," he added, "consider it hard
luck that they have run away from us when we were
not watching." Now he said this to make them think
as highly as possible of his troops.

6. They answered that if Cyrus and his army
would start out at daybreak in light marching order,
he would come up with them the next day: for
because their numbers were so vast and so en-
cumbered with baggage, the enemy were marching
slowly. "And besides," they said, "as they had no
sleep last night, they have gone ahead only a little
way and are now encamped."

7. "Have you, then, any surety to give us," Cyrus
asked, "to prove that what you say is true?"

"Yes," they answered, "we are ready to ride
away and bring you hostages this very night. Only
do you also give us assurance in the name of the
gods and give us your right hand, that we may give
to the rest of our people, too, the same assurance
that we receive from you."
XENOPHON

8. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ πιστὰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ μὴν, ἐὰν ἐμπεδῶσωσιν ἃ λέγουσιν, ὡς φίλοις καὶ πιστοῖς χρήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε Περσῶν μήτε Μῆδων μείον ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἔτι ἱδεῖν ὁ Τρκανίους καὶ πιστευομένους καὶ ἀρχας ἔχοντας, ὡσπερ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων οἱ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν, ἔξηγε τὸ στράτευμα ἔτι φάον ὅντος, καὶ τοὺς Ὁρκανίους περιμένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἄμα ὁλικ. οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι, ὡπερ εἰκός, πάντες ἔξησαν, καὶ Τυγράνης ἔχων τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. 10. τῶν δὲ Μῆδων ἔξησαν ἕνοικος, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ παιδὶ ὅντι Κύρος παιδὲς ὅντες φίλους γενέσθαι, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐν θήρας συγγενόμενοι ἀγαθῶν ἄντι τοῦ τρόπου, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι ὅτι μέγαν αὐτοῖς φῶς ἀπελθήκαν, ἔδοκει, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ ἄνδρᾳ φαίνεσθαι ἄγαθον καὶ εὐτυχὴ καὶ μέγαν ἔτι ἵσχυρῶς ἐσπεσθαί αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ, ὅτε ἐπρέφετο ἐν Μῆδοις, εἶ τι ἄγαθόν τῷ ἔπραξεν, ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι ἐβουλοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ πολλὰ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τοῦ πάππου ἄγαθὰ διεπέρακτο. πολλοὶ δὲ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς Ὁρκανίους εἶδον καὶ λόγος διήλθεν ὡς ἡγήσιοντο ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἄγαθά, ἔξησαν καὶ τοῦ λαβεὶν τὶ ἐνεκά.

11. Οὔτω δὴ ἔξηλθον σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖς καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι πλήν ὅσιοι σὺν Κυκάρῃ ἐτυχον σκηνοῦν.

1 ἔξησαν Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; ἔως ἔσαν MSS., Dindorf, et al.

326
8. Thereupon he gave them his solemn promise that, if they should make good their statements, he would treat them as his true friends, so that they should count for no less in his esteem than the Persians or the Medes. And even to this day one may see the Hyrcanians holding positions of trust and authority, just like those of the Persians and Medes who are thought to be deserving.

9. When they had dined, he led out his army while it was still daylight, and he bade the Hyrcanians wait for him that they might go together. Now the Persians, as was to be expected, came out to a man to go with him, and Tigranes came with his army; 10. while of the Medes some came out because as boys they had been friends of Cyrus when he was a boy, others because they liked his ways when they had been with him on the chase, others because they were grateful to him for freeing them, as they thought, from great impending danger, and still others because they cherished the hope that as he seemed to be a man of ability he would one day be exceedingly successful and exceedingly great besides; others wished to requite him for some service he had done for them while he was growing up in Media; many, too, owed to his kindness of heart many a favour at the hands of his grandfather; and many, when they saw the Hyrcanians and when the report spread that these would lead them to rich plunder, came out (apart from other motives) for the sake of getting some gain.

11. The result was that almost all came out—even the Medes, except those who happened to be feasting in the same tent with Cyaxares; these and
XENOPHON

tes: οὗτοι δὲ κατέμενον καὶ οἱ τοῦτων ὑπήκοοι. οὔ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες φαινόμενοι καὶ προβῆμος ἐξώρ-
μῶντο, ἀτε οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀλλ' ἐθελούσιοι καὶ
χάριτος ἔνεκα ἐξιόντες.

12. Ἑπεὶ δ' ἦσαν, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
Μήδους ἔλθον ἐπήμεσε τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπηρῆσε
μάλιστα μὲν θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔλεος ἦγείσθαι καὶ
αὐτοὶς ταύτης τῆς προβημίας ἀποδοῖναι. τέλος
ὅ' ἐπεσθαί σὺν τοῖς ἔποιοι ἐκέλευον, καὶ ὅπου
ἀν ἀναπαύονται οὐ διέσχοσι τῆς πορείας, ἐνετεί-
λατο αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν παρελαύνοντες τινὰς, ἦν
εἴδωσι τὸ ἄει καϊρον. 13. ἐκ τούτων ἦγείσθαι
ἐκέλευο τοὺς Ἰρκαῖον πολέμους.

Καὶ οἱ ἤρωτοι, Τί δέ; οὐκ ἀναμενεῖς, ἐφασαν,
toues ὁμήρους ἔχου πάντα ἀν ἠγάγγωμεν, ἦν ἔχων καὶ συ
τὰ πιστὰ παρ' ἡμῶν πορεύνιν.

Καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγεται, Ἐννοῶ γὰρ,
φάναι, ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ πιστὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις
ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσίν, οὗτοι γὰρ
δοκούμεν παρεσκεύασθαι ὡς ἢ μὲν ἀληθεύετε,
ὁκανοὶ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εὐ ποιεῖτε. ήν δὲ ἔκακατατέ
ὁυτω νομίζομεν ἔχων ὡς ὅιημᾶς ἐφ' ἔμων ἐσε-
σθαι, ἀλλ' μᾶλλον, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν, ἡμᾶς ἐφ'
ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰρκαῖοι,
ἔπειτα πατε ὑστάτους ἐπεσθαί τοὺς ἡμετέρους,
ἐπειδὰν ὢντε αὐτοῦς, σημάνατε ἡμῶν ὅτι εἰ
ἡμέροι 3 εἰσίν, ἦν φειδώμεθα αὐτῶν.

1 ἀναμενεῖς Dindorf, later Edd.; ἀναμενεῖς MSS., Dindorf,
Sauppe.
2 σημάνατε Dindorf, later Edd.; σημάνατε 2; σημαίνετε χυ.
3 ἡμέροι Brodaeus, Edd.; ἡμέροι MSS.

328
their subordinates remained behind. But all the rest hastened out cheerily and enthusiastically, for they came not from compulsion but of their own free will and out of gratitude.

12. And when they were out of the camp, he went first to the Medes and praised them and prayed the gods above all things graciously to lead them and his own men, and he prayed also that he himself might be enabled to reward them for this zeal of theirs. In concluding, he stated that the infantry should go first, and he ordered the Medes to follow with their cavalry. And wherever they were to rest or halt from their march, he enjoined it upon them that some of their number should always come to him, that they might know the need of the hour.

13. Then he ordered the Hyrcanians to lead the way.

“What!” they exclaimed, “are you not going to wait until we bring the hostages, that you also may have a guarantee of our good faith before you proceed?”

“No,” he is said to have answered; “for I consider that we have the guarantee in our own hearts and hands. For it is with these, I think, that we are in a position to do you a service, if you speak the truth; but if you are trying to deceive us, we think that, as things are, we shall not be in your power, but rather, if the gods will, you shall be in ours. And hark you, men of Hyrcania,” said he, “as you say that your people are bringing up the enemy’s rear, inform us, as soon as you see them, that they are yours, that we may do them no harm.”

329
XENOPHON

14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἱρκάνιοι τὴν μὲν ὡδὸν ἱγαύντω ὃσπερ ἐκέλευς, τὴν δὲ ῥώμην τῆς φυγῆς ἐθαύμαζον· καὶ οὔτε Ἀσσυρίους οὔτε Λυδοὺς οὔτε τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἐτὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ὁ Κύρος μικράν τινα αὐτῶν οἴκοτο ῥοπὴν εἶναι καὶ προσόντων καὶ ἀπόντων.

15. Πορευομένων δὲ ἔπειται νῦς ἐπεγένετο, λέγεται φῶς τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προφανὲς γευέσθαι, ὡστε πᾶσι μὲν φρίκην ἐγγύγνυσθαι πρὸς τὸ θείον, θάρρος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅς δὲ εὐξόων τοι καὶ ταχὺ ἐπορεύοντο, εἰκότως πολλὴν τοῦ ὅδου διήμυναν καὶ ἀμα κνέφα πλησίον γίγνονται τοῦ τῶν Ἱρκάνιων στρατεύματος. 16. ὡς δὲ ἐγνωσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι οὕτω εἰσὶν οἱ σφέτεροι τῷ τῶν ἡπτάτους εἶναι γνωστὲς ἐφασαν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν πυρῶν. 17. ἐκ τούτου πέμπει τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, προστάξας λέγειν, εἰ φίλου εἰσίν, ὡς τάχιστα ὑπαντῶν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας· συμπέμπει δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐκατὸ καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευς τοῖς Ἱρκάνιοις ὅτι ὧς ἀν ὀρὸσιν αὐτοὺς προσφερομένους, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιήσουσιν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν μενεὶ τῶν ἄγγελῶν παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ, ὃ δὲ προσελαύνει πρὸς τοὺς Ἱρκάνιους.

18. Ὁμὶ σῶ δὲ ἐσκόπει τοὺς Ἱρκάνιους ὁ Κύρος ὧ τι ποιήσουσιν, ἐπέστησε τὸ στρατευμα· παρελαύνουσι δὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ τῶν Μήδων προεστή-
14. When the Hyrcanians heard this, they led the way, as he ordered. They wondered at his magnanimity; and they no longer had any fear of either the Assyrians or the Lydians or their allies, but they feared only lest he should think that it was not of the slightest moment whether they joined him or not.

15. As they proceeded, night came on, and it is said that a light from heaven shone forth upon Cyrus and his army, so that they were all filled with awe at the miracle but with courage to meet the enemy. And as they were proceeding in light marching order with all dispatch, they naturally covered a great distance, and in the morning twilight they drew near to the army of the Hyrcanians. 16. And when the messengers recognized the fact, they reported to Cyrus that these were their own people; for they said that they recognized them both by the fact that they were in the rear and by the number of their fires. 17. Upon hearing this report he sent one of the two messengers to them with orders to say that if they were friends, they should come to meet him with their right hands raised. And he sent along also one of his own men and ordered him to tell the Hyrcanians that he and his army would govern their conduct according to the way in which they should see the Hyrcanians behave. And thus it came to pass that one of the messengers remained with Cyrus, while the other rode away to the Hyrcanians.

18. While Cyrus was watching to see what the Hyrcanians were going to do, he halted his army. And Tigranes and the officers of the Medes rode up
κότες καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης καὶ ἔπερωτώσι τί δεί ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῶς ὅτι τούτ᾽ ἔστι τὸ πλήσιον Ῥρκανίων στράτευμα καὶ ὀχέται ὁ ἐτερος τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τις σὺν αὐτῷ, ἔροῦντες, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάζειν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. ἂν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ποιώσι, δεξιοῦσθε τε αὐτοὺς καθ᾽ ὃν ἢ ἔκαστος, καὶ ἄμα θαρρύνετε: ἂν δὲ ὅπλα αἰρωνται ἢ φεύγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι, τούτων, ἐφη, εὐθὺς δεὶ πρῶτων πειράσθαι μιθένα λιπεῖν.

19. Ὅ μὲν τοιαῦτα παρῆγγειλεν, οἱ δὲ Ῥρκανίοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡσθησάν τε καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντες ἑπὶ τούς ἵππους παρῆσαν τὰς δεξιὰς, ὃσπερ εἰρήτω, προτείνοντες: οἱ δὲ Μήδοι καὶ Πέρσαι ἀντεδεξιοῦντο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔθαρρυνον.

20. Ἔκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ, ὁ Ῥρκάνιοι, ἔδη ὑμῶν πιστεύουμεν καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἐχεῖν. τούτῳ δὲ, ἐφη, πρῶτον ἡμῖν εἰπάτε ὅσον ἀπέχει ἐνθένε ἐνθα αἱ ἀρχαὶ εἰςὶ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τὸ ἀθρόον αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ὅλῃ τε πλέον ἡ παρασάγγην.

21. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Κύρος, Ἀγετε δὴ, ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδοι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὁ Ῥρκάνιοι, ἔδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους καὶ κοινώνους διαλέγομαι, εὐ χρὴ εἰδέναι νῦν ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ ἐσμὲν ἐνθα δὴ μαλακισάμενοι μὲν πάντων ἃν τῶν χαλεποτώτων τύχοιμεν ἴσασι γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι ἐφ᾽ ἢ ἔκομεν· ἢν δὲ τὸ καρτέρον ἐμβαλόμενοι ἵσωμεν ὑσώμε καὶ θυμὸ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμων, αὐτίκα μὰλ᾽ ὃψεσθε ὡσπερ δούλων ἀποδιδρασκόν·
to him and asked what they should do. And he said to them: "What you see there not far away is the Hyrcanian army; and one of their envoys has gone to them, and one of our men with him, to tell them all, if they are our friends, to come to meet us with their right hands upraised. Now, if they do so, give to them the right hand of fellowship, each of you to the man opposite himself, and at the same time bid them welcome. But if they raise a weapon or attempt to run away, we must lose no time in trying not to leave a single one of these first alive."

19. Such were his commands. And the Hyrcanians were delighted when they heard the report of the envoys, and leaping upon their horses they came at once with right hands upraised, as directed, and the Medes and Persians gave the right hand of fellowship and bade them welcome.

20. "Men of Hyrcania," Cyrus said presently, "we trust you now, as you see; and you also ought to feel the same way toward us. But tell us first how far it is from here to the headquarters of the enemy and the main body of their army."

"Not much more than a parasang," they answered.

21. "Come on, then, Persians and Medes," Cyrus cried; "and you Hyrcanians—for now I speak with you also as confederates and allies—you must know that we are in a position where we shall meet with nothing but disaster if we betray a lack of courage; for the enemy know what we have come for. But if we go into the attack upon the enemy with might and main and with stout hearts, you will see right soon that, just like a lot of slaves caught in an attempt to run away, some of them will beg for mercy, others
XENOPHON

των ηύρημένων τοὺς μὲν ἰκετεύοντας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτα φρονεῖν δυναμένους. ἦττημένοι τε γὰρ ὄψονται ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτε οἵμενοι ἤξειν οὔτε συντεταγμένοι οὔτε μάχεσθαι παρασκευασμένοι κατειλημμένοι ἔσονται. 22. εἰ οὖν ἡδέως βουλόμεθα καὶ δειπνῆσαι καὶ νυκτερέζαι καὶ βιοτεύειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο, μὴ δῶμεν αὐτοῖς σχολὴν μήτε βουλεύσασθαι μήτε παρασκευάσασθαι ἀγαθον αὐτοῖς μηδὲν, μὴδὲ γυνῶν πάμπαν οὐτὶ ἀνθρωποί ἔσμεν, ἀλλὰ γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ἀπαντα καὶ πληγὰς ἥκειν νομιζόντων.

23. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἐφη, ο Ἱρκάνιοι, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς προσπέτασαντες ἡμῶν πορεύεσθαι ἐμπροσθεν, ὅπως τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπλων ὄρωμεν ὅμοιως ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον. ἔπειδαν δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ στρατεύματι γένομαι τῶν πολεμίων, παρέμοι μὲν καταλίπετε ἐκαστοὶ τάξιν ἵππεων, ἃν τι δέ, χρώμαι μένων παρά τό στρατόπεδον. 24. ύμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τάξις ἀθρώς ἔλαυνετε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, ἵνα μῆποτε ἀθρώφ τιν ἐντυχόντες ἀποβιασθῆτε, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἔφιετε διόκειν φωτινοί δὲ καϊνόντων τοῖτο γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον, νῦν ὡς ἐλαχίστος τῶν πολεμίων λεπτών.

25. Ἡν δὲ νικάμεν, ἐφη, δὶ πολλοῖς δὴ κρατούσι τὴν τύχην ἀνέτρεψε, φυλάξασθαι δεῖ τὸ ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν τραπέζως ὅς τοῦτο ποιῶν οὐκέτ’ ἄνὴρ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σκευοφόρος καὶ ἕξεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ χρήσθαι ἤδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀνδραπόδορο. 26. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ χρῆ γυνῶν ὁτι οὐδὲν ἐστιν κερδαλεώτερον τοῦ νικῶν ὁ γὰρ κρατῶν ἁμα πάντα συνήρπακε, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδράς καὶ τὰς
will try to escape, others still will not even have presence of mind to do either. For they will see us before they have recovered from their first defeat, and they will find themselves caught neither thinking of our coming, nor drawn up in line, nor prepared to fight. 22. If, therefore, we wish from this time forth to eat well, to sleep soundly, and to live comfortably, let us not give them time either to take counsel or to provide any defence for themselves, or even to recognize at all that we are human beings; but let them think that nothing but shields, swords, bills, and blows have descended upon them.

23. “And you, Hyrcanians,” said he, “spread yourselves out in the van and march before us, in order that only your arms may be seen and that our presence here may be concealed as long as possible. And when I come up with the enemy’s army, then leave with me, each of you, a division of cavalry for me to use while I remain near their camp. 24. But you, officers and men of years, march together in close order, if you are wise, so that if you fall in with any compact body you may never be forced back; and leave the pursuit to the younger men, and let them kill all they can; for this is the safest measure—to leave now as few of the enemy alive as possible.

25. “And if we win the battle,” he continued, “we must be on our guard against an error which has lost the day for many in the hour of victory—turning aside to plunder. For the man who does this is no longer a soldier but a camp-follower; and any one who will is free to treat him as a slave.

26. “You should realize this also, that nothing is more enriching than victory. For the victor has swept together all the spoil at once, the men and
XENOPHON

γυναίκας καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. πρὸς ταῦτα τούτῳ μόνῳ ὀρᾶτε ὅπως τὴν νίκην διασωζόμεθα· ἐὰν γὰρ κρατήῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρπάζων ἔχεται. καὶ τούτῳ ᾧ μα διώκοντες μέ-μησθε, ἤκειν πάλιν ὡς ἐμὲ ἐτι φάοις ὅντος· ὡς σκótους γενομένου οὐδένα ἔτι προσδεξόμεθα.

27. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐκάστους καὶ ἐκέλευεν ᾧ μα πορευομένους τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ ἐκαστὸν δεκαδάρχοις ταῦτα σημαίνειν· ἐν μετώπῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ δεκαδάρχοι, ὡστε ἀκούειν τοὺς δὲ δεκαδάρχους τῇ δεκάδι ἐκαστον κελεύειν παραγγέλλειν.

Ἐκ τούτου προηγούντο μὲν οἱ Ἄρκανοι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐχων σῦν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἔπορευτο· τοὺς δὲ ἑπτάς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὡσπερ εἰκός, παρ-έταξε.

28. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων, ἐπεὶ φῶς ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἔθαυμαξον τὰ ὀράμενα,1 οἱ δ’ ἐγίγνουσκον ἣδη, οἱ δ’ ἠγγελλον, οἱ δ’ ἐβόων, οἱ δ’ ἐλυν ἕπτους, οἱ δ’ συνεσκεμάζοντο, οἱ δ’ ἐρρίπτουσι τὰ ὀπλα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δ’ ὄπλιζοντο, οἱ δ’ ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τους ἔπτους ἔπτους, οἱ δ’ ἐχάλανον, οἱ δ’ τὰς γυναίκας ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, οἱ δὲ τὰ πλείστων ἄξια ἐλάμβανον ὡς διασωζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καταρύπτουσι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡλίσκοντο, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμων· οἰκεθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά τε καὶ παντοδαπὰ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς, πλὴν ἐμάχετο οὐδέσι, ἀλλ’ ἀμαχητὶ ἀπώλλυντο.

29. Κροίσσος δὲ ὁ Δυδών Βασίλεισ, ὡς θέρος

1 ὀράμενα xy, most Edd.; ὀράμενα z, Dindorf (the doings).
the women, the wealth and all the lands. Therefore have an eye to this alone—that we may conserve our victory; for even the plunderer himself is in the enemy's power if he is conquered. And remember even in the heat of pursuit to come back to me while it is yet daylight; for after nightfall we shall not admit another man."

27. When he had said this he sent them away to their several companies with orders to issue, as they marched, the same directions each to his own corporals (for the corporals were in the front so as to hear); and they were to bid the corporals each one to announce it to his squad.

Then the Hyrcanians led the way while he himself with his Persians occupied the centre as they marched. The cavalry he arranged, as was natural, on either flank.

28. And when daylight came, some of the enemy wondered at what they saw, some realized at once what it meant, some began to spread the news, some to cry out, some proceeded to untie the horses, some to pack up, others to toss the armour off the pack-animals, still others to arm themselves, while some were leaping upon their horses, some bridling them, others helping the women into the wagons, and others were snatching up their most valuable possessions to save them; still others were caught in the act of burying theirs, while the most of them sought refuge in precipitate flight. We may imagine that they were doing many other things also—all sorts of other things—except that no one offered to resist, but they perished without striking a blow.

29. As it was summer, Croesus, the king of Lydia,
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἡν, τάς τε γυναίκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις προσπερεμψατο τῆς νυκτός, ὡς ἄν ῥάον πορεύοντο κατὰ ψύχος, καὶ αὐτοῦς ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπηκολούθει. 30. καὶ τὸν Φρύγα τὰ αὐτὰ ποιήσαι φασί τὸν τῆς παρ᾿ Ἐλλήσποντον ἄρχοντα Φρυγίας. ὡς δὲ παρῄσθοντο τῶν φευγόντων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων αὐτούς, πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγομένου ἐφευγοῦν δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνὰ κράτος.

31. Τὸν δὲ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀραβίων ἔτι ἐγγὺς ὄντας καὶ ὑποστάντας ἀθωρακίστους κατακαίνουσιν οἱ Ἱρκάνιοι. τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἥν τῶν ἀποθανόντων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῶν ὄντες χώρα ἀσυνυνωστατα πρὸς τὴν πορείαν ἔχουν.

32. Οὶ μὲν δὴ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἱρκάνιοι, οί δὲ εἰκός κρατοῦντας, τοιαύτα ἐποίοντες διάκονες, δὲ Κύρος τοὺς παρ᾿ ἑαυτῷ ἱππέας καταλειφθέντας περιελαύνειν ἐκέλευε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εἰ τινὰς σὺν ὅπλοις ἱδοιεν ἐξίοντας, κατακαίνειν τοῖς δ᾿ ὑπομένουσιν ἐκήρυξεν, ὅποσοι τῶν πολεμιῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς ή πελτασταὶ ή τοξόται, ἀποφέρειν τὰ ὅπλα συνδεδεμένα, τοὺς δὲ ὅπλους ἐτὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς καταλεῖπεν· ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῆσοι, αὐτίκα τῆς κεφαλῆς στερήσεσθαι· τὰς δὲ κοπίδας προχείρους ἔχουτες εἴν τάξει περιεστασαν.

33. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχουτες ἐρρίπτουσιν, ἀποφέρουσιν εἰς ἐν χωρίῳ ὅπου ἐκέλευεν· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οίδε ἐπέταξεν ἐκαυν.

34. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐνενόησεν ὅτι ἦλθον μὲν οὔτε

---

1 κρατοῦντα Castalio, Edd.; κρατοῦντες MSS.
2 περιέστασαν Fischer, Edd.; περιέστασαν MSS.
had had his women sent on by night in carriages, that they might proceed more comfortably in the cool of the night, and he himself was following after with his cavalry. 30. And the Phrygian king, the ruler of Phrygia on the Hellespont, they say, did the same. And when they saw the fugitives who were overtaking them, they enquired of them what was happening, and then they also took to flight as fast as they could go.

31. But the king of Cappadocia and the Arabian king, as they were still near by and stood their ground though unarmed, were cut down by the Hycranians. But the majority of the slain were Assyrians and Arabians. For as these were in their own country, they were very leisurely about getting away.

32. Now the Medes and Hycranians, as they pursued, committed such acts as men might be expected to commit in the hour of victory. But Cyrus ordered the horsemen who had been left with him to ride around the camp and to kill any that they saw coming out under arms; while to those who remained inside he issued a proclamation that as many of the enemy’s soldiers as were cavalrymen or targeteers or bowmen should bring out their weapons tied in bundles and deliver them up, but should leave their horses at their tents. Whoever failed to do so should soon lose his head. Now Cyrus’s men stood in line around them, sabre in hand. 33. Accordingly, those who had the weapons carried them to one place, where he directed, and threw them down, and men whom he had appointed for the purpose burned them.

34. Now Cyrus recollected that they had come
ΧΕΝΟΡΡΟΝΗ

σίτα ούτε ποτὰ ἔχοντες, ἀνευ δὲ τούτων οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι δυνατον οὔτ’ ἄλλο ποιεῖν οὐδέν. σκοπῶν δ’ ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα ταὐτα γένοιτο, ἐνθυμεῖται ὅτι ἀνάγκη πάσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις εἶναι τινα ὅτι καὶ σκηνῆς μελήσει καὶ ὅπως τὰ πάπιτηδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσιοῦσιν ἔσται. 35. καὶ τοῖνυν ἔγνω ὅτι τούτους εἰκός μάλιστα πάντων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νῦν κατειλήφθαι ἦν διὰ τὸ ἀμφὶ συσκευασίαν ἔχειν ἐκήρυξε δὴ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους πάντας: εἰ δὲ πον μὴ εἰδὴ ἐπίτροπος, τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀπὸ σκηνῆς τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ ἀνείπτεν. οἱ δὲ ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας πειθομένους ταχὺ ἐπείθοιτο. ἔπει δὲ παρεγένοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευε καθίσεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσοις ἐστὶ πλέον ἢ δυοὶς μηνοῖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τάπιτήδεια. 36. ἔπει δὲ τούτους εἴδεν, αὖθις ἐκέλευεν ὅσοις μηνὸς ὅπος ἐν τούτῳ σχεδὸν πάντες ἐκαθίζοντο. 37. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα ἔμαθεν, εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς:

"Ἀγετέ νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ τινες ὡμῶν τὰ μὲν κακὰ μισεῖτε, μαλακοῦ δὲ τινος παρ’ ἡμῶν βούλοισθ’ ἀν τυγχάνειν, ἐπιμελήθητε προθύμως ὅπως διπλάσια ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐκάστη σίτα καὶ ποτὰ παρεσκευασμένα ἢ τῇ τοῖς δεσπότας καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτε· καὶ ταλλα δὲ πάντα ὑπόσα καλὴν δαίτα παρέξει ἐτοιμα ποιεῖτε, ὅς αὐτίκα μᾶλα παρέσομεν ὀπότεροι ἀν κρατῶσι, καὶ ἀξιώσουσιν ἐκπλεώ ἐχειν πάντα

1 Ἄγετε νῦν Edd. ; ἂγετε νῦν Z ; ἂγετε τοινυν XD.

340
with neither food nor drink, and without these it was not possible to prosecute a campaign or to do anything else. And as he was considering how to procure the best possible supplies with the greatest possible dispatch, it occurred to him that all those who take the field must have some one to take care of the tent and to have food prepared for the soldiers when they came in. 35. So he concluded that of all people these were the ones most likely to have been caught in the camp, because they would have been busy packing up. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation for all the commissaries to come to him; but if a commissary officer should be lacking anywhere, the oldest man from that tent should come. And to any one who should dare to disobey he threatened direst punishment. But when they saw their masters obeying, they also obeyed at once. And when they had come, he first ordered those of them to sit down who had more than two months' supply of provisions in their tents. 36. And when he had noted them, he gave the same order to those who had one month's supply. Hereupon nearly all sat down. 37. And when he had this information he addressed them as follows:

"Now then, my men," said he, "if any of you have a dislike for trouble and wish that you might receive kind treatment at our hands, be sure to see to it that there be twice as much food and drink prepared in each tent as you used to get ready every day for your masters and their servants; and get everything else ready that belongs to a good meal; for whichever side is victorious, they will very soon be here and they will expect to find plenty of every
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΗ

tάπιτηδεία. εὖ οὖν ἵστε ὅτι συμφέροι ἄν ὑμῖν ἀμέμπτως δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

38. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες πολλῆς σπουδῆς τὰ παρηγγελμένα ἔπραττον ὅ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔλεξε τοιῶδε. Ἀνδρείς φίλοι, γνωρίσακω μὲν ὅτι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν προτέρους τῶν ἀπόντων συμμάχων ἄριστον τυχεῖν καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα ἐσπουδασμένοις σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς χρησθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ τούτ' ἂν ὁ ἄριστον πλέον ὡφελῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιμελεῖς φανῆναι, οὕτω δὲ ἀν αὕτη ἢ εὐσχία ἰσχυρότερος τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι ὅσον εἰ δυναῖμεθα τοὺς συμμάχους προθύμους ποιεῖσθαι. 39. εἰ δὲ τῶν νυνὶ διωκόντων καὶ κατακαἰνόντων τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους καὶ μαχομένων, εἰ τις ἐναντιώτατα, τούτων δόξομεν ὑμῖώς ἀμελεῖν ὅστε καὶ πρὶν εἰδέναι πῶς πράττουσιν ἠριστηκότες φανεῖσθαι, ὅπως μὴ αἰσχροὶ μὲν φαινούμεθα, ἀλθειεῖς δὲ ἔσομεθα συμμάχων ἀπορούντες. τὸ δὲ τῶν κινδυνευόντων καὶ πονούντων ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως εἰσίτων τάπιτηδεία ἔξουσιν, αὕτη ἂν ἡμᾶς ἢ θοίνῃ πλεῖον εὐφράνειν, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ἢ τὸ παραχρῆμα τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίσασθαι. 40. ἐννοεῖσατε δ', ἐφή, ὡς εἰ μηδ' ἐκεῖνος αἰσχυντέον ἦν, οὔτ' ὃς ἡμῖν νῦν προσήκει οὔτε πλησιονοῦσι πὼ οὔτε μέθησιν οὐ γάρ πὼ διαπέρακται ἡμῖν ἢ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἂ τὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκμάζει ἐπιμελείας δέομεν. ἔχομεν γάρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίους πολλαπλασίους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ

1 γιγνώσκω μὲν an otherwise unknown MS. of Valckenaer (cited as O by Dindorf), Breitenbach, Gemoll; γιγνώσκομεν xzy, Marchant.
sort of provisions. Let me assure you, then, that it would be to your advantage to entertain those men handsomely."

38. When they heard this, they proceeded with great alacrity to carry out his directions, while he called together his captains and spoke as follows: "I realize, friends, that it is possible for us now to take luncheon first, while our comrades are away, and to enjoy the choicest food and drink. But I do not think that it would be of more advantage to us to eat this luncheon than it would to show ourselves thoughtful for our comrades; neither do I think that this feasting would add as much to our strength as we should gain if we could make our allies devoted to us. 39. But if we show ourselves to be so neglectful of them that we are found to have broken our fast even before we know how they are faring, while they are pursuing and slaying our enemies and fighting any one that opposes them, let us beware lest we be disgraced in their eyes and lest we find ourselves crippled by the loss of our allies. If, on the other hand, we take care that those who are bearing the danger and the toil shall have what they need when they come back, a banquet of this sort would, in my opinion, give us more pleasure than any immediate gratification of our appetites. 40. And remember," said he, "that even if we were under no obligation to show them every consideration, even so it is not proper for us as yet to sate ourselves with food or drink; for not yet have we accomplished what we wish, but, on the contrary, everything is now at a crisis and requires care. For we have enemies in camp many times our own number, and that, too,
XENOPHON

toútoς λελυμένους· οúdoς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἕτι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὥσι καὶ οἱ ποιή-
σουτες ἡμῖν τάπιτήδεια· ἕτι δ' οἱ ἵππεις ἡμῖν
ἀπεισι, φροντίδα παρέχοντες ὅπου ἕνεις· κἂν
ἔλθωσιν, εἰ παραμενοῦσιν.

41. Ὅστ', ὦ ἀνδρεῖ, νῦν μοι δοκεὶ τοιοῦτον
σῖτον ἡμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοιοῦτον ποτὸν
ὄπως ἄν τις οἴεται μάλιστα σύμφορον εἶναι
πρὸς τὸ μήτε ὕπνου μήτε ἀφροσύνης ἐμπίμ-
πλασθαι.

42. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ, δὲν οὐκ ἀγνώο ὅτι δυνατὸν ἡμῖν
κοινῶν ὄντων τοῖς συγκατειληφόσι νοσφίσασθαι
ὅπως ἄν βουλώμεθα· ἀλλ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ λαβεῖν
κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ δικαίους φαινομένους
ἐκείνους· τούτω πρόλαβαν ἕτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ
νῦν ἀσπάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς. 43. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἔφη,
καὶ τὸ νεῖμαι τὰ χρήματα, ἔπειδαν ἔλθωσιν,
Μήδους καὶ Τρκανίας καὶ Γυγράνη ἐπιτρέψαι
καὶ ἢν τι μεῖν ἡμῖν δάσωνται, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι
διὰ γὰρ τὰ κέρδη ἢδιον ἡμῖν παραμενοῦσι. 44. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ νῦν πλεονεκτῆσαι ὀλγοχρόνων ἂν ἡμῖν
τὸν πλοῦτον παράλληλον· τὸ δὲ ταύτα προεμένου,
ἐκείνα κτήσασθαι οθεν ὁ πλοῦτος φύτει, τούτο,
ὡς ἔγω δοκῶ, ἀνανάτερον ἡμῖν δύναι· ἄν τὸν
ὀλβὸν καὶ πάσιν τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρέχειν.

45. Οἷμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἷκοι ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτον ἔνεκα
ἀσκεῖν καὶ γαστρὸς κρέατος ἕνειν καὶ κερδέων

1 ὅπου xD, most Edd. ; τοῦ AH, Dindorf, Hug.
under no confinement. We not only must keep watch against them but we must keep watch over them, so that we may have people to look after our provisions. Besides, our cavalry are gone, making us anxious to know where they are and whether they will stay with us if they do come back.

41. “And so, my men,” said he, “it seems to me that we should take only such meat and such drink as one would suppose to be least likely to overcome us with sleep and foolishness.

42. “Besides, there is also a vast amount of treasure in the camp, and I am not ignorant of the fact that it is possible for us to appropriate to ourselves as much of it as we please, though it belongs just as much to those who helped us to get it. But I do not think it would bring us greater gain to take it than it would to show that we mean to be fair and square, and by such dealing to secure greater affection from them than we have already. 43. And so it seems best to me to entrust the division of the treasure to the Medes and Hyrcanians and Tigranes when they come; and if they apportion to us the smaller share, I think we should account it our gain; for because of what they gain, they will be the more glad to stay with us. 44. For to secure a present advantage would give us but short-lived riches. But to sacrifice this and obtain the source from which real wealth flows, that, as I see it, could put us and all of ours in possession of a perennial fountain of wealth.

45. “And if I am not mistaken, we used to train ourselves at home, too, to control our appetites and to abstain from unseasonable gain with this in view, that,
XENOPHON

άκαίρων, ἵν, εἰ ποτε δέοι, δυναίμεθα αὐτοῖς συμφόρως χρήσθαι: ποῦ δ' ἂν ἐν μείξου τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐπιδειξάμεθ' ἂν τὴν παιδείαν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὅρω.

46. Ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἶπε. συνεῖπε δ' αὐτῷ Ὠστάσπας Ἀνήρ Πέρσης τῶν ὀμοτίμων ὅδε. Δεινὸν γάρ ταύν εἰη, ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ ἐν θήρᾳ μὲν πολλάκις ἁσίτων καρτοροῦμεν, ὅπως θηρίον τι ὑποχειρίων ποιησόμεθα καὶ μάλα μικροῦ ἰσως ἁξιον. ὅλβον δὲ ὅλον πειρώμενον θηρᾶν εἰ ἐμποδοῦν τι ποιησάμεθα γενέσθαι ἡμῖν ἂ τῶν μὲν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχει, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς πεῖθεται, οὐκ δὲν πρέποντα ήμῖν δοκοῦμεν τοιεῖν.

47. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ὠστάσπας οὖτως εἶπεν: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ταῦτα συνήμουν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἁγε δὴ, ἑφη, ἐπειδὴ ὦμονούμεν τάντα, πέμψατε ἀπὸ λόχου ἕκαστος πέντε ἄνδρας τῶν σπουδαιοτῶν. οὕτω δὲ περιώντες, οὐς μὲν ἂν ὅρώσι πορσύνοντας τάπειτήδεια, ἐπεισοῦντων οὐς δ' ἂν ἀμελοῦντας, κολαξόντων ἀφειδέστερον ή ὡς δεσπόται.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.

III

1. Τῶν δὲ Μῆδων τινὲς ἦδην, οἱ μὲν ἀμαξαὶ προῳμημένας καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες προσήλαινον μεστὰς ὅν δεῖται στρατιά, οἱ δὲ

1 δοκοῦμεν Dindorf4, Marchant, Hug; δοκοήμεν zE2, Dindorf3, Breitenbach; δοκοεῖν E1; δοκοέμεν CD.

346
if occasion should ever demand it, we might be able
to employ our powers of self-control to our advantage.
And I fail to see where we could give proof of our
training on a more important occasion than the
present."

46. Thus he spoke; and Hystaspas, one of the
Persian peers, supported him in the following speech:
"Why, yes, Cyrus; on the chase we often hold out
without a thing to eat, in order to get our hands on
some beast, perhaps one worth very little; and it
would be strange indeed now, when the quarry we
are trying to secure is a world of wealth, if we should
for a moment allow those passions to stand in our
way which are bad men's masters but good men's
servants. I think, if we did so, we should be doing
what does not befit us."

47. Such was Hystaspas's speech, and all the rest
agreed with it. Then Cyrus said: "Come then,
since we are of one mind on this point, send each of
you five of the most reliable men from his platoon.
Let them go about and praise all those whom they
see preparing provisions; and let them punish more
unsparingly than if they were their masters those
whom they see neglectful."

Accordingly, they set about doing so.

III

1. Now a part of the Medes were already bringing the cavalry
in the wagons which had been hurried forward and
which they had overtaken and turned back packed

347
καὶ ἀρμαμάξας γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γυνισῶν, τῶν δὲ καὶ παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ κάλλος συμπεριαγομένων, ταύτας εἰληφότες προσήγον. 2. πάντες γὰρ ἐτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἄσιαν στρατευόμενοι ἔχοντες τὰ πλείστον ἀξία στρατεύονται, λέγοντες διὸ μᾶλλον μάχοντ' ἀν εἰ τὰ φίλτατα παρείη τούτοις γὰρ φασὶν ἀνάγκην εἶναι προθύμως ἀλέξειν. ἵσως μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ἵσως δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ χαριζόμενοι.

3. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος θεωρῶν τὰ τῶν Μῆδων ἔργα καὶ Ἰρκανύων ὡσπερ κατεμέμφετο καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἀκμάζειν τε μᾶλλον ἐαυτῶν ἐδόκοι καὶ προσκτάσθησαι τι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν ἀργοτέρα κόρα υπομένειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἀπάγοντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες Κύρῳ δὲ ἤγαν πάλιν ἀπῆλθαν, μεταδιώκοντες τοὺς ἄλλους· ταύτα γὰρ σφίσιν ἐφάσαν προστετάχθαι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

Δακνόμενος δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ τούτωι ταύτα μὲν ὅμως κατεχώριζε· συνεκάλει δὲ πάλιν τοὺς ταξιάρχους, καὶ στὰς ὅπου ἐμελλον πάντες ἀκούσθαι τὰ βουλευόμενα λέγει τάδε· 4. Ὅτι μὲν, ὃ ἀνδρες φίλοι, εἰ κατάσχοιμεν τὰ νῦν προφαινόμενα, μεγάλα μὲν ἀν ἀπασὶ Πέρσαις ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, μέγιστα δὲ ἄν εἰκότως ἥμιν δεὶ δὲν πράττεται, πάντες οἶμαι γυνώσκομεν· ὅπως δὲ ἄν 348
full of what an army needs; others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought along; these also they captured and brought in.

2. For even unto this day all who go to war in Asia take with them to the field what they prize most highly; for they say that they would do battle the more valiantly, if all that they hold dearest were there; for these, they say, they must do their best to protect. This may, perhaps, be true; but perhaps also they follow this custom for their own sensual gratification.

3. When Cyrus saw what the Medes and Hyrcanians were doing, he poured reproach, as it were, upon himself and his men, because during this time the others seemed to be surpassing them in strenuous activity and gaining something by it, too, while he and his men remained in a position where there was little or nothing to do. And it did seem so; for when the horsemen brought in and showed to Cyrus what they brought, they rode away again in pursuit of the others; for, they said, they had been instructed by their officers so to do.

Though Cyrus was naturally nettled at this, still he assigned a place to the spoil. And again he called his captains together and standing where they would all be sure to hear his words of counsel, he spoke as follows: 4. "Friends, we all appreciate, I am sure, that if we could but make our own the good fortune that is now dawning upon us, great blessings would come to all the Persians and above all, as is reasonable, to us by whom they are secured. But I fail to see how we are to establish a
XENOPHON

αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς κύριοι γυνοῖμεθα, μη αὐτάρκεις ὄντες κτῆσασθαι αὐτά, εἰ μὴ ἔσται οἰκεῖων ἰπτικὸν Πέρσαις τοῦτο ἐγὼ οὐκέτι ὀρῶ. 5. ἐννοεῖτε γὰρ δὴ, ἐφ' ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ὁπλα οἷς δοκοῦμεν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμώς ἱόντες καλ δὴ τρεπόμενοι πῶς ἦππεαις ἡ τοξότας ἢ πελταστὰς ἀνευ ἱππῶν ὄντες δυναίμεθα ἄν φεύγοντας ἂ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακακεῖν; τίνες δ' ἂν φοβοῦντο ἡμᾶς προσιόντες κακοῦν ἢ τοξότας ἢ ἀκοινισταῖ ἦ ἱππείς, εὑ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτοίς κείνους ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακὸν τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πεφυκότων δένδρων; 6. εἰ δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὐκ εὐδηλον δ' ὅτι οἱ νῦν παρόντες ἡμῖν ἱππείς νομίζουσι πάντα τὰ ὑποχείρια γυνόμενα ἑαυτῶν εἶναι οὐχ ἦττον ἢ ἡμέτερα, ἴσως δὲ νῦ Ἰδία καὶ μᾶλλον; 7. νῦν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει κατ' ἀνάγκην. εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἰππικὸν κτῆσαι-μέθα μὴ κείρον τοῦτον, οὐ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καταφανές ὅτι τοὺς τ' ἂν πολεμίους δυναίμεθα καὶ ἀνευ τοῦτων ποιεῖν ὁσαπερ νῦν σὺν τοῦτοι, τούτους τε ἔχομεν ἂν τότε μετριῶτερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φρο- νοῦντας; ὅποτε γὰρ παρεῖναι ἢ ἀπεῖναι βου- λοντο, ἦττον ἂν ἡμῖν μέλοι, εἰ αὐτοὶ ἀνευ τοῦτων ἁρκοίμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. εἰεν. 8. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἷμαι οὐδέρες ἂν ἀντιγνωμονήσεις μὴ οὐχὶ τὸ πᾶν διαφεινεν Περσῶν γενέσθαι οἰκεῖον ἰππικῶν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴσως ἐννοεῖτε πῶς ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο. ἃρ' οὖν σκεφτόμεθα, εἰ βουλοίμεθα καθίσταναι ἰππικῶν, τί ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει καὶ τίνος ἐνδει; 9. οὐκ-

1 πῶς Jacob, Gemoll; polous MSS., most Edd.
2 ἦ; z; not in xy or most Edd.
3 εὐδηλον yzE, most Edd.; ἐνδηλον C, Hug.

350
valid claim to the spoil if we cannot gain it by our own strength; and this we cannot do, unless the Persians have cavalry of their own. 5. Just think of it,” he went on; “we Persians have arms with which, it seems, we go into close quarters and put the enemy to flight; and then when we have routed them, how could we without horses capture or kill horsemen or bowmen or targeteers in their flight? And what bowmen or spearmen or horsemen would be afraid to come up and inflict loss upon us, when they are perfectly sure that they are in no more danger of being harmed by us than by the trees growing yonder? 6. And if this is so, is it not evident that the horsemen who are now with us consider that everything that has fallen into our hands is theirs no less than ours, and perhaps, by Zeus, even more so? 7. As things are now, therefore, this is necessarily the case. But suppose we acquired a body of cavalry not inferior to theirs, is it not patent to us all that we should be able even without them to do to the enemy what we are now doing with their aid, and that we should find them then less presumptuous toward us? For whenever they chose to remain or to go away, we should care less, if we were sufficient unto ourselves without them. Well and good. 8. No one, I think, would gainsay me in this statement, that it makes all the difference in the world whether the Persians have their own cavalry or not. But perhaps you are wondering how this may be accomplished. Well then, supposing that we wished to organize a division of cavalry, had we not better consider our resources and our deficiencies? 9. Here, then, in camp are numbers
οὖν ἵπποι μὲν οὕτωι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατειλημμένοι καὶ χαλινοὶ οἰς πέθονται καὶ τάλλα ὅσα δὲ ἵπποις ἔχουσι χρήσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἷς γε δεῖ ἄνδρα ἵππεα χρῆσθαι ἐχομεν, θώρακας μὲν ἐρύματα τῶν σωμάτων, παλτὰ δὲ οἷς καὶ μεθιέντες καὶ ἔχοντες χρόμεθ᾽ αὖν. 10. τί δή το λοιπόν; δῆλον ὅτι ἄνδρῶν δεῖ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μάλιστα ἐχομεν οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἤμετέρον ἔστιν ὡς ἤμεισ ἤμιν αὐτοῖς.

'Αλλ' ἐρεῖ τις ἵππως ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα. μᾶ Δι' οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐπισταμένων νῦν πρὶν μαθείν οὐδὲς ἤπιστατο. ἀλλ' εἶποι ἂν τις ὧτι παῖδες οὐτες ἐμάνθανον. 11. καὶ πότερα παῖδες εἰσι φρονιμότεροι ὡστε μαθείν τὰ φραζόμενα καὶ δεικνύμενα ἡ ἄνδρες; πότεροι δὲ ἄν μᾶθωσιν ἰκανότεροι τῷ σώματι ἐκπονεῖν, οἱ παῖδες ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες; 12. ἀλλὰ μὴν σχολὴ γε ἠμῶν μανθάνειν ὅση οὕτε παιὸν οὐτε ἄλλοις ἄνδρασιν οὕτε γὰρ τοξεύειν ἦμῖν μαθητέον ὡστερ τοῖς παιοί προεπιστάμεθα γὰρ τούτο οὕτε μὴν ἀκούτιζειν ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ καὶ τούτο ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν, ὡστερ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἄνδρασι τοῖς μὲν γεωργίαι ἄσχολον παρέχουσιν, τοῖς δὲ τέχναι, τοῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ οἰκεῖαι ἢμῖν δὲ στρατεύεσθαι οὐ μόνον σχολὴ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. 13. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὖχ ὡστερ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν χαλεπὰ μὲν, χρήσιμα δὲ ἰππικῇ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ μὲν ἡδίων ἢ αὐτοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν πορεύεσθαι; εὖ δὲ στουδὴ οὖχ ἢδυ ταχὺ μὲν φίλῳ παραγενέσθαι, εἰ δέοι, ταχύ δὲ, εἰτε ἄνδρα εἰτε θῆρα δέοι διώκεσθαι, καταλαβεῖν;
of horses which we have taken and reins which they
obey, and everything else that horses must have before
you can use them. Yes, and more, all that a horse-
man must use we have—breastplates as defensive
armour for the body and spears which we may use
either to hurl or to thrust. 10. What then remains?
Obviously we must have men. Now these above all
other things we have; for nothing is so fully ours as
we ourselves are our own.

"But perhaps some one will say that we do not
know how to ride. No, by Zeus; and no one of
these who now know how to ride did know before he
learned. But, some one may say, they learned when
they were boys. 11. And are boys more clever in
learning what is explained to them and what is
shown them than are men? And which are better
able with bodily strength to put into practice what
they have learned, boys or men? 12. Again, we
have more time for learning than either boys or other
men; for we have not, like boys, to learn to shoot,
for we know how already; or to throw the spear, for
we understand that, too. No; nor yet again are we
so situated as other men, some of whom are kept
busy with their farming, some with their trades, and
some with other domestic labours, while we not only
have time for military operations, but they are forced
upon us. 13. And this is not like many other
branches of military discipline, useful but laborious;
nay, when it comes to marching, is not riding more
pleasant than tramping along on one's own two feet?
And when speed is required, is it not delightful
quickly to reach a friend's side, if need be, and
quickly to overtake a man or an animal, if occasion
should require one to give chase? And is this not
ΞΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

ἔκεινο δὲ οὐχὶ εὐπετῆς, τὸ δὲ τὶ ἂν δὴ ὄπλον
φέρειν τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο συμφέρειν; οὐκοῦν ταυτὸ
γ' ἔστιν ἔχειν τε καὶ φέρειν.

14. "Ὁ γε μὴν μάλιστ' ἂν τις φοβηθείη, μὴ
eἰ δεησει ἐφ' ἵππον κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς πρότερον
πρὶν ἀκριβοῦν τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, κατείχα μὴτε
πεζοὶ ἔτι ὧμεν μήτε πω ἰππεῖς ἰκανοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
tοῦτο ἀμήχανον ὅπον γὰρ ἂν βουλόμεθα, ἐξέσται
ἡμῖν πεζοῖς εὐθὺς μάχεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν
πεζικῶν ἀπομαθησόμεθα ἵππευειν μανθάνοντες.

15. Κύρος μὲν οὖντως εἰπε· Χρυσάντας δὲ συν-
αγορεύοντοι αὐτῷ ὡδε ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἐφη,
οὖντως ἐπιθυμῶ ἵππευειν μαθεῖν ὡς νομίζω, ἣν
ἵππευς γένωμαι, ἀνθρώποι πτηνοὺς ἔσεσθαι. 16.
ὑν μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀγαπώ ἡν γ' ἐξ ἵππον τῷ τεῖν
ὅρμηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων μόνον τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσχω, κἂν
θηρίον παραθέουν ἰδὼν δυνασθῶ διατεινάμενος φθά-
σαι ὡστε ἀκοντίσαι ἥ τοξεύσαι πρὶν πάντων πρόσω
αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. ἢν δ' ἰππεύς γένωμαι, δυνήσομαι
μὲν ἀνδρὰ ἐξ ὑγείως μῆκος καθαίρειν· δυνήσομαι
dὲ θηρία διόκοι τα μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς παλεῖν καταλαμ-
βάνων, τὰ δὲ ἀκοντίζειν ὀσπερ ἐστηκότα. [καὶ
γὰρ ἐὰν ἀμφότερα ταχέα ἦ, ὡμως ἐὰν πλησίον
γίνηται ἀλλήλων, ὀσπερ τὰ ἐστηκότα ἐστίν.] 1

17. δ' δὲ δὴ μάλιστα δοκῶ ζῴων, ἐφη, ἐξηλωκέναι
ἰπποκενταύρους, εἰ ἑγένοντο, ὡστε προβουλεύε-

1 καὶ ... ἔστιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

354
convenient, that the horse should help you to carry whatever accoutrement you must take along? Surely, to have and to carry are not quite the same thing.

14. "What one might have most of all to fear, however, is that in case it is necessary for us to go into action on horseback before we have thoroughly mastered this task, we shall then be no longer infantrymen and not yet competent cavalrmen. But not even this is an insurmountable difficulty; for whenever we wish, we may at once fight on foot; for in learning to ride we shall not be unlearning any of our infancy tactics."

15. Thus Cyrus spoke; and Chrysantas seconded him in the following speech: "I, for one, am so eager to learn horsemanship, that I think that if I become a horseman I shall be a man on wings. 16. For as we are now, I, at least, am satisfied, when I have an even start in running a race with any man, if I can beat him only by a head; and when I see an animal running along, I am satisfied if I can get a good aim quickly enough to shoot him or spear him before he gets very far away. But if I become a horseman I shall be able to overtake a man though he is as far off as I can see him; and I shall be able to pursue animals and overtake them and either strike them down from close at hand or spear them as if they were standing still; [and they seem so, for though both be moving rapidly, yet, if they are near to one another, they are as if standing still.] 17. Now the creature that I have envied most is, I think, the Centaur (if any such being ever existed), able to reason with a man's intelligence and to
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

σθαί μὲν ἀνθρώπου φρονήσει, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τὸ δέον παλαμάσθαι, ἦππου δὲ τάχος ἔχειν καὶ ἵσχύν, ὡστε τὸ μὲν φεύγον αἱρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὑπομένου ἀνατρέπειν, οὐκοίν πάντα κἀγὼ ταῦτα ἵππεις γενόμενος συγκομίζομαι πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. 18. προνοεῖν μὲν γε ἔξω πάντα τῇ ἁνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ὀπλοφορῆς, διώξομαι δὲ τῷ ἦππῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐναντίον ἀνατρέψῳ τῇ τοῦ ἦππου ῥύμη, ἀλλ' οὐ συμπεφυκὼς δεδίσομαι ὥσπερ οἱ ἰπποκένταυροι. 19. οὐκοίν τούτῳ γε κρείττον ἡ συμπεφυκέναι τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰπποκένταυρους οἶμαι ἔγωγε πολλοῖς μὲν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡγημένων ἁγαθῶν ὅπως δεῖ χρῆσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἦππως πεφυκότων ἥδεων πῶς αὐτῶν χρῆ ἀπολαύειν. 20. ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν ἰππεύειν μάθω, ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἦππου γένομαι, τὰ τοῦ ἰπποκένταυρου δῆπον διαπράξομαι: ὅταν δὲ καταβὼ, δειπνήσω καὶ ἀμφιέσομαι καὶ καθευδήσω ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἁνθρώποι ὥστε τὸ ἄλλο ἦ διαιρέτος ἰπποκένταυρος καὶ πάλιν σύνθετος ὑγινομαι;

21. 'Ετι δ', ἐφη, καὶ τοῖς δὲ πλευνεκτήσω τοῦ ἰπποκένταυρου, ὁ μὲν γὰρ δυνὸς ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐώρα τε καὶ δυνὸν ὡτοῖν ἦκουεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τέτταροι μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς τεκμαροῦμαι, τέτταροι δὲ ὡςν αἰσθήτομαι· πολλά γὰρ φασὶ καὶ ἦππον ἁνθρώπῳ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς προορῶντα δηλοῦν, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς

1 ῥύμη B (Dindorf), Edd.; ῥύμη xyz.
2 ἐώρα τε Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; προ(-σ D)εωρᾶτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
3 ἁνθρώπῳ Pantazides, Marchant, Gemoll; ἁνθρώπου MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

356
manufacture with his hands what he needed, while he possessed the fleetness and strength of a horse so as to overtake whatever ran before him and to knock down whatever stood in his way. Well, all his advantages I combine in myself by becoming a horseman. 18. At any rate, I shall be able to take forethought for everything with my human mind, I shall carry my weapons with my hands, I shall pursue with my horse and overthrow my opponent by the rush of my steed, but I shall not be bound fast to him in one growth, like the Centaurs. 19. Indeed, my state will be better than being grown together in one piece; for, in my opinion at least, the Centaurs must have had difficulty in making use of many of the good things invented for man; and how could they have enjoyed many of the comforts natural to the horse? 20. But if I learn to ride, I shall, when I am on horseback, do everything as the Centaur does, of course; but when I dismount, I shall dine and dress myself and sleep like other human beings; and so what else shall I be than a Centaur that can be taken apart and put together again?

21. “And then,” he added, “I shall have the advantage of the Centaur in this, too, that he used to see with but two eyes and hear with but two ears, while I shall gather evidence with four eyes and learn through four ears; for they say that a horse actually sees many things with his eyes before his rider does and makes them known to him, and that he hears many things with his ears before his rider
XENOPHON

ωσὶ προακούοντα σημαίνειν. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, γράφε τῶν ἵππεων ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντων.

Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἔφασαν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς γε.

22. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει, Τί οὖν, ἐφη, ἔπει σφόδρα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ταύτα, εἰ καὶ νόμον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμεθα αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, οἷς ἄν ἵππους ἐγὼ πορίσω, ἢν τις φανῇ πεξῆ ἡμῶν πορευόμενος, ἢν τε πολλὴν ἢ τε ὀλύγην ὄδον δέη διελθεῖν; ἢν καὶ παντάπασιν ἵπποκενταύρους ἡμᾶς οἰωνται ἀνθρωποι εἶναι.

23. Ὅ μὲν οὖτως ἐπήρετο, οἱ δὲ πάντες συνηγήσαν ὅστ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἑκείνου χρώνται Πέρσαι οὕτω, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄν τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἔκων ὑψεῖν Περσῶν οὐδαμῆ πεξῆς ἱών.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς λόγοις ἦσαν.

IV

1. Ἡνίκα δ' ἢν ἐξω μέσου ἠμέρας, προσήλαυνον μὲν οἱ Μήδοι ἵππεις καὶ Ἑρκάνθιοι, ἵππους τε ἀγοντες αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἄνδρας· ὅσοι γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα παρεδίδοσαν, οὐ κατέκαυσαν. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσήλαυσαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέντο οἱ Κῦρος εἰ σωθείην πάντες αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἔφασαν, ἐκ τούτῳ ἡρώτα τί ἐπράξατο. οἱ δὲ διηγοῦντο ἢ τ' ἐποίησαν καὶ ὡς ἀνδρείως ἐκαστα ἐμεγαληγόρουν. 3. ὅ δὲ διήκουε τε ἤδεως πάν-

1 κατέκαυσαν HG, Marchant, Gemoll; κατέκαυσαν Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; κατέκαυσαν A; ἀπεκτέεινν xD.
2 διήκουε τε Schneider, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; διήκουε τα 2; διήκουε Gemoll.

358
does and gives him intimation of them. Put me down, therefore," said he, "as one of those who are more than eager to become cavalrymen."

"Aye, by Zeus," said all the rest, "and us too."

22. "How would it do, then," Cyrus asked, "since we are all so very well agreed upon this matter, if we should make a rule for ourselves that it be considered improper for any one of us whom I provide with a horse to be seen going anywhere on foot, whether the distance he has to go be long or short, so that people may think that we are really Centaurs?"

23. He put the question thus and they all voted aye. And so from that time even to this day, the Persians follow that practice, and no Persian gentleman would be seen going anywhere on foot, if he could help it.

Such were their discussions on this occasion.

IV

1. And when it was past midday, the Median and Hyrcanian horsemen came in, bringing both horses and men that they had taken. For they had spared the lives of all who had surrendered their arms.

2. And when they had ridden up, Cyrus asked them first whether his men were all safe. And when they answered this in the affirmative, he asked how they had fared. And they narrated to him what they had accomplished and proudly told how gallantly they had behaved in every particular.

3. And he listened with pleasure to all they wished
ΧΕΝΟΡΟΝΟΝ

tων ἀ ἐβούλουτο λέγειν ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως:

'Αλλὰ καὶ δήλοι τοι, ἐφή, ἐστὲ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε καὶ γὰρ μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἰδεῖν.

4. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπυθάνετο ἡδὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσην ὄδὸν διήλασαν καὶ εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ πολλὴν διελάσειαν καὶ πᾶσα οἰκοῖτο καὶ μεστὴ εἰς καὶ οἶνον καὶ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ σίτου καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν.

5. Δυοῖν ἄν, ἐφη, ἐπιμελητέων ἥμιν εἶη, ὅτως τε κρείττους ἐσόμεθα τῶν ταύτα1 ἔχοντων καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μενοῦσιν: οἰκουμένη μὲν γὰρ χώρα πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτήμα· ἔρημη δ' ἄνθρωπον ὄσα ἐρήμη καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνεται. 6. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄμυνο-μένους, ἐφη, οἶδα ὅτι κατεκάνετε,2 ὁρθῶς ποιοῦντες τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα σώζει τὴν νίκην τοὺς δὲ παραδιδόντας αἰχμαλώτους ἡγάγετε· οὐς εἰ ἀφείη-μεν, τοῦτ' αὖ σύμφορον ἄν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ποιήσασι-μεν. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἄν φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲ φυλάττειν ἥμᾶς τούτους δέοι, οὐδ' αὖ3 σιτοποιεῖν τούτους· οὐ γὰρ λιμὸς γε δήπου κατα-κανοῦμεν4 αὐτοῖς· ἐπείτα δὲ τούτους ἀφέντες πλείοσιν αἰχμαλώτους χρησόμεθα. 8. ἣν γὰρ κρατῶμεν τῆς χώρας, πάντες ἡμῖν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες αἰχμαλώτων ἔσονται· μᾶλλον δὲ τούτους ἐσοντας ἵδονται καὶ ἀφεθέντας μενοῦσιν οί ἄλλοι.

1 ταύτα Hug. Marchant, Gemoll; αὕτα MSS., earlier Edd.
2 κατεκάνετε Dindorf, later Edd.; κατεκάνετε ζ; ἀπεκτενεῖτε xD.
3 αὐτό Castalio, Edd.; αὐτό MSS.
4 κατακανοῦμεν Zeune, Edd.; κατακανοῦμεν ζ; ἀποκτενοῦμεν xD.

360
to tell him, and then he praised them in these words:

"It is quite evident that you have conducted yourselves as brave men; and any one can see it, for you appear taller and handsomer and more terrible to look upon than heretofore."

4. Then he enquired of them further how far they had ridden and whether the country was inhabited. And they replied, first, that they had ridden a long way, and second, that all the country was inhabited and that it was full of sheep and goats, cattle and horses, grain and all sorts of produce.

5. "There are two things," said he, "that it were well for us to look out for: that we make ourselves masters of those who own this property, and that they stay where they are. For an inhabited country is a very valuable possession, but a land destitute of people becomes likewise destitute of produce."

6. Those, therefore, who tried to keep you off, you slew, I know; and you did right. For this is the best way to conserve the fruits of victory. But those who surrendered you have brought as prisoners of war. Now, if we should let them go, we should, I think, do what would be in itself an advantage."

7. For, in the first place, we should not have to keep watch against them nor should we have to keep watch over them, nor yet to furnish them with food; for, of course, we do not mean to let them starve to death; and in the second place, if we let them go, we shall have more prisoners of war than if we do not. 8. For, if we are masters of the country, all they that dwell therein will be our prisoners of war; and the rest, when they see these alive and set at liberty, will stay in their places and choose to
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

καὶ πείθοντι αἰρήσονται μᾶλλον ἡ μάχεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γιγνώσκω· εἰ δ’ ἄλλο τις ὁρᾷ ἄμεινον, λέγέτω.

Οἱ δὲ ἄκουσαντες συνήσουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

9. Οὗτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καλέσας τοὺς αἴχμαλώτους λέγει τοιάδε: 10. Ἀνδρεῖς, ἔφη, νῦν τε ὅτι ἐπιέθεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς περιεποιήσασθε, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, ἢν οὕτω ποιήτε, οὐδ’ ὅτι οὖν καὶ νῦν ἔσται ὑµῶν ἀλλ’ ἢ οὔχ ὃ αὐτὸς ἄρξει ὑµῶν δόσπερ καὶ πρῶτον οἰκήσετε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς οἰκίας καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάσεσθε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνοικίσεσθε καὶ παίδων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἄρξετε δόσπερ νῦν. 11. ἡμῖν μὲν τοῖς οὐ μαχεῖσθε οὔτε ἀλλὸ οὔτεν· ηὐκία δ’ ἂν τις ἡμῶν ἀδική, ἡμεῖς υπὲρ ὑµῶν μαχούμεθα. ὅπως δὲ μηδ’ ἐπαγγέλλη μηδεὶς ὑµῖν στρατεύειν, τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς κομίσατε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν κομίζουσιν ἔσται εἰρήνη καὶ δ’ ἡ λέγομεν ἀδόλως. ὅπως οὐ δ’ ἂν τὰ πολεμικὰ μὴ ἀποφέρων ὅπλα, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμεῖς καὶ δὴ στρατευόμεθα. 12. ἐὰν δὲ τις ὑµῶν καὶ ἰὸν ὃς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίκως καὶ πράττων τι καὶ διδάσκων φαίνηται, τούτον ἡμεῖς ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φίλον, οὖν ὃς δούλου περέψουμεν. ταῦτα οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτοὶ τε ἑστε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοὶς διαγγέλλετε. 13. ἦν δ’ ἄρα, ἔφη, ὑµῶν βουλομένων ταῦτα μὴ πείθονται τινες, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμᾶς ἁγετε, ὅπως ὑµεῖς ἔκεινον, μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ὑµῶν ἁρχοῦσιν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν τε καὶ ὑπισχυόντο ταῦτα ποιήσειν.

1 καὶ νῦν xD, later Edd.; καὶ νῦν z, Dindorf (harm).
submit rather than to fight. This, then, is my proposition; but if any one else sees a better plan, let him speak."

But when they heard his proposal they agreed to adopt it.

9. Accordingly, Cyrus called the prisoners together and spoke as follows: 10. "My men," said he, "you have now saved your lives by your submission; and in the future also, if you continue to be obedient, no change whatever shall come to you except that you shall not have the same ruler over you as before; but you shall dwell in the same houses and work the same farms; you shall live with the same wives and have control of your children just as now. 11. But you shall not have to fight either us or any one else; but when any one injures you, we will fight for you; and that no one may even ask military service of you, bring your arms to us. And those that bring them shall have peace, and what we promise shall be done without guile. But as many as fail to deliver up their weapons of war, against these we ourselves shall take the field immediately. 12. But if any one of you comes to us in a friendly way and shows that he is dealing fairly with us and giving us information, we shall treat him as our benefactor and friend and not as a slave. Accept these assurances for yourselves, and convey them to the rest also. 13. But if," said he "while, you are willing to accept these terms of submission, some others are not, do you lead us against them that you may be their masters and not they yours."

Thus he spoke and they did obeisance and promised to do what he directed.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

V

1. Ἐπεί δὲ ἐκεῖνοι φίλοι του, ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, "Ωρα δὴ, ὁ Μήδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, δειπνεῖν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν παρεσκεύασται δὲ ὑμῖν τάπιτείδεια ὡς ἡμεῖς βέλτιστα ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀλλ' ἵστατε καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπτετε τοῦ πεποιημένου 1 σίτου τὸν ἡμίσυν' ἰκανὸς δὲ ἀμφότερος πεποίηται ὄφιν δὲ μὴ πέμπτετε μηδὲ πιεῖν' ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἔχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρεσκευασμένα.

2. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Ἱτράκανοι, ἑφη, διὰγετε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας, γυνώσκετε δὲ, τοὺς δ' ἀλλούς ὡς ἂν δοκῇ κάλλιστα ἔχειν' καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ δειπνεῖτε ὅπου-περ ἢδιστον ὑμῖν' σῶ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀκέραιοι αἱ σκηναὶ' παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε ὅσπερ καὶ τούτοις.

3. Καὶ τούτω δὲ ἵστατε ἀμφότεροι ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἔξω ὑμῖν ἡμεῖς νυκτοφυλακήσομεν, τὰ δ' ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα εὐ τίθεσθε' οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς οὕτω φίλοι ἡμῖν.

4. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Μήδοι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Τυγράννη ἐλούντο, καὶ ἦν γὰρ παρεσκευασμένα, ἰμάτια μεταλαβόντες ἔδειπνουν, καὶ οἱ ἱπποὶ αὐτοῖς εἶχον τάπιτείδεια.

Καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις δὲ ἐστεμπόν τῶν ἄρτων τοὺς ἡμίσεις. ὄφην δὲ οὐκ ἐστεμπόν οὐδ' οἶνον, οὐκέμενον ἔχειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κύρον ἢτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα. 2 ὅ δὲ

1 πεποιημένου Zeune, Edd.; πεποιημένου MSS.
2 ἢτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα Dindorf 4, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἢτι ἑφη ἄφθονα ταῦτα ἔχειν xD, Dindorf 3, Breitentach (for he said they had an abundance of that); ἢτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα 2.

364
1. When they were gone, Cyrus said: "Medes and Armenians, it is now high time for us all to go to dinner; and everything necessary has been prepared for you to the best of our ability. Go, then, and send to us half of the bread that has been baked—enough has been made for all; but do not send us any meat nor anything to drink; for enough has been provided for us at our own quarters.

2. "And you, Hyrcanians," he said to these, "lead them to their several tents—the officers to the largest (you know which they are), and the rest as you think best. And you yourselves also may dine where it best pleases you. For your own tents also are safe and sound, and there also the same provision has been made as for these.

3. "And all of you may be assured of this, that we shall keep the night-watches for you outside the camp, but do you look out for what may happen in the tents and have your arms stacked conveniently; for the men in the tents are not yet our friends."

4. Then the Medes and Tigranes and his men bathed, changed their clothes (for they were provided with a change), and went to dinner. Their horses also were provided for.

Of the bread, half was sent to the Persians; but neither meat for relish nor wine was sent, for they thought that Cyrus and his men had those articles left in abundance. But what Cyrus meant was that

365
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

Κύρος ταύτα ἐλεγεν, ὡς οὖν μὲν τὸν λιμόν, πιεῖν δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ.

5. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Κύρος δειπνίσας τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐπεῖ δυνασκότασε, κατὰ πεμπάδας καὶ κατὰ δεκάδας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέπεμψε καὶ ἐκέλευσε κύκλῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κρυπτεῦεν, νομίζον ἁμα μὲν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἀν τις ἦξεθεν προσίη, ἁμα δὲ, ἃν τις ἦξε φέρων χρήματα ἀποδιδράσκη, ἀλώσεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτω πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδίδρασκον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐάλωσαν. 6. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοὺς λαβόντας εἶα ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἃοτε τοῦ λιοῦ δέ βοιλόμενος ἢν ηὑρες ράδιος τῶν νύκτωρ πορευόμενον.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Πέρσαι οὐτὸς διήγον ὥστε Μῆδοι καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἐπινυκαὶ καὶ νύκτοι καὶ νόσος εὔθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλαντος πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢλιο, ὃστε μὴ ἄπορεών ἐργῶν τοὺς ἐγρηγορῶτας.

8. Ὅ δὲ Κυναξάρης ὁ τῶν Μῆδων βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐν ᾗ ἦξεκέλθεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸς τε ἐμεθύσκετο μεθ’ ὑπνότην ἐσκήνου ὡς ἐπ’ εὐτυχία, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ Μῆδους φετο παρεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλὴν ὅλων, ἀκούων θόρυβον πολῶν. Οἱ γὰρ οἰκεῖαι τῶν Μῆδων, ἂτε τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπεληλυθότων, ἀνειμένως ἔπινον καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἂλλως τε καὶ άτο τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου στρατεύματος καὶ οῖνον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰληφότες.

9. Ἐπεῖ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας οὐδεὶς ἤκε πλὴν οὐπερ καὶ συνεδείπνουν, καὶ τὸ στρα-
hunger was their relish and that they could drink from the river that flowed by.

5. Accordingly, when Cyrus had seen that the Persians had their dinner, he sent many of them out, when it was dark, in squads of five and ten, with orders to lie in hiding round about the camp; for he thought that they would serve as sentinels, in case any one should come to attack from the outside, and at the same time that they would catch any one who tried to run away with his possessions. And it turned out so; for many did try to run away, and many were caught. 6. And Cyrus permitted those who effected the capture to keep the spoil, but the men he bade them slay; and so after that you could not easily have found, had you tried, any one attempting to get away by night.

7. Thus, then, the Persians employed their time; but the Medes drank and revelled and listened to the music of the flute and indulged themselves to the full with all sorts of merry-making. For many things that contribute to pleasure had been captured, so that those who stayed awake were at no loss for something to do.

8. Now the night in which Cyrus had marched out, Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and his messmates got drunk in celebration of their success; and he supposed that the rest of the Medes were all in camp except a few, for he heard a great racket. For inasmuch as their masters had gone off, the servants of the Medes were drinking and carousing without restraint, especially as they had taken from the Assyrian army wine and many other supplies.

9. But when it was day and no one came to his headquarters except those who had been dining with
XENOPHON

tόπεδον ἦκονε κενὸν εἶναι τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ ἑώρα, ἐπειδὴ ἤξεῖλθεν, οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐβριμοῦτό τε τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς Μήδοις τῷ καταλιπόντας αὐτὸν ἔρημον οἰχεσθαι, καὶ εὐθὺς, ὃσπερ λέγεται ὁμοὶ εἶναι καὶ ἀγνώμοι, τῶν παρόντων κελεύει τινὰ λαβόντα τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἱππεάς πορεύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμφι Κύρου στράτευμα καὶ λέγει τάδε:

10. "Ωμην μὲν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' ἂν σέ, ὦ Κύρε, περὶ ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀπρονοήτως βουλεύσαι, εἰ δὲ Κύρος οὕτω γιγνώσκοι, οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μήδοι, ἐθελήσαι οὕτως ἔρημον ἐμὲ καταλιπτεῖν. καὶ νῦν, ἂν μὲν Κύρος βούληται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑμεῖς γε τὴν ταχιστὴν πάρεστε.

11. Ταῦτα δὴ ἐπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ ταττόμενος πορεύεσθαι ἐφη, Καὶ πῶς, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εὐρήσω ἐκεῖνος;

Πῶς δὲ Κύρος, ἐφη, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐφ' οὕς ἐπορεύοντο;

"Οτι νὴ Δ', ἐφη, ἀκούω ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων, 'Τρακαίνους τινὰς καὶ ἑλθόντας δεύρο οἰχεσθαι ἡγομένους αὐτῷ."

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κυαξάρης πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ Κύρῳ ὥργιζετο τῷ μηδ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, καὶ πολλὴ σπουδὴ μᾶλλον ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ὡς γιλώσων αὐτόν, καὶ ἵσχυρότερον ἔτι ἢ πρόσθεν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀπειλῶν ἀπεκάλει καὶ τῷ πεμπομένῳ δὲ ἦπείλει, εἰ μὴ ἱσχυρῶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοι.

13. Ο μὲν δὴ πεμπόμενος ἐπορεύετο ἔχων

368
him, and when he heard that the camp was forsaken by the Medes and the cavalry, and when he discovered on going out that such was really the case, then he fumed and raged against both Cyrus and the Medes because they had gone off and left him deserted. And straightway, in keeping with his reputation for being violent and unreasonable, he ordered one of those present to take his own cavalry corps and proceed at topmost speed to Cyrus’s army and deliver the following message:

10. “I should think that even you, Cyrus, would not have shown such want of consideration toward me; and if Cyrus were so minded, I should think that at least you Medes would not have consented to leave me thus deserted. And now, if Cyrus will, let him come with you; if not, do you at least return to me as speedily as possible.”

11. Such was his message. But he to whom he gave the marching order said: “And how shall I find them, your majesty?”

“How,” he answered, “did Cyrus and those with him find those against whom they went?”

“Why,” said the man, “by Zeus, I am told that some Hyrcanians who had deserted from the enemy came hither and went away as his guides.”

12. Upon hearing this, Cyaxares was much more angry than ever with Cyrus for not even having told him that, and he sent off in greater haste to recall the Medes, for he hoped to strip him of his forces; and with even more violent threats than before, he ordered the Medes to return. And he threatened the messenger also if he did not deliver his message in all its emphasis.

13. Accordingly, the officer assigned to this duty
XENOPHON

tous eautou ippéas ws ékatón, anivómenos òti ou kai autós tôn ëporéúth méta toú Kúrou. èn de tē ódò poroúmenoi diaspichoíentes tríβω tival èplanoînto, kal ou prósthun afíkonto èpí tò filíon stratétema prw ëntuchontes ãpolohóroûsi tís tòn 'Asoúpíon ënagkakavn autón ̂
hygeíav: kal ou toutos afíkounvnta tis pura kata-
dvéntes amfí mévas pws vuktas. 14. êpeî de' ègénontu prois tō stratopédh, oi phílakes, óspeter
ërrhmenon ën ùpò Kúrou, ouk èisëfrhkan autón
pro ëmēras.

'Êpeî de èmēra ùpêfainve, proótov mèn tous
mágonos kalésva ë Kúros tò tòis theíos nòmëzômena
èpì tois tòis toûntois anagóis èxaireísvntai èkleune.
15. kal ou ̂ mèn amfí tàvta exhon ̂ de suggkaléseas
tous ômotúmov eîspen, 'Andres, ou ̂ mèn theòs pro-
фаínev pollá kávathá ̀ìmeis ̂ ëi ou 2 Pérsai èn

tò parónti òlégoi èsmen ̂ òs ëgkrateís èinai
autón. eîte gar ̂ ópovsa 3 òn prosergagávı̂s, ̂
µè phuláxovmen, páliv tàvta ̀ìlôtria èstai.
èîte katalæísvmen tivas ëmovn autón phílakes
èpì tois èph ̀ìmov genoméovns, autíka òdêmivn
ísthn èxontes ëanafanóvmeva. 16. dokeî ouv hou ̂
wò táchissta îévai tìw ëmovn eîs Pérsas kai

didáskeiv òpeter ègò vlagw, kal keleûvns òs tâ-
chissta èpíepémpew stratétema, òpeter èpithymóvnsı
Pérsai tìw àrrhkh tìs 'Asias autóis 4 kai tìw
kártoww symenèvthai. 17. ìthi mèn ouv sú, ̀ëfhi,

1 èisëfrhkan Cobet, later Edd.; èisëfrhkan MSS., Dindorf, et al.
2 ou Bothe, Edd.; ou MSS.
3 òpovsa Popeo, Edd.; òpovsa xz; òsya D.
4 autóis Gemoll; autóis MSS., earlier Edd.
set out with his cavalry, about a hundred in number, vexed with himself for not having gone along with Cyrus when he went. And as they proceeded on their journey, they were misled by a certain by-path and so lost their way and did not reach the army of their friends, until they fell in with some deserters from the Assyrians and compelled them to act as their guides. And so they came in sight of the camp-fires sometime about midnight. 14. And when they came up to the camp, the sentinels, following the instructions of Cyrus, refused to admit them before daylight.

Now at peep of day the first thing that Cyrus did was to call the magi and bid them select the gifts ordained for the gods in acknowledgment of such success; 15. and they proceeded to attend to this, while he called the peers together and said: "Friends, God holds out before us many blessings. But we Persians are, under the present circumstances, too few to avail ourselves of them. For if we fail to guard what we win, it will again become the property of others; and if we leave some of our own men to guard what falls into our possession, it will very soon be found out that we have no strength. 16. Accordingly, I have decided that one of you should go with all speed to Persia, present my message and ask them to send reinforcements with the utmost dispatch, if the Persians desire to have control of Asia and the revenues accruing therefrom. 17. Do you, therefore, go, for you are the senior officer, and
ό πρεσβύτατος, καὶ ἰδὼν ταῦτα λέγε, καὶ ὅτι οὗς ἀν πέμπωσι στρατιώτας, ἐπεδαῖν ἔλθωσι παρ' ἐμὲ, ἔμοι μελήσει περὶ τροφῆς αὐτοῖς. ἂ δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς, ὅρας μὲν αὐτὸς, ἐκύπτει δὲ τούτων μὴν, ὃ τι δὲ τρόπων ἔγιν πέμπων εἰς Πέρσας καλῶς καὶ νομίμως ποιοῖς ἂν τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἔρωτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἄρχας. πεμψάντων δὲ καὶ ὀπτήρας ὅπν πράττομεν καὶ φραστήρας ὅπν ἔρωτόμεν. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἐφη, συσκευάζου καὶ τὸν λόχον προπομπὸν ἂγε.

18. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ 2 καὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀμα ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυαξάρου ἀγγελος παρίσταται, καὶ ἐν πάσι τῆν τε πρὸς Κῦρον ὁργῇ καὶ τὰς πρὸς Μήδους ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε· καὶ τέλος εἰπεν ὅτι ἀπίεναι Μήδους κελεύει, καὶ εἰ Κῦρος μένειν βουλετεί.

19. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Μήδοι ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐσέγησαν, ἀποροῦντες μὲν πῶς χρὴ καλοῦντος ἀπειθεῖν, φοβούμενοι δὲ πῶς χρὴ ἀπειλοῦντι ὑπακοῦσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδότες τὴν ὑμότητα αὐτοῦ. 20. ο δὲ Κῦρος εἰπεν, Ἀλλ' ἔγω, ὃ ἀγγελεῖ τε καὶ Μήδοι, οὐδέν, ἐφη, θαυμάζω εἰ Κυαξάρης, πολλοὺς μὲν πολέμους τὸτε ἰδών, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὁ τι πράττομεν, ὅκενε περὶ τε ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἰσθηταὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολέμων ἀπολολῶτας, πάντας δὲ ἀπεληλαμένους, πρῶτον μὲν παύσεται φοβοῦμενος, ἐπειτα γνώσεται, ὅτι οὐ νῦν ἔρημος γίγνε-

1 αὐτὸς Cobet, most Edd.; αὐτά MSS., Dindorf.
2 δὲ D, most Edd.; δὴ xz, Gemoll.
when you arrive tell them this; and say also that for
whatever soldiers they send I will provide main-
tenance after they come. Conceal from them
nothing in regard to what we have, and you see for
yourself what there is. And what portion of these
spoils honour and the law require that I should send
to Persia—in regard to what is due the gods, ask my
father; in regard to what is due to the State, ask
the authorities. And let them send men also to
observe what we do and to answer our questions.
And you,” said he, “make ready and take your own
platoon to escort you.”

18. After this he called in the Medes also and
at the same moment the messenger from Cyaxares
presented himself and in the presence of all reported
his king’s anger against Cyrus and his threats against
the Medes; and at the last he said that Cyaxares
ordered the Medes to return, even if Cyrus wished to
stay.

19. On hearing the messenger, therefore, the
Medes were silent, for they were at a loss how they
could disobey him when he summoned them, and
they asked themselves in fear how they could obey
him when he threatened so, especially as they had
had experience of his fury. 20. But Cyrus said:
“Well, Sir Messenger and you Medes, inasmuch as
Cyaxares saw in our first encounter that the enemy
were numerous and as he does not know how we
have been faring, I am not at all surprised that he is
concerned for us and for himself. But when he
discovers that many of the enemy have been slain
and all have been routed, in the first place he will
banish his fears and in the second place he will
XENOPHON

tai, ἥνικα οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθροὺς ἀπολλύσασιν.

21. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μέμψεώς γε πῶς ἐσμὲν ἄξιοι, εὐ τε ποιοῦντες ἐκείνουν καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα αὐτομα-
tίσαντες; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκείνουν ἐπεισά ἐσάσαι
μὲ λαβόντα ὑμᾶς ἐξελθεῖν ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ ὡς
ἐπίθυμουντες τῆς ἐξόδουν ἡρωτήσατε εἰ ἐξίοιτε
καὶ νῦν δεύρο ἢκετε, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐκείνουν κελευ-
σθέντες ἐξίεναι ὃτι ὑμῶν μὴ ἀγχομένω εἴη. καὶ
ἡ ὀργή οὖν αὐτὴ σάφ' οἴδα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν
πεπανθήσεται καὶ σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι ἀπεισι.

22. Νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, σὺ τε, ὃ ἀγγελε, ἀνάπαυσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πεπόνηκας, ἡμεῖς τε, ὃ
Πέρσαι, ἐπεὶ προσδεχόμεθα πολέμους ἦτοι μα-
χουμένους γε ἡ πεισμένους παρέσεθαι, ταχθῶ-
μεν ὡς κάλλιστα· οὔτω γὰρ ὀργωμένους εἶκος
πλέον προανύτευν ὄν χρήζομεν. σὺ δ', ἐφη, ὃ
τῶν Ῥωκάνων ἄρχων, ὑπόμεινον προστάξας τοῖς
ἄγεμοσι τῶν σῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξοπλίζειν αὐτούς.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Ῥωκάνως προσ-
ήλθε, λέγει ο Κύρος, Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐφη, ὃ Ῥωκάνω,
ὁδομαί αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι οὐ μόνον φιλίαν ἐπι-
δεικνύμενος πάρει, ἀλλ' καὶ σόνεσιν φαίνει μοι
ἐχεῖν. καὶ νῦν ὅτι συμφέρει ἢμῖν ταῦτα δῆλον
ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ πολέμοι Ασσύριοι, σοὶ τε νῦν ἔτι 1
ἐχθίονες εἰσὶν ἡ ἔμοι. 24. οὕτως οὖν ἢμῖν ἀμφο-
tέροις βουλευτέοι ὅτις τῶν μὲν νῦν παρόντων
μηδεῖς ἀποστατήσει ἢμῖν συμμάχων, ἀλλους δὲ,

1 ἐπεισα... ἐξελθεῖν D, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; πεισα... ἐξελθεῖν τάδε ποιῶ αξ, Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 ἔτι D, Marchant, Gemoll; not in αξ, other Edd.
realize that he is not deserted now, when his friends are annihilating his enemies.

21. "But further, how do we deserve any blame, since we have been doing him good service and have not been doing even that on our own motion? But I, for my part, first got his consent to march out and take you with me; while you did not ask whether you might join the expedition and you are not here now because you desired to make such an expedition, but because you were ordered by him to make it— whoever of you was not averse to it. This wrath, therefore, I am quite sure, will be assuaged by our successes and will be gone with the passing of his fear.

22. "Now, therefore, Sir Messenger," said he, "take some rest, for you must be fatigued, and since we are expecting the enemy to come either to surrender, or possibly to fight, let us, fellow-Persians, get into line in as good order as possible; for if we present such an appearance, it is likely that we shall better promote the accomplishment of what we desire. And you, king of Hyrcania, be pleased to order the commanders of your forces to get them under arms, and then attend me here."

23. And when the Hyrcanian had done so and returned, Cyrus said: "I am delighted, king of Hyrcania, to see that you not only show me your friendship by your presence, but also that you evidently possess good judgment. And now it is evident that our interests are identical. For the Assyrians are enemies to me, and now they are still more hostile to you than to me. 24. Under these circumstances, we must both take counsel that none of the allies now present shall desert us, and also
XENOPHON

'εάν δυνώμεθα, προσληψόμεθα. τοῦ δὲ Μῆδου ἦκους ἀποκαλούντος τοὺς ἱππεύς· εἰ δ’ οὖτοι ἀπίσασιν, ἤμείς μόνοι οἱ πεζοὶ μενοῦμεν. 25. οὕτως οὖν δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ ὅπως ὁ ἀποκάλων οὖτος καὶ αὐτὸς μένειν παρ’ ἡμῖν βουλήσεται. σὺ μὲν οὖν εὐρών σκηνὴν δὸς αὐτῷ ὅπου κάλλιστα διάξει πάντα τὰ δέοντα ἔχων· ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτὸν πειράσομαι αὐτῷ ἔργον τι προστάξαι ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἢδιον πρᾶξει ἢ ἄπεισι· καὶ διαλέγω δὲ αὐτῷ ὅποσα ἐλπίς γενέσθαι ἀγαθὰ πάσι τοῖς φίλοις, ἣν ταῦτ’· εὖ γένηται· ποιήσας μέντοι αὐτὰ ἥκε πάλιν παρ’ ἐμε.

26. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Τρκάνιος τὸν Μῆδον ὑχετο ἀγων ἐπὶ σκηνῆν· ο’ δ’ εἰς Πέρσας ἢν παρῆν συνεσκευασμένος· ο’ δὲ Κύρος αὐτῷ ἐπέστελλε πρὸς μὲν Πέρσας λέγειν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται, Κναξάρη δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα. ἀναγνώσῃ δὲ σοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιστελλόμενα, ἕφη, βούλομαι, ἵνα εἰδῶς αὐτὰ ὀμολογῆς, εάν τι σε πρὸς ταῦτα ἔρωτά·

Ἐνὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τάδε·

27. Κύρος Κναξάρη χαίρεις. ἤμείς σε οὖτε ἔρημον κατελίπομεν· οὔδεις γάρ, ὅταν ἐχθρῶν κρατῇ, τότε φίλων ἔρημος γίγνεται. οὔδε μὴν ἀποχωροῦντες γέ σε οἴμεθα ἐν κινδύνῳ καθιστάναι· ἀλλὰ ὅσῳ πλέον ἀπέχομεν, τοσοῦτοι πλεῖον σοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖν νομίζομεν. 28. οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν φίλων καθήμενοι
that, if we can, we may secure other allies besides. Now you heard the Mede recalling the cavalry; and if they go away, we only, the infantry, shall be left. 25. Accordingly, it is necessary for you and for me to do all we can to make this man also who is recalling them desire to remain with us himself. Do you, therefore, find and assign to him a tent where he will have the best kind of a time, with everything he wants; while I, for my part, will try to assign him some post that he himself would rather fill than go away. And do you have a talk with him and tell him what wealth we have hopes that all our friends will obtain, if we are successful in this; and when you have done this, come back again to me.”

26. Accordingly, the Hyrcanian took the Mede and went away to a tent. And then the officer who was going to leave for Persia presented himself ready to start. And Cyrus commissioned him to tell the Persians what has been set forth in the foregoing narrative and also to deliver a letter to Cyaxares. “Now,” said he, “I wish to read my message to you also, that you may understand its contents and confirm the facts, if he asks you anything in reference to them.”

Now the contents of the letter ran as follows:

27. “My Dear Cyaxares:

We have not left you deserted; for no one is deserted by his friends at a time when he is conquering his enemies. We do not even think that we have brought you into any danger through our departure; but we maintain that the farther away we are, the greater the security we provide for you. 28. For it is not those who sit down nearest to their
XENOPHON

μάλιστα τοὺς φίλους τήν ἄσφάλειαν παρέχουσιν,
ἀλλ’ οἱ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς μὴκιστον ἀπελαύνοντες
μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ καθιστάσι.

29. Σκέψαι δὲ οἶω ὅντι μοι περὶ σὲ οἷος ὁν
περὶ ἐμὲ ἐπειτά μοι μέμφει. ἐγὼ μὲν γέ σοι
ήγαγον συμμάχους, οὐχ ὅσους σὺ ἔπεισας, ἀλλ’
ὅποιοις ἐγὼ πλείστους ἐδυνάμην σὺ δὲ μοι
ἐδώκας μὲν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ὅντι ὅσους πείσαι δυνα-
σθείην νῦν δ’ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὅντος οὐ τὸν θέλοντα
ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖς. 30. τουγαροῦν τότε μὲν
φίλην ἀμφότεροι ὑμῖν χάριν ὀφείλων νῦν δὲ σὺ
μ’ ἀναγκάζεις σοῦ μὲν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀκο-
λουθήσασι πειράσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν χάριν ἀποδι-
δόναι.

31. Οὐ μέντοι ἔγνωγε σοὶ ὁμοίως δύναμαι γενέ-
σθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν πέμπτων ἐπὶ στράτευμα
eis Πέρσας ἐπιστέλλω, ὅποιοὶ ἀν ἦσον ὡς ἐμὲ,
ἡν τι σὺ αὐτῶν δέῃ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἔλθεῖν, σοὶ
ὑπάρχειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἀν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως
ἀν σὺ βούλῃς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς.

32. Συμβουλεύω δὲ σοι καίπερ νεώτερος ἀν
μὴ ἀφαίρεῖσθαι ἀν δῷς, ὡς μή σοι ἀντὶ χαρίτων
ἔχθραι ὀφείλωνται, μηδ’ ὅντια βούλει πρὸς σὲ
ταχύ ἔλθείν, ἀπειλοῦντα μεταπέμπεσθαι, μηδὲ
378
friends that provide them with the greatest security; but it is those who drive the enemy farthest away that help their friends most effectually out of danger.

29. "And consider how I have acted toward you and how you have acted toward me, and yet in spite of all, you are finding fault with me. At all events, I brought you allies—not merely as many as you persuaded to come, but as many as ever I had it in my power to bring; whereas you gave to me, when I was on friendly soil, as many as I could persuade to join me, and now when I am in the enemy's territory you are recalling not merely those who may be willing to leave me, but all my men. 30. Indeed, I thought at that time that I was under obligation both to you and to your men; but now you are acting so as to force me to leave you out of consideration and to try to devote all my gratitude to those who have followed me.

31. "However, I cannot on my part treat you in the same spirit as you treat me, but at this very moment I am sending to Persia for reinforcements, with directions that as many as shall come to join me shall be at your service, if you need them for anything before we return, not as they may be pleased to serve, but as you may wish to employ them.

32. "Furthermore, although I am a younger man than you, let me advise you not to take back what you have once given, lest ill-will be your due instead of gratitude, nor to summon with threats those whom you would have come to you quickly; and again let me advise you not to employ threats against large numbers, while at the same time you
XENOPHON

φάσκοντα ἔρημον· εἶναι ἀμα πολλοῖς ἀπειλεῖν, ὅνα μὴ διδάσκει τοὺς σοῦ μὴ φροντίζειν.

33. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρασόμεθα παρεῖναι, ὅταν τάχιστα διαπραξόμεθα ἃ σοι τ' ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν νομίζομεν πραχθέντα κοινὰ γενέσθαι ἀγαθά. ἐρρωσο.

34. Ταῦτην αὐτῆς ἀπόδοσι καὶ ὃ τι ἂν σε τούτων ἔρωτα, ἣ γέγραπται σύμφαθε. καὶ γὰρ ἕγω ἐπιστέλλω σοι περὶ Περσῶν ἦπερ γέγραπται.

Τούτω μὲν οὔτως ἐπιτε, καὶ δοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέπεμπε, προσεντείλαμεν οὔτω σπεύδεων ὡσπερ οἶδεν ὅτι συμφέρει ταχὺ παρεῖναι.

35. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ έώρα μὲν ἐξωπλισμένους ἦδη πάντας καὶ τοὺς Μῆδους καὶ τοὺς 'Τρκανίους καὶ τοὺς ἄμφι Γυγράνην καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξωπλισμένους ἦσαν· ἦδη δὲ τινὲς τῶν προσχώρων καὶ Ἰππους ἀπήγγει καὶ ὅπλα ἀπέφερον. 36. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν παλτὰ ὅπουτέρ τοὺς πρόσθεν καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἔκασον οἷς τοῦτο ἔργον ἢν ὅπόσων μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐδέοντο· τοὺς δὲ Ἰππους ἐκέλευε φυλάττειν μένοντας τοὺς ἀγαγόντας ἔως ἂν τι σημανθῇ αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας τῶν ἰππέων καὶ 'Τρκανίων καλέσας τοιάδε ἔλεξεν. 37. Ἀνδρεις φίλοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, μὴ θαυμασίζετε ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμᾶς συγκαλῶ· καίνα γὰρ 380
assert that you are deserted, for fear you teach them to pay no attention to you.

33. "We shall try, however, to come to you just as soon as we have accomplished what we think it would be a common benefit to you and to us to have done.

Farewell.

 Cyrus."

34. "Deliver this to him and whatever he asks you in regard to these matters, answer him in keeping with what is written. And you can do this with perfect truth, for my instructions to you in regard to the Persians correspond exactly with what is written in my letter."

Thus he spoke to him and giving him the letter sent him away, adding the injunction that he should make haste as one who knows that it is important to be back again promptly.

35. At this moment he observed that all—both the Medes and the Hyrcanians and Tigranes's men—were already under arms, and the Persians also stood under arms. And some of the natives from near by were already delivering up horses and arms.

36. And the javelins he commanded them to throw down in the same place as in the former instance, and they whose task this was burned all that they did not themselves need. But as for the horses, he commanded those who brought them to keep them and wait until he sent them word. Then he called in the officers of the cavalry and of the Hyrcanians and spoke as follows:

37. "Friends and allies, do not wonder that I call you together so often. For our present situation is

381
XENOPHON

ήμιν οὖν τὰ παρόντα πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἀσύντακτα· δὲ ἄν ἀσύντακτα ἦ, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἀεὶ πράγματα παρέχειν, ἐνω ἄν χώραν λάβῃ.

38. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἦμιν πολλὰ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα χρήματα, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τὸ μῆτε ἦμᾶς εἰδέναι ποῖα τούτων ἐκάστων ἔστιν ἦμῶν, μῆτε τούτους εἰδέναι όστις ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν δεσπότης, περαιώντας μὲν δὴ τὰ δέον ταὐτί πάνω ἐστιν ὅραν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ἀπορούντας δὲ ὁ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν σχεδὸν πάντας. 39. ὡς οὖν μὴ οὕτως ἔχῃ, διορίσατε αὐτά· καὶ όστις μὲν ἠλαβε σκηνῆν ἔχουσαι ἰκανά καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτᾶ καὶ τοὺς υπηρετήσοντας καὶ στρωμμῆν καὶ ἔσθήτα καὶ τάλλα ὡς οἰκεῖται σκηνῆν καλῶς στρατιωτικῆ, ἐντεύθεν μὲν οὐδέν ἄλλῳ δεῖ προσγενέσθαι ἢ τὸν λαβῶντα εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτων ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμέλεσθαι δεῖ· όστις δ’ εἰς ἐνδεόμενα τοῦ κατεσκήνωσε, τούτους ύμεῖς σκεψάμενοι τὸ ἔκλειπτον ἐκπληρώσατε· 40. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ οἷον ὃτι ἔστιν· πλεῖον γὰρ ἀπαντᾷ ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον πλῆθος εἰχον οἱ πολέμουι. ἦλθον δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ χρημάτων ταμίαι, οἱ τοῦ Ἅσσυρίου βασιλέως καὶ ἀλλοι δυναστῶν, οἱ ἔλεγον ὃτι χρυσίον εἰς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπίσημον, δασμοῦς τινας λέγοντες. 41. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν κηρύττετε πάντα ἀποφέρων πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπου ἄν καθέξησθε· καὶ φόβου ἐπήθησθε τῷ μὴ ποιοῦντι τὸ παραγεγεῖ. δὲ διάδοτε λαβῶντες ἐπεὶ μὲν τὸ
novel, and many things about it are in an unorganized condition; and whatever lacks organization must necessarily always cause us trouble until it is reduced to order.

38 "We now have much spoil that we have taken, and men besides. But, as we do not know how much of it belongs to each one of us, and as the captives do not know who are their several masters, it is consequently impossible to see very many of them attending to their duty, for almost all are in doubt as to what they are expected to do. 39. In order, therefore, that this may not go on so, divide the spoil; and whoever has been assigned a tent with plenty of food and drink and people to serve him, and bedding and clothing and other things with which a soldier's tent should be furnished so as to be comfortable—in such a case nothing more need be added, except that he who has received it should be given to understand that he must take care of it as his own. But if any one has got into quarters that lack something, do you make a note of it and supply the want. 40. And I am sure that what is left over will be considerable, for the enemy had more of everything than is required by our numbers. Furthermore, the treasurers, both of the Assyrian king and of the other monarchs, have come to me to report that they have gold coin in their possession, by which they referred to certain payments of tribute. 41. Notify them, therefore, to deliver all this also to you, wherever you have your headquarters. And give that man reason to fear who shall not do as you command. And do you take the money and pay it out to the cavalry and infantry in the proportion of two to one, in order that you may all
XENOPHON

tο ἀπλοῦν, ἵνα ἐχήτε, ἢν τινὸς προσδέησθε, καὶ ὁτου ὤνησεσθε.

42. Τὴν δ’ ἀγορὰν τὴν οὐσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κηρυξάτω μὲν ἡδη, ἔφη, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδένα, πωλεῖν δὲ τοὺς καπήλους ὅ τι ἔχει ἐκαστὸς πράσιμον, καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους ἀλλα ἄγειν, ὅπως οἴκηται ἤμιν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

43. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκήρυττον εὐθύς. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ Ὁρκάνοι εἶπον ὅδε. Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφασαν, ἡμεῖς ἄνευ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν διανέμοιμεν ταῦτα;

44. Ὅ δ’ αὖ Κύρος πρὸς τούτων τὸν λόγον ὅδε προσηνέχθη: Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, γυνώσκετε ὡς οἱ τι ἄν δεὴ πραξῆται, ἐπὶ πᾶσι πάντας ἡμᾶς δεῖσει παρεῖναι, καὶ οὕτε ἐγὼ ἀρκέσω πράττων τι πρὸ ὑμῶν οἱ τι ἄν δεῇ, οὕτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν; καὶ πῶς ἄν ἄλλως πλεῖον μὲν πράγματα ἔχομεν, μείον δὲ διαπραττοίμεθα ὡς οὕτως;

45. ἀλλ’, ὅρατε, ἔφη ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ διεθνάλαξαμέν τε ὑμῖν τάδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἦμῖν πιστεύετε καλῶς διαπεφυλάχθατε ὑμεῖς δ’ αὖ διανείματε, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύσομεν ὑμῖν καλῶς διανενεκέκανί. 46. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ τι αὐτ’ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν πράττειν. ὅρατε γὰρ δή, ἔφη, νυνὶ πρῶτον ὑποι ὁσοὶ ἦμῖν πάρεισιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται τούτων οὖν εἰ μὲν ἑάσομεν ἀναμβάτος, ὦφελήσουσι μὲν οὖδεν ἡμᾶς, πράγματα δὲ παρέξουσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι· ἢν δ’ ἱππεάς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς καταστήσωμεν, ἀμα πραγμάτων τε ἀπταλλαξάμεθα καὶ ἰσχύν ἦμῖν αὐτοῖς προσθησόμεθα. 47. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἔχετε 384
have the wherewithal to buy whatever you still may need.

42. "Further," he added; "let the herald proclaim that no one shall interfere with the market in the camp, but that the hucksters may sell what each of them has for sale and, when they have disposed of that, get in a new stock, that our camp may be supplied."

43. And they proceeded at once to issue the proclamation. But the Medes and Hyrcanians asked: "How could we divide this spoil without help from you and your men?"

44. And Cyrus in turn answered their question as follows: "Why, my good men, do you really suppose that we must all be present to oversee everything that has to be done, and that I shall not be competent in case of need to do anything on your behalf, nor you again on ours? How else could we make more trouble and accomplish less than in this way?" 45. No," said he; "you must look to it; for we have kept it for you and you must have confidence in us that we have kept it well; now for your part, do you divide it, and we shall have the same confidence in your dividing it fairly. 46. And there is something more that we, on our part, shall try to gain for the common advantage. For here, you observe, first of all, how many horses we have right now, and more are being brought in. If we leave them without riders, they will be of no use to us but will only give us the trouble of looking after them; but if we put riders upon them, we shall at the same time be rid of the trouble and add strength to ourselves. 47. If, therefore, you have others to whom you would rather
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

οίστισιν δὲν δολήτε αὐτοὺς, μεθ’ δὲν ἤν καὶ κινδύνεύοιτε ἥδιον, εἰ τι δέοι, ἢ μεθ’ ἡμῶν, ἐκείνοις δίδοτε· εἰ μέντοι ἡμᾶς βούλεσθε παραστάτας ἄν μάλιστα ἐχεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς δότε. 48. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὃτε ἄνευ ἡμῶν προσελάσαντες ἐκινδυνεύετε, τολμῶν μὲν φόβον ἡμῖν παρεῖχετε μὴ τι πάθητε, μάλα δὲ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐποίησατε ὅτι οὐ παρήμεν ὀποιοπερ ὕμεις· ἢν δὲ λάβωμεν τοὺς ἵππους, ἐψόμεθα ὑμῖν. 49. καὶ μὲν δοκῶμεν ὠφελεῖν πλέον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν 1 συναγωνιζόμενοι, οὔτω προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείψομεν· ἢν δὲ πεζοὶ γενόμενοι δοκῶμεν καιρωτέρος ἀν παρεῖναι, τὸ τε καταβῆναι ἐν μέσῳ καὶ εὐθὺς πεζοὶ ὑμῖν παρεσόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ ἵππους μηχανησόμεθα οἷς ἀν παραδοίημεν.

50. Ὁ μὲν οὖν σὺν καὶ ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἀλλ’ ἑμεῖς μὲν, ὥ Κῦρε, οὔτ’ ἄνδρας ἔχομεν οὐδ’ ἀναβιβάσασθαι ἀν ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς ἵππους, οὔτ’ εἰ ἔχομεν, σοῦ ταῦτα βουλομένου ἄλλο ἄν ἀντὶ τούτων ἥροομεθα. καὶ νῦν, ἔφασαν, τούτοις λαβὼν ποίει ὡς ἀριστόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι.

51. Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ ἑμεῖς τε ἵππεῖς γενούμεθα καὶ ἑμεῖς διέλοιτε τὰ κοινά. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς θεοῖς, ἔφη, ἔξαιρεῖτε ὃ τι ἃν οἱ μάγοι ἔξηγονται· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Κυανόρρη ἐκλέξασθε ὅποι ἄν οἴεσθε αὐτῷ μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι.

52. Καὶ οἱ γελάσαντες εἶπον ὅτι γυναῖκας ἐξαιρετέον ἔσθη.

Γυναίκας τε τοίνυν ἔξαιρεῖτε, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὁ

---

1 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν Cobet, Edd.; ἐν’ αὐτῶν ζΩ; ἐπὶ τῶν ἤπιων D.
give them and with whom you would rather go into
danger, if need should be, than with us, offer them
the horses. If, however, you should wish to have us
as your comrades in preference to others, give them
to us. 48. And I have good reasons for asking; for
just now when you rode on into danger without us,
you filled us with apprehension lest something should
happen to you and made us very much ashamed
because we were not at your side. But if we get the
horses, we shall follow you next time. 49. And if
it seems that we are of more use to you by
fighting with you on horseback, in that case we shall
not fail for want of courage. But if it seems that by
turning footmen again we could assist to better
advantage, it will be open to us to dismount and at
once stand by you as foot soldiers; and as for the
horses, we shall manage to find some one to whom we
may entrust them.”

50. Thus he spoke, and they made answer:
“Well, Cyrus, we have no men whom we could
mount upon these horses; and if we had, we should
not choose to make any other disposition of them,
since this is what you desire. So now,” they added,
“take them and do as you think best.”

51. “Well,” said he, “I accept them; may good
fortune attend our turning into horsemen and your
dividing the common spoils. In the first place, set
apart for the gods whatever the magi direct, as they
interpret the will of the gods. Next select for
Cyaxares also whatever you think would be most
acceptable to him.”

52. They laughed and said that they would have
to choose women for him.

“Choose women then,” said he, “and whatever
ΧΕΝΟΡΡΟΘΝΟΝ

ti an dokh youmîn. epeidhâ de ekèinìf exèlhte, touîs êmôi, ó Têkânou, êthelousoûs toûtous êpistopo-
mévous pántas âmêmpitous poieîte eis dyamîn.

53. 'Tmêis d' av, ó Mêdoi, touîs prôtous
sympâkos gevoumêvous timâte toûtous, ópws eîv
beboulèvsthâi ëghistwta hîmin filoi gevoumenoi.
veîmate de pântov toû méros kai tô parâ Kvaçá-
rôn hêkouti autô te kai tôis met' autôt kai sun-
diaîmenein de paraçalaçîte, ós êmôi toûtô svndokoi,înà kai Kvaçárh mâllon eîdsos peri ekástou
aiçaggeîlîa tâ duîta. 54. Pêrsâis d', êphî, toîs met'
îmôi, ósâ an perîtta génteta hîmin kalôs kate-
skeuasmênou, taûta arkèseî kai gár, êphî, mála
pws hâmêis ouk hîn chlîdi tebhrâmêva allà xorî-
tikôs, óstse ûsos an ëhmên katacagelásaste, eî tî
seîmôn hâmên periteîhî, ósster, êphî, olô òti
polûn hîmin xêlonta parêkomeîn kai éptî tôîn îpîpov
kathîmenoi, îmâi d', êphî, kai éptî tîs ûhs katas-
pîptontes.

55. 'Ek toûtou oi mêv ûsan épî tîn diaîrèsan,
mâla épî tôî îpîpîfî xelôntes. ó de tôîs taçîár-
chous kalêsaî ekèleusèto toûs îpîpous lamboûmen
kai tô tôîn îpîpov skêuî kai tôîs îpîpokîmouva,
kai arîthmôsantaî diaîlabèisî 1 khrôsmamênous eis
tâxîn ûsous ekástou.

56. Aûthîs de ó Kûros ãneîpeîn ekèleusèn, eî tîs
êîh en tôî 'Asaûriw nî Súroû nî 'Arabion strate-
têmata ànîr doułos nî Mêdôn nî Pêrsôn nî Ba
ktrîw nî Karôw nî Kîlikôn nî 'Ellînou nî állothên
pôthên bebiashmênos, ekfainèshai. 57. oî de âkou-

1 diaîlabèin Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; laîbeîn MSS., earlier
Edd.

388
else you please. And when you have made your choice for him, then do you Hyrcanians do all you can to see that all those who volunteered to follow me have no cause to complain.

53. "And do you Medes, in your turn, show honour to those who first became our allies, that they may think that they have been well advised in becoming our friends. And allot his proper share of everything to the envoy who came from Cyaxares and to those who attended him; and invite him also to stay on with us (and give him to understand that this is my pleasure also), so that he may know better the true state of things and report the facts to Cyaxares concerning each particular. 54. As for the Persians with me," he said, "what is left after you are amply provided for will suffice for us; for we have not been reared in any sort of luxury, but altogether in rustic fashion, so that you would perhaps laugh at us, if anything gorgeous were to be put upon us, even as we shall, I know, furnish you no little cause for laughter when we are seated upon our horses, and, I presume," he added, "when we fall off upon the ground."

55. Hereupon they proceeded to the division of the spoil, laughing heartily at his joke about the Persian horsemanship, while he called his captains and ordered them to take the horses and the grooms and the trappings of the horses, and to count them off and divide them by lot so that they should each have an equal share for each company.

56. And again Cyrus ordered proclamation to be made that if there were any one from Media or Persia or Bactria or Caria or Greece or anywhere else forced into service as a slave in the army of the Assyrians or Syrians or Arabians, he should show himself. 57. And
XENOPHON

σαντες του κήρυκος ἄσμενοι πολλοὶ προφάνησαν·
ο δ' ἐκλεξάμενοι αὐτῶν τοὺς τὰ ἐιδὴ βελτίστους
ἐλεγέν ὃτι ἐπενθέρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας δεήσει ὅπλα
ὑποφέρειν ἄν αὐτοῖς διδῶσι· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ὅπως
ἄν ἐχωσιν ἐφι αὐτῷ μελήσειν.

58. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγων πρὸς τοὺς ταξιάρχους
συνέστησεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐκελευσε τὰ τε γέρρα καὶ
τὰς ψυλὰς μαχαίρας τούτους δοῦναι, ὅπως ἔχοντες
σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐπωνται, καὶ τάπιτήδεια τούτους
ὡσπερ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ Πέρσας λαμβάνειν,
αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θώρακας καὶ τὰ ξυστὰ ἔχοντας ἀεὶ
ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν χείσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ὕποι
κατήρχειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν ὀμοτίμων ἀνθῆ
αὐτοῦ ἐκαστὸν καθιστάναι ἄλλον ἀρχοντα τῶν
ὀμοτίμων.

VI

1. Οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον. Γωβρύας δ' ἐν
τούτῳ παρῇ Ἀσσύριος πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ἱπ-
ποὺ σὺν ἱππικῇ θεραπείᾳ εἶχον δὲ πάντες τὰ
ἐφίππων ὅπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ὅπλα παρα-
λαμβάνειν τεταγμένοι ἐκέλευον παραδίδοναι τὰ
ξυστά, ὅπως κατακάοιεν ὡσπερ τάλλα. ὁ δὲ
Γωβρύας ἐπειν ὧτι Κύρον πρῶτον βούλοιτο ἰδεῖν·
καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐπέεις αὐτοῦ

1 προφάνησαν Edd.; προ(-σ D)εφάνησαν MSS.

390
when they heard the herald's proclamation, many came forward gladly. And he selected the finest looking of them and told them that they should be made free, but that they would have to act as carriers of any arms given them to carry; and for their sustenance he himself, he said, would make provision.

58. And so he led them at once to his captains and presented them, bidding his men give them their shields and swords without belts, that they might carry them and follow after the horses. Furthermore, he bade his captains draw rations for them just as for the Persians under him. The Persians, moreover, he bade always ride on horseback with their corselets and lances, and he himself set the example of doing so. He also instructed each one of the newly-mounted officers to appoint some other peer to take his place of command over the infantry of the peers.

**VI**

1. Thus, then, they were occupied. Meanwhile Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man well advanced in years, came up on horseback with a cavalry escort; and they all carried cavalry weapons. And those who were assigned to the duty of receiving the weapons ordered them to surrender their spears, that they might burn them as they had done with the rest. But Gobryas said that he wished to see Cyrus first. Then the officers left the rest of the horsemen there,
κατέλυσεν, τὸν δὲ Γωβρύαν ἀγουσὶ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ ὦς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, ἔλεξεν δὲ:

2. Ὡ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εἰμί τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσσύριος· ἔχω δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἱσχυρὸν καὶ χώρας ἐπάρχω πολλής· καὶ ἔπειτο ἔχω εἰς χιλίαν, ἥν τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλει παρειχόμην καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὡς μάλιστα· ἔπει δὲ ἐκεῖνος τέθυηκεν υφὶ ὑμῶν ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἠχήσιστος ὅν ἐμοί, ἥκω πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἰκέτης προσπίπτω καὶ δίδωμί σοι ἐμαυτὸν δούλον καὶ σύμμαχον, σὲ δὲ τιμωρὸν αἰτοῦμαι ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι· καὶ παῖδα οὐτως ὡς δυνατόν σε ποιοῦμαι· ἀπαίς δ' εἰμὶ ἀρρένων παῖδων. 3. δι γὰρ ἦν μοι μόνος καὶ καλὸς κάγαθος, ὁ δέσποτα, καὶ ἐμὲ φίλων καὶ τιμῶν ὠσπερ ἄν εὐδαίμονα πατέρα παῖς τιμῶν τιθείς, τούτον ὁ νῦν βασίλειος οὗτος καλέσαντος τότε βασιλέως, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ νῦν, ὡς δώσοντος τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ ἐμῷ παιδί, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεπεμψάμην μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι δῆθεν τῆς βασιλέως θυγατρὸς ὕψοιμην τὸν ἐμὸν νῦν γαμέτην· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασίλειος εἰς θῆραν αὐτὸν παρακάλεσα καὶ ἀνείς αὐτῷ θηρᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πολὺ κρείττων αὐτοῦ ἑπειάς ἤγονομενος εἶναι, ὁ μὲν ὡς φίλῳ συνεθήρα, φανείσης δὲ ἄρκτον διώκοντες ἀμφότεροι, ὁ μὲν νῦν ἀρχῶν οὕτος ἀκοντίσας ἠμαρτεί, ὡς μήττοτε ὁφελεν, ὁ δ' ἔμοι παῖς βαλὼν, οὐδὲν δέον, καταβάλλει τὴν ἄρκτον.
but Gobryas they conducted to Cyrus. 2. And when he saw Cyrus, he spoke as follows:

"Sire, I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you and fall a suppllicant at your feet. I offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger; and thus, in the only way I may, I make you my son, for I have no male child more. 3. For he who was my son, my only son, a beautiful and brave young man, Sire, and one who loved me and paid me the filial reverence that would make a father happy—¹ him this present king—¹ when the old king, the father of the present ruler, invited my son to his court purposing to give him his daughter in marriage—and I let him go; for I was proud that, as I flattered myself, I should see my son wedded to the king's daughter—then, I say, the man who is now king invited him to go hunting with him and gave him permission to do his best in the chase, for he thought that he himself was a much better rider than my son. And my boy went hunting with him as his friend, and when a bear came out, they both gave chase and the present ruler let fly his javelin but missed. Oh! would to God he had not! Then my son threw (as he should not have done) and brought down the bear.

¹ The grief-stricken father's recital is broken with sobs; the sentences begun are never finished.
ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

4. καὶ τὸτε μὲν δὴ ἀνιαθεῖς ἀρ’ όντος κατέσχεν ὑπὸ σκότου τὸν φθόνον· ὥς δὲ πάλιν λέοντος παρατυχόντος ὁ μὲν αὐ̣ ἦμαρτεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν οἶμαι παθῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐ̣ ἐμὸς παῖς αὕθις τυχῶν κατειργάσατο τε τὸν λέοντα καὶ ἔθεν, Ἀρα βέβληκα διὸς ἐφεξῆς καὶ καταβέβληκα θῆρα ἐκατεράκις, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οὐκέτι κατίσχει ὁ ἀνόσιος τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ’ Αἰχμήν παρὰ τίνος τῶν ἐπομένων ἀρπάσας, παίσας εἰς τὰ στέρνα τὸν μόνον μοι καὶ φίλον παίδα ἀφείλετο τὴν ψυχήν. 5. κάγῳ μὲν ὁ τάλας νεκρὸν ἀντὶ νυμφόν ἐκομμάχην καὶ ἔθαψα τηλικοῦτος δὴ ἄρτι γενεϊάσκοντα τὸν ἀριστον παίδα τὸν ἀγαπητὸν· ὦ δὲ κατακανῶν ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸν ἀπολέσας οὕτε μεταμελόμενος πώποτε φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὕτε ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔργου τιμῆς τίνος ἡξίωσε τὸν κατὰ γῆς. ὦ γε μὴν πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνφοίκισέ με καὶ δῆλος ἦν συναχθόμενός μοι τῇ συμφορᾷ. 6. ἐγὼ οὖν, εἰ μὲν ἔξη ἐκείνος, οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ ἠλθὸν πρὸς σὲ ἐπτὶ τῷ ἐκείνου κακῶ· πολλὰ γὰρ φιλικὰ ἔπαθον ὑπ’ ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπηρέτησα ἐκεῖνῳ· ἔπει δ’ εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐμοῦ παιδὸς φονεά ἢ ἀρχὴ περιῆκεν, οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ τούτῳ ἐγὼ δυναίμην εὖν οὐς γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ οὕτος ἐμὲ εὖ οἴδ’ ὅτι φίλον ἀν ποτὲ ἡγήσατο. οἴδε γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχω καὶ ὡς πρόσθεν φαιδρὸς βιοτεύων μὴν διάκειμαι, ἔρημος ὦν καὶ διὰ πένθος τὸ γῆρας διάγων.

7. Εἰ οὖν σὺ με δέχει καὶ ἐπίδια τινὰ λάβομι τῷ φίλῳ παιδί τιμωρίας ἂν τίνος μετὰ σοῦ τυχεῖν, καὶ ἀνηβήσαι ἂν πάλιν δοκῶ μοι καὶ οὕτε ξῶν ἄν
4. And then that man was vexed, to be sure, as it proved, but covered his jealousy in darkness. But when again a lion appeared, he missed again. There was nothing remarkable in that, so far as I can see; but again a second time my son hit his mark and killed the lion and cried, 'Have I not thrown twice in succession and brought an animal down each time!' Then that villain no longer restrained his jealous wrath but, snatching a spear from one of the attendants, smote him in the breast—my son, my only, well-loved son—and took away his life. 5. And I, unhappy I, received back a corpse instead of a bridegroom, and, old man that I am, I buried with the first down upon his cheeks my best, my well-beloved son. But the murderer, as if he had slain an enemy, has never shown any repentance, nor has he, to make amends for his wicked deed, ever deigned to show any honour to him beneath the earth. His father, however, expressed his sorrow for me and showed that he sympathized with me in my affliction. 6. And so, if he were living, I should never have come to you in a way to do him harm; for I have received many kindnesses at his hands and I have done him many services. But since the sceptre has passed on to the murderer of my son, I could never be loyal to him and I am sure that he would never regard me as a friend. For he knows how I feel toward him and how dark my life now is, though once it was so bright; for now I am forsaken and am spending my old age in sorrow.

7. "If, therefore, you will receive me and I may find some hope of getting with your help some vengeance for my dear son, I think that I should find my youth again and, if I live, I should no longer
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ετι αἰσχυνοίμην οὔτε ἀποθνήσκων ἀνιωμενος ἀν
teleutāν δοκῶ.

8. Ὡ μὲν οὔτως εἶπε Κύρος δ' ἀπεκρίνατο,
'Αλλ' ἦπερ, ὁ Γωβρύα, καὶ φρονῶν φαίη ὅσα-
περ λέγεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δέχομαι τε ἱκέτην σε καὶ
timworhēsein σοι τοῦ παιδὸς σὺν θεοῖς ἵπποχοῦμαι.
λέξου δὲ μοι, ἐφη, εάν σοι ταῦτα ποιῶμεν καὶ τὰ
teĩχη σε ἔχειν ἐώμεν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα
cαι τὴν δύναμιν ἦπερ πρόσθεν εἶχες, σὺ ἡμῖν τὶ
ἀντὶ τοῦτων ὑπηρετήσεις;

9. Ὡ δὲ εἶπε, Τὰ μὲν τείχη, ὅταν ἔλθης, οἶκον
σοι παρέξω· δασμὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπερ ἔφερον
ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ ὅποι ἰ ὅ στρατεύω, συστρα-
teuśomai τὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δύναμιν ἔχων. ἔστι δὲ
μοι, ἐφη, καὶ θυγάτηρ παρθένος ἀγαπητή γάμου
ἡ ὑπαίτα, ἢν ἐγὼ πρόσθεν μὲν ὅμηρ τῷ νῦν
βασιλεύοντι γυναικά τρέφειν· νῦν δὲ αὐτὴ τέ μοι
ἡ θυγάτηρ πολλὰ γοωμένῃ ἵκετευε μὴ δοῦναι
αὐτὴν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φονεί, ἐγὼ τὲ ωσαῦτος
γυνώσκω. νῦν δὲ σοι δίδωμι βουλεύσασθαι καὶ
περὶ ταύτης οὕτως ὀστερ ἄν καὶ ἐγὼ βουλεύων
περὶ σὲ φαίνωμαι.

10. Οὐτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, 'Επὶ τούτων, ἐφη,
ἐγὼ ἀληθευμένοις δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμήν καὶ λαμ-
βάνω τὴν σὴν δεξιάν· θεοὶ δ' ἡμῖν μάρτυρες
ἐστον.
'Επεῖ δὲ ταύτα ἐπράξθη, ἀπιέναι τε κελεύει
τὸν Γωβρύαν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπήρετο πόση
τις ἁδὸς ὡς αὐτὸν εἴη, ὡς ἢξων. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, Ἡ
ἀριστον ἡς πρῶ, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἀν αὐλίζοι παρ' ἡμῖν.

11. Οὕτω δὴ οὕτως μὲν φιλεῖ ήγεμόνα καταλι-
396
live in shame; and if I die, I think that I should die without a regret."

8. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Well, Gobryas, if you prove that you really mean all that you say to us, I not only receive you as a suppliant, but promise you with the help of the gods to avenge the murder of your son. But tell me," said he, "if we do this for you and let you keep your castle and your province and the power which you had before, what service will you do us in return for that?"

9. "The castle," he answered, "I will give you for your quarters when you come; the tribute of the province, which before I used to pay to him, I will pay to you; and whithersoever you march I will march with you at the head of the forces of my province. Besides," said he, "I have a daughter, a maiden well-beloved and already ripe for marriage. I used once to think that I was rearing her to be the bride of the present king. But now my daughter herself has besought me with many tears not to give her to her brother's murderer; and I am so resolved myself. And now I leave it to you to deal with her as I shall prove to deal with you."

10. "According as what you have said is true," Cyrus then made answer, "I give you my right hand and take yours. The gods be our witnesses."

When this was done he bade Gobryas go and keep his arms; he also asked him how far it was to his place, for he meant to go there. And he said: "If you start to-morrow early in the morning, you would spend the night of the second day with us."

11. With these words he was gone, leaving a guide.
πών. οἱ δὲ Μήδοι παρῆσαν, ἀ μὲν οἱ μάγοι ἔφασαν τοὺς θεοὺς ἔξελεῖν, ἀποδόντες τοὺς μάγοις, Κύρφ δὲ ἐξηρηκότες τὴν καλλίστην σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν Σουσίδα γυναῖκα, ἡ καλλίστη δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυνή γενέσθαι, καὶ μουσουργοὺς δὲ δύο τὰς κρατίστας· δεύτερον δὲ Κυνάρη τὰ δεύτερα· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἄλλα δὲν ἔδεοντο ἐαυτοῖς ἐκπληρώσαντες, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενοι στρατεύονται· πάντα γὰρ ἦν πολλά.

12. Προσέλαβον δὲ καὶ Ῥκάνιοι δὲν ἔδεοντο· ἱσόμοιρον δὲ ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν παρὰ Κυνάρην ἄγγελον· τὰς δὲ περιττὰς σκηνὰς ὡςὶν ἦσαν Κύρφ παρέδοσαν, ὡς τοῖς Πέρσαις γένοιτο. τὸ δὲ νόμισμα ἔφασαν, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαν συλλεχθῇ, διαδώσειν καὶ διέδωκαν.

1 ά Stephanus, Edd.; τὰ MSS.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED*

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, translated by R. C. Seaton, of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, translated by Horace White, of New York. 4 volumes.

CATULLUS, translated by F. W. Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton College; TIBULLUS, translated by J. P. Postgate, of Liverpool University; PERVIGILIIUM VENERIS, translated by J. W. Mackail, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. 1 volume.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, translated by E. O. Winstedt, of Magdalen College, Oxford. 3 volumes. Volumes I and II.

CICERO DE OFFICIIS, translated by Walter Miller. 1 volume.

DIO CASSIUS, ROMAN HISTORY, translated by E. Cary, of Princeton University. 9 volumes. Volumes I and II.

EURIPIDES, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 4 volumes.

HORACE, ODES, translated by C. E. Bennett, of Cornell University. 1 volume.

JULIAN, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright, of Bryn Mawr College. 3 volumes. Volumes I and II.

LUCIAN, translated by A. M. Harmon, of Princeton University. 8 volumes. Volume I.


*All volumes can be supplied separately.

PLATO, EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS, translated by H. N. Fowler. 1 volume.

PROPERTIUS, translated by H. E. Butler, of the University of London. 1 volume.

QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 1 volume.


SOPHOCLES, translated by F. Storr, of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 volumes.

Suetonius, translated by J. C. Rolfe. 2 volumes. Volume I.

TACITUS, DIALOGUS, translated by Wm. Peterson; AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA, translated by Maurice Hutton. 1 volume.

TERENCE, translated by John Sergeant, of Westminster School. 2 volumes.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS, translated by Kirsopp Lake, of the University of Leiden. 2 volumes.


THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS), translated by J. M. Edmonds, of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN, 21 BEDFORD STREET NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO., 64 FIFTH AVENUE
behind. And then the Medes came in, after they had delivered to the magi what the magi had directed them to set apart for the gods. And they had selected for Cyrus the most splendid tent and the lady of Susa, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, and two of the most accomplished music-girls; and afterward they had selected for Cyaxares the next best. They had also supplied themselves with such other things as they needed, so that they might continue the campaign in want of nothing; for there was an abundance of everything.

12. And the Hyrcanians also took what they wanted; and they made the messenger from Cyaxares share alike with them. And all the tents that were left over they delivered to Cyrus for the use of his Persians. The coin they said they would divide, as soon as it was all collected; and this they did.