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Cyropaedia

Xenophon
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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
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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
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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 Cyropædia he throws on contemporary peoples and manners and customs in the orient.

As a work of art, the Cyropædia 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 Cyropædia 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. xii
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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."
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The most important manuscripts of Xenophon are ascribed to three families, x, y, and z. The following are cited in the notes:—

x { C Parisinus C Paris Fourteenth century
E Etonensis Eton Fifteenth century
D Bodleianus Oxford Fifteenth century
y { F Erlangensis Erlangen Fifteenth century
R Bremensis Bremen Fifteenth century
A Parisinus A Paris Fifteenth century
z G Guelferbytanus Wolfenbüttel Fifteenth century
H Escorialensis Escorial Twelfth century
V Vaticanus Rome Twelfth century
\[ \pi_2 \] Fragmenta Oxyrhynci Third century
m Ambrosianus (I.) v. 7–14; III. Milan Tenth century
\[ \text{iii. 44–45} \]

The earliest printed edition of Xenophon is the Latin version of Francis Philalethus, 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 ἑνέστων ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ Χενοφῶντος Κύρου Παιδείας Βιβλία ἡ κ.τ.λ. Haec in hoc libro continetur: Xenophontis Cyripedias Libri VIII.; Anabaseos Libri VII.; Apomnemoneumaton; de Venatione; de Re Equestri; de Equis Alendis; Lacedaemoniorum Respublica; Atheniensium Respublica; Oeconomica; Hieron; Symposium; de Graecorum Gestis Libri VII. In aedibus P. Juntæ: Florentiae, 1516.


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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK I

THE BOYHOOD OF CYRUS
ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ

A

I

1. Ἐννοιά ποθ' ἡμῖν ἔγενετο ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως βουλομένων πολιτεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατία, ὅσαι τ' αὐ μοναρχία, ὅσαι τ' ὁλιγαρχία ἀνήρθηνται ἡδὴ ὑπὸ δήμων, καὶ ὅσοι τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάμπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ κἀν ὅποσονοιν χρόνον ἀρχοντες διαγένωνται, θαυμάζονται ὡς σοφοὶ τε καὶ εὕτυχες ἀνδρεῖς γεγενημένοι. πολλοὺς δ' ἐδοκοῦμεν καταμεμφηκέναι καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις οἰκεῖοι τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλείονας οἰκέτας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνω 1 ὅλογοις, καὶ ὅμως οὐδὲ τοῖς ὅλογος τούτως πάνω τι δυναμένους χρῆσθαι πειθομένοις 2 τοὺς δεσπότας.

1 πάνω Edd.; πάνω τι yG; πάνω ΧΑΗΡ.
2 πειθομένοις found only in FG; [πειθομένοις] Sauppe, Dindorf, Hertlein; πειθομένοι [τοὺς δεσπότας] Hirschig, Gemoll.
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.
2. Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνενοούμεν ὅτι ἄρχοντες μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν καὶ οἱ ἱπποφόροι τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι νομεῖς δὲν ἀν ἐπιστατῶσιν χῶρων εἰκότως ἄν ἄρχοντες τούτων νομίζοιντο: πάσας τούς ταύτας τὰς ἁγέλας ἐδοκοῦμεν ὅρας μᾶλλον ἐθελούσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεύσιν ἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἄρχουσι. πορεύονται· τῇ γὰρ οἱ ἁγέλαι ἢ ἅν αὐτὰς ἐνθύνωσιν πιθυμεῖς, νέμονται τε χωρία ἐφ’ ὅποια ἅν αὐτὰς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπεχονται τε ὅπως ἅν αὐτὰς ἀπειρήσιται καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τούς τοῖς γιγαντεύοντος οὐτοὶ ἀνήκιν ἐϊσιν τοὺς νομεύεις χρήσθαι οὕτως ὅπως ἅν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. ἦτι τούς οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἁγέλῃς ἡσθήμεθα συντάσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν νομέα, ὅτε ὡς μὴ πείθεσθαι οὕτε ὡς μὴ ἐπιτρέπεται. τῷ καρπῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπῶτέραις εἰςιν αἱ ἁγέλαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἡ τρίς ἄρχουσι τε καὶ ὠφελούμενοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν· ἀνθρώπους δὲ ἐπ’ οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους οὕτως ἅν αἴσθωνται ἄρχειν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας.

3. "Ὅτε μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἑνενοούμεθα, οὕτως ἔγνωσκομεν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ πεφυκότι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων πάνω εἰς ξίων ό ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνενοήσαμεν ὅτι Κύρων ἐγένετο Πέρσης, δός παμπόλλους μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκτίσατο πειθομένους ἑαυτῷ, παμπόλλας δὲ πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἔθνη, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἣμαγκαζόμεθα μετανοεῖν μὴ οὕτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὕτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἐχ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ἡν τις ἐπισταμένως τούτῳ πράττῃ. Κύρῳ γοῦν ἴσμεν 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
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touς μὲν ἀπέχοντας παμπόλλων ἡμερῶν ὀδόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μηνῶν, τοὺς δὲ οὐδ’ ἐωρακότας πώποτ’ αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι οὐδ’ ἂν ἴδοιεν, καὶ ὃς ἦθελον αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν.

4. Καὶ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀρχαὶ παρειλήφοτοι καὶ τῶν δι’ ἐαυτῶν κτησμένων, οἵσθ’ ὁ μὲν Σκύθης καὶ περὶ παμπόλλων ἕνεν Σκυθῶν ἄλλον μὲν οὐδενὸς δύνατ’ ἂν ἔθνους ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαπάκη δ’ ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχῶν διαγένοιτο, καὶ ὁ Θραξ Θρακῶν καὶ ὁ Ἰλλυρίως Ἰλλυρίων, καὶ τάλα δὲ φυσιτῶς ἐθνῆ ἀκούομεν τὰ γοῦν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα εἶναι λέγεται καὶ λειτύθαι ἀπ’ ἄλληλων. Κύρος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὡσαύτως οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνομα ὅπτα ὁμιλθεῖσι σὺν θλίψῃ Περσῶν στρατιᾶ ἐκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μῆδῶν, ἐκόντων δὲ Ἱρκάνιων καταστρέψατο δὲ Σύρους, Ἀσσυρίους, Ἀραβίους, Καππαδόκας, Φρύγας ἀμφιτέρους, Λυδοὺς, Κάρας, Φοίνικας, Βαβυλωνίους, ἤρξε δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰρθῶν καὶ Κιλίκων, ὡσαύτως δὲ Σακῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαγαδών, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ παμπόλλων ἔθνων, δὲν οὐδ’ ἂν τὰ ὄνοματα ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ, καταβᾶς δ’ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

1 παμπόλλων DFG; πολλῶν xAHFR.
2 λέγεται MSS.; [λέγεται] Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, omitting the colon after ἀκούομεν.
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 Phrygias, 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.
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5. Καὶ τοίνυν τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἦρξεν οὔτε αὐτῷ ὁμογλώττων ὄντων οὔτε ἄλληλοις, καὶ ὡμως ἐδυνάσθη ἐφικέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαῦτην γῆν τῷ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ φόβῳ, ὡστε καταπλῆξαι πάντας καὶ μηδένα ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐδυνάσθη δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαῦτην τοῦ 2 αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὡστε αἰτῇ τῷ αὐτῷ γνώμη ἄξιοιν κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνηρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα ὅσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἑστίν, ὅποι ἂν ἄρξηται τις πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων, ἢν τε πρὸς ἐω ἢν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἢν τε πρὸς ἀρκτον ἢν τε πρὸς μεσσημβρίαν.

6. Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὡς ἄξιοι ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τούτων τῶν ἄνδρα ἐσκεψάμεθα τίς ποτ’ ὁν γενεάν καὶ ποιάν τινα φύσιν ἔχων καὶ πολὰ τινὶ παιδεία παιδευθεὶς τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων. ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπιθύμησα καὶ ἡσθήσαται δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταύτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II

1. Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὕτω τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ Περσειδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κλήσονται· μπρός δὲ ὀμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἢ δὲ Μανδάνη αὕτη

1 ἐδυνάσθη MSS., except yRG, 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 begins 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 His 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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

Ἀστυνάγους ἢν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων γενομένου 1 βασιλέως. φώναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται καὶ ἄδεται ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὡστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατιθήναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομείναι τοῖς ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἔνεκα.

2. Φύσις μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμιμημοῦνεται· ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴ ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις· οὕτω δὲ δοκούσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἁγαθοῦ ἐπιμελώμενοι οὐκ ἠθενεῖτε ἐν 2 ταῖς πλείσταῖς πόλεσιν ἀρχονταί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται πόλεις ἀφείσαι παιδεύειν ὅπως τις ἔθελει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παίδας, καὶ αὐτοῦς τοὺς προβυπτέρους ὡς ἐθέλουσι δίαγεναν. ἔπειτα προστάτωσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδὲ ἀρπάξειν, μὴ βία εἰς οἰκίαν παριέναι, μὴ παίειν δὲν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπεθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιαύτα ὑσάυτως· ἴν δὲ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, ξημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. 3. οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως τὴν ἄρχην μὴ τοιούτοι ἐσοῦνται οἱ πολίται οἱ πονηροὶ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργον ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμελοῦται δὲ ὁδε.

4. Εστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλομένη, ἐνθατε τὰς βασίλειας καὶ τάλλα ἄρχεια πεποίηται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὅνιμα καὶ οἱ ἀγοραίοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται

1 γενομένου xAHR, Hug, Marchant; -not in other MSS., Gemoll, Breitenbach.
2 οὐκ ἠθενεῖτε ἐν Hertlein, Edd.; οὐκ ἠθενεῖν θεντερ (θεν F) yG; οὐχ ὅμως γὰρ xAHRD®.
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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
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εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μεγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. 4. διήρηται δὲ αὐτή ἡ ἀγορὰ ἡ περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια τέτταρα μέρη τούτων δ’ ἐστιν ἐν μὲν παισίν, ἐν δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείως ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἦτη γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δ’ εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἔκαστοι τούτων πάρεισι, οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τελείοι ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἦμικ’ ἀν ἐκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἰς αὐτοῖς δεὶ παρεῖναι. οἱ δὲ ἐφήβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια σὺν τοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὀπλοῖς πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων οὔτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιξητούνται, ἢν μὴ προρρηθῇ παρεῖναι, οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπείναντο καλῶν.

5. Ἀρχοντες δ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσὶ δώδεκα· δώδεκα γὰρ καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηται. καὶ ἔπλε μὲν τοὺς παισίν ἐκ τῶν γεραίτερων ἡρμένοι εἰσίν οἱ ἀν δοκῶσι τοὺς παιδὰς βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἀν αὐ τοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν οἱ ἀν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἄρχης· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραίτερων προστάται ἡρμένοι, οἱ προστατεύουσιν, ὅπως καὶ οὕτω τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἄ δὲ ἐκάστη ἡλικία προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὡς μᾶλλον δὴ λογον γένηται ἢ ἐπιμέλονται ως ἀν βελτίστου εἶν οἱ πολίται.

1 ὁ προστατεύουσιν MSS.; [ὁ προστατεύουσιν] Dindorf, Hug, Sauppe, et al.

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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 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.
6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ παίδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες διάγονοι μανθάνοντες δικαίοσύνην καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔρχονται ὁσπερ παρ’ ἡμῖν ὅτι ἡ γράμματα μαθησομενοί. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας δικάζοντες αὐτοῖς. γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παῖς πρὸς ἄλληλους ὁσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἀλλων οἷων δὴ εἰκός. οὐς δὲ ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἀδικούντας, τιμωροῦνται. 7. κολάξουσι δὲ καὶ δυνὸν ἄδικος ἐγκαλοῦντα εὑρίσκωσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος οὐ ἕνεκα ἀνθρωποί μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, δικάζουσι δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας, καὶ δυνὸν ἄφονα, αὐτῶν ἄριστος καὶ περὶ θεοῦ ἄν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχει καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἐπεσθαί δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἄχαριστι ἢ ἀναισχυντιᾷ καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμόν. 8. Διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοῦς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅρωσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγοντας. διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πείθοσθαι τοὺς ἄρχουσι μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πειθομένους τοὺς ἄρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι

1 δτι Cobet, Edd.; οἱ τὰ MSS.
2 δτῃ ἥκιστα MSS., except xDGR which have δ 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
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tоυς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρός ἕνεκα πρὶν ἀν ἄφωσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ σιτοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, δόταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημῆνος. φέρονται δὲ οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν ἄρτον, ὅψον δὲ κάρδαμον, πιεῖν δὲ, ἣν τις διψᾷ, κῶθονα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις¹ μανθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἡ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταύτα πράττουσιν, ἐκ τούτον δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται.

9. Οὐτὸι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐφηβοὶ διάγονοι δῶδε. δέκα ἔτη ἄφ᾽ οὗ ἄν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι κοιμώνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια, ὡσπερ προειρήκαμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι: παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἄρχοντας χρῆσθαι ἃν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δὲν, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἄρχεια· ὅταν δὲ ἐξῆθεν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς.² ποιεῖ δὲ τούτο πολλὰκις τοῦ μηνὸς. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξόντας τὸξα καὶ παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεφί κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν, ἄτι δὲ γέρρουν καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὡστε τὸ μὲν ἄφειναι, τῷ δὲ, ἕαν δὲν, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. 10. διὰ τοῦτο

¹ πρὸς δὲ τούτοις DFGVπ, Edd.; πρὸ δὲ τούτων xAHR.
² ἐξάγει . . . φυλακῆς xAHR; τὰς ἡμίσειας 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.
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de δημοσία τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμών ἐστιν αὐτῷς καὶ αὐτὸς τε θηρᾶ καὶ τῶν ἁλλῶν ἐπιμέλεται ὅπως ἄν θηρῶσι, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτῷς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ πρὶν ἀνίστασθαι ἐθίζη καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὀδοπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεύσαι θηρίον καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ὅπου ἄν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ὅταν τί τῶν ἁλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθίστηται παῖειν μὲν γὰρ δῆπον δεῖ τὸ ὀμόσε γεγονόμενον, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ὅστε οὐ ράδιον εὐρεῖν τί ἐν τῇ θῆρᾳ ἀπεστὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων.

11. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν ἀριστον ἔχοντες πλείον μέν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν παιδῶν, τὰλλα δὲ ὅµοιον. καὶ θηρῶντες μέν οὐκ ἂν ἁριστήσειαν, ἂν δὲ τὴ δεήσῃ ἡ θῆρία ἐνεκα ἐπικαταμεῖναι ἡ ἁλλος ἔθελήσωσι διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θῆραν, τὸ οὖν ἀριστον τοῦτο δειπνήσαντες τὴν ύστεραλαν αὐ θηρῶσι μέχρι δειπνοῦ, καὶ μίαν ἁμφο τούτω τῷ ἡμέρᾳ λογίζονται, ὅτι μᾶς ἡμέρας σιτὸν δαπανῶσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι ἐνεκα, ἵνα ἐάν τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνανται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅψον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχου-

1 ἐπιμέλεται: 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, 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 (αρασναι, déjeuner) toward midday, the other (δείπνον, dinner) toward sun-down.
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σιν οἱ τηλικοῦτοι δι' τι ἀν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον. εἰ δὲ τις αὐτοῦς οἴεται ἢ ἐσθένει ἀγήδως, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνων ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀγήδως, ὅταν ὑδρῷ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθῆτω πῶς μὲν ᾧδὺ μᾶζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινώντει φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ᾧδυ ὑδρῷ πιεῖν διψώντι.

12. Αἱ δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ διατρίβονται μελετῶσαι τὰ τε ἀλλὰ τα παῖδες ὅντες ἔμαθον καὶ τοξεῦων καὶ ἀκοντίζεων, καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι ταύτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἁγῶνες καὶ ἄθλαι προτίθεται· ἐν ἢ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλείστοι ὃσι δαμούνέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικότατοι καὶ εὐπριστότατοι, ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολίται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις αὐτοῦς παῖδας ὅντας ἐπαύδευσε. χρώνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἄρχαι, ἢν τῇ ἄρχαι ἐξήνῃ ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνήσαι ἢ ληστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἀλλο τὸ ὅσα ἰσχύοις ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἔστι.

Ταύτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐφήβοι πράττουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἐστὶ διατελέσσωσιν, ἐξερχόνται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας. 13. ἀφ' οὐ δ' ἂν ἔξελθωσιν χρόνου 2 οὔτως αὖ πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσιν ἐστὶ διάγουσιν ὁδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὅσπερ οἱ ἐφήβοι παρέχουσιν ἐαυτῶς ταῖς ἄρχαις χρήσασθαι, ἢν τῇ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονούντων τε ἣδη ἔργω ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ δυναμένων. ἢν δὲ τοὺς 3 δὲν στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα

1 Before ἔργω xAHr have ἀλλα.

2 After χρόνου yG add ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων.

3 to Dindorf; τοῦ MSS.
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 C. Mature
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
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μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ παλτὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δὲ ἀγχέμαχα ὑπλα καλοῦμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ γέρρουν ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, οἶνοντερ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραι ἢ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἄρχαι δὲ πᾶσαι ἐκ τούτων καθιστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν διδάσκαλοι.

'Επειδὰν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἶκοσιν ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, εἶπαν μὲν ἃν οὕτω πλείον τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικάυτα εἰς τοὺς γεραντέρους ὄντας τε καὶ καλομένους.

14. Οἱ δ' οὖσι γεραντεροὶ οὕτωι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἔξω τῆς έαυτῶν, οἷοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὕτωι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἄρχας οὕτωι πάσας αἱροῦνται· καὶ ἂν τις ἢ ἐν ἐφήβους ἢ ἐν τελείω ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐλλήπτῃ τι τῶν νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἐκαστοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραντεροὶ ἁκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἀτιμὸς διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.

15. 'Ἰνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἔπανεμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτω ἄν δηλωθεῖδιὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι·

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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;

\[1\] This number is meant to include the nobility only, the so-called "peers" (\(δυνάτοι\)), and not the total population of Persia.
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tyótow d' oúdeis áplelýlatai nómf týmôw kai árkhón, álly' ἔξεστι πάσι Πέρσαις πέμπτευν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαίωσύνης διδα-
σκαλεῖα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπτον, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπτον. 1 οἱ δ' ἀν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευ-
θείσιν οὐτῶς οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς ἐφή-
βοις διατελέσσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι
toútois eis toús teleíous ándras συναλίζεσθαι 2 kai árkhón kai týmôw metéchein, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ δια-
γένωνται 3 εις τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς
toús teleíous. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐ ἐν τοῖς τελείους δια-
γένωνται ἀνεπιληπτοι, οὕτω τῶν γεραιτέρων
gýynontai. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραιτέροι διὰ πάντων
tῶν καλῶν ἐληλυθότες καθίστανται καὶ ἡ πολι-
tεία αὐτη, ἡ οἴονται χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἀν εἰναι.

16. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐμένει μαρτύρια καὶ τῆς
μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἑκκοπεῖσθαι τὴν
diátaν. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστι Πέρ-
σαις καὶ τὸ πτύειν 4 καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι καὶ τὸ
φύσις μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι, αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἔστι καὶ τὸ
ίόντα ποὺ 5 φανερὸν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῦ οὐρῆσαι ἐνεκα
ἡ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἄν ἔδωσαν τοιοῦτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτη μετρία ἔχρωντο

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1 οἱ δὲ ... πέμπτον not in CF.
2 συναλίζεσθαι yHV; συναλίζεσθαι (to associate with) xAGR.
3 ἃν μὴ διαγένωνται yEGV; ἃν αὖ ἐν τοῖς παισὶ μὴ (μὴ is not in C) διατελέσωσιν ἢ ἐν CAHR.
4 πτύειν Cobet, Edd.; ἀποτύειν MSS.
5 ποὺ Heindorf, Edd.; ποῦ 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
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καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκποιοῦντες ἀνήλισκον, ὡςτε ἄλλῃ τῇ ἀποχωρεῖν.
Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν· οὐ δὲ ένεκα ὁ λόγος ὁμοίθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδός.

III

1. Κύρος γὰρ μέχρι μὲν δώδεκα ἐτῶν ἡ ὀλγὴ πλείον ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλίκων διαφέρον ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μαυθάνειν ἃ δέοι καὶ εἰς τὸ καλὸς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἔκαστα ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάγης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς· ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἦκουν αὐτὸν καλὸν κἀγαθόν εἶναι. ἔρχεται δ' αὐτῇ τε ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κύρον τὸν νῦν ἔχουσα.

2. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα καὶ ἤγγοι ὁ Κύρος τὸν Ἀστυάγην τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα ὅντα, εὐθὺς οἷα δὴ παῖς φύσει φιλόστοργος δὲν ἡπάξετο τε αὐτῶν ὠσπερ ἄν εἰ τις πάλαι συντεθραμμένοι καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἀστάξετο, καὶ ὁρῶν δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένον καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῆ καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις, ἄ δὴ νόμιμα ἦν ἐν Μῆδοις. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Μηδικά ἐστι, καὶ οἱ πορφυροὶ χιτῶνες καὶ οἱ κάνδυες καὶ οἱ στρεπτοὶ οἱ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ καὶ τὰ ψέλια τὰ περὶ ταῖς χερσίν,

1 τὰ E, Edd.; 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,
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ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθήτες φαυλότεραι καὶ δίαιται εὐτελέστεραι· ὅρὼν δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν, ὦ μήτερ, ὡς καλὸς μοι ὁ πάππος. ἔρωτόσης δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὁ πατήρ ἡ ὁδός, ἀπεκρίνατο ἁρα ὁ Κύρος, ὦ μήτερ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μήδων μὲντοι ὁσὼν ἐώρακα ἔγω καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολὺ οὖντος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος.

3. Ἀντασπαζόμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτὸν καὶ στολήν καλῆν ἐνέδυσε καὶ στερπτοῖς καὶ ψελίοις ἐτίμα καὶ ἐκόσμη, καὶ εἰ ποι ἔξελαυνοι, ἐφ’ ἢππου χρυσοχαλίνου περῆγεν, ὡσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰώθει πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀτε παῖς δὲν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος ἤδετο τῇ στολῇ, καὶ ἵππεειν μανθάνων ὑπερέχαιρεν· ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἢππους καὶ ἵππεειν ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἢππον πάνυ στάντων ἦν.

4. Δειπνῶν δὲ δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, Βουλόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὡς ἤδιστα δειπνεῖν, ἵνα ἦττον τὰ οἰκαδε ποθοῦ, προσήχειν αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κύρον ἔφασαν λέγειν, ὦ πάππε, ὁσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, εἰ ἀναγκή σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάρα ταῦτα διατείνεικας χεῖρας καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τούτων τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων.

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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!"
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Τῇ δὲ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐ γὰρ πολὺ σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κάλλιον τόδε τὸ δείπνον τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις;

Τὸν δὲ Κύρον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνασθαι [λέγεται]. Οὐκ, ὡ πάππε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἡ ὁδὸς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπλησθήναι ἡ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ κρέα εἰς τοῦτο ἄγει, ὡμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν στεύδετε, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἐλυγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι μόλις ἀφικνείσθη ὁποῖς ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἢκομεν.

5. 'Αλλ', ὡ παῖ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα. γενόμενος δὲ καὶ σύ, ἔφη, γνώσει ὅτι ἡδέα ἔστιν.

'Αλλὰ καὶ σέ, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, ὁρῶ, ὡ πάππε, μυστατόμενον ταῦτα τὰ βρώματα.

Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἑπερέσθαι, Καὶ τίνι δὴ σὺ τεκμαίρομενος, ὡ παῖ, λέγεις;

Ὅτι σὲ, φάναι, ὁρῶ, ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἄψη, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χειρὰ ἀποφόμενον, ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινῶς θύγης, εὐθὺς ἀποκαθαίρει τὴν χειρὰ εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάνυ ἀχθόμενος ὅτι πλέα σοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο.

6. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν, Εἶ τοίνυν οὕτω γιγνώσκεις, ὡ παῖ, ἀλλὰ κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκας ἀπέλθης. ἃμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν καὶ θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἤμερων.

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον, εἰπεῖν ἐώρα πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν, Ἡ καὶ δίδωσ, φάναι, ὡ πάππε, πάντα

1 [λέγεται] Cobet, Edd.; λέγεται MSS.
2 θήρεια C², Edd.; θήρεια all other MSS.
“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
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taútā moi tā krēa ὃ τι ἄν βούλωμαι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι;

Νὴ Δία, φάναι, ὦ παῖ, ἔγωγέ σοι.

7. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον λαβόντα τῶν κρεών διαδίδοναι τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστῳ, Σοὶ μὲν τούτῳ ὅτι προθύμως με ἰππεύειν διδάσκεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἔδωκας· νῦν γὰρ τούτ' ἔχω· σοὶ δ' ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεύεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μοι τὴν μητέρα τιμᾶς· τοιαύτα ἔποιεί, ἔως δειδίδου πάντα ἄ ἔλαβε κρέα.

8. Σάκα δὲ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, ὅν ἔγω μάλιστα τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδως· ὃ δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλὸς τε ὅν ἐτύγχανε καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων προσάγειν τοὺς δεομένους Ἀστυάγους καὶ ἀποκωλύειν οὐδὲν καὶ καρδὸς αὐτῷ δοκοῖ εἶναι προσάγειν.

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἐπερέσθαι προπετῶς ὅσ ἄν παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσοι, Διὰ τί δὴ, ὦ πάππε, τούτων οὔτω τιμᾶς;

Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἶπεῖν, Οὐχ ὁρᾶς, φάναι, ὃς καλῶς οἰνοχοῖς καὶ εὐσχημόνως; οἱ δὲ τῶν βασιλεῶν τοὺτων οἰνοχοὶ κομψῶς τε οἰνοχοῦντο καὶ καθαρείως ἐγχέουσι καὶ διδόντως τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις ὀχύρνεις τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέροντι ὅσ ἄν ἐνυδοίεν τὸ ἐκπώμα εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν.

9. Κέλευσον δὴ, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ ἐκπώμα, ἢν κἀγὼ καλῶς σοι πιεῖν ἐγχέας ἀνακτήσωμαί σε, ἣν δύνωμαι.

1 τε γ, Edd.; γε 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."
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Καὶ τὸν κελεύσαι δοῦναι. λαβόντα δὲ τὸν Κύρον οὕτω μὲν δὴ εὐ κλύσαι τὸ ἑκτωμα ὅστερ τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα, οὕτω δὲ στήσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον σπουδαῖος καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐνδουνάι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ ὅστε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κύρον ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ φιλοῦντα ἀμα εἶπεῖν, ὩΣ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας· ἐκβαλὼ σε ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, φάναι, σοὺ κάλλιον οἶνοχοίσο καὶ οὐκ ἑκτίομαι αὐτὸς τὸν οἴνον.

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

10. Ἔκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἑπισκόπτων, Καὶ τὶ δὴ, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τάλλα μιμούμενος τὸν Σάκαν οὐκ ἀπερρόφησας τοῦ οἴνου;

"Οτι, ἔφη, νὴ Δία ἐδεδούκειν μὴ ἐν τῷ κρατήρι φάρμακα μεμυγμένα εἰ. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστίασας σὺ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς κατέμαθον φάρμακα ύμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγχέαντα.

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

"Οτι νὴ δ’ ώμᾶς ἑώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὃ ὀντε ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐποιεῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἀμα ἐκεκράγετε, ἐμαινθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἤδετε

1 ἐγχέοιειν yER; ἐκχέοιειν 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’ cup-bearers, 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, pray, 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
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dè kai mála geloióws, ornik ákroúmenoi dè tou ádoutos ommute aripta àdeiv légoun dè ekastos ýmoun tìn éantou bòmhn, epitèi ei anastaíthe orxhshomeunoi, mè ótpoi orxheishai en rúthmô, òlll' oui' orðoùshai edúnasthe. epitelleshè dè pantàpasè sù te òti basileus ëssthà, oì te allloi òti su árkhwn. tòte gar dé ëgoge kai pròton katèmahon òti tout' ár' ën òi isongorìa ò òmeis tout' époeite te suidèpote goun éswptâte.

11. Kal ò 'Asthnághis légèi, 'O dè sós pathýr, ò pai', pínon ou meðúskeita;
Où mu D', ëphh.
'Alll' pòs poiei;
"Dýshôn paûtei, alllo dè kakôn oudein pásthèi ou gar, oìmai, ò páppse, Sákaas aútw oìnochoe. Kal òr ìnthìr eípeí, 'Alll' tì pote su, ò pai, tò Sáka ouòw polèmei'is;
Tòn dè Kúròn eípeíein, "Oti nì Dìa, fànavi, miow aútòn pollákhis gar me pròs tòn páppon ëpithymoùnta proseðramein ou'tos ò miarótaton àppokolízèi. òlll' ikesteùw, fànavi, ò páppse, dòs mou treis ëmèras árxei aútòu.
Kal tòn 'Asthnághn eípeíein, Kal pòs òn òrxeis aútòu;
Kal tòn Kúròn fànavi, Stàs òn òsper ou'tos épi tì eiìsódh, epitèi òpote boúloito pariènai ép' aripton, légoum' òn òti ou'w dýnavon tòf árísthò éntuxhein spoudàzei gar pròs tìnas' eîth' òpote ëkoi épi tò deípnon, légoum' òn òti 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
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λούται. εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζοι φαγεῖν, εἴποιμ' ἀν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναικῶν ἔστιν ἐς ὅσα παρατεῖναι τοῦτον ὁσπερ οὗτος ἔμε παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων.

12. Τοσάντας μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίας παρέχειν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τὰς δ’ ἡμέρας, εἰ τινὸς αἰσθάνοιτο δεόμενον ἢ τὸν πᾶππον ἢ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφόν, χαλεπῶν ἢν ἄλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα ὁ τι γὰρ δύνατο ὁ Κύρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαρίζομενος.

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Μαυδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀποιύσα πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδείχτο αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀστυάγης καταλυτεῖν τὸν Κύρον. ἢ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁτι βούλιοτο μὲν ἅπαντα τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἀκούτα μέντοι τὸν παῖδα χαλεπῶν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλυτεῖν.

14. Ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, ᾿Ω παῖ, ἢν μένης παρ’ ἐμοί, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ’ ἐμὲ εἰσάγων σοι οὐ σάκας ἄρξει, ἀλλ’ ὁπόταν βούλη εἰσιέναι ὡς ἐμὲ, ἐπὶ σοι ἑσταί καὶ χάριν σοι εἰσομαι ὡσ ἀν πλεονάκις εἰσίης ὡς ἐμὲ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἵπποις τοὺς ἐμοῖς χρῆσε καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπότοις ἄν βούλη, καὶ ὁπόταν ἀπίης, ἔχων ἀπει οὐς ἄν αὐτὸς ἐθέλης. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν ὁποίαν βούλει ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι. ἔπειτα τὰ τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδέσιον θηρία δίδωμί σοι καὶ ἄλλα παντοκράτα συλλέξω, ἀ σὺ ἐπείδαν τἄχιστα ἱππεύειν μάθης, διώξει, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων καταβαλεῖς ὃσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ παῖδας δὲ σοι ἐγὼ συμπαῖστορας παρέξω, καὶ ἄλλα ὁπότα ἄν βούλη λέγων πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄτυχήσεις.

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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.”
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15. Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐίπεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διηρώτα τὸν Κύρον πότερον βοῦλοιτο μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ ἐίπεν ὅτι μένειν βοῦλοιτο. ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὕπο τῆς μητρὸς διὰ τὶ εἴπειν λέγεται, "Οτι οἰκοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὃ μήτερ, καὶ ἀκοντίζων καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι ἰππεύων ἥττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ τοῦτο εὑ ἵσθι, ὃ μήτερ, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐμὲ πάνω ἄνια. ἦν δὲ με καταλιπθῆς ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἰππεύον, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὃ, σὺμαι σοι ἐκείνους τούς ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πεζικὰ ράδιως νικήσειν, ὅταν δ' εἰς Μήδους ἔλθω, ἐνθάδε πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἀγαθῶν ἰππεῶν κράτιστος δὲν ἰππεὺς συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ.

16. Τὴν δὲ μήτερα εἴπειν, Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὃ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσει ἐνθάδε ἐκεῖ ὅντων σοι τῶν διδάσκαλων;

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον φάναι, 'Αλλ', ὃ μήτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα γε οἶδα.

Πῶς σὺ οἶσθα; τὴν Μανδάνην εἴπειν.

"Οτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλός με ὅς ἦδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοῖνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μα' ποτε δίκη πληγας ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικάσας.

17. ἦν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαύτη. παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν τὸν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἡμφύεσε, τὸν δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδυ. ἐγὼ οὖν τούτως δικάζων ἐγρων βέλτιον εἶναι ἄμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
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,
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με ἐπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὁτι ὅποτε μὲν τὸν ἀρμότοντος εἰην κρετῆς, οὐτω δέοι ποιεῖν, ὅποτε δὲ κρίναι δέοι ποτέρου ὁ χιτών εἰη, τούτ', ἔφη, σκεπτέον εἶναι τὸ κτῆσις δικαία ἐστί, πότερα τὸν βία ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸν ποιη-
σάμενον ἢ πράμενον κεκτήσαται ἐπειδ' ὧ', ἔφη,
tὸ μὲν νόμομον δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνομον
βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν ἀεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν
τὴν ψήφου τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ μήτερ,
tά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἢδη ἀκριβῶς ἢν δέ
τι ἄρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἔφη, οὕτως
ἐπειδιδάξει.

18. Ἄλλ' οὐ ταυτά, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, παρὰ τῷ
πάππῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὕτως
μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδους πάντων ἕαυτόν δεισπότην
πεποίηκεν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν δίκαιον
νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πρῶτος τὰ τεταγ-
μένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει, τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ
λαμβάνει, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ ἄλλ' ὁ
νόμος ἐστίν. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολεῖ μαστυγούμενον,
ἐπειδὰν οἴκοι ἦσ, ἀν παρὰ τοῦτον μαθὼν ἢκης
ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τυραννικόν, ἐν δ' ἐστι
τὸ πλείον οὐσθαὶ χρήναι πάντων ἔχειν.

Ἄλλ' ὁ γε σὸς πατήρ, εἴπεν ὁ Κύρος, δεινό-
τερός ἐστιν, ὦ μήτερ, διδάσκειν μείον ἢ πλείον
ἔχειν: ὥσ τῇ ὀρᾶς, ἔφη, ὧτι καὶ Μήδους ἀπαντάς
dεδίδαχεν αὐτοῦ μείον ἔχειν; ὡστε θάρρει, ὡς

1 λέξας zER; λέγων yC².
2 ὁ σὸς πατὴρ πρῶτος Schneider, Hug; ὁ πρῶτος πατήρ C; ὁ
σὸς πρῶτος πατήρ yzER, Marchant; πρῶτος ὁ σὸς πατήρ Gemoll.
3 ἦς Heindorf; ἦς or εἴς MSS.
4 ἡ οὐχ . . . ἔχειν 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,
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ὁ γε σος πατήρ οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποπέμψει.

IV

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κῦρος· τέλος δὲ ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμενε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτρεφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις συνεκέκρατο ὡστε οἰκείως διακείσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρτητο, προσίων καὶ ἔνδηλος ὡς ὁ ἂσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς νεῖς, ὡστε εἰ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιτο, τοὺς παῖδας ἔκελευν τοῦ Κῦρου δείσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσω, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὁ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι. 2. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὁ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κῦρος οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντέχειν μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἁσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέποτε ἀπέλευτε τὸν πάππον οὐδὲ κλαῖων ποτὲ ἔπαινε, ἀλλὰ δήλος ἦν πᾶσιν ὃτι ἀπερεφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰ τίνος δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ἦσθανε τὸ Κῦρος καὶ πάντων ἀοικιστά τοί ἄνεπιδα ὑπηρετήσων ὃ τι οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

3. Καὶ ὃν μὲν ἢςως πολυλογώτερος, ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, ὃτι ἦμαγκάζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ διδόναι λόγον ὅν ἐποίει καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ’ ἄλλων, ὃποτε δικάζω ς, ἤτι δὲ καὶ διὰ

1 πολυλογώτερος xER; π. ἡ παιδίσκος ἢτι ἄνηβος ὅν ὑ. 44
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
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tὸ φιλομαθῆς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρότα πῶς ἔχοντα τυχάνοι, καὶ ὁσα αὐτὸς ύπ᾽ ἄλλων ἔρωτάτο, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνους εἶναι ταχύ ἀπεκρίνετο, ὡστ' ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' ὃσπερ γὰρ ἐν σώματι, ὅσοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβουν, ὄμως ἐμφαίνεται τὸ νεαρὸν αὐτοὶς δι' ἔκαθρον 

4. Ἡμᾶς δὲ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὄραν τοῦ πρόσημον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους μανοτέρους ἔχρητο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡ συναίσθησι, αἴδοις δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὡστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι ὅπως συνυπάρχον τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τὸ σκυλακῶδες τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσπίπτειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως προπετεῖ 1 εἰχέν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ συναίσθησις μὲν ἦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις πάμπαν ἐπίχαρις. καὶ γὰρ ὁσα δια-

1 προπετές xAH; προπετᾶσος yG; [προπετές] Cobet, Hug.
2 ἐξήρχε yR; ταύτα ἐξήρχε χχ, 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
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πων οὗτω πάνυ ἔποχος ὄν, ἵππωμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἔφ’ ἑαυτῇ μάλιστα ἐγέλα.

5. Ὅσο δ’ οὐκ ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν δ’ ἡττάτο, ἀλλ’ ἐκαλυπτεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειρᾶσθαι αὐθίς βέλτιων ποιεῖν, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἓσον ἀφίκετο τῇ ἱππικῇ τοῖς ἥλιοι, ταχὺ δὲ παρῆι διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν τοῦ ἔργου, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἀνηλάκει διώκων καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαίνων, ὡστε ὁ 'Αστυάγης οὐκέτ’ εἴχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν θηρία. καὶ ὁ Κύρος αἰσθώμενος ὅτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύνατό οἱ ξύντα πολλὰ παρέχειν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ὁ πάππε, τί σε δεὶ θηρία ξητούντα πράγματ’ ἔχειν; ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἐκπέμπῃς ἐπὶ θήραν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομιῶ ὅσα ἃν ἴδω θηρία, ἐμοὶ ταῦτα τρέφεσθαι. 6. ἐπιθυμών δὲ σφόδρα ἔξεναν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως λιπαρεῖν ἐδύνατο ὅσπερ παῖς ὄν, ἀλλ’ ὁκνηρότερον προσήκε. καὶ ἃ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκα ἐμέμφετο ὅτι οὐ παρεῖ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πάππον, αὐτὸς ἢδη Σάκας ἑαυτῷ ἐγίγνετο· οὐ γὰρ προσήκε, εἰ μὴ ἴδοι εἰ καιρὸς εἰη, καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδεῖτο πάντως σημαινεῖν αὐτῷ ὅποτε ἐγχωροῖν [καὶ ὅποτε καιρὸς εἰη]. ὡστε ὁ Σάκας ὑπερεβίλει ἦδη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

7. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἔγινον ὁ Ἡστυάγης σφόδρα αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἔξω θηρᾶν, ἐκπέμπει αὐτῶν σὺν τῷ θείῳ καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ’ ἐπιτών

1 καὶ . . . εἰη bracketed by Zeune, Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.

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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
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πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωρίων φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ τῶν ἄγριων τι φανεῖη θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κύρος τῶν ἐπομένων προθύμως ἐπυνθάνετο ποίοις οὐ χρή θηρίως πελάξειν καὶ ποιὰ χρή θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἐλεγοῦν ὅτι ἀρκετοὶ τε πόλλοις ἦδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν καὶ κἀπροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ δὲ ἐλαφοὶ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἰες καὶ οἱ ὅνοι οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινείς εἰσίν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἢττον ἢ τὰ θηρία: πόλλοις γὰρ ἦδη αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἢπποις κατακρημνισθήναι.

8. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πάντα ταύτα ἐμάνθανε προθύμως· ὃς δὲ εἶδεν ἐλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὃν ἦκουσεν ἔδωκεν οὐδὲν ἀλλο ὄρων ἢ ὅπῃ ἔφευγε. καὶ πως διαπῆδων αὐτῷ ὁ ἢππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κάκεινον ἔκτραχήλισεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κύρος μόλις πως, καὶ ὁ ἢππος ἐξανέστη. ὅς δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἐλαφον, καλὸν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤ ὑπερέχαρεν οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσελάσαντες ἑλιοδόροιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγον ἕως ὅπως κύνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἔφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ οὖν Κύρος εἰσῆκε καταβεβήκος, καὶ ἀκούν ταύτα ἑνίατο. ὅς δὲ ἠφανεῖ κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἔπε τὸν ἢππον ὡσπερ ἐνθουσίων, καὶ ὅς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνίσου κάπρου προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἔλαυνε καὶ διατεινάμενος εὐστόχιος βάλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε τὸν καπρον.

1 καὶ ἔλεγον bracketed by Cobet, Hug, Marchant.
2 εὐστόχιος yR; εὐτυχώς (successfully) xz.
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.
9. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ήδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοι- 
δορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὄρων. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ λοιδο-
ρουμένου ὁμως ἐδείτο ὅσα αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα ἔ-
άσαι εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ 
θείον εἰπεῖν φασιν, Ἀλλ' ἦν αἰσθηται ὅτι ἐδίωκες, 
οὐ σοι μόνον λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ, ὅτι 
σε εἰων.

Καὶ ἦν βούληται, φάναι αὐτῶν, μαστυγωσάτω, 
ἐπειδὰν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σὺγε, ὃ τι βούλει,1 
ἐφη, ὃ θείε, τιμωρησάμενος ταῦτα ὁμως χάρισαι 
μοι.

Καὶ ὁ Κυάρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἰπε, Ποιεί 
οπως βούλει· σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἑοικας βασιλεὺς 
εἶναι.

10. Ὢντω δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰσκομίσας τὰ θηρία ἔδίδοι 
τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτῶς ταύτα θηρά-
σειεν ἐκείνω. καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἐπεδέικνυ μὲν οὐ, 
κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματωμένα ὅπου φέτο τοῦ πάππου 
ὄψεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἴπεν, Ἀλλ', ο 
ταῖ, δεχόμαι μὲν ἐγώγε ἡδέως ὅσα σὺ δίδως, οὐ 
μέντοι δέομαι γε τούτων οὐδενός, ὥστε σε κιν-
δυνεύειν.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, Εἴ τοίνυν μὴ σὺ δέει, 
ἰκετεύω, ὃ πάππε, ἐμοὶ δὸς αὐτά, ὅπως τοῖς 
ἡλικιώταις ἐγὼ διαδῶ. 

Ἀλλ', ο παῖ, ἐφη ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα 
λαβῶν διαδίδου ὅτι τοῖς βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 
ὅπωσα ἔθελες.

11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβῶν ἔδίδοι τε ἄρας2 τοῖς

1 ὃ τι βούλει Hug, Marchant; ei βούλει MSS.; but yRO 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
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παισὶ καὶ ἃμα ἐλεγεν, Ὡς παῖδες, ὡς ἄρα ἐφλυνα-ρούμεν ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρώμεν· ὅμοιον ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ εἶναι οἷόν περ εἰ τὸς δεδεμένα ἥφα θηρία. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν, ἐπείτα λεπτὰ καὶ ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χωλὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβῶν τὰ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσὶ καὶ λειμώσει θηρία ὡς μὲν καλὰ, ὡς δὲ μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λυπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαφοι ὀσπερ πτηναὶ ἥλλοντο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ κάπροι ὀσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἄνδρείους ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ ἀμαρτεῖν οἶον τῇ ἄυτῶν καλλίω δὴ, ἐφη, ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ καὶ τεθυκότα εἶναι ταῦτα ἡ ξύντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιφκοδομήμενα. ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα ἂν, ἐφη, ἀφεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν;

Καὶ ῥαδίως γ᾽ ἂν, ἐφασαν, εἰ Ἀστυάγης κελεύοι.

12. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Τίς οὖν ἂν ἢμῖν Ἄ-στυάγης μυησθείη;

Τίς γὰρ ἂν, ἐφασαν, σοῦ γε ἰκανώτερος πεῖσαι;

᾽Αλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἐφη, ἔγω μὲν οὓς οἴδ᾽ ὅστις ἄνθρωπος γεγένημα· οὔδε γὰρ οἶος τ᾽ εἰμὶ λέγειν ἐγώγε οὕτῳ ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ ἱσοῦ ἐτὶ δύναμαι. ἢν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ, δὲ-δοικα, ἐφη, μὴ παντάπασι βλάξ τίς καὶ ἡλίθιος γένομαι· παιδάριον δ᾽ ἂν δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι.

Καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἶπον, Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πράγμα, εἰ μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἂν τι δὲ ἤρθη δυνήσει πράττειν,

1 τὸν Δία xzR: τὴν Ἡραν γ (the weakling swears by Hera).
2 δεινότατος Leonclavius, Εδδ.; 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
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άλλ' ἄλλου τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ ἁνάγκη ἔσται δείσθαι ἡμᾶς.

13. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐδήχθη, καὶ σιγὴ ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος έαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσῆλθεν, ἐπιβουλεύσας ὅπως ἄν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν ὅν ἐδέοντο. ἤρξατο οὖν ὡδε. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, οὐ πάππε, ἢ τις ἀποδρᾷ σε τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβησι αὐτὸν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσει;

Τι ἄλλο, ἐφη, ἢ δήσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω;

*Ην δὲ αὐτόματος πάλιν ἔλησ, πῶς ποιήσεις;

Τι δὲ, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ μαστιγώσας γε, ἵνα μὴ αὕτης τοῦτο ποιής, ἕξ ἄρχης χρήσομαι;

"Ωρα ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, σοι παρασκευάζεσθαι εἶ διὸ μαστιγώσεις με, ὅς βουλεύσομαι γε ὅπως σε ἀποδρῶ λαβῶν τοὺς ἴλικιώτας ἐπὶ θήραν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἐφη, ἐποίησας προευπτόν· ἐνυδθεν γάρ, ἐφη, ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίεν γάρ, ἐφη, εἰ ἑνέκα κρεᾶν ἓν θυγατρὶ τῶν παῖδα ἀποβουκολήσαιμι.

14. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐπείθετο μὲν καὶ ἐμενεν, ἁναρὸς δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπός ὄν σιωπη διήγεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἔγινο αὐτῶν λυπούμενον ἵσχυρῶς, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρὰς ἐξάγει

1 ἐπὶ σὲ ταῖς, Edd.; ἐπὶ σοι τὰς τὸν RC (in your power).
2 ἐμενεν F, Edd.; ἐμενεν all MSS. except F.

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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
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ἐπὶ θῆραν, καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἵππεας
συναλίσας καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ
ἵππασιμα χωρία τὰ θηρία ἑποίησε μεγάλην θῆραν.
καὶ βασιλικῶς δὴ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα
βάλλειν, πρὸν Κύρος ἐμπλησθείς θηρῶν. ὁ δὲ
Κύρος οὖν εἰς καλύειν, ἀλλ’, Ἐι βούλει, ἔφη,
ὁ πάππε, ἥδεως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες τοὺς κατ’ ἐμὲ
πάντας διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως ἐκαστὸς
κράτιστα δύνατο.

15. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀφίησι, καὶ στὰς
ἐθέατο ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ ἕλονοικών-
tας καὶ διώκοντας καὶ ἀκοντιζοντας. καὶ Κύρω
ἡδεο ὡς δυναμένω σιγᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ’
ὡς τὰ σκύλακι γενναῖο ἀνακλάζοντι, ὅποτε πλη-
σιάζοι θηρίω, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὅνωμαστὶ ἐκαστὸν.
καὶ τοῦ μὲν καταγελώντα αὐτὸν ὅρων θυφραίνετο,
tὸν δὲ τινα καὶ ἔπαινοντα [αὐτὸν ἠσθάνετο] 1 ὅς
ὁπωστιοῦν φθονερῶς. τέλος δ’ οὖν πολλὰ θηρία
ἐχον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀπήει. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὦτως
ἡθη τῇ τότε θῆρα ὡστε ἀεὶ ὅποτε οἴνον τ’ εἰς
συνεξῇ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἀλλοὺς τις πολλοὺς παρε-
λάμβανε καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς, Κύρου ἐνεκα.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστον χρόνον ὦτω διήγειν ο
Κύρος, πᾶσιν ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς συναί-
tιος ὧν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενὸς. 2

16. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἡ ἐκκαΐδεκα ἔτη γενο-
μένου αὐτὸ ο νοὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως
gαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησθην αὐτὸς θηρᾶσαι εἰς
tοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀκούων οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις

1 αὐτὸν ἠσθάνετο MSS. ; bracketed by Herwerden, Edd.
2 οὐδενὸς xzR, Marchant ; οὐδενί y, Gemoll.
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
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tοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς Μῆδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀθήρευτα διὰ τῶν πόλεμον, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὡς εἴπον ἀσφαλῶς θηρφή, ἵππεας τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς, οὕτως ἐμελλὼν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελάνεις τὰ ἐργάσιμα τε καὶ εὐήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὡς ἴνα αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ, ἐνταῦθα ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο, ὡς πρὸ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θηράσῳ.

17. Ὡδὲ δὲ ἐσπέρασε γενομένη ἡ διαδοχὴ τῆς πρὸςθεν φυλακῆς ἔρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πολλὴ στρατιὰ παρεῖναι. δύο γὰρ ὁμοί δέχατο φυλακαί, πολλοῦς τε αὐτῶς ἴκεν ἔξων ἱππεῶς καὶ πεζούς. ἐβουλεύσατο δέν κράτιστον εἶναι λεηστήσαι ἐκ τῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ λαμπρότερόν τ' ἀν φανήτω τὸ ἔργον τῆς θῆρας καὶ ἱερείων ἀν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐνόμιζε γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ πρὸς ἀναστάσεις ἦν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέλυπεν ἄθροος ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱπποῖς προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μῆδων φρούρια, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ ἐνταῦθα κατέσχενεν, ὡς μὴ βοηθοῖν οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μῆδων ἐπὶ τοὺς καταθέουσας, τοὺς δ' ἐπιτη- δείους ἀφήκε κατὰ φυλάς ἄλλους ἀλλοσε κατα- θείνει, καὶ ἐκέλευεν περιβαλομένους ὅτι τοὺς ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλαύνειν πρὸς ἐαυτῶν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάυτα ἔπραττον. 18. σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυναγεὶ ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὅρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ

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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
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αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως σὺν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ἰππόταις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐσήμαινε πᾶσιν ἐκβοηθεῖν. ὥσδε εἴδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἕσυχαν ἔχοντας, ἔστησαν καὶ οἱ Μηδοὶ.

"Ο δὲ Κύρος ὅρων ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πασοῦδι, ἐκβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἐνδύσας, ὅπως οιόμενος ὅτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοὺς ἐξοπλίσασθαι, μᾶλα δὲ καλὰ ἢν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ δὲ ὁ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπεποίητο. ὅτως δὲ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσήλασε τῷ ἱππῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐθαύμασε μὲν τίνος κελεύσαντος ἥκοι, ὅμως δὲ εἰπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ' ἐαυτῶν.

19. "Ο δὲ Κύρος ὡς εἶδε πολλοὺς ἰππέας ἀντίους, ἤρετο, "Ἡ οὔτοι, ἔφη, ὁ πάππο, πολέμοι εἰσιν, οἱ ἐφεστήκασι τοῖς ἰπποῖς ἥρέμα ἐμένοι, μέντοι, ἔφη.

"Ἡ καὶ ἐκείνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες;

Κάκεινοι μέντοι.

Νη τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὁ πάππο, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηρῷ γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ ἰππαρίῳ ἀγωνίᾳ ἠμῶν τὰ χρήματα οὐκοῦν χρῆ ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἠμῶν ἔπ' αὐτούς.

"Αλλ' οὖχ ὅρας, ἔφη, ὁ παϊ, οὖσαν τὸ στῆφος τῶν ἰππέων ἔστηκε συντεταγμένον; οἱ δὲ ἦν ἐπ'
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
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εκεῖνος ἡμεῖς ἐλαύνωμεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἦμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι].1 ἡμῖν δὲ οὔπω ἢ ἱσχὺς πάρεστιν.

'Αλλ' ἦν σὺ μένης, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνης τοὺς προσβοβηθοῦντας, φοβήσονται οὕτωι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες εὐθὺς ἀφήσοσι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἵδωσι τινὰς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας.

20. Ταύτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐδοξέ τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυνάγει. καὶ ἁμα θαυμάζουν ὡς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγχηρόρει κελεύει τὸν νῦν λαβόντα τάξιν ἵππεων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν λείαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἦν ἐπὶ σὲ κινῶνται, ἐλῶ,2 ὡστε ἀναγκασθῆσονται ἡμῖν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κυαζάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵππων3 τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαινεί. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἶδεν ὀρμωμένους, ἕξορμα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἤγειτο ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης μέντοι ἐφείπτο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελεύστοι. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας οἱ λεηταϊόντες, εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἐφευγον. 21. οἱ δ' ἰμφὶ τὸν Κύρον ὑπετέμνοντο, καὶ οὐς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἔπαιον, πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κύρος, ὅσοι δὲ παραλλάξαντες αὐτῶν ἐφθασαν, κατοπιν τούτους ἐδίωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἄνισαν, ἀλλ' ἦρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν.

"Ωσπερ δὲ κύων γενναίος ἄπειρος ἀπρονοῆτως φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὔτω καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφέρετο,

1 ἐκεῖνοι MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe ; bracketed by Hug, Merchant ; ἐνθίνειGemoll.
2 ἐλῶ y, Edd.; ἐλῶσω xzR.
3 ἵππων F, Edd.; ἵππων xzDR.

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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 something 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 carrying 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 succeeded in getting past, and they did not give up but took some of them prisoners.

As a well-bred but untrained hound rushes recklessly upon a boar, so Cyrus rushed on, with regard
μόνον ὅρων τὸ παῖειν τὸν ἀλισκόμενον, ἄλλο δ' οὖν ἔνθεν προνοῶν.

Ω θέλεις ὃς ἐώρων πουνόντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προκινήσας τὸ στήριξ, ὃς παυσο-
μένους τῷ διωγμῷ, ἐπεί σφᾶς ἵδιοι προορμη-
σαντας. 22. ο δ' Κύρος οὖν ἔδειξεν μάλλον ἄνει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θείου
ἐδώκει καὶ ἱσχυρῶν τὴν φυγήν τοῖς πολέμιοις
κατέχων ἐποίησε, καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι ἐφείπη,το,
ἴσως καὶ αἰσχυνόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
dὲ εἴποντο, προδυμόστεροι ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς
τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίον
ἀλκμίοι ὄντες.

′Ο δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὃς ἐώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπρωνοίτως
dιώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολέμιοις ἀδρόσι τε καὶ
tεταγμένους υπαντώντας, δείσας περὶ τοῦ νιῶν
καὶ τοῦ Κύρου μὴ εἰς παρεσκευαζόμενος ἄτακτως
ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιεν τι, ἡγεῖτο εὑρίς πρὸς τοὺς
πολέμιους.

23. Οὶ δ' αὖ πολέμιοι ὃς εἰδὼν τοὺς Μήδοὺς
προκινηθέντας, διατεινάμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ πάλτα
οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς
tόξευμα ἀφίκοντο, στηθομένους, ὡσπερ τὰ πλεί-
στα εἰσόδεσαν ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσοῦτοι, ὅποτε
ἐγνυτάτα γένοιτο, προσήλαυνον ἀλλήλους καὶ
ἡκροβιλίζοντο πολλάκις μέχρι ἑσπέρας. ἐπεὶ
δὲ εἰώρων τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους φυγή εἰς ἔαντος
φερομένους, τοὺς δ' ἁμφὶ τὸν Κύρον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
ὀμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάγην σὺν τοῖς ἰπποῖς

1 ἄνει, y, Edd. ; ἄνεις xzR.
2 ὡς αὖ, ἐπειδὴ Hug ; ὡς δὴ, ἐπειδὴ Marchant, Gemoll ; ὡς ἄν
ἐπειδὴ yRC2 ; ἀλλ' ζζ.

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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
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ἐντὸς γυγνόμενον ἡδη τοξεύματος, ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ
φεύγουσιν ὁμόθεν διώκοντας ἀνὰ κράτος.

"Ἡρώου δὲ πολλοὺς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλισκομένους
ἐπαινοῦν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνδρὰς, τοὺς δὲ πόττοντας
κατέκαινον· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐστησάν πρὶν 1 πρὸς
toῖς πεζῶι τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐγένοντο. ἐνταύθα
μέντοι δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μεῖζων ὑπείη,
ἐπέσχον.

24. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀνήγγειν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαὶ-
ρων καὶ τῇ ἴπποκρατίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Κύρου οὐκ ἔχων ἡ
tι χρή λέγειν, αἵτινες μὲν οὔτα εἰδὼς τοῦ ἔργου,
μανύμενον δὲ ἴγυνώσκων τῇ τόλμῃ. καὶ γὰρ τότε
ἀπιόντων οὐκάδε μοῦς τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνους οὐθὲν
ἄλλο ἡ τοὺς πεπτωκότας περιελαύνων ἑθεάτω, καὶ
μόλις αὐτῶν ἀφελκύσαντες οἱ ἔπι τούτῳ ταχθέντες
προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ, μάλα ἐπὶ προσθεθήναι
πουούμενον τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὡς ἐωρα τὸ πρόσ-
ωπον τοῦ πάππου ἀγριωμένον ἐπὶ τῇ θέα τῇ
αὐτοῦ.

25. Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μήδος ταῦτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οἱ τε
ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Κύρου διὰ στόματος εἶχον καὶ ἐν
λόγῳ καὶ ἐν φῶς, ο τῇ Ἀστυάγῃς καὶ πρόσθεν
tιμῶν αὐτὸν τότε ὑπερεξεπέπληκτο ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ.
Καμβύσης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατὴρ ἦδετο μὲν πυν-
θανόμενος ταῦτα, ἔπει δ᾽ ἦκουσεν ἔργα ἀνδρῶς ἡδή
diaχειριζόμενον τὸν Κύρον, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὡς τὰ
ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρια ἐπιτελοῖ. καὶ ὁ Κύρος δὲ
ἐνταύθα λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπείνα ὑβούλοιτο, μὴ
ὁ πατήρ τι ἄχθαιτο καὶ ἡ πόλης μέμφοιτο. καὶ τῷ

1 πρὶν Dindorf, Hug; πρὶν ἡ MSS., Gemoll, Marchant,
Breitenbach, et al.

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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
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

'Αστυνάγει δὲ ἔδοκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποπέμπειν αὐτῶν.

'Ενθα δὴ ἵππους τε αὐτῷ δοῦσι οὐς αὐτὸς ἑπεθύμει λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα συσκευάσας πολλὰ ἔπεμπε καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα ἔσεσθαι ἵκανον καὶ φίλους ὕφελεῖν καὶ ἔχθρους ἀνιὰν. ἀπιόντα δὲ τὸν Κύρου προύπεμπον ἀπαντες καὶ παῖδες [καὶ ἰδικεῖς] ¹ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γέροντες ἐφ' ἦππων καὶ 'Αστυνάγης αὐτὸς, καὶ οὐδένα ἐφασαν ὅτιν' οὐ διακρύνοντ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι. 26. καὶ Κύρον δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις ἀποχωρήσας. πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα διαδοῦναι φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις διὶ 'Αστυνάγης αὐτῷ ἑδεδωκεῖ, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἦν εἴχε στολὴν τῇ Μήδικην ἐκδύντα δούναι των [δῆλον ὅτι τούτῳ] ὅν ² μάλιστα ἴσταξετο. τοὺς μέντοι λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα λέγεται 'Αστυνάγει ἀπενεγκεῖν, 'Αστυνάγην δὲ δεξάμενον Κύρο ἀποστέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀποπέμψαι εἰς Μήδους καὶ εἴπειν, Εἴ βούλει, ὦ πάππε, ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἴναι ὅσ' ἐπὶ μη αἰσχυνομενον, ἐὰν ἔχειν εἴ τό τι ἐγὼ δέδωκα. 'Αστυνάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ποίησαι ὅσπερ Κύρος ἐπέστειλεν.

27. Εἴ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παιδικοῦ λόγου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται, ὦτε Κύρος ἀπῆγα καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ' ἄλληλων, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας τῷ στόματι ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτὸν νόμον Περσικῷ καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι: ἄνδρα δὲ τινὰ τῶν

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
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΗΣ

Μήδεν μάλα καλδυ κάγαθον ὅντα ἐκπεπλήχθαι 
πολυν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, 
ημίκα δὲ ἐώρα τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλούντας αὐτόν, 
ὑπολευφήμιναί ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελ-
θεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἐμὲ μόνον οὐ γιγνῶ-
σκεῖς τῶν συγγενῶν, ὦ Κύρε;

Τί δὲ, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, ἥ καὶ σὺ συγγενῆς εἰ;
Μάλιστα, φάναι.

Ταύτ’ ἀρα, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κύρον, καὶ ἐνεώρας 1 
μοι πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε γιγνώσκειν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα.
Προσελθεῖν γὰρ σοι, ἐφη, ἀεὶ βουλόμενος ναὶ 
μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἱσχυνόμην.

'Αλλ’ οὐκ ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κύρον, συγγενῆ γε
ὅντα· ἀμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλήσαι αὐτόν.

28. Καὶ τὸν Μήδου φιληθέντα ἐρέσθαι, Ἡ καὶ 
ἐν Πέρσας νόμος ἐστὶν οὕτως συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν;
Μάλιστα, φάναι, οταν γε ἵδωσιν ἄλληλους διὰ 
χρόνον ἥ ἀπίσωσι ποι ἀπ’ ἄλληλων.

"Ωρα ἄν εἴη, ἐφη ὁ Μήδος, μάλα πάλιν σε 
φιλεῖν ἐμὲ· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἢδη.

Οὕτω καὶ τὸν Κύρον φιλήσαντα πάλιν ἀπο-
πέμπειν καὶ ἀπίέναι. καὶ ὁδὸν τε οὕτω πολλὴν 
διηνύσθαι 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Μήδου ἥκειν πάλιν

1 ἐνεώρας y, Edd.; ἑνοφᾶς xzR.
2 διηνύσθαι R, Edd.; διερύσθαι xz; διεληλύσθαι y.
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
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идроюти тφ ἵππως καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἴδόντα, Ἀλλ’, ἂν, φάναι, ἐπελάθου τι ὑν ἐβούλου εἰπεῖν;
Μὰ Δία, φάναι, ἂλλ’ ἦκω διὰ χρόνου.
Καὶ τὸν Κύρον εἰπεῖν, Νὴ Δέ, ὡ σύγγενεσ, δὴ ὄλγου γε.
Ποίου ὄλγου; εἰπεῖν τὸν Μήδουν. οὐκ ὁσθα, φάναι, ὡ Κῦρε, ὅτι καὶ ὅσον σκαρδαμύττω χρόνου, πάνυ πολὺς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐχ ὅρῳ σε τότε τοιοῦτον ὄντα;
Ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κύρον γελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν δακρύων καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἀπίστου, ὅτι παρέσται αὐτοῖς ὄλγου χρόνου, ὡστε ὀρᾶν ἐξέσται κἂν βούληται ἀσκαρδαμυκτὲ.

V

1. Ὡ μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὕτως ἀπελθὼν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐμιαυτὸν λέγεται ἐν τοῖς παισὶν ἔτι γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁι παιδεὶς ἐσκωπτὼν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδυμαθεῖν ἐν Μήδουσ μεμαθηκὼς ἦκον ἐπεί δὲ καὶ ἐσθίοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων ὅσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠδέως καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἰ ποτ’ ἐν ἑορτῇ εὐωχίᾳ γένοιτο, ἐπιδιόντα μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέρους ἵσθάνοντο ἢ προσδέομενον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ τᾶλλα κρατιστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων ἑαυτῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησον αὐτῷ οἱ ἔμικες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην ἥδη εἰσήλθεν 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
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κρατιστεύειν καὶ μελετῶν  ἄ χρήν ¹ καὶ καρτερῶν καὶ αἰδοῦμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς ἀρχουσι.

2. Προὐόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μῆδοις ἀποθνῄσκει, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφός, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τὴν Μῆδων.

Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατεστραμμένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φύλων πάμπολυ, ὑπήκοον δὲ πεποιημένος τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόοις δὲ ἔχων ἥδη καὶ Ἰρκανίων, πολιορκῶν δὲ καὶ Βακτρίων, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μῆδους ἀσθενεῖς ποιήσει, πάντων γε τῶν πέριξ βασίλεως ἀρξεῖν ἵσχυρότατον γάρ τῶν ἐγγύων φύλων τοῦτο ἐδόκει εἶναι. 3. οὕτω δὴ διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καππαδοκῶν καὶ πρὸς Φρύγας ἀμφότεροι καὶ πρὸς Παφλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ πρὸς Κάρας καὶ Κύκλας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλον τοὺς Μῆδους καὶ Πέρσας, λέγων ὡς μεγάλα τ’ εἴη ταῦτα ἔθνη καὶ ἵσχυρα καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταὐτό, καὶ ἐπιγαμίας ἀλλήλοις πεποιημένοι εἶν, καὶ κινδυνεύοις, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτῶς φθάσας ἀσθενώσοι, ἐπὶ ἐν ἑκατόν τῶν ἔθνων ἱόντες καταστρέψασθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις πειθόμενοι συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δώρους καὶ χρήματι ἀναπειθόμενοι πολλὰ γάρ καὶ τοιαύτα ἢν αὐτῷ.

4. Κυαξάρης δὲ [ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγους παῖς] ² ἐπει ἡσθάνετο τὴν τ’ ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν

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¹ χρήν Zeune, Edd.; χρῆ MSS.
² δ… τοῖς MSS., Dindorf; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach, et al.

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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.
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tῶν συμμετέχον ἐφ' ἐαυτόν, οὗτος γε τεύχεως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο καὶ Εἰς Πέρσας ἐπεμπεῖ πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβώσην τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις. ἐπεμπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κύρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι ἀρχοντὰ ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τινὰς πέμποι στρατιώτας τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ οὗ Κύρος διατετελέσθως τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δεκά ἔτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἦν.

5. Οὗτο δὴ δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου οἱ Βουλεύοντες γεραίτεροι αἱροῦνται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς εἰς Μῆδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσελέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὀμοτίμων, τῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ἄνω ἀρίθμησιν ἐκατότερον τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ὀμοτίμων γίγνονται μὲν δὴ οὕτω χίλιοι. τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ χίλιων τούτων ἐκατότερον ἔταξαν ἐκ τοῦ δῆμου τῶν Περσῶν δεκά μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ σφενδονητὰς, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἔγενοντο μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταὶ, μύριοι δὲ σφενδονηταῖς· χωρὶς δὲ τούτοις οἱ χίλιοι ἐπήρχον. τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρεθ γράμμα, ἔρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· καλλιεργήσαμεν δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσειλοότοι καὶ οὕτως δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας ἔκαστοι, συνέλεξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε·

7. 'Ανδρεὶς φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην1 μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ' ἐκ παιδῶν ὁρῶν

1 προσειλόμην yR, Hug; προσειλόμην zx, 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 peers¹ 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*, s.v.
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ιμάς ἄ μὲν καλὰ ἢ πόλις νομίζει, προθύμως ταῦτα ἐκπονοῦντας, ἀδεὶς οὖν ἦγεῖται, παντελῶς τούτων ἀπεχομένους. ὅτι δὲ ἑνεκα αὐτὸς τε οὗκ ἄκων εἰς τὸ ἔτος κατέστην καὶ ἴμας παρεκάλεσα δηλώσαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι.

8. Ἐγὼ γὰρ κατενόησα ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι χείρονος μὲν ἦμῶν οὐδὲν ἐγένοντο, ἀσκοῦντες γοῦν κάκεινοι διετέλεσαν ἀπερ ἐργα ἀρετῆς νομίζεται, ὅ τι μέντοι προσεκτήσατο τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἢ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν κοινῷ ἀγαθῶν ἢ αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο οὐκέτι δύναμαι ἰδεῖν. 9. καὶ τοῖς οὐ εἰμι οὐδεμιαν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ὡς μηδὲν πλεῖον ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐσθλοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ γὰρ τῶν παρατικά ἡδονῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ ἦν μηδέποτε ἐυφρανθῶσι, τούτο πράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὐφρανούμενοι οὕτω παρασκευάζονται οἱ τε λέγειν προθυμοῦμεν δεινὸν γενέσθαι οὐχ ἦν εἰ λέγοντες μηδέποτε παύσωσιν, τούτο μελετώσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες τῷ λέγειν εἰ τείθοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ διαπράξεσθαι. οἱ τε αὖ τὰ πολεμικά ἀσκοῦντες οὐχ ὡς μαχόμενοι μηδέποτε παύσωσιν, τοῦτο ἐκπονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζομεν καὶ οὕτω τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι πολύν μὲν ὄλβον, πολλὴν δὲ εὑδαιμονιὰν, μεγάλας δὲ τιμᾶς καὶ ἐαυτοῖς καὶ πολεῖ περιάψειν.

10. Εἰ δέ τινες ταῦτα ἐκπονήσαντες πρὶν τινα καρπῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι περιείδουν αὐτοῖς γῇρα ἀδυνάτους γενομένους, οὐμοιον ἐμοίγε δοκοῦσι

1 διαπράξεσθαι my2q2R2, Edd.; διαπράξεσθαι xyzR.
2 οἱ τε αὖ m y, Edd.; καὶ οἱ ταῦτα xzR.

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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
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πεπονθέναι οίνον εἰ τις γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμήθεις γενέσθαι καὶ εὐ σπείρων καὶ εὐ φυτεύων, ὡπότε καρποῦσθαι ταύτα δέοι, ἐφὴ τῶν καρπῶν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἰ τίς γε ἀσκητὴς πολλαὶ πονήσας καὶ ἀξιόνικος γενόμενος ἀναγώνιστος διατελέσειν, οὐδέ ἂν οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ δικαιῶς ἀναίτιος εἶναι ἄφροσύνης. 11. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὡς άνδρες, μὴ πάθωμεν ταύτα, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ παιδῶν ἀρξάμενοι ἀσκηταὶ ὄντες τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ἦμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὕς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ἰδιώτας ὄντας ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ποι οὗτοι ἰκανοὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνισταὶ, οἱ ἂν τοξεύωσι καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι καὶ ἰππεύωσιν ἐπιστημόνως, ἢν δὲ ποι πονῆσαι δέῃ, τούτῳ λείπονται, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἰδιώται εἰσὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόνους· οὐδὲ γε οὕτως ἀγρυπνῆσαι δέουν ἦττῶνται τούτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιώται κατὰ τὸν ἔπινον· οὐδὲ γε οἱ ταύτα μὲν ἰκανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὡς χρή καὶ συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι δήλου ὡς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν.

12. 'Τιμεῖς δὲ νυκτὶ μὲν δήποτε ὀσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέρᾳ δύνασθ' ἂν ἐν ἱρήσθαι, πόνους δὲ τοῦ ἕτων ἠδέως ἠγεμόνας νομίζετε, λιμῷ δὲ ὀσαπερ ὦφω διαχρῆσθε, ὑδροποσίαν δὲ ρᾶον τῶν λεόντων φέρετε, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατον

1 δύνασθ' ἂν xzR, Edd.; δύνασθε m y (you can).
CYROPAEDIA, I. v. 10–12

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
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κτήμα εἰς τὰς ψυχάς συγκεκόμισθεν ἐπανούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοισ ἀπασι χαίρετε. τοὺς δ’ ἐπαίνου ἑραστὰς ἀνάγκη ¹ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ἡδεός ὑποδύεσθαι. ²

13. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ ύμῶν ἄλλη γη-γνώσκων, ἐμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. ὃ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβηθοῦσιν παρ’ ύμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλείπουν ἡξει. ἄλλα πιστεύω τοι τῇ πείρᾳ καὶ τῇ ύμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοία καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσεσθε με ταῦτα τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐπιλίδας. ἄλλα θαρροῦντες ὅρ-μόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν γεγένηται τὸ δόξαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδίκως ἐφίεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἔρχονται μὲν οἱ πολέμοι ἀρχοντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρους οἱ φίλοι τί σοι ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ ἀλέξασθαι δικαιότερον ἢ τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρήγεις κάλλιον;

14. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεινο ολμαί ύμᾶς θαρρεῖν, τὸ μὴ παρημεληκότα με τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ποιεῖ-σθαι: πολλὰ γὰρ μοι συνόντες ἐπίστασθε οὐ μόνον τὰ μεγάλα ἄλλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πειρώμενον ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὀρμάσθαι.

Τέλος εἰπε, Τί δεὶ ἔτι λέγειν; ἀλλ’ ύμεις μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ ἄλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ὑτε εἰς Μήδους· ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπανελ-θὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δή, ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς τάχιστα μαθῶν ολά ἐστι παρασκευά-

¹ After ἀνάγκη AEGH² add κτάσθαι τὰ αἰτία.
² ὑποδύεσθαι xyR; ὑποδύεσθαι z and e (above the line); ἀνάγκη κτάσθαι τὰ αἰτία. διὰ τοῦτο... ὑποδύεσθε Dindorf.
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
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ξωμαί ὦ τι ἄν δεώμαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζόμεθα.
Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπραττοῦν.

VI

1. Κύρος δὲ ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε καὶ προσευξάμενος Ἑστὶ πατρῷ καὶ Διὶ πατρῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὁμᾶτο ἔπι τὴν στρατείαν, συμπρούμεπτε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἔπει δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἰσιοὶ γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐτὶ οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα 1 τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα. 2. προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ πατήρ ἥρχετο λόγου τουλάχιστον.

'Ω παῖ, διὶ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἵλεφ τε καὶ εἴμενεῖς πέμπουσί τε καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς δῆλον καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημεῖοι γνυνόσκεις δὲ καὶ αὐτός. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ταῦτα ἐπίτηδες ἐδιδάξαμην, ὅπως μὴ δι᾽ ἄλλων ἐρμηνεύων τὰς τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίας συνειδής, 2 ἂλλ’ αὐτὸς καὶ ὅρων τὰ ὀρατα καὶ ἀκούων τὰ ἀκουστὰ γνωρίσκεις καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μάντεσιν εἰθα, εἰ βούλωντο σε ἐξαπατᾶν ἐτερα λέγοντες ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα, μηδ’ αὕ, εἰ ποτὲ ἄρα ἄνεν μάντεως

1 οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα GR, Marchant, Breitenbach; οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα ΧΑΗ (no one would fail to see); οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἴσιον D (for ΛΥΣΑΝΤΑ); οὐδένα λύσαντα Dindorf; οὐδὲν αἴσιο σημαίνει Gemoll (no one would fail to understand).
2 συνειδής Pantazides, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; συν(e)ίδης MSS., Dindorf, et al.
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 convic-
tion 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 inter-
preters, 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
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γενοιο, ἀποροθο θείοις σημείοις ὅ τι χρώο, ἄλλα γυμνώσκων διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλευόμενα, τούτοις πείθου.

3. Καλ μὲν δή, ὦ πάτερ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς ἂν ὄλεφ οἱ θεοὶ ὄντες ἦμιν συμβουλευόντι έθέλωσιν, ὅσον δύναμι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελῶ ἐπι-μελόμενος. μέμνημαι γάρ, ἔφη, ἀκούσας ποτέ σοι ὅτι εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν πρακτικότερος εἰη δισπερ καὶ παρ’ ἄνθρωπων ὅστις μή ὅποτε ἐν ἄπόρους εἰη, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ’ ὅτε τὰ ἀριστα πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνήμονε καὶ τῶν φίλων ὃ ἐφησα θαρίσαι ὁσαῦτως οὗτος ἐπιμελέσθαι.

4. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, διὰ γ’ ἐκεῖνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ὣδιον μὲν ἔρχει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεσπόμενος, ἐλπίζεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεῦξεσθαι ὅτι ἄν δεῖ, ὅτι συνειδέναι σαυτῷ δοκεῖς οὐκ᾽ ἀμελήσας αὐτῶν;

Πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς πρὸς φίλους μοι ὄνται τοὺς θεοὺς οὖτω διάκειμαι.

5. Τῇ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, μέμνησαι ἐκεῖνα ὧ ποτε ἐδόκει ἦμῖν ὡς ἄπερ δεδώκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἄνθρωπον μὲλτιον πράττειν ἢ ἀνεπι-στήμωνας αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ ἐργαζόμενους μᾶλλον ἀνύτειν ἢ ἀργούντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους ἀσφαλέ-στρον διάγειν ἢ ἀφυλακτοῦντας, τούτων πέρι2 παρέχοντας οὖν τοιοῦτος ἑαυτοὺς οἶους δεῖ, οὖτως ἦμῖν ἐδόκει δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τάγαθα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν;

6. Ναῦ μᾶ Δλ’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, μέμνημαι μέν-

1 [ἀν] διάγειν Stephanus, Edd.; ἀν 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
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toi toiauta akousas sou kal gar anagkha me
peidheshai tì logiai kal gar oida se lêgounta aèi
ws oude thêmis eïj aieteisbai para twn theon ouste
i̇pi̇neuvin mh mabontas i̇pipomachountas uikain, ouste
mh epi̇stamé nous toxeuvin toxeuontas krateri twn
epistaménou, ouste mh epi̇stamé nous kuberneran
soxei eûcheshai naus kubernerontas, oude mh
spieironas ge si̇ton eûcheshai kalôn autoiûs
fûeshai, oude mh phulattemé nous ge ev polemou
swteriân aieteisbai para gar tous twn theon
thesmonoû panta ta toiauta elnav. tous de adémita
eûkouménous ámbois efêstha eikoj elnav para theon
atuchieîn osster kal para anthrópou anprakteîn
tous paránoma deomévous.

7. 'Ekeînous de, ò paeû, epeláðhou a pote ëgô
kal se ëlogižometha ës ikanoi eij kal kalôn anôri
ërnon, ei tis dûnaito epimelthînai òpous an autôs
te kalos kâgathos dokîmos gênoûto kal tàpitiôdeia
autôs te kal oî oiketai ikanôs êchouen; to de,
toutou megálou ërnon òntos, oûtos epístasthai
anthrôpon onoû prôstasneîn òpous êxousi
panta tàpitiôdeia êkplew kal òpous êsontai
pantes oûs deî, touto thavmaston dîpoû hûmân
êfaineto elnav.

8. Nai mà Dî, efê, ò pâter, mêmëmmai
kal touto sou lêgontos; synedókei ouv kal ëmôl
ûperméngèthes elnav êrnon to kalos archein kal
nûn â', efê, taûta mûi dôkei taûta, ótan prôs
autô to archein skopôn logižômai. ótan méntoi
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,
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γε πρὸς ἀλλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἰδὼν κατανοήσω οἷοι. ὄντες διαγιγνονται ἀρχοντες καὶ οἷοι ὄντες ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἡμῖν ἔσωνται, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ τουούτοις αὐτούς ὄντας ὑποπτῆξαι καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἠναὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνισμένους. οὖς, ἔφη, ἐγὼ αἰσθάνομαι ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων τούτων ἡγουμένους δεῖν τὸν ἀρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ καὶ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν καὶ πλέον ἔχειν ἔνδον χρυσίον καὶ πλείονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ πάντα ἀπονωτέρον τῶν ἀρχομένων διάγειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι, ἔφη, τὸν ἀρχοντα οὐ τῷ ῥαδιουργεῖν χρῆναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοποιεῖν.¹

9. Ἀλλά τοι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ἐνιὰ ἔστιν ἢ ὡς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, διὸ τὸν βάρδιον εὐπόρος περιγενέσθαι. αὐτίκα δὴ ποιόν ὧσθα ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔξει τάπιτηδεία ἡ στρατιά, καταλεύσεται² σοι ἡ ἀρχή.

Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, Κυαξάρης φησὶ παρέξειν τοῖς ἐντεύθεν ἵνα πάσιν ὅποσοι ἄν ὁσὶ.

Τοῦτοις δὴ σὺ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, πιστεύων ἔρχει τοῖς παρὰ Κυαξάρου χρήμασιν;

'Ἐγὼγ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος.

Τί δὲ, ἔφη, ὧσθα ὡσά αὐτῷ ἔστι;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐ μὲν δὴ.

¹ φιλοποιεῖν y, Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; φιλοποιεῖν προθυμούμενον xzRy², Dindorf.
² καταλεύσεται Coltell, Edd.; καταλεύσεται 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.”
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"Ομως δὲ τούτως πιστεύεις τοὺς ἄδηλους; ὅτι δὲ πολλὰν μὲν σοι δεήσει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγκη δαπανάν ἐκείνου, οὐ γιγνώσκεις; ¹

Γιγνώσκω, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος.

Ἡν οὖν, ἐφη, ἐπιλίπη αὐτὸν ἢ δαπάνη ἢ καὶ ἐκών ψεύσηται, πῶς σοι ἔξει τὰ τῆς στρατιάς;

Δῆλον ὅτι οὐ καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἐνορᾶς τινα πόρον καὶ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἄν προσγενόμενον, ἐς ὅτι ἐν φιλία ἐσμέν, λέγε.

10. Ἐρωτᾶς, ἐφη, ὃ παί, ποῦ ἄν ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρον προσγένουστο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ πόρον γενέσθαι ἢ ἄπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἐχοντος; σὺ δὲ πεζῆν μὲν δύναμιν ἐνθέντε ἐχων ἔρχει ἄνθ’ ἣς οἶδ’ ὅτι πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην οὐκ ἄν δέξαιο, ἵππικον δὲ σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, τὸ Μῆδων σύμμαχον ἔσται. ποῖον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ οὗ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑμῖν ὑπηρετήσεως καὶ φοβοῦμενον μὴ τι πάθη; ἀ χρῆ σε κοινῇ συν Κυαξάρη σκοπεῖσθαι μῆτοτε ἐπιλίπη τι ὑμᾶς ὃν δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἔθους δὲ ἐνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδον πόρον. τὸδε δὲ πάντων μάλιστα μοι μέμνησο μηδέποτε ἀναμένειν τὸ πορίζεσθαι τάπιτῆδεια ἐστ’ ἄν ἡ χρεία σε ἀναγκάσῃ ἀλλ’ ὅταν μάλιστα εὐπορῆς, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ. καὶ γὰρ τεύξει

¹ ἐκεῖνον, οὐ γιγνώσκεις Η¹, Hug, Marchant, Breitenbach; αὐτὸν, οὐ γ., yΠ, Gemoll; ἐκεῖνο οὐ 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 or 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
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μᾶλλον παρ' ὃν ἂν δὲν μὴ ἀπορος δοκῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐτὶ ἀνάρτιος ἐσεὶ πάρα τοῖς σαυτοῖς στρατιώταις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αὐτοῖς τεῦξει, καὶ ἢν τινας βούλη ἢ εὖ ποιήσαι τῇ δυνάμει ἢ κακῶς, μᾶλλον ἡς ἄν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα οἱ στρατιώται ὑπηρετήσουσί σοι, καὶ πειστικωτέρος, σάφ' ἵσθι, λόγους δυνήσει τότε λέγειν ὁτανπερ καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι μάλιστα δύνῃ καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἴκανὸς ὃν καὶ κακῶς.

11. Ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὁ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὦτὶ ὃν μὲν υἱὸν λέγονται λήψεσθαι οἱ στρατιώται, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἰσεται· ίσασι γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοῖς Κυνάρης ἐπάγεται συμμάχους· ὅ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους λαμβάνῃ τις, ταῦτα καὶ τιμήν νομιζόντοι καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκὸς εἰ- δέναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ' ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ἔστι μὲν φίλους εὐ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι, ἔστι δὲ ἔχρονος ἐχοντα 2 πειρᾶσθαι τίσασθαι, ἔπειτ' ἀμελείν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι, οἷος τι, ἔφη, ἢττὸν τι τούτο εἴναι αἰσχρόν ἢ εἰ τις ἔχων μὲν ἀγρούς, ἔχων δὲ ἐργάτας οἷς ἂν ἐργάζοιτο, ἔπειτ' ἔφη τὴν ἄργουσαν ἀνωφέλητον εἶναι; ὡς ἐς ἐμού, ἔφη, μηδὲποτε ἀμελήσοντος τοῖς τάπιτηδεία τοῖς στρατιώταις συμμηκανάσθαι μῆτ' ἐν φιλία μῆτ' ἐν πολεμίᾳ οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην.

1 ἐπάγεται Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἔγεται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.
3 ὡς MSS.; ἀς Edd., as if Cambyses spoke here.

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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.”
XENOPHON

12. Τι γάρ, ἕφη, ὦ παῖ, τῶν ἄλλων, ἃν ἐδόκει ποθ' ἤμιν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἡ μέμνησαι;

Εὗ 1 γάρ, ἕφη, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἠλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοθήνη τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν με πεπαινεκέναι, σὺ δὲ ἀμα διδοὺς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὡδὲ πως, Ἀρὰ γε, εἰπάς, ὦ παῖ, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίαις τί σοι ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ ἀνήρ ὧ τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μὲντοι ἦττον οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δέονται ἢ οἱ ἐν οἰκῳ οἰκέται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγων τάληθ' εἶπον ὅτι οὐδ' ὅτι οὐ περὶ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν εἰ τί μοι ὑγιείας πέρι ἡ ῥώμης ἔλεξεν, ὡς δεήσον καὶ τούτων ὦσπερ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν στρατηγόν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. 13. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὐτό πάλιν εἰ τινὰς τέχνας ἐδίδαξεν, αἱ 2 τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται 3 ἦν σύμμαχοι γέννατο. ἀποφήσαντος δὲ μοι καὶ τούτο ἀνέκρινας αὐτὸ καὶ τόδε εἰ τί μ' ἐπαιδεύσεις ὡς ἂν δυναίμην στρατιά προσβείνει ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πάν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προσβεία ἄθυμιας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τούτο ἀνένευν, ἤλεγχες αὐτό σὺ εἰ τινὰ λόγον ποιῆσαι διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανότο. 14. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ παντάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ μ' ἐπήρου ὅ τι ποτέ διδάσκοντο

1 εὖ Ταύε, Ηγούμενος, Γεμόλ; εὖ Μ.Σ.Σ. Δινδόφνυ, Μρζαχάντ, Μρητζενμπαχ.
2 αἰ Πανταζίδες, most Edd.; αἰς ζζ, Δινδόφνυ, et al.
3 κράτιστοι Ηρτλείν, most Edd.; κράτιστοι Μ.Σ.Σ., Δινδόφνυ, et al.

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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
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

στρατηγίαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. καγὼ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γελάσας διήλθές μοι παρατίθεις ἐκαστὸν τί εἰη ὅφελος στρατιὰ τακτικῶν ἀνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν, τί δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ἡρμηνέας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, . . . τῷ δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ πεῖθεσθαι. ὡς δέ μοι καταφανῆς ἐποίησας ὅτι μικρὸν τι μέρος εἰη στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἐπερομένου μοι εἴ τι τούτων σὺ με διδάξαι ἰκανὸς εἶης, ἀπίόντα με ἐκέλευσας τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς νομίζομένοις ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πυθεσθαι πῇ ἐκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. 15. ἐκ τούτου δὴ συνῆν τοῦτος ἐγὼ, οὐς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ τούτων ἦκον δείναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐπείσθην ἰκανὸν εἶναι ὑπάρχον ὦ τι Κυαξάρης ἔμελλε παρέξειν ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ὑγιείας, ἂκουσάν καὶ ὅρων ὦτι καὶ πόλεις αἰ χρήζουσαν ὑγιαίνειν ἰατροὺς αἰροῦνται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνεκεν ἰατροὺς ἐξάγοουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἔπει ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὐθὺς τούτου ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ οἱ ὦτι, ἐφ’ ὦ πάτερ, πάνυ ἰκανοῖς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἔχειν μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀνδρας.

16. Πρὸς ταύτα δὴ ὅ πατὴρ εἴπεν, Ἀλλ’, ὦ παῖ, ἐφ’ ὦτι μὲν οὐς λέγεις, ὦσπερ ἰματίων ῥαγέντων εἰς τινὲς ἀκεσταί,2 οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, ὅταν τινὲς νοσήσωσι, τότε ἰῶνται τούτους: σοὶ δὲ τούτων μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἔσται

1 Δι lacuna, from which something like τὶ δ’ ἀνευ τοῦ προσυ-

μήν ἔχειν is lost, Poppo, Gemoll, Marchant.

2 ἀκεσταί γ’, Photius, Cobet, Breitenbach, Gemoll, Mar-

chant; ἡπηταί xzR, Dindorf, et al.

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been discussed at all, you finally asked me what in the world he had been teaching me that he professed 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 obedience. 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
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΟΝ

η τῆς υγιείας ἐπιμέλεια. τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὴν μὴ κάμνειν
tὸ στράτευμα, τούτου σοι δεῖ μέλειν.

Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡδὸν ἵων
tοῦτο πράττειν ἰκανὸς ἔσομαι;

Ἡν μὲν δὴ πον ὁ ἱρὸν τινὰ μέλλης ἐν τῷ
αὐτῷ μένειν, ὑγεινῶς πρῶτον δεῖ στρατοπέδου
μὴ ἀμέλησαι τούτῳ. δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις, ἐὰνπερ
μελησῇ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγουσι οὐδέν παύονται
ἄνθρωποι περὶ τῶν νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περὶ
tῶν ὑγεινῶν· πάντως ἢπατοὶ ἀκατέρως
αὐτῶν παράταται τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ
χρώματα· ἐπειτα δὲ οὐ τὰ χωρία μόνον ἀρκέσει
σκέψασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνῆσθητι σὺ πῶς πειρά σαυτοῦ
ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως υγιείνῃς.

17. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Πρώτον μὲν νὴ Δία
πειράματι μηδέποτε ὑπερπίμπλασθαι· δύσφορον
γὰρ ἐπειτα δὲ ἐκπονῶ τὰ εἰσίν ταῦτα· οὕτω γὰρ
μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε υγεία μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ
ἰσχὺς προσγενέσθαι.

Οὕτω τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ παί, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεῖ
ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

Ἡ καὶ σχολὴ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἔσται σωμα-
σκεῖν τοῖς στρατιώταις;

Οὐ μᾶ Δί', ἔφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἀνάγκη. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ πον στρατιάν, εἰ μέλλει
πράξει τὰ δεόντα, μηδέποτε παύοσθαι ἢ τοῖς
πολεμίοις κακὰ πορσύνουσαν ἢ ἐαυτῆ ἁγαθά.
ὡς χαλεπόν μὲν καὶ ἔνα ἄνθρωπον ἁργὸν τρέ-
féσθαι, πολὺ δ' ἐτὶ χαλεπώτερον, ὦ παί, οἶκον
ὀλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπώτερον στρατιάν ἁργὸν
tréfein. πλείστα τε γὰρ τὰ ἐσθίοντα ἐν στρατιά
καὶ ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων ὀρμώμενα καὶ οἶς ἂν λάβῃ

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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,
Δαψυλέστατα χρώμενα, ὡστε οὕποτε ἀργεῖν δέησει στρατιάν.

18. Δέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ ἄργον οὐδὲν ὠφέλος, οὗτος οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν ἄργον ὑπότος οὐδὲν ὁφέλος εἶναι.

Τὸν δὲ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγοῦ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀναδέχομαι, ἣν μὴ τις θέσει βλάπτῃ, ἀμα καὶ τάπιτήδεια μάλιστα ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποδείξειν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀριστα ἔχοντας παρασκευάσειν.

Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη, τὸ γε μελετᾶσθαι ἐκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἀγῶνας ἀν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, προειπὼν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἀθλα προτιθέσυς μάλιστ' ἀν ποιεῖν εὐ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐκαστα, ὡστε ὁπότε δέοιτο ἔχειν ἀν παρεσκευασμένοις χρῆσθαι.

Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ: τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας, σάφ' ἦσθι, ὡσπερ χοροὺς τὰς τάξεις ἀεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα μελετῶσας θεάσει.

19. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, εἰς γε τὸ προ-
θυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώτας οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανότερον εἶναι ἡ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐξπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώπως.

Ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τοῦτό γε τοιοῦτον ἐστιν
οἴνοπερ εἰ τις κύνας ἐν θήρᾳ ἀνακαλοῖτο
ἀεὶ τῇ κλήσει ὑπερ ὅταν τὸ θηρίον ἵμα. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθήμος εὐ ὁἶδ' ὅτι ἔχει
ὑπακούσας· ἢν δὲ πολλάκις ψεύδηται αὐτὰς,
τελευτῶσαι οὐδ' ὄποταν ἀληθῶς ὅρων καλῆ
πείθονται αὐτῷ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐπίδιων


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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
ἐχει· ἢν πολλάκις προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβαλὼν ψεύδηται τις, οὐδ’ ὡτόταν ἀληθεῖς ἐπιδίας λέγῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθει δύναται. ἄλλα τού μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδεῖν εἰργεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὥ παι, ἄλλοι δ’ ἐνετοὶ ¹ λέγοντες ταῦτ’ ἀν διαπράττοιν· τὴν δ’ αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους κυνιδύνους δεῖ ὡς μᾶλστα ἐν πίστει διασώζειν.

'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὃ πάτερ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὕτως ἡδίον. 20. τὸ γε μὴν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτοῦ ἐχειν, ὥ πάτερ· σὺ τε γὰρ με εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαίδευες, σαυτὸ πείθεσθαι ἀναγκάζων· ἐπείτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας, καὶ ἔκεινοι αὐ ταῦτο τοῦτο ἐπραττόν· ἐτελεῖ δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἡμεν, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἱσχυρῶς ἐπεμέλετο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δὲ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τάυτα δύο μᾶλστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἀρχεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῖνυν κατανοῶν περὶ τούτων ἐν πάσιν ὡρὰν μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μᾶλστα διν τὸ τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἀτιμάζειν τε καὶ κολάζειν.

21. Καὶ ἔτι μὲν γε τὸ ἀνάγκη ἐπεσθεῖν αὐτή, ὥ παῖ, ἡ ὀδός ἐστιν· ἔτι δὲ τὸ κρείττων τοῦτον πολύ, τὸ ἐκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὴ ἐστὶ συντομωτέρα. ὅν γὰρ ἂν ἡγήσωσται περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος εαυτοῦς φρονιμῶτερον εαυτῶν εἶναι, τούτῳ οἱ ἀνθρώποι υπερήφανοι πείθονται. γνώρις δ’ ἂν ὅτι τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει ἐν ἅλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ

¹ ἐνετοὶ Dindorf, most Edd.; ἐντει ΧΥ; αὐτοῖ ΑΗ; not in R.

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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 κάμμουσιν, ὡς προθύμως τοὺς ἐπι-
tάξοντας ὁ τι, χρῆ-ποιεῖν καλοῦσι. καὶ ἐν
θαλάττῃ δὲ ὡς προθύμως τοῖς κυβερνήταις οἱ
συμπλέοντες πείδονται· καὶ οὕς γὰρ ἂν νομίσωσί
tines βέλτιον αὐτῶν ὄντες εἰδέναι, ὡς ἵσχυρὸς
τούτων οὐδ’ ἀπολείπεσθαι ἐθέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ
οἶονται πειθόμενοι κακῶν τι λήψεσθαι, οὔτε
ζημίαι πάνυ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἰκεὶν οὔτε δόρωις
ἐπαιρέσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δώρα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κακῷ
ἐκδών οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει.

22. Λέγεις σύ, ὁ πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθομένους
ἐχειν οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀνυσιμώτερον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον
dοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχομένων.

Λέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη.

Καὶ πῶς δὴ τις ἄν, ὁ πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν
tάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύναιτο;

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὁ παῖ, συντομωτέρα ὅδος ἐπὶ
tό,1 περὶ ὁν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμος εἶναι ἢ τὸ
γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ’ ἐν δὲ ἐκάστου
σκοπῶν γνώσει ὅτι ἐγώ ἀληθὴ λέγω. ἢ γὰρ
βούλη μὴ ἂν ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθός,
ἡ ἱππεύς ἡ ἱατρὸς ἡ αἰτλητὴς ἡ ἀλλ’ ὀτιόν, ἐννοεῖ
πόσα σε δέοι ἂν μηχανᾶσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα.
καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσαις ἐπαινεῖν τὲ σε πολλοὺς, ὅπως
dόξαν λάβοις, καὶ κατασκευᾶς καλὰς ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ
αὐτῶν κτῆσαι, ἀρτί τε ἔξηπατηκὼς εἰῆς ἂν καὶ
ὁλίγῳ ὑστεροῦ, ὅποι πείραν δοῖς, ἐξεληλεγμένος
ἀν 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.”
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23. Φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοίσειν μέλλοντος πῶς ἄν τις τῷ ὄντι γένοιτο;

Δήλου, ἐφη, ὡς παῖ, ὅτι ὁσα μὲν ἔστι μαθόντα εἰδέναι, μαθῶν ἂν, ὁπέρ τὰ τακτικὰ ἐμαθεῖς· ὁσα δὲ ἀνθρώπως οὔτε μαθητὰ οὔτε προοριστὰ ἀνθρωπίνη προνοία, διὰ μαντικῆς ἂν παρὰ θεῶν πυθαγόμενος φρονιμώτερος ἄλλων εἰῆς· ὃ τι δὲ γνώσης βέλτιον ἄν πραχθήναι, ἐπιμελόμενος ἃν τούτου ὡς ἄν πραχθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμέλεισθαι οὐ ἃν δὲ φρονιμώτερον ἄνδρὸς ἢ τὸ ἀμελεῖν.

24. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἔτι τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ύπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ὅπερ ἔμοιγε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δοκεῖ εἶναι, δήλου ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ὁδὸς ἂπερ εἰ τις ύπὸ τῶν φίλων στέργεσθαι ἐπιθυμοῖ. εὐ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν ποιοῦντα φανεροῦ εἶναι.

Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ἐφη, ὡς παῖ, χαλεπὸν τὸ ἀεὶ δύνασθαι εὐ ποιεῖν οὐς ἃν τις ἑθέλῃ· τὸ δὲ συνηθὸμενόν τε φαινεσθαι, ἢν τι ἁγαθῶν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνῃ, καὶ συναχθόμενον, ἢν τι κακῶν, καὶ συνεπικουρεῖν προθυμοῦμεν ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ φοβοῦμεν μὴ τι σφαλῶσι, καὶ προνοεῖν πειρώμενον ὡς μὴ σφάλλωται, ταῦτα τὸς δὲ µᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν. 25. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων δὲ, ἢν μὲν ἐν θέρει ὅσι, τὸν ἀρχοῦτα δεῖ τοῦ ἡλίου πλεονεκτοῦντα φανεροῦ εἶναι· ἢν δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, τοῦ ψύχους· ἢν δὲ διὰ μόχθων, τῶν

1 ταῦτα Stobaeus, Edd.; ἐπὶ ταῦτα MSS.
2 διὰ μόχθων z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach; δὲρ μοχθεῖν κυβρ., 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—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
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πόνων· πάντα γάρ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ φίλεισθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συλλαμβάνει.

Δέγεις σύ, ἐφη, ὃ πάτερ, ὡς καὶ καρτερώτερον δεῖ πρὸς πάντα τὸν ἁρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι.

Δέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη. θάρρει μέντοι τοῦτο, ὁ παί· εὐ γὰρ ἵσθι ὅτι τῶν ὁμοίων σωμάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι ὡς ὁμοίως ἄπτονται ἁρχοντός τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτου, ἀλλ' ἐπικουρίζει τι ἡ τιμὴ τοὺς πόνους τῷ ἁρχοντὶ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει ὃ τι ἄν ποιῇ.

26. Ὄποτε δὲ, ὁ πάτερ, σοι ἡδὴ ἔχοιεν μὲν τάπιτήδεια οἱ στρατιώται, ἤγιαίοιεν δὲ, πονεῖν δὲ δύναντο, τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ἡσκηκότες εἰπαν, φιλοτήμος δ' ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἁγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἦδιον εἰπά τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν, οὐκ ἄν τηνικαίτα σωφρονεῖν ἃν τίς σοι δοκοῖ διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τάχιστα;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δί', ἐφη, εἰ μέλλου πε πλεῖον ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγγυή ἃν ὅσοι οἰοίμην καὶ αὐτῶς βελτίμων εἰναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους βελτίωνας ἔχειν, τόσοι ἄν μᾶλλον φυλαττοῖμην, ἄσπερ καὶ τάλλα ἄν οἰω-μεθα πλείστον Ἦμιν ἄξια εἰναι, ταῦτα πειρώμεθα ὡς ἐν ἐχυρωτάτῳ ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Πλεῖον δ' ἔχειν, ὁ πάτερ, πολεμίων πῶς ἄν τις δύνατο μάλιστα;

Οὐ μᾶ Δί', ἐφη, οὐκέτι τοῦτο φαύλον, ὃ παί, οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἑρωτάς· ἀλλ' εὐ ἵσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦν εἶναι καὶ κρυφίνουν καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεῶνα

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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 ἄρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην
tῶν πολεμίων.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ὅ Ηράκλεις,
οίον σὺ λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ, δεῖν ἄνδρα με γενέσθαι.

Οἶος ἂν ὄν, ἡ ἐφή, ὦ παῖ, δικαιότατος τε καὶ
νομιμώτατος ἀνήρ εἴης.

28. Πῶς μήν, ἐφή, παῖδας οὕτως ἡμᾶς καὶ
ἐφήβους τὰναντία τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δὲ, ἐφή, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
τε καὶ πολίτας: ὡσποδὲ γε τοὺς πολεμίους
dύνασθε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐκ οἴσθα μανθάνοντας
ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας;

Οὐ δήτα, ἐφή, ἔγωγε, ὦ πάτερ.

Τίνος μὴν ἐνεκα, ἐφή, ἐμανθάνετε τοξεύειν;
tίνος δὲ ἐνεκα ἄκοντίζειν; τίνος δὲ ἐνεκα δολοῦν ὦς
ἀγρίους καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ ὁρύγμασι; τί δὲ ἐλά-
φους ποδάγραις καὶ ἀρπεδοναῖς; τί δὲ λέουσι καὶ
ἀρκτοῖς καὶ παρδάλεσιν οὐκ ἐίς τὸ ἱσον καθιστά-
μενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονεξίας τίνος ἂεὶ
ἐπειρᾶσθε ἄγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτά; ἢ οὐ πάντα
γυνώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τε εἰς καὶ
ἀπάται καὶ δολῶσεις καὶ πλεονεξίαι;

29. Ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἐφή, θηρίων γε ἀνθρώπων
dὲ εἰ καὶ δόξαιμι βούλεσθαι ἐξαπατήσαι τινα,
pολλὰς πληγὰς οἴδα λαμβάνων.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οἷμαι, οὐδὲ ἄκοντίζειν ἄν-
θρωπον ἐπετρέπομεν ὡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλ-
λειν ἐδιδάσκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοῦντε

1 ὁν 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
τούς φίλους, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύνασθε καὶ ἄνθρωπον στοχάζεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ὤκε ἐν ἄνθρωποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὡμᾶς, ἄλλον δὲ θηρίον, ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοντε, εἰ δὲ ποτὲ πόλεμος γένοιτο, μηδὲ τούτων ἀγάμαστοι εἴητε.

30. Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, ὡς πάτερ, εἴπερ χρήσιμα ἐστίν ἀμφότερα ἐπίστασθαι, εὖ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἔδει ἐν 1 ἄνθρωποις.

31. Ἀλλὰ λέγεται, ἐφη, ὡς παῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνὴρ διδάσκαι- λος τῶν παῖδων, ὡς ἐδίδασκεν ἀρα τοὺς παῖδας τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις, μὴ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβαλλεῖν καὶ διαβαλλεῖν, καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διώριζε δὲ τούτων ἃ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέον καὶ ἃ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς. καὶ ἔτι ἔγε 2 ταῦτα ἐδίδασκεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς φίλους δίκαιον εἰπὲ ἐξαπατᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἀγαθῷ, καὶ κλέπτειν τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ. 32. ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη καὶ γυμνάζειν ἢν πρὸς ἄλληλους τοὺς παῖ- δας ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πάλη φασὶ τοὺς Ἔλληνας διδάσκειν ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ γυμνάζειν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς ἄλληλους τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. γενόμενοι οὖν τίνες οὕτως εὐφυεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖν οὐκ ἀφυεῖς οὔτες, οὐκ ἀπει-
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
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χοντο οὖδ’ ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μὴ οὐ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι. 33. ἐγένετο οὖν ἐκ τούτων ῥήτρα, ἢ καὶ νῦν χρώμεθα ἔτι, ἀπλῶς διδάσκειν τοὺς παιδάς ὡσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἦμᾶς αὐτοὺς διδάσκομεν ἀληθεύειν καὶ μὴ ἔξαπταν καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῦν, κολάζειν, ὡσπερ σὺν¹ τοιοῦτῳ ἔθει ἑθήσετες πράτεροι πολιτά γένουτο. 34. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχοιεν τὴν ἥλικίαν ἢν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἢδη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους νόμμα ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διδάσκειν. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔτι ἔξενεχθῆναι δοκεῖτε πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον πολίτα γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους συντεθραμμένοι. ὡσπερ γε καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων οὐ διαλεγόμεθα² πρὸς τοὺς ἁγάν νεοὺς, ἵπο μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς ῥαδιουργίας προσγενομένης ἀμέτρως αὐτῇ χρύντο οἰ νέοι.

35. Ἕν Δι’, ἐφη· ως τοίνυν ὄψιμαθὴ ὄντα ἔμε τούτων τῶν πλεονεξίων, ὁ πάτερ, μὴ φείδον εἰ τι ἔχεις διδάσκειν ὡσπος πλεονεκτήσω ἐγὼ τῶν πολεμίων.

Μηχανῶ τοίνυν, ἐφη, ὡς ὡσπέρ ἐστί δύναμις, τεταγμένοις τοῖς σαυτοῦ ἀτάκτους λαμβάνειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἀπλωσμένους ἀόπλους καὶ ἐγγρηγοροῦσι καθεύδοντας καὶ φανεροὺς σοι ὄντας ἀφανῆς αὐτὸς ὅπως ἐκείνος καὶ ἐν δυσχώρια αὐτοὺς γιγνομένους ἐν ἐρυμμῷ αὐτὸς ὅν υποδέξει.³

¹ σὺν MSS.; ἐν Hug. ² διαλεγόμεθα MSS., Dindorf; διελεγόμεθα Sauppe, Hug, Gemoll, et al. ³ υποδέξει MSS., Dindorf, most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug, et al.
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."
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χοντο οὐδ ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τ᾿ αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι. 33. ἦν ῥήτρα, ἢ καὶ νῦν χρώμα σκειν τοὺς παιδὰς ὡς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διδάσκοντα καὶ μὴ πλεοῦν, κολάζειν, ὁσέντες πραύτερον ἔχοιεν τὴν ἡλίου πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους διδάσκειν. ποῦ τὸ ἄγριον λήλους διαυχειρωτοτάτους ἀφροδίσιον ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ἐν τούτοις νεουρίστατα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἐφη οὖν ἡ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις τισὶ; ῥα τὸ πολύ γε μάλλον, ἐφη, ὁ παῖ. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολεμίσισι δύνανται καὶ θαρρήσαντες ποιήσαντες ἀφυλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξαι παραδότες ἑαυτοὺς ἀτάκτους ποιήσαι καὶ εἰς δυσχωρίαν φυγὴ ὑπαγαγόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. 38. δεῖ δὴ, ἐφη, φιλομαθῇ σε τούτων ἀπάντων ὅταν οὐχ οἷς ἀν μάθης τοὺς μόνοις χρῆσαται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τούς πολεμίσισι μηχανημάτων, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἷς ἀν μάθωσι τοὺς μόνον χρώνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειράται ποιεῖν. καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα 2

1 εὐχειρωτοτάτους Stephanus, Edd.; εὐχειρο(ωR)τάτουs MSS.
2 νέα zR, most Edd.; νέα μέλη x; μέλη y (songs).

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36. "And how, my son, can we also win greater praise for fighting against the enemy even more 

Why, my son, must needs, for instance, you keep, and at all costs you are all in that they are most vulnerable.

37. "And is it possible to take advantage of this 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
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36. Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, τις τοιαύτα, ὃ πάτερ, ἀμαρτάνοντας δύναι τα ἄλλα πολέμιους λαμβάνειν;

"Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, πολλὰ μὲν τοῦτων ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ καὶ ὧμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους παρασχεῖν συντοποιεῖσθαι τε γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἄμφωτερος, κοιμᾶσθαι τε ἀνάγκη ἄμφωτερος, καὶ ἐσθεν ἐπὶ τάναγκαία σχεδὸν ἀμα πάντας δεὶ λεσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὅποιαι ἄν ὁ σι τοιαύταις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι. ὁ χρῆ σε πάντα κατανοοῦντα, ἐν ὧ μὲν ὧμᾶς γιγνώσκεις ἀσθενεστάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα φυλάττεσθαι. ἐν ὧ δὲ τοὺς πολέμιους αἰσθάνει εὐχεροτοτάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι.

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

Καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ; ἐν τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἰσχυρὰς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες ὅτι δεονται. οἱ δὲ ἐξαιτωτῶν τοὺς πολέμιους δύνανται καὶ ἀθροῆσαι ποιησάντες ἀφυλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξαι παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀτάκτους ποιησάντας καὶ εἰς δυσχωριαν φυγὴ ὑπαγαγόντας ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. 38. δεὶ δή, ἔφη, φιλομαθή σε τούτοις ἀπάντων ὅντα σω ὁίς ἄν μάθης τούτοις μόνοις χρῆσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους μηχανημάτων, ὡστερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἶς ἄν μᾶθωσι τούτοις μόνον χρωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειρῶνται ποιεῖσιν καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικῶς τὰ νέα

1 εὐχεροτοτάτους Stephanus, Edd.; εὐχεροτ(ως)τάσθαι MSS.
2 νέα zR, most Edd.; νέα μέλη x; μέλη y (songs).
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 ἀνθρώποι εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καὶνὰ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ· ταύτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δύναται τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.

39. Εἰ δὲ σὺ γε, ἐφι, ὦ παῖ, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μετενέχους ἐπί ἀνθρώπους τὰς μηχανὰς ἂς καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ τοὺς μικροῖς θηρίοις ἐμηχανῶ, οὐκ οἶει ἂν, ἐφι, πρὸς ἑαυτόν ἐλάσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλεονεξίας; σὺ γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὰς ὀρνιθές ἐν τῷ ἱσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶνει ἀνιστάμενος ἐπορεύονυ μυκτός, καὶ πρὶν κινεῖσθαι αὐτὰς ὀρνιθές ἐπεποίητο σοι αἱ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινημένον χωρίον ἐξείκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ ὀρνιθεὶς δ’ ἐπεπαίδευτό σοι ὅστε σοι μὲν τὰ συμφέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν, τὰς δὲ ὀμοφύλους ὀρνιθαὶ ἐξαπατᾶν αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνήδρενες, ὅστε ὅραν μὲν αὐταίς, μὴ ὀρᾶται δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἥσκηκες δὲ φθάνων ἐλκείων ἢ τὰ πτηνὰ φεύγειν. 40. πρὸς δ’ αὐ τὸν λαγῶ, ὃτι μὲν ἐν σκότει νέμεται, τῇ δ’ ἡμέραν ἀποδιδράσκει, κύνας ἔτρεφες αἰ τῇ ὀσμῇ αὐτῶν ἀνηρίσκουν. ὃτι δὲ ταχὺ ἐφευγεν, ἐπεὶ εὐρεθεῖτι, ἀλλὰς κύνας ἑλχες ἐπιτετηθευμένας πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἱρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀποφύγου, τοὺς πόρους αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνων καὶ πρὸς ὅια χωρία φεύγοντες αἱροῦνται οἱ λαγῶ, ἐν τούτοις δικτα δυσορατὰ ἐνεπετάνυν ἂν, ἢν ἐν τῷ σφόδρα φεύγειν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐμπεσον συνέδει. τοῦ δὲ μηδ’ ἐντεύθεν διαφεύγειν σκοποὺς τοῦ γυγομένου

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¹ ἀνηρίσκον y, most Edd.; ἀνηρίσκον xzR, Sauppe.
² πρὸς . . . αἱροῦνται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [πρὸς] . . . αἱροῦνται Hug (places which hares choose in their flight); πρὸς . . . ἀεὶ ὄρωνται Gemoll; πρὸς . . . ἀφικνοῦνται Marchant.

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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. 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
καθίστης, οἱ ἐγγύθεν ταχὺ ἐμελλον ἐπιγενήσεθαί καί αὐτὸς μὲν σὺ ὅπισθεν κραυγὴ οὐδὲν ὑστερεῖσθαι τοῦ λαγῷ βοῶν ἐξέπληττες αὐτὸν ὥστε ἄφρονα ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δ’ ἐμπροσθὲν σιγὰν διδάξας ἐνεδρεύοντας λαυθάνειν ἐποίεις.

41. Ὡσπέρ οὖν προεῖπον, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἑθελήσας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώποις μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἶδ’ ἐγὼγε εἰ τινὸς λείποιο2 ἀν τῶν πολεμίων. ἢν δὲ ποτε ἀρα ἀνάγκη γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱσοπέδῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ ὁπλισμένους ἀμφοτέρους μάχην συνάπτειν, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ δὴ, ὧ παί, αἱ ἕκ πολλοὶ παρεσκευασμέναι πλεονεξίας μέγα δύνανται. ταύτας δὲ ἐγὼ λέγω εἶναι, ἢν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὑ μὲν τὰ σώματα ἡσκημένα ἢ, εὑ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ τεθηριμέναι, εὑ δὲ αἱ πολεμικαὶ τέχναι μεμελετήμεναι ὄσων. 42. εὑ δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ὅτι ὅποσος ἄν ἀξιῶς σοι πεῖθεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀξιώσουσι σὲ πρὸ ἕαυτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. μὴδέποτ’ οὖν ἄφροτίστως ἔχε, ἀλλά τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς προσκόπτει τί σοι ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται, τῆς δ’ ἡμέρας ὅπως ταῖς νύκται κάλλιστα ἐξεῖ. 43. ὅπως δὲ χρὴ τάττειν εἰς μάχην στρατιάν ἢ ὅπως ἀγειν ἡμέρας ἢ νυκτὸς ἡ στενὰς ἡ πλατείας ὅδοις ἡ ὀρείνας ἡ πεδινᾶς, ἢ ὅπως στρατοπεδεύσεσθαι, ἢ ὅπως φυλακὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἡμερινὰς καθιστάναι, ἢ ὅπως προσάγειν πρὸς πολεμίους ἢ ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ πολεμίων, ἢ ὅπως παρὰ πόλιν πολεμίαν

1 ἄφρονα Hertlein, most Edd.; ἄφρ(ἄφος)όνως MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 τινὸς λείποιο Hertlein, most Edd.; τινα λείποις yR; τινὰς λίποις z; τινα λίποις ("leave any man alive") Dindorf.

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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
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ἀγειν ἢ ὅπως πρὸς τεῖχος ἀγειν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὅπως νάπη ἢ ποταμοῦς διαβαίνειν, ἢ ὅπως ἵππικον φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἀκοντιστάς ἢ τοξότας, καὶ εἰ γε δὴ σοι κατὰ κέρας ἀγοντι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφανεῖν, πῶς χρή ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἰ σοι ἐπὶ φόλαγγος ἀγοντι ἄλλοθέν ποθέν οἱ πολέμιοι φαίνουντο ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρή ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ ὅπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰκιστα εἰδεῖεν, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τι ἄν ἐγὼ λέγομι σοι; ὅσα τε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἥδειν, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας, ἄλλοσ τε ὅστις ἐδόκει τι τούτων ἐπιστασθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὐδ’ ἀδαίης γεγένησαι. δεῖ οὖν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἶμαι, τούτων χρῆσθαι ὅποιον ἄν συμφέρει σοι τούτων δοκῆ.

44. Μάθε δὲ μου καὶ τάδε, ὃ παῖ, ἔφη, τὰ μέγιστα: παρὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ καὶ οἰωνοῦς μήτε σαυτῷ μηδέποτε μήτε στρατιῶ κινδυνεύσῃς, κατανοοῦν ὡς ἀνθρωποὶ μὲν αἱροῦντα πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ποιῶς ἔσται αὐτῶς τῶν ἀδαίης. 45. γνοίς δ’ ἄν εὖ αὐτῶν τῶν γιγνομένων πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡδὴ πόλεις ἔπεισαν καὶ ταῦτα οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφῶτατοι εἶναι πόλεμον ἀρασθαὶ πρὸς τούτους ύφ’ ὧν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπόλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἡμᾶς ἔπευξαν καὶ ἰδιότας καὶ πόλεις ύφ’ ὧν αὐξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἑπαθοῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ οἶς ἑξῆν φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ εὔ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν, τούτως δούλους

1 πάντα y, Edd.; not in xxR.
it, or how you should cross ravines or rivers, or how you should protect yourself against cavalry or spear-men 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
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μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἢ φίλοις χρήσθαι, ὅπερ αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἔδοσαν· πολλοὶς δ' οὐκ ἤρκεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσιν ζῆν ἤδεως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅვ' εἶχον ἀπέτυχον πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύευ-κτον πλοῦτον κατακτησάμενοι, διὰ τούτον ἀπώ-λοντο. 46. οὕτως ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὔδἐν μᾶλλον οἴδε τὸ ἄριστον αἰρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρού-μενος ὅ τι λάχοι τοῦτὸ τις πράττοι. Θεοὶ δὲ, ὃ παῖ, ἀεὶ ὅντες πάντα ἱσασί τά τε γεγενημένα καὶ τὰ ὅντα καὶ ὃ τι εὖ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἀποβη-σεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἀν ἰλεφ ὃσι, προσημαίνουσιν ἃ τε χρῆ ποιεῖν καὶ ὃ οὐ χρῆ. εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐθέλουσιν συμβουλεύειν, οὔδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὃς ἀν 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 ὅριων τῆς Περσίδος. ἔπει δ’ αὐτοῖς ἅτετος δεξίος φανεῖς προηγείτο, προσευχάμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἠρωσὶ τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν ἔλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς, οὕτω διέβαινον τὰ ὀρία. ἔπειδὴ δὲ διέβησαν, προσήχοντο αὐθίς θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδίαν γῆν κατέχουσιν ἔλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἄλληλους ἄστερ εἰκὸς, ὦ μὲν πατήρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἐπένει, Κῦρος δὲ εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἐπορεύετο.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Μῆδους πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην, πρῶτον μὲν ὀστερ ἐκὸς ἡσπά- σαντο ἄλληλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἥρετο τὸν Κῦρον Ῥ Κυαξάρης πόσον τι ἄγω τὸ στράτευμα.

Ὁ δὲ ἤφη, Τρισμυρίους μὲν οἴοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἑφοίτων πρὸς υμᾶς μισοθοφόροι· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδέποτε ἑξελθοῦντων προσέρχονται τῶν ομοτίμων. Πόσοι τινὲς; ἤφη οὗ Κυαξάρης.

3. Οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἄριθμός σε, ἤφη οὗ Κῦρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον

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1 Πέρσας χυ., most Edd.; πάλιν z., Dindorf, Sauppe (to the capital).
2 τρισμυρίους: Aldus, Edd.; δισμυρίους 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
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ότι ὄλιγοι ὄντες οὐτοὶ οἱ ὀμότιμοι καλοῦμενοι πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ῥαδίως ἀρχουσιν. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, δεί τι αὐτῶν ἢ μάτην ἐφοβήθης, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἔρχονται;
Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη, καὶ πολλοὶ γε.

4. Πῶς τοῦτο σαφές;

"Οτι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἢκοντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον τρόπον πάντες ταύτῳ λέγουσιν.

'Αγωνιστέοι μὲν ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας.
'Ανάγκη γάρ, ἔφη.

Τι σοῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐ καὶ τήν δύναμιν ἔλεξας μοι, εἰ οίκθα, πόση τις ἡ προσούσα, καὶ πάλιν τῆν ἡμετέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφοτέρας πρὸς ταύτα βουλευόμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἀρίστα ἀγωνιζόμεθα;

"Ακονε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. 5. Κροῖσος μὲν ὁ Λυδὸς ἄγειν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν ἵππεας, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλείους ἢ τετρακισμυρίους. Ἀρτακάμαν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἀρχοντα λέγουσιν ἵππεας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἄγειν, λωγοχορόνης δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μεῖν τετρακισμυρίους, Ἀρίβαιον δὲ τὸν τῶν Καππα-δοκῶν βασιλέα ἵππεας μὲν ἔξακισχιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ μεῖν τρισμυρίων, τὸν Ἀράβιον δὲ ὁ Ἀραγὸν ἵππεας τε εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἀρματα εἰς ἑκατόν καὶ σφενδοντῶν πάμπολυ τι χρήμα. τοὺς μέντοι Ἔλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦντας οὐδὲν πτω σαφές λέγεται εἰ ἐπιτυγαίνεις τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ἐλληστόντω συμβαλεῖν φασί Γάβαιδον ἔχοντα εἰς Καυστρον Πεδίων ἔξακισχιλίους μὲν ἵππεας, 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 Aribaes, 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."
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eἰς μυρίους. Κάρας μέντοι καὶ Κίλικας καὶ Πα-
φλαγόνας παρακληθέντας οὐ φασών ἔπεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
'Ασσύριος ὁ Βαβυλώνι να τε ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
'Ασσυρίαν ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἵππεας μὲν ἀξεῖ οὐκ
ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, ἀρματὰ δὲ εὖ οἶδ᾽ οὐ μεῖον
dιακοσίων, πεζοὺς δὲ οἴμαι παμπόλλοις· εἰώθει
γοῦν ὅποτε δεῦρ᾽ ἐμβύλλοι.

6. Σύ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, πολεμίων λέγεις ἱπ-
πέας μὲν ἐξαισισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ
tοξότας πλεῖον ἢ εἰκοσὶ μυριάδας. ἀγε δὴ τῆς σῆς
dυνάμεως τί φῆς πλῆθος εἶναι;

Εἰςιν, ἔφη, Μῆδων μὲν ἵππεις πλεῖους τῶν
μυρίων· πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γένοιτο· ἄν πως
ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἐξαισισμύριοι. 'Αρμανίων δὲ,
ἔφη, τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμῖν παρέσονται ἵππεῖς μὲν
tετρακισχίλιου, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμύριοι.

Λέγεις σὺ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἱππεάς μὲν ἡμῖν
eἶναι μείον ἢ τέταρτον ἕμερος τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων
ἵππικου, πεζοὺς δὲ αμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις.

7. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὁλίγους νομίζεις
Περσῶν εἶναι οδαὶ σὺ φῆς ἄγειν;

᾽Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος,
eῖτε καὶ μή, ἀδίκει συμβουλευόμεθα· τὴν δὲ
μάχην μοι, ἔφη, λέξουν ἐκάστων ἢτις ἐστὶ.

Σχεδὸν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, πάντων ἢ αὐτῆς
tοξόται γάρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ  οἱ τ᾽ ἐκεῖνων καὶ
οἱ ἡμέτεροι.

Οὐκοὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη
esti toioûtou ge tón ðplow ðntow.

1 ὅσον ἐκ Breitenbach, later Edd.; ὡς ἐν MSS., except E, which omits ὡς.
2 τέταρτον Hug, Gemoll, Marchant, Breitenbach; τρίτον xz, Dindorf (a third); τὸ τρίτον y.
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."
8. Ἀνώγη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης.
Οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλείων ἡ νίκη·
pολὺ γὰρ ἂν θάττων οἱ ὀλίγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν
tυρωσκόμενοι ἀναλωθεῖσαν ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
ὀλίγων. ¹

Εἰ οὖν οὐτως ἔχει, ὁ Κῦρος, τί ἀν ἄλλο τις
κρείττον εὑροί ἡ πέμπειν εἰς Πέρσας, καὶ ἄμα μὲν
διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι εἰ τί πεισοῦνται Μῆθοι, εἰς
Πέρσας τὸ δεινὸν ἢξει, ἀμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλεῖον
στράτευμα;

'Αλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εὐ ἵσθι ὅτι,
οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πληθεὶς οὐχ ὑπερ-
βαλοίμεθ' ἀν τοὺς πολέμιους.

9. Τί μὴν ἄλλο ἐνοραὶ ἀμεινὸν τούτου;
'Εγὼ μὲν ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ σὺ εἶν, ὡς
tάχιστα ὅπλα ποιοῦμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις τοῖς προσ-
νοῦσιν οἰάπερ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται παρ' ἡμῶν οἱ
tῶν ὀμοτίμων καλούμενοι· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ θώραξ
μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν,
kοπᾶς δὲ ἡ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιάν· καὶ ταῦτα
παρασκευάσης, ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὁμόσε τοῖς
ἐναντίοις ἴενας ἀσφαλέστατον, τοῖς πολέμιοις δὲ
tὸ φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μέεναι αἱρετώτερον. τάττομεν δὲ,
ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας· οἱ γε
μενταν αὐτῶν φεύγωσι, τούτους ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς
ἵπποις νέμομεν, ὡς μὴ σχολάξωσι μήτε μένειν²
μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

10. Κῦρος μὲν οὖτως ἔλεξε· τῷ δὲ Κυαξάρη

¹ Οὐκοῦν... ὀλίγων erroneously given to Cyaxares by Hug, Gemoll, Marchant.
² μένειν y, most Edd.; φεύγειν xz, 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
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ἐδοξέ τε εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πλείους μεταπέμπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐμέμητο, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα. καὶ σχεδὸν τε ἔτοιμα ἦν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ ὠμότιμοι παρῆσαν ἔχοντες τὸ ἀπὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

11. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος συναιγαγὼν αὐτούς. Ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι, ἔγω ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισμένους οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεσκευασμένους ὡς εἰς χείρας συμμίξοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὑμῖν Πέρσας γιγνόσκων ὅτι οὕτως ὁπλισμένου εἰσίν ὡς ὅτι προσωτάτω ταχθέντες μάχεσθαι, ἔδεισα μὴ ὅλιγοι καὶ ἔρημοι συμμάχους συμπίπτοντες πολεμίους πολλοῖς πάθοιτε τι. νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, σώματα μὲν ἔχοντες ἄνδρων ἰκέτας οὐ μεμπτά. ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὁμοία τοῖς ἡμετέροις; ταῖς γε μέντοι ψυχαῖς θῆγειν αὐτῶν ἡμέτερον ἐργον. ἀρχοντος γὰρ ἐστίν οὐχ ἔαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἄρχομένων ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως ὃς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται.

12. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἰπεν. οἱ δὴ ἥσθεναν μὲν πάντες, νομίζοντες μετὰ πλειόνων ἀγωνιεύοντας εἰς δὴ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 13. Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἵσως δόξῳ λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλεύω τι εἰπεῖν ὑπέρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν μέλλοντες συμμάχεσθαι: ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι τῶν ἰκανωτάτων καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι οὗτοι καὶ μάλιστα ἑνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκούοντων καὶ δῶρα ἢ ἴδιον τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὃμοις μείζονος αὐτὰ τιμῶται οἱ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται

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that he spoke to the point; and he no longer talked of sending for reinforcements, but he set about procuring 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 unaccompanied 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
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ύπο Κύρου πολύ μάλλον ἴσθήσονται ἢ υφ' ἡμῶν παρακαλούμενοι, εἰς τε τοὺς ὀμοτίμους καθιστάμενοι βεβαιοτέρως σφίσιν ἴγνυσονται ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασιλέως τε παιδός καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ γενόμενον ἢ εἰ υφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο. ἀπείναι μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο χρῆσιμον ὃ τι ἂν οὕτω βελτίωνες γένωνται.

14. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καταθεὶς τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς Περσῶν στρατιώτας ἔλεξε τοιάδε' 15. Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ἴμεις καὶ ἔφυτε ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτράφτε, καὶ τὰ σώματά τε οὐδὲν ἡμῶν χείρονα ἔχετε, ψυχάς τε οὐδὲν κακίονας ὑμῖν προσήκει ἡμῶν ἔχειν. τοιούτοι δ' ἄντες εἰς μὲν τῇ πατρίδι ὡς μετείχετε τῶν ἱσων ἡμῖν, οὐχ υφ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαθέντες ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τάπτησεια ἀνάγκην ὑμῖν εἶναι πορίζεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ὅπως μὲν ταύτα ἔχετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε, λαβόντας ὁπλα οἰάπερ ἴμεις ἔχομεν1 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κίνδυνον ἐμβαίνειν, κἂν τι ἐκ τούτων καλὸν κάγαθον γίγνηται, τῶν ὁμοίων ἡμῖν ἄξιούσθαι.

16. Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν χρόνον ἴμεις τε τοξόται καὶ ἄκουσται ἢτε καὶ ἴμεις, καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρος ἡμῶν ταύτα ποιεῖν ἤτε, οὐδὲν βαμμαστόν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν υμῖν σχολὴ ὄσπερ ἡμῖν τούτων ἐπιμελεσθαι· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὑπλίσει οὐδὲν ἴμεις υμῶν προέξω-μεν. θώραξ μὲν γε περὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀρμόττων

1 After ἔχομεν xx and (in the margin) F add καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρος ἡμῶν ἔστε (although you are somewhat inferior to us).
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
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ἐκάστῳ ἔσται, γέρρον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ὁ πάντες εἰθίσμεθα φορεῖν, μάχαιρα δὲ ἡ σάγαρις ἐν τῇ
dεξιᾷ, ἡ δὴ παιεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους δεῖσει οὐδὲν
φυλαττομένους μὴ τι παῖοντες ἔξαμάρτωμεν. 17.
tὶ οὖν ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἔτερος ἔτερον διαφέροι ἡμῶν
πλὴν τόλμη; ἦν οὐδὲν ἥμιν ἦττον προσήκει ἡ ἥμιν
ὑποτρέφεσθαι. νῦν οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢ τὰ
καλὰ πάντα καὶ τὰγαθὰ κτᾶται τε καὶ σῶζει, τί
μᾶλλον ἥμιν ἡ ὑμῖν προσήκει; κράτους τε, ὁ πάντα
tὰ τῶν ἢττόνων τοῖς κρείττοσι δωρεῖται, τὶ εἰκὸς
ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δεῖσθαι;

18. Τέλος εἶπεν, 'Ἀκηκόατε πάντα· ὀρᾶτε τὰ
ὀπλα· ὁ μὲν χρήζων λαμβανέτω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπο-
γραφέσθω πρὸς τὸν ταξίαρχον εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν
tάξιν ἡμῖν ὅτι δ' ἀρκεῖ ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρᾳ
eἶναι, καταμενέτω ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἶπεν. 19. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ
Πέρσαι ἑνόμισαν, εἰ παρακαλοῦμεν ἡστε τὰ
ὀμοία πονοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν μὴ ἐθέλη-
σουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δικαίως ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
αἰῶνος ἁμηχανοῦντες βιοτεῦειν. οὖτω δὴ ἀπογρά-
φονται πάντες ἀνέλαβον τε τὰ ὀπλα πάντες.

20. Ἐν δὲ οἱ πολέμωι ἐλέγοντο μὲν προσ-
ιέναι, παρῆσαν δὲ οὐδέπω, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ
Κύρος ἁσκεῖν μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν μὲθ' ἐαυτοῦ
eἰς ἵσχυν, διδάσκειν δὲ τὰ τακτικά, θηγεῖν δὲ
τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά. 21. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
λαβὸν παρὰ Κυναξάρου ὑπηρέτας προσεταξεν

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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
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ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἰκανῶς ἢν ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασχεῖν· τούτο δὲ παρασκευάζας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλελούησε ἄλλο ἢ ἀσκεῖν τὰ ἀμφί τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνο δοκῶν καταμεμάθηκε· κέναι ὅτι οὐτοὶ κράτιστοι ἐκαστά γίγνονται οἴ 
ἀν ἀφέμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν ἐπὶ ἐν ἔργον τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν 
pολεμικῶν περιελῶν καὶ τὸ τόξο μελετάν καὶ ἀκοντίωσε· κατέλυπε τούτο μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν 
μαχαίρα καὶ γέρρῳ καὶ θώρακι μάχεσθαι· ὅστε εὐθὺς αὐτῶν παρασκευάζει τὰς γυώμοις ὡς ὁμόσε 
ἰτέων εἰ γιγάς τὸς πολεμίως, ἢ ὁμολογητέου μηδενὸς 
einai ἀξίους συμμάχους· τούτο δὲ χαλεπὸν ὁμολογῆσαι οὖσις ἰν εἰδώσων ὅτι οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν 
ἄλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅπως μαχοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν 
τρεφόντων.

22. Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοήσας ὅτι περὶ 
ὅπως ἄν ἐγγένονται ἄνθρώποις φιλονικίαι, 
pολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταῦτ' ἀσκεῖν, ἀγωνίας τε 
aυτοῖς προεῖπεν ἀπάντων ὅποσα ἐγίγνωσκεν 
ἀσκεῖσθαι ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ 
προείπε τάδε, ἱδώτη μὲν ἔαυτων παρέχειν εὐπειθὴ 
τοῖς ἀρχούσι καὶ ἐθελότον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον 
μετ' εὐταξίας καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τῶν στρατιωτικῶν 
καὶ φιλόκαλον περὶ ὀπλα καὶ φιλότιμον ἐπὶ πάσι 
τοῖς τοιούτοις, πεμπαδάρχῳ δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὰ ὁλόπε 
τοῦ ἀγαθῶν ἱδώτην καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ 
δυνατὸν τοιαῦτην παρέχειν, δεκαδάρχῳ δὲ τὴν 
δεκάδα ὁσάυτώς, λοχαγῷ δὲ τὸν λόχον, καὶ

1 ικανῶς Castalio, Edd.; ικανοῦς MSS.
2 ἐγγένονται ... φιλονικίαι Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; ἐγγένο 
νται ... φιλονικίαι y; γένονται ... φιλονικίαι zs, Dindorf.
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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
ταξιάρχων ἀνεπίκλητον αὐτὸν ὅντα ἐπιμέλεσθαι καὶ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἄρχοντων ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι αὐ ἂν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσι τὰ δέοντα ποιοῦντας.

23. Ἀθλα δὲ προύφηνε τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις ὡς τούς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἔσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστους δόξειαν τοὺς λόχους ἀποδεικνύει, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας ἐπαναβῆσεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρατίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ πεμπταδάρχων ὡςαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν δεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπταδάρχων. ὑπῆρχε δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρῶτον μὲν θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχομένων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀλλαὶ τιμαὶ αἱ πρέπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο. ἐπανετείνυοντο δὲ καὶ μείζουνες ἔπλιδες τοῖς ἁξίοις ἐπαίνου, εἰ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἀγαθὸν μείζον φανοῖτο.¹

24. προεῖπε δὲ νικητήρια καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς τάξεις καὶ ὅλως τοῖς λόχοις, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡςαύτως καὶ ταῖς πεμπάσιν, αἱ ἄν φαίνωνται εἰσπιστό—

¹ φανοῖτο Cobet, most Edd.; φανοίτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
² αἱ ἄν Dindorf, most Edd.; ἄν MSS., Sauppe.
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 (πεσμάτος) }</td>
<td>... corporal (πεσμάτος ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 corporals' squads</td>
<td>{1 sergeant's squad (δεκάτος) }</td>
<td>... sergeant (δεκάτος ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sergeants' squads</td>
<td>{1 platoon (λόχος) }</td>
<td>... lieutenant (λοχαγός ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 platoons</td>
<td>{1 company (ράξις) }</td>
<td>... captain (ράξις ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 companies</td>
<td>{1 regiment (χίλιος) }</td>
<td>... colonel (χίλιος ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 regiments</td>
<td>{1 brigade (μυριοστύς) }</td>
<td>... general (μυριοστύς ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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tatai tois arxhousin ousai kai probhimotata
askousai ta proeiriqmenva. hyn de tautais ta
vnektiria oia de eis plhous prepei.
Tauta men de proeirpti te kai hskieito h
stratia.

25. Skhnav o aitoiis kateskeusae, plhous men
osou taziarchoi hasan, megathos deoste ikanai
einai th tazei ekasteh. h de1 tazei h ekatoh
andres. eskhnoun men de ohto katata tazeis:
evn de tfo omou skhnov edokoun men aitfo wfe-
leiathai pros ton melloonta agona touto oti
eferon alhlous omiois trephonous kai ouk
enyn profasis meionexias oste ufiesaithi tinas2
kakio eteron eteron einai pros tous polemious.
wfeleiathai de edokoun aitfo kai pros to gynw
skon alhlous omoi skhnoyn. ev de tfo gynw
skesathai kai to aiogunvethai pasi dokei mallo
eggenesethai, oi de anouvmenoi radionygein pws
mallo dokousin, astper en skotei ovtes. 26. edo-
koun de aitfo kai eis to tas tazeis akribou
megala wfeleiathai dia thn youkhn. elhon
gar ois men taziarchoi up' eautois tas tazeis
kekosymenias astper optote eis eva proenvito h
tazei, ois de loxagol tous luchos wsautow, ois
dekadarchoi dekadas, peumpadarchoi peumpadas.
27. to de diakriboyn tas tazeis sfodra edokei
aitfo agathon einaiv kai eis to mh tarattethai
kai eis taraxtheien thton katasthynai, astper

1 ekasthe, h de y, most Edd.; ekasthe o de z; ekasthe de x.
2 tinas Hug, later Edd.; tina MSS., earlier Edd.

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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
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γε καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἄν δέη συναρμοσθῆναι, ἕστι, καὶ ὅπωσον καταβεβλημένα τύχῃ, συναρμόσαι αὐτὰ εὐπετῶς, ἢν ἔχῃ γνωρίσματα ὅστ’ εὐθύλην εἶναι ἡ ὅποιας ἐκαστὸν χώρας αὐτῶν ἑστὶν. 28. ἔδοκον δ’ ὁφελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁμοῖ τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱππὸν ἄλληλοις ἐθέλειν ἀπολείπειν, ὅτι ἐώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ συντρε-φόμενα δεινῶν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἣν τις αὐτὰ διαστὰ ἀπ’ ἄλληλων.

29. Ἐπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτον ὁ Κύρος ὅπως μήπωτε ἀνίδρωτοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστὸν καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσίοιεν. ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ θηραν ἔξαγων ἰδρώτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν, ἢ παιδιᾶς τοιαύτας ἐξηύρισκεν αἱ ἰδρώτα ἐμελλον παρέχειν, ἢ καὶ πρᾶξαι εἰ τι δεόμενος τύχοι, οὕτως ἐξηγείτο τῆς πράξεως ὡς μὴ ἐπανίσχου ἀνιδρωτί. τοῦτο γὰρ ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱδέως ἑσθεῖν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνει καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πονεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλληλοις δὲ πραστέρους εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱπποὶ συμπονοῦντες ἄλληλοις πραστέροι συν-εστήκασι. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγα-λοφονέστεροι γίγνονται οἱ ἄν συνειδῶσιν ἐαυτοῖς εὐ ἡσκηκότες.

30. Κύρος δ’ ἐαυτῷ σκηνῇ μὲν κατεσκευάσαστο όστε ἰκανήν ἔχειν ὅς καλοῖς ἐπὶ δεῖπνου. ἔκαλε δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξιάρχων οὕς καίρος αὐτῷ δοκοῖ εἶναι, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ
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;
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ton dekadaρχων tiṿas kai tōn peμpadaρχων ἐκάλει, ἦστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ tōn stratiωτῶν, ἦστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ peμpάδα ὅλην kai deκάδα ὅλην kai lóχon ὅλον kai τάξιν ὅλην. ἐκάλει δὲ kai ἔτιμα ὅπωτε tiṿas ἵδιο τοιωτόν τι ποιήσαντας ὃ αὐτὸς ἐβοῦλετο ποιεῖν. ἦν δὲ tὰ pαρατιθέμενα ἄει ἴσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ tοῖς καλομένοις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

31. Kal tōn καὶ φι tὸ strάτευμα δὲ ὑπηρέτας ἴσομῆρους πάντων ἄει ἐποίειν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον τιμᾶν ἥξιον ἐδοκεῖ, αὐτῷ εἶναι tοὺς καὶ φι tὸ strατιωτικὰ ὑπηρέτας οὔτε κηρύκων οὔτε πρέσβεων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοὺς ἤγειτο δὲῖν εἶναι tούτους καὶ ἐπιστήμονας tῶν strατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετούς, προσέτι δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ tαχεῖς καὶ ἀόκνους καὶ ἀταράκτους. πρὸς δ᾽ ἐτι αἱ βελτιστοὶ νομιζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγνώσκεν ὁ Κύρος δὲῖν tοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν, καὶ tοῦτο ἄσκεῖν ὡς μηδὲν ἀναίνουτο ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζουσι πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πράττειν ὅσα ἄρχον προστάττοι.

II

1. Ἀεὶ μὲν oὐν ἐπεμέλετο ὁ Κύρος, ὡπότε συσκευοίειν, ὅπως εὐχαριστώτατοι τε ἁμα λόγοι ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρορμῶντες εἰς τάγαθον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸνδε ποτὲ τῶν λόγων.

Ἀρά γε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνδεέστεροί τι ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦτο φαίνονται εἶναι οἱ ἐταῖροι ὃτι οὐ πεπαίδευνται τοῦ αὐτῶν τρόπον ἡμῖν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἂρα

1 abvds xz, most Edd.; πάντας y, Gemoll.
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
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dioiséwν ἦμῶν οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς συνοισίαις οὔτε ὅταν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δέη;

2. Καὶ 'Τστάστας ὑπολαβών εἶπεν, 'Ἀλλ' ὁποίοι μὲν τινὲς ἐσονται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτω ἐγγαγε ἐπίσταμαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ συνοισίᾳ δύσκολοι καὶ μα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνοι αὐτῶν φαίνονται. πρῶην μὲν γε, ἔφη, Κυκάρης ἐπεμνήσεν εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἐκάστην ἱερεία, καὶ ἐγένετο κρέα ἐκάστῳ ἦμῶν τρία ἡ καὶ πλείω τὰ περιφερόμενα. καὶ ἦρξατο μὲν ὁ μάγειρος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πρότην περιόδου περιφέρων· ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσήκει περιοίσων, ἐκέλευσα ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου ἀρχισθαι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν φέρειν. 3. ἀνακραγών οὖν τις τῶν κατὰ μέσον τοὺς κύκλους κατακειμένων στρατιωτῶν Μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη, τῶνδε μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσον ἐστὼν, εἰγε ἀφ' ἦμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἀρξεται. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ἤχθεσθην, εἰ τι μεῖον δοκοῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἐκάλεσα εὐθὺς αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμέ. δὲ μάλα γε τοῦτο εὐτάκτως ὑπήκουσέν. ὡς δὲ τὰ περιφερόμενα ἱκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀτε οἰμαί ἱστάτους λαμβάνοντας, τὰ μικρότατα λεικεμένα ἢν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐκείνοις πάνυ ἀνισθέεις δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, Τῆς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεύρῳ τυχεῖν. 4. καὶ ἐγὼ εἰπὼ, 'Ἀλλὰ μὴ φρόντιζε· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἂφ' ἦμῶν ἀρξεται καὶ σὺ πρῶτος λήψει τὸ μέγιστον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον, ὅπερ δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῆς περιφορᾶς· κάκεινος ἐλαβε, κατ' ἐδοξείν αὐτῷ μείον λαβείν· κατέβαλεν οὖν δὲ ἐλαβεν ὡς ἐτερον ληψόμενος. καὶ

1 καὶ . . . οὖν χζ, Edd.; μετ' ἐμὲ δεύτερος· ὅς δ' ὁ τρίτος ἐλαβε καὶ ἐδοξείν αὐτῷ μείον δεύτερον θαλαβείν· κατάβαλει· υ (next after me; and when the third man was served, and my man

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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.).
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘ

ο άρταμος οἰμενος αυτόν οὐδέν τι δείσθαι όψιν, ὧχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτόν ἔτερον.

δ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὖτω βαρέως ἦνεγκε τὸ πάθος ὁστη ἀνήλωτο μὲν αὐτῷ ὁ εἰδήφει όψιν, δὲ ὡτι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τούτο πως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθα τε καὶ τὴ τύχη ὅργιζεσθαι δυσθετούμενοι ἀνέτρεψεν. ὡ μὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὤν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἰδὼν συνεκρότησε τῷ χειρὲ καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ήφραύνετο. ἐγὼ μὲν τοιοῦτοι, ἔφη, προσεποιούμην βήττειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν γέλωτα. κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἐνα, ὁ Κῦρε, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπιδεικνύω.

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοὐτῷ ὦσπερ εἰκός ἐγέλασαν.

δ. ἄλλος δὲ τις ἔλεξε τῶν ταξίαρχων. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ, ὁ Κῦρε, ὡς οὐκετε, οὖτω δυσκόλω ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὡς σὺ διδάξας ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπέπεμψας καὶ ἐκέλευσας διδάσκειν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐκαστὸν τάξιν ἄ παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, οὖτω δὴ καὶ ἐγώ, ὦσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποίουν, ἔλθὼν ἐδιδασκόν ἐνα λόγον. καὶ στῆσας τὸν λοχαγὸν πρότον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρα νεανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ ωμὴν δεῖν, ἐπειτα στὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπροσθεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόγον, ἤνικα μοι ἐδόκει καίρος εἶναι, προϊέναι ἐκέλευσα. ἲ. καὶ ἄνηρ σοι ο νεανίας ἐκείνος προελθὼν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρότερος ἐπορεύετο. καγὼ ἵδων εἰπον, Ἀνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ δὴ ἔφη, Προέρχομαι ὦσπερ σὺ κελεύεις. καγὼ εἰπον, Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγω σὲ μόνον ἐκέλευν ἄλλα πάντας προϊέναι. καὶ δὲ ἀκούσας τούτο μεταστραφεῖς πρὸς τοὺς λοχίτας εἰπεν, Οὐκ ἀκούσετε, ἔφη, λοιδορουμένου; προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἀνδρες πάντες παρελθόντες

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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.
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tῶν λοχαγῶν ἦσαν πρὸς ἐμὲ. 8. ἔπει δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς αὐτοῦς ἀνεχώριζεν, ἐδυσφόρου καὶ ἔλεγον, Ποτέρφ δὴ πείθεσθαι χρῆ; νῦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει προϊέναι, ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἔδ. ἡγὼ μέντοι ἐνεγκὼν ταύτα πράσως ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοὶ καταχωρίσας εἰπον μηδένα τῶν ὁπισθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἀν ὁ πρόσθεν ἤγηται, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μόνῳ ὡρὰν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπεσθαί. 9. ὡς δ’ εἰς Πέρσας τις ἀπιῶν ἤλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐκέλευσε με τῆν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔγραψα οὐκαδε δούναι, κἀγὼ, ὁ γὰρ λοχαγὸς ἦδει ὁπον ἐκεῖτο ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν δραμοῦντα ἐνεγκεῖν τῆν ἐπιστολήν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔτρεχεν, ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐκεῖνος εἰπετο τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος ἵδων ἐκεῖνον συνέτρεχον καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἄνδρες φέροντες τῆν ἐπιστολήν. οὔτως, ἔφη, ὁ γ’ ἐμὸς λόχος σοι ἀκριβοὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ.

10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ως εἰκός ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῇ δορυφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς: ὁ δὲ Κύρος εἴπετι, Ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ πάντες θεοὶ, οἵους ἀρα ἡμεῖς ἔχουμεν ἄνδρας ἑταίρους, οἱ γε εὐθεράπευτοι μὲν οὕτως εἰσὶν ὡστε εἰναι αὐτῶν καὶ μικρῷ ψυφεὶ παμπόλλῳς φίλους ἀνακτήσασθαι, πιθανὸν δ’ οὕτως εἰσί τινες ὥστε πρὶν εἰδέναι τὸ προστατόμενον πρότερον πείθονται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶδα ποίους τινὰς χρῆ μᾶλλον εὔξασθαι ἢ τοιοῦτοις στρατιῶτας ἔχειν.

11. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἀμα γελῶν οὕτως ἐπῆνεσε τοὺς στρατιῶτας. ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ ἐτύγχανε τις ὁν τῶν ταξιάρχων Ἀγλαϊάτάδος ὀνόμα, ἀνὴρ τῶν τρόπων τῶν στρυφνοτέρων ἀνθρώπων, δι’ οὕτωσί 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, Aglaítadas 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,
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πως εἶπεν· Ὡ νὰρ ὁδεῖ, ἔφη, ὅ Κῦρε, τοῦτοι ἀλήθη λέγειν ταῦτα;

᾽Αλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ψεύδονται;

Τί δὲ ἀλλο γ’, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν ἑθέλοντες ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται.

12. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Ἐυφήμει, ἔφη, μηδὲ λέγε ἀλαζόνας εἶναι τοῦτοις. ο μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζών ἐμοιχεῖν ὄνομα κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιουμένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἡ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρειοτέροις καὶ ποίησειν ἀ μὴ ἱκανοὶ εἰσίν ὑπερχυριμένοις, καὶ ταῦτα φανερῶς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἑνεκα καὶ κερδᾶναι ποιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ μηχανώμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνούσι μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν κέρδει μὴ τῇ ἐπὶ ξημίᾳ τῶν ἀκούοντων μήτε ἐπὶ βλάβη μηδεμιᾷ, πῶς ὅντι οὕτωι ἀστεῖοι ἄν καὶ εὐχάριτες δικαιότεροι ὄνομάζοντο μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλαζόνες;

13. Ὡ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπολογήσατο περὶ τῶν τῶν γέλωτα παρασχόντων αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ταξιαρχὸς 1 ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόχου χαρίτιν διηγησάμενος ἔφη. Ἡπόν ἄν, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀγαλαίτάδα, εἰ γε κλαίειν ἐπειρώμεθα σε ποιεῖν, σφόδρα ἂν ἡμῖν ἐμέμφου, ὥσπερ τινοὶ καὶ ἐν φῶδαις καὶ ἐν λόγοις οἰκτρὰ τινα λογοποιοῦντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρώνται ἁγείν, ὅποτε γε νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐφραίνει μὲν τί σε λαμπόμεθα, βλάψαι δὲ οὐδὲν, ὅμως οὕτως ἐν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἐχεις.

14. Ναὶ μᾶ Δι’, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγαλαίτάδας, καὶ δικαίως

1 ὁ ταξιαρχὸς Zeune, Dindorf, Gemoll, Breitenbach; ὁ λοχαγὸς MSS.; [ὁ λοχαγὸς] Bornemann, Marchant.

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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,
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gε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλαίοντας ἑκάτερους
τοὺς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεὶ ἐλάττωνος
ἀξία διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτοῦς μηχα-
νώμενος. εὐρήςεις δὲ καὶ σὺ, ἣν ὀρθῶς λογίζῃ,
ἐμε ἀληθῆ λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατερὲς
νῦν σοφροσύνην μηχανώνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι
παισίν ἀγάθα μαθήματα, καὶ νῦνι γε πολίτας
διὰ τοῦ κλαίοντας καθίζων εἰς δικαιοσύνην προ-
τρέπονται τοὺς δὲ γέλωτα μηχανωμένους ἔχοις
ἀν εἰπείν ἡ σώματα ὀφελοῦντας ἡ ψυχὰς οἰκονο-
μικοτέρας τι ποιοῦντας ἡ πολιτικοτέρας;

15. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ 'Τστάσπας ὡδὲ πώς εἶπε:
Σὺ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγλαῖτάδα, ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, εἰς μὲν
τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολ-
λού ἄξιουν, καὶ κλαίοντας ἐκείνους πειράζῃ καθι-
ζειν ἢμῦν δὲ πάντως, ἔφη, τοὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις
tούτου τοῦ ὀλύγον ἄξιον, τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπίδαψι-
λεύτε. καὶ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺς σοὶ ἐστίν ἀποκεί-
μενος. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς χρώμενος ἀνησύχωκας αὐτὸν,
οὔτε μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ ἔνοικος ἐκὼν εἶναι γέλωτα
παρέχεις. ὡστε οὐδὲμα σοι πρόφασίς ἐστιν ὅς
οὐ παρεκτέουν σοι ἢμῖν γέλωτα.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀγλαῖτάδας εἶπε, Καὶ οἶει γε, ὦ
Τστάσπα, γέλωτα περιποιεῖν ἔξ ἐμοῦ;
Καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος ἐἶπε, Ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἀνόητος
ἀρα ἐστίν ἐπεὶ ἐκ γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἶμαι, ῥάν αὖ τὶς
ἐκτρίψειν ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοντο.

16. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὐ τε ἄλλου ἐγέλασαν,
tὸν τρόπον εἰδότες αὐτῶν, ὅ τ' Ἀγλαῖτάδας
ἐπεμειδίασε. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν φαιδρω-

1 κλαίοντας Cobet, Edd. ; κλάειν MSS.
2 ταξίαρχος Philelphus, Edd. ; λοχαγὸς MSS.
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:
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θέντα, Ἀδικεῖς, ἔφη, ὃς ταξιαρχὲς, ὁτι ἄνδρα ἡμῖν τὸν σπουδαίοτατον διαφθείρεις γελαν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οὕτω πολέμιον ὑμα τῷ γέλωτι.

17. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐτυαῦθα ἔληξεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάντας ὤδε ἔλεξεν. 18. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὃς Κύρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐννοῶ ὦτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελτίωνες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἄξιοι· ἣν δὲ τι γένηται ἀγαθόν, ἀξιώσουσιν οὕτω πάντες ἰσομοιρεῖν. καὶ τοι ἔγωγε οὐδὲν ἀνισότερον νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἢ τοῦ ἱσοῦ τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτο, Ἀρ' οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὃς ἄνδρες, κράτιστον ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου βουλὴν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα, ποτέρα δοκεῖ, ἢν τι ἐκ τῶν πόνων δῷ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὸν, ἰσομοίρους πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκοποῦντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστῳ προστιθέναι;

19. Καὶ τί δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προειπεῖν ὦτι οὕτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας οὕτω προείπας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα;

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐχ ὦμοια ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἀν στρατευόμενοι κτῆσωνται, κοινὰ οἶμαι ἐαυτῶν ἡγήσονται εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἄρχην τῆς στρατιάς ἐμὴν ἵσως ἔτι οἰκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὥστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἀδικεῖν νομίζουσιν.

1 ταξιαρχὲ Philephus, Edd.; λοχαγέ 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."
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20. Ἡ καὶ οἷς, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ἐγείρασαι ἀν τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν ὥστε μὴ ἴσων ἐκαστὸν τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δόροις πλεονεκτεῖν;

'Εγώνγ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οἶμαι, ἀμα μὲν ἦμος συναγορεύωντων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχρὸν ὅν ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν πλείστα καὶ πονοῦντα καὶ ὥφελούντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτον καὶ μεγίστων ἀξιόνσθαι. οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις συμφέρον φανεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν.

21. Ο δὲ Κύρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ὀμοτίμων γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα· βελτίωσις γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἥγειτο τούτους εἶναι, εἰ εἰδεῖεν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ αὐτοῦ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἄξιων τεύξονται. καιρὸς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι νῦν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου ψήφου, ἐν δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀμότιμοι ὄκνουν τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου ἰσομορίαν. οὗτω δὴ συνεδόκει τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τούτου λόγους καὶ συναγορεύειν ταῦτα ἔφασαν χρῆναι ὀστιστερ ἀνὴρ οὐκοῦτε εἶναι.

22. Ἐπιγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξιάρχων τις εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀνδρα οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου δς συνερεῖ ὥστε μὴ εἰκῆ οὕτως ἰσομορίαν εἶναι.

'Αλλος δ' ἀντίρρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγω. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐστι νή Δί' ἀνὴρ ἡμῶν σύσκηνος, δς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλέον ἔχειν.

'Αλλος δ' ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν, Ἡ καὶ τῶν πόνων;

Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε ψευδό-

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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
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μενος ἐάλωκα. καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὀρῶ πάνω θαρραλέως βουλόμενον μειὸν ἔχειν παρ’ ὀντυαοῦν.

23. Ἀλλ’ ἔγω μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ ἀνδρεῖς, γιγνώσκω τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἶνον καὶ οὐτος νῦν λέγει, εἴπερ δεὶ ἐνεργὸν καὶ πειθόμενον ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρετέοις 1 εἶναι ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶναι οἶνον ἔπεσθαι ἢ ἂν τις ἥγηται: ἄγειν δ’ οἶμαι ἐπιχειροῦν οἱ μὲν καλὸι κάγαθοι ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κάγαθα, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. 24. καὶ πολλάκις τοίνυν πλείονας ὀμογνώμονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαύλοι ἢ οἱ σπουδαῖοι. ἡ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παραυτικά ἥδονῶν πορευομένη ταύτας ἔχει συμπενθοῦσας πολλοὺς αὐτὴ ὀμογνώμονειν ἢ δ’ ἀρετὴ πρὸς ὀρθῶν ἀγοῦσα οὐ πάνω δεινὴ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραυτικῷ εἰκῇ συνεπιστάσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν ἄλλοι ὅσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρανές καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀντιπαρακαλοῦντες. 25. καὶ τοίνυν ὅταν μὲν τίνες βλακεῖα καὶ ἀποτίς μόνον κακοὶ ὅσι, τούτους ἐγὼ νομίζω ὡσπερ κηφήνας δαπάνη μόνον ζημιῶν τῶν κοινῶνας 2 οὐ δ’ ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὅσι κοινωνοὶ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδρῷ καὶ ἀναίσχυντοι, οὕτω καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς εἰςι πρὸς τὰ πονηρά: πολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν πλεονεκτοῦσαν ἀποδεικνύοντο, ὡστε παντάπασιν ἐξαιρετεῖ ήμῖν οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶ.

1 ἐξαιρετέοι Stephanus, Edd.; ἐξαιρέτους MSS. (chōice).
2 τοὺς κοινῶνας Pantazides, Hartlein, most Edd.; τοὺς κοινωνοὺς xy; τὰς κοινωνιὰς z, Dindorf, Sauppe.
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.
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26. Καὶ μὴ μέντοι ὅπως ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἀλλὰ ὅσπερ ἢπποι οἱ ἀν ἀριστοὶ ὅσιν, οὐχ οἱ ἀν πατριώται, τούτους ξητεῖτε, οὔτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων ὃ ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῶσι μάλιστα συνισχυριεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ συγκοσμήσευν, τούτους λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν οὔτε γὰρ ἄρμα δῆπον ταχὺ γένοιτ' ἀν βραδέων ἢππῶν ἐνότων οὔτε δίκαιον ἀδίκων συνεζουγμένων, οὐδὲ οἴκος δύναι' ἀν εὗ οἰκεῖσθαι πονηρὸς οἰκεῖται χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενος οἰκετῶν ἤττον σφάλλεται ἢ ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ταραττόμενος.

27. Εὐ δ' ἵστε, ὦ ἀνδρείς, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τούτο μόνον ὧφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαιρεθέντες ὅτι κακοὶ ἀπέσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οἱ μὲν ἀνεπίμπλατο ἣδη κακίας, ἀποκαθαριζόμεναι πάλιν ταύτης, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἠδονές ἀτιμασθέντας πολὺ εὐθυμότερον τῆς ἁρετῆς ἀνθέ-ξονται.

28. Ὅ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πάσι συνέδοξε ταύτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησα. Εἴ δὲ τούτον πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκώμματος ἥρχετο ὁ Κύρος, κατανοήσας γὰρ τινὰ τῶν λοχαγῶν σύνδεσμον καὶ παρακλήσεις πεποιημένον ἄνδρα ὑπέρδασιν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον, ἀνακαλέσας τὸν λοχαγὸν ὑμομαστὲ εἶπεν δὴ: Ὡ Σαμβαύλα, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλληνικὸν τρόπον, ὅτι

1 καὶ μὴ μέντοι Hug, Gemoll, Marchant; μηδὲ μέντοι z, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; καὶ μηδὲ μέντοι yC; καὶ μέντοι μηδὲ E.

2 After πάντων Hug omits ἀνθρώπων; Gemoll brackets ἀνθρώπως.
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—whoevert 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
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καλὸν ἔστι, περιώγει 1 τοῦτο τὸ μειράκιον τὸ παρακατακείμενον σοι;

Νὴ τὸν Δί, ἔφη ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ἧδομαί γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ θεόμενος τούτον.

29. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ σύσκηνοι προσ- ἐβλεψαν ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλον αίσχει, ἐγέλασαν πάντες. καὶ τις εἴπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Σαμβαύλα, ποίῳ ποτὲ σε ἔργῳ ὁ ἀνήρ οὕτως ἀνήρτηται; 2

30. Καὶ δς εἴπεν, 'Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν νὴ τὸν Δία, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἔρω. ὀποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἴτε νυκτὸς εἴτε ἡμέρας, οὐπώποτέ μοι οὔτ' ἀσχολίαν προσφασίσατο οὔτε βάδην ύπήκουσέν, ἄλλο χρι τρέχον ὀποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πρᾶξαί τι προσέ- ταξα, οὐδὲν ἀνιδρωτί ποτε αὐτὸν εἶδον ποιοῦντα. πεπόηκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαδέας πάντας τοιοῦτους, οὐ λόγῳ ἄλλῳ ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνύσθης οὕτος δεὶ εἰναι.

31. Καὶ τις εἴπε, Κάπεται τοιοῦτον οὐτα οὐ φιλεῖς αὐτὸν ὡσπερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς;

Καὶ ὁ αἰσχρὸς ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη. Μὰ Δία; οὐ γὰρ φιλόπονός ἐστιν· ἐτεὶ ἤρκει ἃν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐμὲ ἠθέλε φιλεῖν, τοῦτο ἄντι πάντων τῶν 3 γυμνασίων.

1 περιώγει Juntine ed., Cobet, most Edd.; περιώγη (above the line -ει) F; περιώγεις xzD, Dindorf.
2 ἀνήρτηται Muretus, Edd.; ἀν(προ-Ε)ήρηται MSS.
3 τῶν xyGH, Gemoll, Marchant; not in A, Dindorf, et al. (all kinds of exercises).
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."
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III

1. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ καὶ γελοία καὶ σπούδαια καὶ ἔλεγχο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας σπουδὰς ποιήσαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τάγαθα τὴν σκηνήν εἰς κοίτην διέλυνυν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κύρος συνέλεξε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

2. Ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι, ὃ μὲν ἀγῶν ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν· προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι. τὰ δ’ ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, ἢ μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν (τούτο γὰρ, ἔφη, δει καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν), δῆλω ὅτι οἱ τε πολέμοι ἠμέτροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἡγαθὰ πάντα· ἢ δε ἡμεῖς αὐ νικῶμεθα, καὶ οὔτω τὰ τῶν νικώμενων πάντα τοῖς νικώσιν αὐτὰ ἄθλα πρόκειται. 3. οὔτω δὴ, ἔφη, δει υμᾶς γιγνώςκειν ὡς ὅταν μὲν ἀνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαστοὶ ἐχῶσιν ως, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸσ τις προσβυμήσεται, οὔδεν ἐσόμενον τῶν δευτερων, ταχὺ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται· οὔδεν γὰρ αὐτοὶς ἀργεῖ τιν φράττεσθαι δεομένων ὅταν δ’ ἐκαστὸς διανοηθῇ ὡς ἀλλὸς ἐσται. ὁ πράττων καὶ ὁ μαχόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς μαλακιζηται, τούτοις, ἔφη, εὐ ὕστε ὅτι πάσιν ἀμα πάντα ἥκετα χαλεπὰ φερόμενα. 4. καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὔτω πως ἐποίησε· τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς προστάτευν ἐκπονεῖν τάγαθα ἄλλους αὐτοῖς ἑπιτακτήρας δίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τις, ἔφη, 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.
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ἐνθάδε ἀναστὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτων ποτέρως ἄν τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον οἴτε τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ιδεῖν, εἰ μέλλω οὐ πλείστα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεῦξεσθαι, ἢ ἄν εἶδομεν ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακὸν εἶναι ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἱσων τεῦξόμεθα.

5. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναστάς Χρυσάντας, εἰς τῶν ὁμοτίμων, ἀνὴρ οὔτε μέγας οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς ιδεῖν, φρονῆσει δὲ διαφέρων, ἐλέξει, Ἀλλ' οἴμαι μέν, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, οὐδὲ διανοοῦμεν σε ὡς δεῖ ἰσον ἔχειν τοὺς κακοὺς τοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τούτων τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἀποπειρώμενον εἰ τις ἀρα ἦσται ἀνὴρ ὁστις ἔθελήσει ἐπιδείξει ἐαυτὸν ὡς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, ἄν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξοσι, τούτων ἰσομοιρεῖν. 6. ἔγω δ', ἔφη, οὔτε ποσίν εἰμι ταχὺς οὗτε χειρὶν ἰσχυρός, γιγνώσκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἄν ἔγω τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι ποιήσω, οὐ κριθεῖν οὔτε ἄν πρῶτος οὔτε ἄν δεύτερος, οἴμαι δ' οὔδ' ἄν χιλιοστός, ἵσως δ' οὕδ' ἄν μυριοστός· ἄλλα καὶ ἐκείνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀντιλήψονται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀγαθοὺς τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον ἄν δίκαιον ἦ· εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσοντιν, οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ ἀθύμως ἔξουσί, δέδουκα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλείων μέρος ἡ ἔγω βούλομαι.

7. Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνέστη δ' ἔπει 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-
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Κύρῳ πως ἔτι οὔκ ὀδηγεῖν συνήθης καὶ ἀρεστὸς ἀνήρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὔκ ἄγεννεὶ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικῶς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 8. Ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Πέρσαι, ἥγου-μαι μὲν ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἵσου νῦν ὁμο-σθαί εἰς τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς· ὅρῳ γὰρ ὁμοία μὲν τροφὴ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸ σῶμα ἀσκοῦν-τας, ὁμολας δὲ συνουσίας πάντας ἄξιουμένους, ταύτα δὲ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται. τὸ τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄρχονσι πείθεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ δὲ ἄν φανῇ τούτῳ ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τούτον ὁρῶ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα· τὸ τε 2 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλκιμον εἶναι οὐ τῷ μὲν προσήκον τῷ δὲ οὖ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τούτῳ προκέκριται κάλ-λιστον εἶναι.

9. Νῦν δ’, ἔφη, ἡμῖν καὶ δείκνυται 3 μάχη, ἢν ἐγὼ ὁρῶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει ἐπιστα-μένους, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τάλλα ξύλα ἐπίσταται τινα μάχην ἐκαστα οὐδὲ παρ’ ἐνὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα· ἀνα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἶον ὁ βοῦς κέρατο παῖειν, ὁ ἱππός ὀπλή, ὁ κύων στόματι, ὁ κάπρος ὀδόντι. καὶ φυλάττεσθαι γ’, ἔφη, ἀπαντά ταῦτα ἐπί- σταται ἄφ’ δὲν μάλιστα δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐ-δενὸς διδασκάλου πῶς ποτὲ φοιτήσαντα. 10. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἡπι-στάμην πρὸ τούτων ὃ τι ὠμὴν πληγήσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τῷ χείρε προέχων ἐνέπο-

1 τὸ σῶμα xz, Marchant; τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἄφυς y, most Edd. (not physically υψήλ). 2 τὸ τε C, Breitenbach, Marchant; τὸ τ’ αδ yG, Dindorf, Gemoll. 3 deìknytai x, Marchant, Gemol; δείδεικται yz, most Edd.

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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
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διξον ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παίοντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν ὦν διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ παιδικοῖς, εἰ προβαλλόμην. μάχαιραν γε μὴν εὐθὺς παιδίον ὃν ἦρπαξον ὅπον ἰδοὺμι, οὐδὲ παρ᾽ ἐνὸς οὐδὲ τούτο μαθῶν ὅπως δεῖ λαμβάνειν· ἡ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς ἐγώ φημι. ἐποίουν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο κωλυόμενος, ὦν διδασκόμενος· ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν ὃ εἰργόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ μητρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πράττειν ἡμαγγαξίμην. καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Νία ἐπαίον γε τῇ μαχαίρᾳ πάν ὁ τι δυναίμην λαμβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον φύσει ήμι, ὥσπερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢδυ πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι τοῦτο ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν, ἐφη, αὕτη ἡ μάχη καταλεῖπεται, ἐν ἡ προθυμίας μᾶλλον ἡ τέχνης ἔργου ἔστιν, πῶς ἡμῖν οὐχ ἡδέως πρὸς τοῦτὸ τοὺς ὑμῶν ἀνοχυστέον; ὅπου γε τὰ μὲν ἀθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἵσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ ὦν ἵσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἵμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὦτοι μὲν ἐντιμοῦν, ὥσπερ μόνος ἥδιστος, βίον, ἥμεῖς δὲ ἐπίπονον μὲν, ἄτιμον δὲ, ὥσπερ οἶμαι χαλεπώτατος.

12. Μάλιστα δὲ, δὲ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲ [εὐθύμως]¹ εἰς τὸν ἁγώνα τὸν πρὸς τοῦτο παρορμᾶ ὅτι Κύρος ὁ κρίνων ἔσται, ὦς ὁ φθὸνω κρίνει, ἀλλὰ (σὺν θεῶν ὅρκῳ λέγω) ἡ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Κύρος οὐστινας ἄν ὃρα ἁγαθοὺς φιλεῖν ὑμῖν ἰδιὸν ἦττον έαυτοῦ· τούτοις γοῦν ὅρῳ αὐτοῦ δὲ τι ἐν ἔχῃ

¹ εὐθύμως MSS.; bracketed or omitted by most Edd.; εὐθύς πως Gemoll (straight on).
² ἀν ὃρα y, most Edd.; ὃρα ἡ, Gemoll.

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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"
13. καὶ τοί, ἔφη, οίδα ὅτι οὗτοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν ὅτι πεπαίδευται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμῶν καὶ δύσων καὶ πρὸς ρίγους καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἥμεις ὑπὸ κρέττουνος διδασκάλου πεπαίδευμέθα ἢ οὗτοι. οὺ γὰρ ἐστὶ διδάσκαλος οὐδεὶς τούτων κρέττων τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἡμᾶς καὶ λιαν ταῦτ' ἀκριβοῦν ἐδίδαξε. 14. καὶ ποιεῖν οὗτοι μὲν τὰ ὁπλα φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἃ ἐστὶν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώπων ἡρμηνέα ὡς ἃν εὐφορώτατα εἰπ., ἥμεις δὲ γ', ἔφη, ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν ἡναγκαζόμεθα, ώστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν φόρημα ττεροῖς μᾶλλον ἑοικέναι ἡ φορτίω.

15. Ὁς οὖν ἐμοῦ γε καὶ ἀγωνιομένου καὶ ὁποῖον ἃν τις ὃ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν με τιμᾶν ἄξιοσωστος, οὗτος, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρος, γίγνωσκε. καὶ ὑμῖν γ', ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες δημόται, παραίνω εἰς ἐριν ὀρμᾶσθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς πεπαίδευμένους τούσδε. νῦν γὰρ ἄνδρες εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν δημοτικῇ ἀγωνίᾳ.

16. Φεραύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἰπεν. ἀνίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων συναγορεύοντες. ἐδοξεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον, Κύρον δὲ τῶν κρίνοντα εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω προμεταφέρχει.

17. Ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπτον ο Ἀθηναίος καὶ ὅλην ποτὲ τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἰδῶν αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἡμῖνες ὅτι τῶν ἄνδρων τῆς τάξεως ἀντιτάξαντα ἑκατέρωθι εἰς ἐμβολῆν, θώρακας μὲν ἀμφοτέρους

1 ἡδιόν y, most Edd.; not in xz, Gemoll.
2 ἄνδρες Schneider, Edd.; ἄνδρες MSS.

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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
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έχουτας καὶ γέρρα ἐν ταῖς ἄριστεραις, εἰς δὲ τὰς
dεξιὰς νάρθηκας παχεῖς τοὺς ἡμίσεσιν ἔδωκε,
τοῖς δὲ ἐτέρως ἐίπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δεήσοι ἀναιρου
cένους ταῖς βώλοις.

18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι οὕτως ἔστησαν,
ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἔνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν
ἔβαλλον ταῖς βώλοις καὶ ἐστὶν οἱ ἐτύγχανον
καὶ θωράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ
κυμίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοί ἐγένοντο, οἱ τοὺς νάρθηκας
έχουτες ἔπαιον τῶν μὲν μηροὺς, τῶν δὲ χειρα,
tῶν δὲ κυμίας, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπίκυπτόντων ἐπὶ
βώλους ἔπαιον τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νότα.
tέλος δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι
πάοντες σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι καὶ παιδίᾳ. ἐν
μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἐτεροὶ λαβόντες πάλιν τοὺς
νάρθηκας ταῦτα ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βώλοις
βάλλοντας.

19. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀγασθεὶς ὁ Κῦρος, τοῦ μὲν
ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθώ, ὅτι
ἄμα μὲν ἐγυμνάζοντο, ἄμα δὲ ἡθυμοῦντο, ἄμα
δὲ ἐνίκων οἱ εἰκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὁπλίσει,
tούτῳ δὴ ἡσθεὶς ἐκάλεσε τε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς
καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἱδῶν τινας αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους,
tῶν μὲν τινα ἀντικινήμιον, τὸν δὲ χεῖρα, ἢρῶτα
tὶ πάθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖσθαν ταῖς βώ-
cλοις. 20. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπηρώτα πότερον ἐπεὶ
ὁμοί ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον
ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοί ἐγένοντο, παιδίαν
ἐφασαν εἰναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι οἱ δὲ

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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
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συγκεκομμένοι τοῖς νάρθηξιν ἀνέκραγον ὅτι οὐ σφίσι δοκοῖ παιδία εἶναι τὸ ὁμόθεν παῖεσθαι· ἄμα δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθέκων τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχήλοις, ἑνοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις. καὶ τὸτε μὲν ὀστέρ εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπὶ ἄλληλοις.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία μεστὸν ἦν τὸ πεδίον πάν τῶν τούτων μιμομένων καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πράττοιεν, ταύτη τῇ παιδιᾷ ἐχρώντο.

21. Ἀλλον δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν ταξιαρχον ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστερον ἐφ' ἐνός; καὶ ὁπότε δοκοῖ αὐτῷ καρδὸς εἶναι, παραγγέλων τὸν ὑστερον λόχον παράγειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον

1 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—

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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—

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

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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 and then the third and the fourth

Third Formation—

Fourth Formation—

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

Finally in these groups of six each, they are led, single file, in to dinner.
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καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν μετώπῳ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐγένοντο, παρηγγύησεν εἰς δύο ἄγειν τὸν λόχον· ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ παρῆγγιον οἱ δεκάδαρχοι εἰς μέτωπον· ὅποτε δὲ αὐ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παρηγγυεῖλεν εἰς τέταρας τὸν λόχον· οὕτω δὴ οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι αὐ παρῆγγιον εἰς τέταρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγείλας αὐ εἰς ἐνα οὕτως 1 εἰσῆγη τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ τὸν δεύτερον τούτου καὶ' οὐράν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπεσθαί, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ὁσαύτως παραγγείλας ἦγειτο εἰςω· οὕτω δὲ εἰσαγαγὼν κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὄσπερ εἰσεπορεύοντο· τούτοις οὖν ο Κύρος ἀγαθεὶς τῆς τε πρᾶτητος τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐκάλεσε ταῦτην τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον δύν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ.

22. Παρὰν δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶ δεύτεροι κεκλημένος ἄλλος ταξιάρχος, Τὴν δ' ἐμὴν, ἔφη, τάξιν, ὁ Κύρη, οὐ καλεῖς εἰς τὴν σκηνήν; καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε παρῇ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον, πάντα ταῦτα 2 ποιεῖ; καὶ ὅταν τέλος ἡ σκηνή ἔχη, ἐξάγει μὲν ὁ οὐραγός, ἔφη, ὁ τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου τὸν λόχον, ὡστάτους ἔχων τοὺς πρῶτους τεταγμένους εἰς μάχην ἐπειτα τὸ δεύτερος τοὺς τὸν έτέρον λόχον ἐπὶ τούτους, καὶ τὸ τρίτος καὶ τὸ τέταρτος ὁσαύτως, ὡσποῦ, ἔφη, ὅταν ἀπάγειν δέῃ ἀπὸ πολεμίων, ἐπίστωσται ὡς δεῖ ἀπιέως. ἐπειδὰν δὲ, ἔφη, καταστώμεν εἰπὶ τὸν δρόμον ἐνθα περιπατοῦμεν, ὅταν μὲν πρὸς ἐὼ ἱκμεν, ἔγω μὲν ἡγοῦμαι,

1 οὕτωs Weiske, Breitenbach; ἱόντων MSS., Dindorf; [ἱόντων] Gemoll, Marchant.
2 ταῦτα Dindorf, Edd. ; ταῦτα MSS.
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
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καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ὡς δεῖ, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λόχων δεκάδες καὶ πεμπάδες, ἐως ἂν παραγγέλλω ἐγώ. ὅταν δ', ἔφη, πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἱωμεν, ὁ οὐραγός τε καὶ οἱ τελευταίοι πρῶτοι ἀφηγοῦνται· ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὕτω πείθονται υστέρῳ ἱόντι, ἵνα ἐθίζωνται καὶ ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἤγείηθαι ὁμοίων πειθόμενοι.

23. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔφη, Ἡ καὶ αἰε τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὡς ὁ διά.

Καλῶ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς τάξεις μελετᾶτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἀμα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἀμα δ' ὅτι τὰ τε σώματα περιπατοῦντες ἀσκείτε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὦψελείτε διδάσκοντες. ἔπει οὖν πάντα διπλὰ ποιεῖτε, διπλῆν ὑμῶν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν παρέχειν.

24. Μά δ', ἔφη ὁ ταξιαρχὸς, μῆτοι γ' ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, εἰ μὴ καὶ διπλᾶς ἡμῖν τὰς γαστέρας παρέξεις.

Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς ἔποιήσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὁ Κύρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὡσπερ ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐμμοῦντο.

IV

1. Ἐξέτασιν δὲ ποτε πάντων τοῦ Κύρου ποιουμένου ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις καὶ σύνταξιν ἠλθε παρὰ Κυαξάρου ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι Ἰνδών παρεῖπ προσ-
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
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βεία· Κελεύει οὖν σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. φέρω
dὲ σοι, ἐφη ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ στολήν τὴν καλ-
λίστην παρὰ Κυαξάρου· ἐβούλετο γάρ σε ὡς
λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσμότατα προσάγειν, ὡς
ὀψομένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως ἂν προσῆσις.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος παρήγγειλε τῷ
πρώτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῳ εἰς μέτωπον στῆναι,
ἐφ’ ἐνὸς ἄγνωτα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα ἑαυτόν,
καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτό τοῦτο παραγ-
γεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευ-
σεν. οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι ταχὺ μὲν παρήγγελλον,
tαχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔποιον, ἐν ὀλλίῳ
dὲ χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τρικοσίων,
tοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταξίαρχοι, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ’
ἐκατόν. 3. ἔπει δὲ κατέστησαν, ἔπεσον ἐκέλευ-
σεν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἡγηταί· καὶ εὔθως τροχάξων
ἡγεῖτο. ἔπει δὲ κατενόησε τὴν ἀγνιάν τὴν πρὸς
tὸ βασίλειον φέρουσαν στενοτέραν οὕσαν ἢ ὡς
ἐπὶ μετώπου πάντας διενέα, παραγγείλας τὴν
πρώτην χιλιοστὴν ἔπεσον κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ
dευτέραν κατ’ οὐράν ταύτης ἀκολούθειν, καὶ διὰ
πάντων οὕτως, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡγεῖτο οὐκ ἀναπαυό-
μενος, αἱ δ’ ἀλλὰ χιλιοστάς κατ’ οὐρὰν ἐκάστη
tῆς ἐμπροσθεν εἴποντο.

4. Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα
τῆς ἀγνιάς, ὅπως εἰ τῆς ἀγνοοῖς, σημαίνοιεν τὸ
δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δ’ ἄφικοντο ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου
θύρας, παρήγγειλε τῷ πρώτῳ ταξιάρχῳ τὴν τάξιν

1 τρικοσίων 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 dwdeka tattewn basdos, touc de dwdekarchoi en metwtpo kaiistwv pai peri to basileion, kal to deuterpo tauta ekelenwse paraggeilai, kal dia pantaes ouwos. 5. oii mev de taut' epopion. o de eishe pro tov Knavarh non tiv Periwn stolh soud evi vbrismeni. evw de autov o Knavarh tiv mev tachei xwvth, tiv de faulotphtis tis stolhs hkhthes, kal eite, Tiv toito, o Kure; oion pepoikhkai ouw faneis tois 'Ivdois; evw de, efh, eboulomhn se ws lambprotaton fainvai: kai gar emoi an kosmos hiv toito, emhs otna adelphi hiv oti megalostrpeostatov fainesai.

6. Kali o Kureos pro tauta eite, Kali poteryreso an, o Knavarh, makllon se ekosmovn, eitep porphuridva evdvs kal v.elia labhvn kal strpeton perithemenos skholi kelevonti upnikovn sou, h vuv ote sin toiauti kai tosaunti dunamei ouw sou dxeis uparouw dia to se timav idroti kai stapode kal autov kekosmhenos kai tovs allous epidiekvn ws sou ouw peidomevovs;

Kureos mev ouv tauta eite. o de Knavarh nvmias autov ordhov latein ekalese tois 'Ivdois.

7. oii de 'Ivdoi eisgelontes elevan oti pemvnei svnas o 'Ivdon basileus kelevwn erwten ex oton o polemos eite Mhdois te kai to 'Asuvris. 'Enpei de sou akousamen, ekelenwse elhontas aub pro tov 'Asuvroin kakeinou tauta puvesbhai: telos d' amphoterois eiteyn umiv oti o 'Ivdon basileus, to dikaiw skesamwvos, faih mete tov hdiethmenon esesbhai.

8. Podos tahta o Knavarh eite, 'Emov mev

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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,
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tούνν ακούστε διτ ούκ ἀδικούμεν τὸν 'Ασσύριον οὐδέν· ἐκείνου δ', εἴ, δείσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὃ τι λέγει.

Παρὼν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἦρετο τὸν Κυαξάρην, Ἡ καὶ ἑγώ, ἐφη, εἴπω ὃ τι γιγνώσκω; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκέλευσεν.

Τμεῖς τούνν, ἐφη, ἀπαγγείλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεί τάδε, εἴ μὴ τι ἄλλο Κυαξάρη δοκεῖ, δι' ὃ τι φαμέν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τι φησιν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀδικεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, αἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἤχοντο. 9. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦρξατο λόγου τοιούτου.

Ὡς Κυαξάρη, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον οὐδέν τι πολλὰ ἐχών Ἰδίᾳ χρήματα οὐκ οἴκοθεν· ὅποσα δ’ ἦν, τούτων πάντων ὀλίγα λοιπά ἐχω· ἀνήλωκα δέ, ἐφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τούτο ἴσος, ἐφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἐγώ ἀνήλωκα σοῦ αὐτοῦ τρέφοντος· εὖ δ’ ἴσθι, ἐφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ τιμῶν καὶ χαρίζομενος, ὅταν τινὶ ἀγαθῶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 10. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι, ἐφη, πάντας μὲν οὕς ἄν τις βούληται ἀγαθοῦς συνεργοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ὁποίου τιμῶν οὐ πράγματος, ἢδον εἶναι εῦ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιοῦντα παραρμῶν· ἵνα λυποῦντα καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα· οὐς δὲ δὴ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων ποιήσασθαι τις βούλοιτο συνεργοὺς προθύμους, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατέων εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. φίλους γὰρ, οὐκ ἔχοντος, δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασιστοὺς συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ ἄρχοντος φθονήσουντας μήτε ἐν τοῖς

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"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
κακοὶς προδώσοντας. 11. ταύτ’ οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προγεγυμνώσκων χρημάτων δοκὼ προσδείσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντα ὅραν δὲ αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανώντα ἀτοπόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· σκοπεῖν δ’ ἀξιώ κοινῇ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιλείψῃ χρήματα. ἔαν γὰρ σὺ ἀφθόνα ἔχῃς, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐὰν εἴῃ λαμβάνεις ὅποτε δεόμην, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ εἰς τοὐτὸν τι λαμβάνοιμι δ’ μέλλοι καὶ σοι δαπανθήνει βέλτιον εἶναι.

12. Καναγχος οὖν ποτὲ σου μέμνημαι ἀκούσας ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοῦσιν ταῦτ’ αὐτῷ υπεισέχθη, ὅτι ἀκούει τοὺς πολεμίους προσέπνευτο δήμῳ, καὶ οὐτε τὸ ἔτερον πέμποι οὐτε τὸν δασμὸν δὲ ἔδει ἀπάγοι.

Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταύτα, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης, ἐκείνος· ὅστε ἐγγυνεῖ ἀπορῶ πότερον μοι κρείττον στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθείναι ὡς ἐλθάσα τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτον πολέμιον πρὸς τοῖς ἀλλοῖς προσθώμεθα.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο, Αἱ δ’ οἰκήσεις αὐτῷ πότερον ἐν ἑχυρώσεις χωρίος εἰσίν ἢ καὶ που ἐν εὐεφόδοις;

Καὶ ὁ Κυακάρης εἶπεν, Αἱ μὲν οἰκήσεις οὐ πάνη ἐν ἑχυρώσεις· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτον οὐκ ἠμέλουν· ὅρη μέντοι ἐστὶν ἐνθα δύναιτ’ αὐτῷ ἀπελθῶν ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα ἐν ἀσφαλεί ἤμεν τοῦ μὴ αὐτός γε ὑποχείρειος γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὡσ᾽ ἐνταῦθα δύναιτο

1 προδώσοντας xAH, Edd.; δρρωθήσοντας yG (shrink in fear).
2 τὸ Schneider, Edd.; not in MSS.
3 ἦ Hug, et al.; ἦ λυσιτελεῖ (ἡ E) XF, Dindorf; λυσιτελεῖν DG²; νῦν 2.

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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
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υπεκκομίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις πολιορκοῖς, προσκαθήμενος, ὁσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τούτῳ ἐποίησεν.

14. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει τάδε: Ἀλλ' εἰ θέλως, ἔφη, ἐμὰ, πέμψαι, ἰππέας μοι προσθεῖς ὥσποσοι δοκοῦσι μέτροι εἶναι, οἴμαι Ἀν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ποιῆσαι αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμὸν σοι· ἔτι δ' ἐξεύξω καὶ φίλον αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἥμιν γενήσεσθαι ἢ νῦν ἐστι.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπε, Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐξεύξω ἐκείνους ἐλθεῖν ἂν πρός σε μᾶλλον ἢ πρός ἐμὲ ἀκούω γὰρ καὶ συνθηρετάς τινας τῶν παῖδων σου γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ· ὡστ' ἵσως ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἐλθοίν πρὸς σέ· ὑποχειρών δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάντα πραξθέν πω ἢ ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα.

Οὐκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σύμφορον εἶναι τὸ λελεθέναι ἡμᾶς ταύτα βουλεύοντας;

Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καὶ ἔλθοι τις αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἰ τις ὀρμώτο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπαράσκευοι 1 ἂν λαμβάνοντο.

16. Ἀκοῦε τούς, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἢν τί σοι δόξῳ λέγειν. ἐγὼ πολλάκις δὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ τεθήκακα ἁμβέ τὰ ὅρια τῆς τε σῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἰππέας τινὰς ἧδη προσλαβὼν τῶν ἐνθέντε ἐταίρων ἀφικόμην.

Τὰ μὲν τούν ὄμοια ποιῶν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ἂν ὑποπτεύοιο· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλεῖών ἢ δύναμις φαινοῦτο ἢς ἔχων εἰώθας θηρᾶν, τοῦτο ἦδη ὑποπτόν ἂν γένοιτο.

1 ἀπαράσκευοι: Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἀπαρασκευαστοί z, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀπαρασκευαστότεροι y.

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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. Ἄλλος ἦταν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ πρόβασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἀπιστοῦν, καὶ ἣν τις ἐκεῖσε ἐξαγγείλη, ὡς ἐγώ βουλομένη μεγάλην θήραν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἱππεάς, ἔφη, αὐτοῖ-νυ ἂν σε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ.

Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. ἐγώ δὲ σοι οὐκ ἔθελήσω διδόναι πλήν μετρίους τινάς, ὡς βουλόμενος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἐλθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ τῷ οὖτι, ἔφη, βουλομαι ἐπεὶ κατασκευάσαι αὐτὰ ὡς ἐχυρώτατα. ὅποτε δὲ σὺ προεληλυθοίς σὺν ἤ ἔχους δυνάμει καὶ θηρίως καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας, πέμψαιμι ἄν σοι ἰκανοὺς ἱππεάς καὶ πεζοὺς τῶν παρ ἐμοί ἥθρουσ-μένους, οὔσι σὺ λαβῶν εὐθὺς ἄν ὄιος, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἄν ἔχων τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειράμην μὴ πρόσω ὑμῶν εἶναι, ἴνα, εἰ ποιν καίρος εἰη, ἐπιφανεῖν.

18. Ὄσω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης εὐθέως πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἥθρουσεν ἱππεάς καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ ἀμάξας δὲ σιτοῦ προὔπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια ὅδον. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ἀμα πέμπαν επὶ τὸν Κυαξάρην ἦτε τῶν νεω-τέρων ἱππεῶν. ὁ δὲ πάνω πολλῶν βουλομένων ἔπεσθαι οὐ πολλοὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ.

Προεληλυθότος δὲ ἦδη τοῦ Κυαξάρου σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ καὶ ἱππικῇ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ὅδον γύνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἵναι 2 καλάς καὶ οὔτως ἔξάγει δὴ ὡς εἰς θήραν παρεσκευασμένος.

1 ἀν τοὺς Stephanus, Edd.; ἀνὸς MSS.

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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.

20. Ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρείοις ἐγένοντο, εὐθὺς ὀστερ εἰώθει θήρα: καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππεων ὄγμενον αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπι-όντες τὰ θηρία ἔξανοσταίνει οἱ δὲ ἄρσιτοι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεις διέστασαν καὶ τάνιστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἦρουν πολλοὺς καὶ σὺς καὶ ἐλάφους καὶ ὄρκάδας καὶ ὄνους ἀγρίους πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὤνοι καὶ νῦν ἐτί γέγονται.

21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔληξε τῆς θήρας, προσμίξας πρὸς τὰ ὀρια τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐδείπνοποιήσατο καὶ τῇ ύστεραίᾳ αὕτης θήρα προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ὄν ὀρέγετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔληξεν, ἐδείπνω-ποιείτο. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Κυαξάρου στράτευμα ὅς ἦσθετο προσόν, ὑποπέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεν ἀνέχοντα αὐτοῦ δείπνοποιεῖσθαι ὅς δύο παρα-σάγγας, τοῦτο προῖδών ὡς συμβαλείται πρὸς τὸ λανθάνειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δείπνησειαν, εἰπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δείπνου

1 ἐπιπτόμενος Cobet, most Edd.; ἐπιπτόμενος MSS., Gemoll.
2 κατιδῶν Dindorf, Edd.; δὲ κατιδῶν ΧΖ; ὃς κατείδειν Z.
3 δείπνησειαν Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; δείπνησειαν MSS., Marchant, Gemoll.

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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,

\(^1\) άλλως means, strictly speaking, “auspicious,” “bringing (good) omens;” and good omens came from the east, the home of light.
τοὺς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλει· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆσαν, ἔλεξεν ὅδε·

22. Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμένιος πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμμαχος ἦν καὶ ὑπήκοος Κυνάργη· νῦν δ’ ὡς ἔσθετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας, καταφρονεῖ καὶ οὐτὲ τὸ στρατεύμα πέμπτε ἡμῖν οὐτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀποδίδως. νῦν οὖν τοῦτον θηρᾶσαι, ἢν δυνώμεθα, ἠλπομεν. ὅδ’ οὖν, ἐφ’ ὅσον, δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. σὺ μὲν, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐπειδὰν ἀποκοιμηθῆς ὅσον μέτριον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡμίσεις Περσῶν τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν θ’ τὴν ὀρεινήν καὶ κατάλαβε· τὰ ὅρη, εἰς ᾧ φασίν αὐτόν, ὅταν τὶ φοβηθῇ, κατα- 
φεύγειν ἡγεμόνας δὲ σοι ἑγὼ δῶσω. 23. φασὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα εἶναι, ὡσ’ ἐλπὶς ύμᾶς μὴ ὀφθηναι· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμποις πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐξόνους ἄνδρας λησταῖς ἐοικότας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς στολάς, οὕτωι ἅν σου, εἰ τινὶ ἐντυχάνοιεν τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν κωλύοιεν τῶν ἔχαγγελῶν, οὐ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο λαμβάνειν, ἀποσβοῦντες ἄν ἐμποδών γίγνεσθαι τοῦ † μὴ ὀρᾶν αὐτούς τὸ ὅλον στράτευμά σου, ἀλλ’ ὡς περὶ κλώπων βουλεύεσθαι. 24. καὶ σὺ μέν, ἐφ’ ὅσον ποιεῖ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχων, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἵππεας, πορεύσομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ ἣν μὲν ἀνθιστήται, δῆλον ὅτι μάχεσθαι δείξει· ἢν δ’ αὐτὸ υποχωρῆ τοῦ πεδίου, δῆλον ὅτι μεταθεῖν δείξει· ἢν δ’ εἰς τὰ ὅρη 

feύγῃ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἔρχον μηδένα

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

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ΧΕΝΟΠΟΝΟΝ

ἀφιέναι τῶν πρὸς σὲ ἀφικνουμένων. 25. νόμιζε
dὲ ὁσπέρ ἐν θῆρᾳ ἡμᾶς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας ἕσεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄρκυσι μέμνησο
οὐν ἐκεῖνο ὃτι φθάνειν δεῖ πεφραγμένους τοὺς
pόρους πρὶν κυνεῖσθαι τῇ θῆρᾳ. καὶ λεληθέναι
dὲ δεὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς στόμασιν, εἰ μέλλουσι µὴ
ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφερόμενα. 26. µὴ µέντοι,
ἐφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, οὖτως αὖ πολεῖ ὁσπέρ ἐνίστε
dιὰ τὴν φιλοθηρίαν πολλάκις γὰρ ὤλην τὴν
νῦκτα άνυπνοι πραγματεύει· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔσαι χρὴ
tοὺς ἀνδρὰς τὸ μέτριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὡς ἄν
dύνωνται ὑπνομαχεῖν.

27. Μηδὲ γε, ὅτι οὐχ ἡγεμόνας ἤχων ἀνθρώπους
πλανᾶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὀργ., ἀλλ’ ὅπῃ ἄν τὰ θηρία ὑφηγή-
tαι, ταύτῃ μεταθέσθαι, µήτε καὶ νῦν οὕτω τὰ
dύσβατα πορεύουν, ἀλλὰ κέλευε σοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, εάν
µὴ πολὺ μάσσων ἡ ὁδὸς ἦ, τὴν ράστην ἡγεῖσθαι
στρατιὰ γὰρ ἡ ράστη ταχύστη. 28. µηδὲ γε, ὅτι
σὺ εἰδεία τρέχειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὀργ., µήτε δρόμῳ ἡγήσῃ,
ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄν δύνηται σοι ὁ στρατὸς ἐπεσθαί, τῷ
µέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ. 29. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν
dυνατοτάτων καὶ προβοῦμ ὑπομένουτας τίνας
ἐνίστε παρακελεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ
κέρας, παροξυντικὸν εἰς τὸ σπεῦδειν πάντας παρὰ
tοὺς βαδίζουτας τρέχοντας ὀρᾶσθαι.

30. Χρυσάντας µὲν δὴ ταύτα ἀκοῦσας καὶ
ἐπιγαυρωθεὶς τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγείλας ὁ ἐδεῖ τοῖς
ἀμα αὐτῷ µέλλουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ

1 ἐπιζητοῦντας Stephanus, Edd.; ἐπιζητότας 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
XENOPHON

... δὲ ἀπεκοιμήθησαν ὅσον ἐδόκει μέτριον εἶναι, ἔπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη.

31. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἀγγελοῦν μὲν προύπεμπτε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἶπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅδε. Κύρος, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, κελεύει οὕτω ποιεῖν σε ὧπως ὡς τάχιστα ἔχων οἶσεις καὶ τὸν δασμὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα. ἂν δ᾽ ἔρωτὰ ὅποιν εἰμὶ, λέγε τάληθή ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις. ἂν δ᾽ ἔρωτὰ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχομαι, λέγε κἄνταῦθα τάληθή ὅτι οὐκ οἶσθα. ἐὰν δ᾽ ὁπόσοι ἐσμὲν πυνθάνηται, συμπέμπτει τινὰ κέλευε καὶ μαθεῖν.

32. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα ἐπεμψε, νομίζων φιλικότερον οὕτως εἶναι ἡ μὴ προειπόντα πορεύεσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ συνταξάμενος ἄριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, εἰ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. προείπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα ἁδίκεϊν, καὶ εἰ τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε παραγγέλλειν καὶ ἀγοράν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅποιον ἂν ὄσιν, εἴτε σίτα εἴτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πολεῖν βουλόμενος.

1 ἔχων οἰσεῖς F² G, Dindorf; ἔχων οἰσεῖς Pantazides; ἔχων οἰσεῖς ΑΗ; ἔχων ἄπιθης DF¹; ἔχων ἄπιθης καὶ οἰσεῖς BC² (ἔχων ἄπιθης καὶ οἰσεῖς C¹) (that you go away with and bring); ἔχων εἰςέν Gemoll (that you come in with); ἔχων ἄπιθ Dindorf, 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

1. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενίος ὡς ἦκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὰ παρὰ Κύρου, ἐξεπλάγη, ἐννοήσας ὅτι ἄδικοί καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λείπων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα οὐ πέμπτων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὄφθησεθαί ἔμελλε τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχόμενος ὡς ἄν ἴκανα ἀπομάχεσθαι εἰς. 2. διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ὁκνῶν ἄμα μὲν διέσεμπεν ἀθροίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἄμα δὲ ἐπέμπει εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὸν νεώτερον υἱὸν Σάβαριν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας· καὶ κόσμον δὲ καὶ κατασκευὴν τὴν πλείστου ἄξιαν συναπέσεμπε προτομτοὺς δοὺς αὐτοῦς. ἀυτὸς δὲ ἀμα μὲν κατασκευομένους ἐπέμπει τὸ πράττοι Κύρος, ἀμα δὲ συνέταττε τὸν παραγνυμένους τῶν Ἀρμενίων· καὶ ταχὺ παρῆσαν ἄλλοι λέγοντες ὅτι καὶ δὴ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ. 3. ἔνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι ἔτλη εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπεχώρει. ὡς δὲ τούτ' εἶδον ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, διεδίδρασκον ἥδη ἐκαστὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὰ ὄντα ἐκποδών ποιεῖσθαι.

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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.

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ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἔωρα διαθεόντων καὶ ἐλαυνόντων τὸ πεδίον μεστὸν, ὑποπέμπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὔ-
δεν πολέμιος εἰς τῶν μενόντων. εἰ δὲ τινὰ
φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολεμίω
χρήσοιτο. οὕτω δὴ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κατέμενον, ἰσαν
δὲ οἱ ὑπεχώρουν σὺν τῷ βασιλεί.

4. Ἐπει δ' οἱ σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶ προϊόντες ἐνέπε-
σον εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὅρει, κραυγὴν τε εὐθὺς ἐπολούν
καὶ φεύγοντες ἥλισκοντο πολλοὶ γε αὐτῶν. τέλος
δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς καὶ οἱ γυναικεῖς καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες
ἐάλωσαν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγό-
μενα ἐτύχευν.

'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς, ὡς ἔσθετο τὰ γιγνόμενα,
ἀπορῶν ποι τράποιτο ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ καταφεύγει.
5. οῦ δ' αὐ Κύρος ταῦτα ἱδὼν περισταταί τῶν
λόφων τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι, καὶ πρὸς Χρυ-
σάντων πέμψας ἐκέλευεν φυλακὴν τοῦ ὄρους κατα-
λιπόντα ἥκειν. τὸ μὲν δὴ στράτευμα ἥθροιζετο
τῷ Κύρῳ.

'Ο δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον κῆρυκα ἠρέτο
διδέ. Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, πότερα βούλει
αὐτοῦ μένων τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῷ δίψει μάχεσθαι
ἡ εἰς τὸ ἱσόπεδον καταβᾶς ἦμιν διαμάχεσθαι;

Ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀρμένιος ὅτι οὐδετέρος βούλοιτο
μάχεσθαι. 6. πάλιν ο Κύρος πέμψας ἠρέτα
Τῇ οὖν κάθησαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐ καταβαίνεις;

'Απορῶν, ἔφη, δὴ τῇ χρή ποιεῖν.

1 αὐτὸς Pantazides, most Edd.; αὕτων MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
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 ο Κύρος, ἀπορεῖν σε δεῖ· ἔξεστι γάρ σοι ἐπὶ δίκην καταβαίνειν.
Τίς δ', ἔφη, ἔσται ο δικάζων;
Δήλον δι' ὃ δ' θεὸς ἔδωκε καὶ ἀνευ δίκης χρή· σθαί σοι δ' τι θούλιστο.
'Ενταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀρμενίως γιγνώσκων τὴν ἀνάγκην καταβαίνειν· καὶ ο Κύρος λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον κάκεινον καὶ τάλλα πάντα περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο, ὁμοί ήδη πᾶσαι ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν.
7. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος 1 παῖς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Τιγράνης ἔξ ἀποδημίας τινὸς προσήκε, ὡς καὶ σύνθεσις ποτὲ ἐγένετο τῷ Κύρῳ· καὶ ὥς ἢκουστε τὰ γεγενημένα, εὐθὺς πορεύεται ὁσπερ εἰχε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον. ὥς δ' εἶδε πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφούς 2 καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναίκα αἰχμαλώτους γεγενημένους, ἐδάκρυσεν, ὁσπερ εἰκός. 8. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἴδὼν αὐτὸν ἄλλο μὲν ούδεν ἐφιλοφρονήσατο αὐτῷ, εἶπε δ' ὅτι Ἐἰς καιρὸν ἥκεις, ἔφη, ὅπως τῆς δίκης ἀκούσης 3 παρῶν τῆς ἀμφί τοῦ πατρός.
Καὶ εὑθὺς συνεκάλει τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς τῆς Ἱπποτῆς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μῆδων· προσεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἶ τις Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἑντιμῶν παρῆν. καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις παρούσας οὖκ ἀπήλασεν, ἀλλ' εἶα ἀκούειν.
9. Ὁπότε δὲ καλῶς εἰχεν, ἦρχετο τοῦ λόγου, Ὄπο Ἀρμενίως, ἔφη, πρῶτον μὲν σοι συμβου· λεύνω ἐν τῇ δίκη τάληθη λέγειν, ἵνα σοι ἐν γε

1 πρεσβύτερος 2, Edd.; πρεσβύτατος χυ (oldest).
2 ἀδελφούς Weiske, later Edd.; τὰς ἀδελφὰς MSS.

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"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,
Ἀπὸ τὸ εὐμισθητότατον τὸ γάρ ἰευδόμενον φαίνεσθαι εὐ ἱσθι ὅτι καὶ τοῦ συγγενήμης τινὸς τυγχάνειν ἐμποδῶν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπους γίγνεται ἐπειτα δ’, ἐφη, συμίσασι μὲν σοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταί πάντα ὅσα ἐπραξας καὶ Ἀρμενίων οἱ παρόντες ἢν δὲ αἰσθάνονταί σε ἀλλα ἢ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντα, νομιμοῦσι σε καὶ ἀυτῶν καταδικάζειν σεαυτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἢν ἐγὼ τάληθη πῦθωμαι.

Ἀλλ’ ἔρωτα, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρε, δ’ τι βούλει, ὡς τάληθη ἐροῦντος τούτου ἔνεκα καὶ γενέσθω δ’ τι βούλεται.

10. Δέγη δὴ μοι, ἐφη, ἐπολεμησάς ποτὲ Ἀστυ-

άγει τῷ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πατρὶ καὶ τὸς ἄλλος Μήδοις;

’Ἐγωγ’, ἐφη.

Κρατηθεὶς δ’ ὑπ’ αυτοῦ συνομολόγησας δασμὸν ὁίσειν καὶ συστρατευσέσθαι ὁ ποι ἐπαγγέλλοι, καὶ ἐρύματα μὴ ἔξειν;

’Ἡν ταῦτα.

Νῦν οὖν διὰ τί οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀπῆγες οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα ἐπεμπες, ἐτείχιζες τε τὰ ἐρύματα;

’Ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθύμουν καλὸν γάρ μοι ἐδόκει ἐναὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ παισθεν ἐλευθερίαν καταλιπεῖν.

11. Καὶ γάρ ἔστιν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, καλὸν 

μάχεσθαι, ὅπως μὴπτε τις δοῦλος μέλλοι γενή-

σεσθαι ἢν δὲ δὴ ἡ πολέμῳ κρατηθεὶς ἢ καὶ

1 συστρατευσέσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; συστρατεύεσθαι χῦ; συστρατεύσασθαι τ.

2 ὁποi: Dindorf, later Edd.; ὁποi MSS.

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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
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άλλων τινά τρόπων δουλωθείς ἐπιχειρῶν τις
φαίνεται τούς δεσπότας ἀποστερεῖν ἑαυτοῦ, τούτουν σὺ πρώτος πότερον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
καλὰ πράττοντα τιμᾶς ἢ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, ἢν λάβῃς,
κολάζεις;

Κολάζω, ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἐὰς σὺ ψεύδεσθαι.

12. Δέγε δὴ σαφῶς, ἔφη οὗ Κῦρος, καθ' ἐν ἐκαστον· ἢν ἄρχων τις τύχῃ σοι καὶ ἀμάρτη,
pότερον ἐὰς ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ;

"Αλλον καθίστημι.

Τί δὲ, ἢν χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχῃ, ἔὰς πλουτεῖν ἢ πένητα ποιεῖς;

'Αφαίρουμαι, ἔφη, ᾗν ἔχων τυχανή.

'Ην δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους γεγυώσκης αὐτοῦ ἀφιστάμενον, τὸ ποιεῖς;

Κατακαίνω, ἔφη· τί γὰρ δὲὶ ἐλεγχθέντα ὅτι ψεύδομαι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τάληθη λέ-
γοντα;

13. Εὐθα δὴ ὁ μὲν παῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκουσε ταῦτα, περείσπαστο τὴν τιάραν καὶ τοὺς πέ-
pλους κατερρήξατο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀναβόησασαι ἐδρύπτοντο, ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀπο-
λωλόσων σφῶν ἤδη. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος σωπῆσαι κελεύσας εἶπεν,2 Ἐλεν· τὰ μὲν δὴ σὰ δίκαια ταῦτα, ὁ Ἄρμενε· ἤμιν δὲ τὶ συμβουλεύεις ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖν;

'Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄρμενιος ἐσιώπα ἀπορῶν πότερα

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1 σφῶν C1G1F1, most Edd.; πάντων σφῶν χyz, Dindorf.
2 εἶπεν z, most Edd.; πάλιν εἶπεν χy, Gemoll.
in war or in any other way reduced to servitude and is then caught attempting to rob his masters of himself, 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
συμβουλεύοι τῷ Κύρῳ κατακαίνειν αὐτὸν ἡ τά-ναντία διδάσκοι δὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν. 14. ὁ δὲ παῖς αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὸν Κύρον, Ἐιπέ-μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατήρ ἀπορούντι ἔοικεν, ἡ συμβουλεύσω περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄ ν οίμαι σοι βέλτιστα εἶναι;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, ἥσθημένος, ὅτε συνεθήρᾳ αὐτῷ ὁ Τιγράνης, σοφιστήν τινα αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, πάνυ ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι ὁ τι ποτ' ἔροιη καὶ προθύμως ἐκέλευσε λέγειν ὧ τι γιγνώσκοι.

15. Ἐγὼ τούνων, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, εἰ μὲν ἀγασαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ὅσα βεβούλευται ἢ ὅσα πέπραξε, πάνυ σοι συμβουλεύον τούτον μμεί-σθαι εἰ μέντοι σοι δοκεῖ πάντα ἡμαρτηκέναι, συμβουλεύον τούτον μὴ μμείσθαι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ἥκιστ' ἀν τὸν ἡμαρτάνοντα μμοίμην.

Ἔστων, ἔφη, ταῦτα.

Κολαστέον ἄρ' ἂν εἰη κατά γε τὸν σὸν λόγον τὸν πατέρα, εἰπέρ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα δίκαιον κο-λάζειν.

Πότερα δ' ἥγει, ὦ Κύρε, ἀμεινὼν εἶναι σὺν τῷ σῷ ώγαθῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ποιεῖσθαι ἢ σὺν τῇ σῇ ζημίᾳ;

Ἑμαντὸν ἄρα, ἔφη, οὕτω γ' ἂν τιμωροίμην.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, μεγάλα γ' ἂν ζημιῶοι, εἰ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ κατακαίνοις τότε ὁπότε σοι πλείστον ἄξιοι εἶξεν κεκτήσθαι.

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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."
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Πῶς δ’ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, τότε πλεῖστον ἄξιοι γίγνοιτο ἄνθρωποι ὅποτε ἄδικούντες ἀλησκοντο;

Εἰ τότε, οἶμαι, σώφρονες γίγνοιτο. δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχειν, ἀνευ μὲν σωφροσύνης οὐδ’ ἄλλης ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν θελός εἶναι. τί γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, χρήσαι ἂν τὶς ἱσχύρες ἢ ἄνδρεῖς μὴ σώφρονί [ἡ ἵππικὴ], τὰ δὲ πλοῦσίω, τὰ δὲ δυνάστη ἐν πόλει; σὺν δὲ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ φίλος πᾶς χρήσιμος καὶ θεράπων πᾶς ἀγαθὸς.

17. Τοῦτ’ οὖν, ἔφη, λέγεις ὡς καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔξ ἄφρονος σώφρων γεγένηται;

Πάντως μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Πάθημα ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς σοὶ λέγεις εἶναι τὴν σωφροσύνην, ὡσπερ λύπην, οὐ μάθημα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δήποτε, εἰγε φρόνιμον δεῖ γενέσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα σώφρονα ἔσεσθαι, παραχρήμα εὖ ἄφρονος σώφρων ἂν τις γένοιτο.

18. Τί δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτω ἦσθον καὶ ἔνα ἄνδρα δι’ ἄφροσύνην μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντα κρείττονι ἐαυτοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἔπειδαν δὲ ἦττηθῇ, εὐθὺς πεπαυμένον τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἄφροσύνης; πάλιν δ’, ἔφη, οὕτω ἐώρακας πόλιν ἀντιταττομένην πρὸς πόλιν ἔτεραν, ἂς ἔπειδαν ἦττηθῇ παραχρήμα ταύτῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι πείθεσθαι ἐθέλει;

1 [ἡ ἵππικη] Schneider, most Edd.; ἵππικη MSS.; τί δ’ ἵππικη Dindorf, Sauppe, et al.

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"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.
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19. Πολαν δ’, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ σὺ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦτταν λέγων οὕτως ἵσχυρίζει σεσωφρονίσθαι αὐτῶν;

“Ἡν νῦ Δ’, ἔφη, σύνοιδει ἕαυτῷ ἐλευθερίας μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας, δούλος δ’ ὡς οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενος, ἐν δὲ φήμη ἱστήκει δαθείν ἢ φθάσαι ἢ ἀποβιάσσασθαι, οὐδὲν τοῦτον ἱκανὸς γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι. σὲ δὲ οἴδε, ἃ μὲν ἐβουλήθης ἐξαπατήσαι αὐτὸν, οὕτως ἐξαπατήσαστα δώσῃ τὰς τυφλοὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ μηδ’ ὀτίον φρονοῦντας ἐξαπατήσειεν. ὃ δὲ φήμης λαθεῖν χρῆναι, οὕτω σὲ οἴδε λαθόντα ὡστε ἢ ἐνόμιζεν ἕαυτῷ ἔχωρα χωρία ἀποκείθαι, τάντα σὺ εἰρκτὰς αὐτῷ ἐλαθεῖς προκατασκευάσας; τάχει δὲ τοσοῦτον περιεγένος αὐτῶν ὡστε πρόσωδεν ἐφθασας ἐξήδον σὺν πολλῷ στόλῳ πρὶν τοῦτον τὴν παρ’ ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν ἀδροίσασθαι.

20. Ἐπειτα δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἡ τοιαῦτη ἢττα σεσωφρονίζειν ἱκανή εἶναι ἄνθρωπος, τὸ γρῶναι ἀλλοὺς ἑαυτῶν βελτίων ὄντας;

Πολύ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη ὁ Τυγράνης, ἢ ὅταν μάχη τις ἱππηθῇ, ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἱσχύς κρατηθεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φήμη σωμασκήσας ἀναμαχεῖσθαι καὶ πάλιος, γε ἀλούσαι συμμάχους προσλαβόσθαι οἴονται ἀναμαχέσασθαι ἄν ὃς δ’ ἄν βελτίους τινὲς ἑαυτῶν ἡγησώνται, τούτοις πολλάκις καὶ ἀνευ ἀνάγκης ἐθέλουσι πελθεῖσθαι.

1 ὥς xy, most Edd.; not in z, Zeune, Sauppe, Hug.
2 αὐτῷ xFD2, Gemoll; οὐτά D1; σοι z (in G marked for erasure); σαυτῷ Ed.; σῷ Sauppe, Dindorf.
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."
21. Σύ, ἔφη, ἔοικας οὐκ οἶςθαι τοὺς ὑβριστὰς γιγνώσκειν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν σωφρονουστέρους, οὔδε τοὺς κλέπτας τοὺς μὴ κλεπτόντας, οὔδε τοὺς φευδομένους τοὺς τάληθη λέγοντας, οὔδε τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας οὐκ οἶςθα, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἔφευσατο καὶ οὐκέτι ἠμπέδου τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκας, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδέ ὅτι οὐνὶ ἄστυν οὐν Ἀστυάγης συνέθετο παραβαινομεν;

22. Ἀλλ' οὗδ' ἐγὼ τουτο λέγω ὅσ τὸ γυνώναι μὸνον τοὺς βελτίωτας σωφρονίζει ἄνευ τού δίκην διδόναι ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιώτων, ὡσπερ ο ἐμὸς πατὴρ νῦν δίδωσιν.

Ἀλλ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὃ γε σὸς πατὴρ πέπονθε μὲν οὗδ' ὅτι οὐνὶ πω κακὸν φοβεῖταί γε μὲντοι εὐ οὗδ' ὅτι μὴ πάντα τὰ ἐσχατὰ πάθη.

23. Οἰεὶ οὖν τι, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, μᾶλλον καταδουλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἵσχυροῦ φόβου; οὐκ οἶςθ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῷ ἵσχυροτάτῳ κολασματι νομιζομένῳ σιδήρῳ παίόμενοι δῶμος ἐθέλουσι καὶ πάλιν μάχεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς; οὐς δ' ἄν σφόδρα φοβηθῶσιν ἀνθρώπου, τούτους οὖδ' παραμυθουμένους ἐτὶ ἀντιβλέπειν δύναται;

Δέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὃς ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἐργῷ κακοῦσθαι μᾶλλον κολάζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

24. Καὶ σύγε, ἔφη, οἶςθα ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω· ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὅτι οἱ μὲν φοβούμενοι μὴ φύγωσιν πατρίδα καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι δεδώτες μὴ ἡττηθῶσιν ἀθύμως διάγουσι, καὶ οἱ πλέοντες μὴ ναναγνήσουσι.] 2 καὶ οἱ δουλεῖαν καὶ δεσμῶν

1 οὐκέτι ἠμπέδου Cobet, Edd.; οὐκ ἠμπέδου MSS.
2 Bracketed by Madvig and most later Edd. (are respond-
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.

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φοβούμενοι, οὗτοι μὲν οὖτε σίτου οὔθ' ὑπ' οὖν δύ-
ναι τα λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβον· οἱ δὲ ἥδη μὲν φυ-
γάδες, ἥδη δὲ ἦτημένοι, ἥδη δὲ δουλεύσατε, ἐστιν
ὅτε δύναται καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εὐδαίμονων ἐσθεῖν
τε ῥαθεῦδειν. 25. ἔτι δὲ φανερωτερον καὶ
ἐν τοίς οἷον φόρμα οὗ φόβος· ἐν οἷον φοβοῦ-
μενοι μὴ ληφθέντες ἀποθάνωσι προσποθήκησον τῶν
ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, οἱ μὲν ῥίππευστες ἐαυτούσ, οἱ δὲ
ἀπαγχόμενοι, οἱ δ' ἀποφατομένοι· οὕτω πάντων
τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μᾶλλον καταπλήττῃ τὰς
ψυχὰς. τὸν δ' ἔμοι πατέρα, ἣφη, νῦν πῶς δοκεῖς
διακείσθαι τὴν ψυχήν, δς οὐ μόνον περὶ ἑαυτοῦ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἑμοῦ καὶ περὶ γυναικῶς καὶ περὶ
πάντων τῶν τέκνων [δουλελάς]² φοβεῖται;

26. Καὶ οὸ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἔμοι γινὲ
οὐδὲν ἀπίστου τούτον οὐτὸ διακείσθαι· δοκεῖ
μέντοι μού τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι καὶ εὐτυχοῦστα
ἐξεύρεσαι καὶ πταίσαστα ταχὺ πτήξαι, καὶ
ἀνεβεῖν γε πάλιν αὐ μέγα φρονήσαι καὶ πάλιν
αὐ πράγματα παρασχεῖν.

27. Ἀλλὰ καὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἢφη, ὁ Κυρὶς, ἐχει μὲν
προφάσεις τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀμαρτήματα ὧστ' ἀπίστειν
ἡμῖν ἔξεστι δὲ σοι καὶ φούρνα ἐντειγίζειν καὶ
τὰ ἑξυρὰ κατέχειν καὶ ἄλλο δὲ αὐν βούλη
πιστῶν λαμβάνειν. καὶ μέντοι, ἢφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν
ἐξείς οὐδέν τι τούτοις μέγα λυπουμένους: μεμνη-
σόμεθα γαρ ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν αὐτῶν ἐσμεν· εἰ δὲ
τινὶ τῶν ἀναμαρτητῶν παραδοῦς τὴν ἄρχην

¹ ἐσθεῖν τε χ, most Edd.; ἐσθεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν γυ, Gemoll
(both eat and drink).
² δουλελάς χυζ, Dindorf.; not in Vaticanus 987; [δουλελάς]
most Edd.

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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 caught 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 unlikely, 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 wrongdoing 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
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ἀπιστῶν αὐτοὶς φανεῖ, ὅρα μὴ ἁμα τε εὗ ποιήσεις καὶ ἀμα οὐ φῖλον νομοσβίσει σε· εἳ δ' αὖ φυλαττόμενος τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὴ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτοῖς ξυνὰ τοῦ μῆ υβρίσαι, ὅρα μὴ ἐκείνους αὖ δεήσει σε σωφρονίζειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐδέσειν.

28. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τοιούτως μὲν ἔγογχε ὑπηρέταις, οὐς εἰδείνη ἀνάγκη ὑπηρετοῦντας, ἀνῆδως ἂν μοι δοκῶ χρῆσθαι· οὐς δὲ γαγνώσκειν δοκοίν ὅτι εὐνολα καὶ φιλίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ τὸ δέον συλλαμβάνουσιν, τοῦτον ἃν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας ρὰν φέρειν ἢ τοὺς μυσώντας μὲν, ἔκπλεω δὲ πάντα ἀνάγκη διαπονοομένους.

Καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης εἴπε πρὸς ταῦτα, Φιλίαν δὲ παρὰ τίνων ἃν ποτε λάβοις τοσαύτην ὅσην σοι παρ' ἡμᾶν ἐξετα κτῆσασθαι νῦν;

Παρ' ἐκείνων οἶμαι, ἔφη, [παρὰ] ¹ τῶν μηδέποτε πολεμίων γεγενημένων, εἰ ἐθέλοιμε εὐεργετεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡσπερ σὺ νῦν με κελεύεις εὐεργετεῖν ἡμᾶς.

29. Ἡ καὶ δύναυ ἃν, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρης, ἐν τῷ παρόντι νῦν εὔρειν ὅτῳ ἃν χαρίσαιο ὀσπερ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί; αὐτικὰ, ἔφη, ἢ τίνα ἐὰς ξῆν τῶν σὲ μηδὲν ἡδίκηστων, τίνα σοι τούτον χάριν οἴει αὐτοῦν εἰσεθαί; τί δ', ἡν αὐτοῦ τέκνα καὶ γυναίκα μη ἀφαίρῃ, τίς σε τούτων ἐνεκα φιλήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ νομίζων προσήκειν αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθήναι; τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν εἰ μὴ ἔξει, οἰσθά τινα, ἔφη, ἄλλον μᾶλλον λυποῦμενον ἢ ἡμᾶς; οὐκόν καὶ τούτ', ἔφη, δὴλον ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα λυποῦμενος εἰ μὴ βασιλεύς εἰς οὕτως καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἂν σοι χάριν

¹ παρὰ MSS., Dindorf, Hug; [παρὰ] Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll.

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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."
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

eideî. 30. eî dê tî soi, efh, mélei kai toû ôs ëkistâ tetaragmêna tâde katalîpeîn, ôtan âpîh, skôpeî, efh, póteron an oîei ëremetérôs êcheîn tâ ênthâde kainîs ëgenomênhs ârchihs ë têss einôthnias katalamênuhs. eî dê tî soi mélei kai toû ôs pleiôsthîn stratianê êxâgeîn, tôvn an oîei mállon êxetásai taûtn thôs toû pollákiis authî kekhrinênu; eî dê kai chrîmâtôs deîseî, tîna an tâuta nomîzeis kriêtton ektoûsas toû kai eîdôtos kai êxouîns pánta tâ ônta; âghâth, efh, Kûre, fûlaxai mî ëmâs ápobalôn saûtn xêmôsês plêîw h ô patîr êdunêth h se blâphai.

'O mên toiaûta êleugên. 31. ô dê Kûros âkoûnôs ýperhêdeto, òti ënômizei peraiûnethaî pánta autôô ësaspeper ýpseîxon tô Kûraêph prâxeinêmêmnuû êmêmênuû gâr eîpôn òti kai filon oîoîto mállon h prôsbeîn poûseîn.

Kal êk tóuton dê tôn 'Armênuôs érwoû, 'Hn dê dê taûta peîôsômai ýmîn, lêgye moi, efh, suî, ô 'Armêne, pôsîn mën stratianê môi sumpérphieîs, pôsa dê chrîmata sîmbalai eis tôn pôleîmun.

32. Prós taûta dê lêgye ò 'Armêniou, Oûdên êxw, ô Kûre, efh, áploûstereôs eîpîen ouûê dikaiôteron h deîxei mên êmê pásaîn tihn oûsân dûnanîn, se dê ídônta ôstn mën an suî dôkê stratianê ìgêîn, tihn dê katalîpeîn tihn chôras fûlakhîn. ôs d' autôs perî chrîmâtôn sêlôswaî mên êmê dikaiôn suî pánta tâ ônta, se dê tóuton autôn gnônta ôpôsa te an boûlîh fêresheî kai ôpôsa an boûlîh katalîpeîn.

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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."
XENOPHON

33. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἡθι δὴ λέξουν μοι πόση σοι δύναμις ἐστί, λέξουν δὲ καὶ πόσα χρήματα.
'Ενταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Ἰππεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶν ['Ἀρμενίων] ¹ εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ εἰς τέταρτας μυριάδας. χρήματα δ', ἐφη, σὺν² τοῖς θησαυροῖς οἷς ὁ πατὴρ κατέλεπτεν ἐστιν εἰς ἀργύριον λογισθέντα τάλαντα πλείω τῶν τρισχιλίων.

34. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος οὖν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν στρατιᾶς, ἐπεὶ σοι, ἐφη, οἱ ὁμοροι Χαλδαῖοι πολεμοῦσι, τοὺς ήμῶς εἰσὶ σύμπεμπτε τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλαντῶν ἄν ἐφερες δασμὸν διπλάσια Κυαξάρη ἀπόδοσ, ὅτι ἐλπίς τὴν φοράν' ἐμοὶ δ', ἐφη, ἄλλα ἐκατὸν δάνειον ἐγώ δὲ σοι ὑπισχοῦμαι, ἴν ὁ θεὸς εὐ διδῶ, ἀνθ' ὅδε ἐμοὶ δανείσης ἡ ἄλλα πλείονος ἄξια εὑριστῆσειν ἡ τὰ χρήματα ἀπα- 

35. Καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρος, μὴ οὔτω λέγε: εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ βαροῦντά με ἔξεις: ἄλλα νόμις, ἐφη, ἂν καταλάπης μηδὲν ἤττον σὰ εἶναι δὲν ἂν ἔχων ἀπίθης.
Εἰπεν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος: ὥστε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν, ἐφη, πόσα ἄν μοι χρήματα δοίης;
Οπόσα ἄν δυναίμην, ἐφη.
Τί δέ, ὅστε τὸς παίδας;
Καὶ τοῦτον, ἐφη, ὅποσα ἄν δυναίμην.

¹ 'Ἀρμενίων MSS.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
² σὺν yC¹, Edd.; εν C³EHG (among the treasures); 
aυτοίς Α.
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."
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘΟΣ

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ταῦτα μὲν ἦδη διπλάσια τῶν δυντων. 36. οὐ δὲ, ἐφη, ὁ Τιγράνη, λέξον μοι πόσον ἄν πρῶτο ὡστε τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν.

'Ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε νεόγαμος τε ὅν καὶ ὕπερφιλῶν τὴν γυναίκα.

'Εγὼ μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρε, κἀν τῆς ψυχῆς πρι-αίμην ὡστε μὴ ποτὲ λατρεύσαι ταῦτην.

37. Σὺ μὲν τολμῶν, ἐφη, ἀπάγου τὴν σήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰλήφθαι ἐγώγει αὐχμάλωτον ταύτην νομίζω σοῦ γε μητρότοτε φυγόντος ἠμᾶς. καὶ σὺ δὲ, ὁ Ἀρμένε, ἀπάγου τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταθέσῃ, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι πρὸς σὲ ἀπέρχονται. καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἐφη, δειπνεῖτε παρ' ἡμῖν· δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε ὅποι ὑμῖν θυμός. οὕτω δ' ἐκατέμειναν.

38. Διασκηνοῦντων δὲ μετὰ δείπνου ἐπήρετο ὁ Κῦρος. Εἰπε μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Τιγράνη, ποῦ δὴ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ δις συνεθήρα ἠμῖν καὶ σὺ μοι μάλα εἴδόκεις θαυμάζειν αὐτὸν.

Οὐ γὰρ, ἐφη, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν οὔτος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ;

Τῇ λαβὼν ἀδικοῦντα;

Διαφθέρειν αὐτὸν ἐφῆ ἐμέ. καλτοὶ γ', ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρε, οὕτω καλὸς κἀγαθός ἐκεῖνος ἤν ὁς καὶ ὅτε ἀποθυνόσκειν ἔμμεσσ' προσκαλέσας με εἶπε, Μή τι σύ, ἐφη, ὁ Τιγράνη, ὅτι ἀποκτείνει με, χαλεπαυτής τῷ πατρὶ· οὐ γὰρ κακονοὶ τῶι τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῖα· ὀπόσα δὲ ἀγνοῖα ἀνθρωποί ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, πάντ' ἀκούσια ταῦτ' ἐγώγε νομίζω.

1 τῷ zED, Dindorf; τῇ σῇ F, most Edd. (toward you); τῇ σῇ γέ Hug, supposedly after C.

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"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 your 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.'"
XENOPHON

39. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε, Φεῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

Ὅ δ’ Ἀρμένιος ἔλεξεν, Οὕτω, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης, οὔτε οἱ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναιξὶν λαμβάνοντες συνόντας ἀλλοτρίους ἄνδρας οὐ τοῦτο αἰτώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακαλύνουσιν ἡ τέσσερες καὶ ἀφρονεστέρας ποιοῦντας τᾶς γυναικές, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες ἀφαίρεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, διὰ τούτο ὡς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς χρώνται. καὶ ἐγώ ἐκεῖνο, ἐφη, ἐφθούνον, διὸ μοι ἐδόκει τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἢ ἔμε.

40. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἀνθρώπωι μοι δοκεῖς ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Τιγράνη, συγγίγνωσκε τῷ πατρί.

Τότε μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα διαλεξόντες καὶ φιλοφρο- νηθέντες ὠσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ συναλλαγῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἁρμαμάζας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀπήλαυνον εὐφραινόμενοι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἠλθον οὐκαδε, ἔλεγον τοῦ Κύρου ὁ μὲν τις τὴν σοφίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν καρτερίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν πραότητα, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος.

Ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὴν γυναῖκα, Ἡ καὶ σοὶ, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρμενία, καλὸς ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος εἶναι;

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἐθεώμην.

Ἀλλὰ τίνα μὴν; ἐφη ὁ Τιγράνης.

1 κατακαλύνουσιν Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll; κατακτείνουσιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

2 ἀφρονεστέρας Stephanus, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ἀμα-θεστέρας yC, Marchant; σωφρονεστέρας zE; ἀκρατεστέρας Gemoll.

3 ποιοῦντας yC, Edd.; ποιούντες zE.

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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'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.
XENOPHON

Τὸν εἰπόντα νὴ Δία ὡς τὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴς ἂν πρέπειᾳ δωσειε μὴ με δουλεύειν.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ὁσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τοιούτων ἀνεπαύοντο σὺν ἀλλήλοις.

42. Τῇ δ' ύστεραλα ὁ Ἀρμένιος Κύρος μὲν καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπάσῃ ξένιᾳ ἔπεμπε, προείπε δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ, οὐδε δεῖσοι στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν παρεῖναι· τὰ δὲ χρήματα δὲν εἰπεν ὁ Κύρος διπλάσια ἀπηρίθμησεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὁσα εἴπε λαβὼν τὰλλα ἀπέπεμψεν ἡρετο δὲ πότερος ἕσται ὁ τὸ στράτευμα ἁγών, ὁ παῖς ἡ αὐτὸς.

εἰπέτην δὲ ἁμα ὁ μὲν πατὴρ οὔτως, Ὅποτερον ἄν σὺ κελεύῃς· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐτως, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀπολείψομαι σου, ὁ Κυρε, οὐδ' ἄν σκευοφόρον ἐμὲ δεῖ σοι 2 συνακολουθεῖν.

43. Καί ὁ Κύρος ἐπιγελάσας εἰπε, Καί ἐπὶ πόσον ἂν, ἔφη, ἑθέλοις τὴν γυναικά σου ἄκοισαι ὅτι σκευοφορεῖς;

'Αλλ' οὐδὲν, ἔφη, ἀκοεῖν δεῖσει αὐτῆν· ἀξῷ γάρ, ὥστε ὅραν ἔξεσται αὐτῇ δ' τι ἄν ἐγὼ πράττω. Ἡμα τι λέν, ἔφη, συνεσκευάζεσθαι ὡμίῃ εἰς.

Νόμιζε, ἔφη, συνεσκευασμένους παρέσβεθαι δ' τι ἄν ὁ πατὴρ λέει.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ἥνεκα θέντες ὁι στρατιῶται ἐκοιμηθησαν.

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 δὲν σοι Stephanus, Edd.; δεῖσοι yz; δεῖσεi E; δεῖση C.

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"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.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

II

1. Τῇ δ’ ύστεραλα ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κὺρος τὸν Τιγράνην καὶ τῶν Μηδών ἱππέων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν έαυτοῦ φίλων ὅπόσους καίρος ἐδόκει εἶναι, περιελαύνων τὴν χώραν κατεθέατο, σκόπων ποῦ τειχήσειε φρούριον. καὶ ἐπ’ ἀκρον τι ἐλθὼν ἐπηρώτα τὸν Τιγράνην ποία εἴη τῶν ὅρεων ὅποθεν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταθέοντες λήξονται. καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης ἐδείκνυ.1 ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἦρετο, Νῦν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἔρημα ἔστιν;

Οὐ μὰ Δ’, ἔφη, ἄλλ’ ἀεὶ σκοποὶ εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνων οἱ σημαίνουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅ τι ἂν ὄρωσιν.

Τὸ οὖν, ἔφη, ποιοῦσιν, ἐπὴν αἰσθώνται;

Βοηθοῦσιν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκρα, ὡς ἂν ἔκαστος δύνηται.

2. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Κὺρος ἰησίκει: σκοποῦν δὲ κατενόει πολλὴν τῆς χώρας τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἔρημοι καὶ ἀργὸν οὖσαν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τὸτε μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Τῇ δ’ ύστεραλα αὐτὸς τε ὁ Τιγράνης παρῆν συνεσκευασμένος καὶ ἰππεῖς εἰς τοὺς τετρακισ-χιλίους συνελέγοντο αὐτῷ καὶ τξόται εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ πελτασταὶ ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι.

ὁ δὲ Κὺρος ἐν ὃ συνελέγοντο ἑθύετο: ἔπει δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἥν αὐτῷ, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς τῶν

1 ἐδείκνυ Dindorf, Hug; ἐδείκνυεν MSS., Breitenbach, Merchant, 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
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Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μῆδων. 4. ἔπει δ’ ὀμοῦ ἦσαν, ἐλέξε τοιάδει.

"Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, ἔστι μὲν τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα ὁ ὀρῶ-μεν Ἡλλαδαῖων: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλάβοιμεν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀκρον γένοιτο ἡμέτερον φρούριον, σωφρονεῖν ἀνάγκη ἂν εἰ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀμφότεροι, τοῖς τε Ἀρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἡλληναῖοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ιερὰ καλὰ ἡμῶν ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ προθυμία εἰς τὸ πραχθῆναι ταῦτα οὐδὲν οὕτω μέγα σύμμαχον ἂν γένοιτο ὡς τάχος. ἢν γὰρ φθάσωμεν πρὶν τοὺς πολέμους συνλεγή-ναι ἀναβάντες, ἢ παντάπασιν ἄμαχοι λάβοιμεν ἂν τὸ ἄκρον ἡ ὀλίγοι τε καὶ ἀσθενεὶς χρησαίμεθ' ἄν πολέμους.

5. Τῶν οὖν πόνων οὕδεις ῥάνω οὐδ' ἀκινδυνότε-ρος, ἐφη, ἐστὶ τοῦ νῦν καρτερῆσαι σπεύδοντας. ἦτε οὖν ἔπι τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ . . .

Τιμεῖς μὲν, ὁ Ἡλλός, ἐν ἀριστερᾶ ἡμῶν πορεύ-εσθε. ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Ἀρμενίοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν δεξιᾷ, οἱ δ’ ἡμίσεις ἐμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ἠγεῖσθε. ὑμεῖς δ’, ὁ ἴπτει, ὁ πιστεῖς ἔστεσθε παρακελεύομενοι καὶ ὧθουντες ἄνω ἡμᾶς, ἢν τε τις μαλακύνηται, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε.

6. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ὁ Κύρος ἤγειτο ὅρθιον ποιη-σάμενος τοὺς λόχους. οἱ δὲ Ἡλλαδαῖοι ὡς ἐγνωσαν τὴν ὄρμην ἄνω οὖν, εὐθὺς ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ἐαυτῶν καὶ συνεβόων ἄλληλοις καὶ συνη-θροίζοντο.

Ο δὲ Κύρος παρηγγύα, "Ἀνδρέας Πέρσαι, ἡμῖν

1 Α lacuna, in which preparations are effected, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 ἄλληλοις Schneider, Edd.; ἄλληλοις 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 play 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
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σημαίνουσι σπεύδειν. ἦν γὰρ φθάσωμεν ἀνω γενόμενοι, οὐδὲν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δυνήσεται.

7. Ἐξεύχον δ’ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι γέρρα τε καὶ παλτὰ δύν. καὶ πολεμικότατοι δὲ λέγονται οὕτωι τῶν περὶ ἐκείνη τὴν χώραν εἶναι. καὶ μισθοῦ στρατεύονται, ὅποταν τις αὐτῶν δέχται, διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸ τε καὶ πένητες εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα αὐτῶς ὁρεινή τῇ ἐστι καὶ ὀλγὴ ἡ τὰ χρήματα ἐχουσα.

8. Ὀς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπλησίαζον οἱ ἀμβλύ τὸν Κύρον τῶν ἀκρων, ὁ Τιγράνης σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ πορευόμενος εἶπεν, Ὅ Κύρε, ἀρ’ ὦσθ’, ἐφη, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα δεήσει μάχεσθαι; ὅσ ο’ γε Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέξονται τοὺς πολεμίους.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰδείη τούτῳ, εὐθὺς παρηγγύησε τοῖς Πέρσαις παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅσ αὐτίκα δεήσον διώκειν, ἐπειδὰν ὑπαγόνωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ὄστ’ ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.

9. Οὕτω δὴ ἤγοντο μὲν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι τῶν δὲ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρόντες, ὡς ἐπλησίαζον οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον, ὡσπερ εἰῶθεσαν, εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ὡσπερ εἰῶθεσαν, ὡσκ ἐδέχοντο. 10. ὡς δὲ διώκοντες οἱ Χαλδαίοι εἴδον ἐναντίον μαχαιροφόρους ἰεμένους ἀνω, οἱ μὲν τίνες αὐτοὺς πελάσαντες ταχύ ἀπεθνήσκον, οἱ δ’ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ τίνες καὶ ἔλλωσαν αὐτῶν, ταχύ δὲ εἴχετο τὰ ἄκρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα ἔλεγχοι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρον, καθεύρων τε τῶν Χαλδαίων τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ ἴσθάνοντο φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἔγγυς οἰκήσεων.

11. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος, ὡς πάντες οἱ στρατιώται

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are signallling 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 productive.

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,
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ομοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι παρήγγειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁριστήκεσαν, καταμαθῶν ἐνθα αἱ σκοπᾶς ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔρυμνόν τε ὅν καὶ ἔνυδρον, εὐθὺς ἐτείχιζε φρούριον· καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐκέλευεν πέμπτειν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ κελεύειν παραγενέσθαι ἔχοντα ὁπόσοι εἰς τέκτονες τε καὶ λιθοτόμοι. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀρμενίου φύετο ἄγγελος· ὁ δὲ Κύρος τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐτείχιζεν.

12. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσάγονσι τῷ Κύρῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ τετρωμένους. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν, εὐθὺς λύειν μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τετρωμένους ἱστροὺς καλέσας θεραπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν· ἐπεὶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ὅτι ἦκοι οὕτε ἀπολέσαι ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκέλους οὕτε πολεμεῖν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνην βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι Ἀρμενίους καὶ Χαλδαίους.

Πρὶν μὲν οὖν ἔχεσθαι τὰ ἀκρα οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐδείσθε εἰρήνης· τα μὲν γὰρ ὑμέτερα ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, τα δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἤγετε καὶ ἐφέρετε· νῦν δὲ ὅρατε δὴ ἐν οὕῳ ἐστέ. 13. ἐγὼ οὖν ἄφηθι ὑμᾶς οἰκάδε τοὺς εὐλημένους, καὶ δίδωμι ὑμῖν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις βουλεύσασθαι εἴτε βούλευσθε πολεμεῖν ἢμῖν εἴτε φίλοι εἶναι. καὶ ἢν μὲν πόλεμον αἰρήσθη, μηκέτι ἢκετε δεύρο ἀνευ ὀπλων, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε· ἢν δὲ εἰρήνης δοκήτε

1 λιθοτόμοι Dindorf, most Edd.; λιθόδομοι MSS.; λιθολόγοι Valckenaer.

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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
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dείσθαι, ἂνευ ὀπλῶν ἤκετε· ως δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἣν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει.

14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ δεξιωσάμενοι τὸν Κύρον φῶστο ὀϊκάδε.

"Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμενιος ὡς ἠκουσε τὴν τε κλήσιν τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὴν πράξιν, λαβὼν τοὺς τέκτους καὶ τᾶλα ὅσων ὦτον δείν, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχυστα. 15. ἔστε δὲ εἶδε τὸν Κύρον, ἔλεξεν, Ὡ Κύρε, ὡς ὅλγα δυνάμενοι προορᾶν ἄνθρωποι1 περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειρούμεν μπράτειν. νῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐλευθεριάν μὲν μηχανάσθαι ἐπιχειρήσας δοῦλος ὡς ὅπετὸ ἐγενόμην ἔστε δ᾽ ἐάλωμεν, σαφῶς ἀπολογόλεναι νομίζαντες νῦν ἀναφαίονθα σεσωσμένου ὡς ὅπετὸ πολλὰ κακὰ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντες, νῦν ὁρῶ τούτου ἔχοντας ὡσπερ ἐγὼ ἡχόμην. 16. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίστω, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὡστε ἀπελάσαι Χαλδαίους ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀκρον πολλαπλάσια ἄν ἔδωκα χρήματα δὲν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐποιηκόσι ποιήσεις ἀγαθὰ ἡμᾶς ὡτ᾽ ἐλαμβάνει τὰ χρήματα, ἀποτελέσται σοι ἡδί, ὡστε καὶ προσφειλουσὲς σοι ἄλλας χάριτας ἀναπεφύμεν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ κακοὶ ἐσμεν, αἰσχυνοίμεθ᾽ ἃν σοι μὴ ἀποδιδόντες. 17. ὁ μὲν Ἀρμενιος τοσοῦτ᾽ ἔλεξεν.

Οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ἦκον δεόμενοι τοῦ Κύρου εἰρήνην σφίσι ποιήσαι. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπηρετοὶ αὐτοῖς, Ἄλλο τι, ἔφη, ὁ Χαλδαῖοι, ἦ τοῦτον

1 ἄνθρωποι Dindorf, later Edd.; ἄνθρωποι MSS.

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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
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ἐνεκα εἰρήνης νῦν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ὅτι νομίζετε ἀσφαλέστερον ἄν δύνασθαι ξῆν εἰρήνης γενομένης ἢ πολεμοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ ἡμεῖς τάδε ἔχομεν;

"Εφασαν ὁι Χαλδαῖοι.

18. Καὶ ὦς, Τι δ’, ἐφη, εἰ καὶ ἄλλα ύμῖν ἀγαθὰ προσγένοιτο διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην;

"Ετι ἂν, ἔφασαν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοιμεθα.

"Ἀλλο τι οὖν, ἐφη, ἣ διὰ τὸ γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετ' εἶναι;

Συνέφασαν καὶ τούτῳ.

Τι οὖν; ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, βοῦλοιοῦ τ' ἂν ἀποτελοῦντες δόσατε οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀρμενίοι ἐξεῖναι ύμῖν τῆς Ἀρμενίας γῆς ἐργάζεσθαι ὑπόθην ἂν θέλητε;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, Εἰ πιστεύοιμεν μὴ ἀδικήσειςαί.

19. Τι δέ, σύ, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρμενίες, βοῦλοιο ἂν σοι τὴν νῦν ἀργόν οὕσαν γῆν ἑνεργὸν γενέσθαι, εἰ μέλλοιεν τὰ νομίζομεν παρὰ σοι ἀποτελείν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι;

"Εφη ὁ Ἀρμενίως πολλοῦ ἂν τούτῳ πρίασθαι πολὺ γὰρ ἂν αὑξάνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον.

20. Τι δ', ύμεῖς, ἐφη, ὁ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ ὅρη ἀγαθὰ ἔχετε, ἐθέλοιτ' ἂν ἑάν νέμειν ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, εἰ ύμῖν μέλλοιεν οἱ νέμοντες τὰ δίκαια ἀποτελεῖν;

"Εφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ᾨφελείσθαί οὐδὲν πονοῦντες.

1 τάδ' ἔχομεν; ἔφασαν z, most Edd.; τά ἄκρα ἔχομεν; ἔφασαν Hug; τάλλα ἔχομεν ἔφασαν F; τάλλα ἔφασαν ἔχομεν x; ταῦτ' ἐλέγομεν τάλλα ἔχομεν ἔφασαν D.

2 ἀργὸν Stephanus, Edd.; ἀργὴν MSS.
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.
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Συ δέ, ἐφη, ὁ Άρμένεις, ἐθέλοις ἂν ταῖς τούτων νομαῖς χρῆσθαι, εἰ μέλλοις μικρὰ ὠφελῶν Χαλδαίους πολὺ πλείω ὠφελήσεσθαι;

Καὶ σφόδρα ἂν, ἐφη, εἴπερ οἰοίμην ἀσφαλῶς νέμειν.

Οὐκοὖν, ἐφη, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν νέμοιτε, εἰ τὰ ἀκρα ἔχοιτε σύμμαχα;

"Εφη ὁ Άρμένειος.

21. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί, ἐφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζόμεθα μὴ ὅτι τὴν τούτων, ἀλλ' οὔ ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ οὕτω τὰ ἀκρα ἔχοιεν.

Εἰ δ' ὑμῖν αὖ, ἐφη, τὰ ἀκρα σύμμαχα εἰ; Οὕτως ἂν, ἐφασαν, ἡμῖν καλῶς ἔχοι.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Άρμένειος, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν αὖ καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ οὕτω παραλήψονται πάλιν τὰ ἀκρα ἄλλως τε καὶ τετειχισμένα.

22. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Οὕτωσί τούνων, ἐφη, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· οὐδετέροις ὑμῖν τὰ ἀκρα παραδώσω, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς φυλάξομεν αὐτά: καὶ ἀδικώσων ὑμῶν ὀπότεροι, σὺν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἡμεῖς ἑσόμεθα.

23. Ὁς δ' ἦκουσαν ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι, ἔπήγεσαν καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὕτως ἂν μόνως ἡ εἰρήνη βεβαιὰ γένοιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον πάντες τὰ πιστά, καὶ ἔλευθέρους μὲν ἀμφότεροις 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
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ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων εἶναι συνετίθεντο, ἐπιγαμίας δ’ εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, καὶ ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ κοινὴν, εἰ τις ἀδικοὶ ὁποτέρους.

24. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε διεπράξθη καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι οὕτω διαμένουσιν αἱ τότε γενόμεναι συνθῆκαι Χαλδαίοις καὶ τῷ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἠχοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ συνθῆκαι ἐγεγένητο, εὐθὺς συνετείχοι τε ἀμφότεροι προθύμως ὡς κοινὸν φρούριον καὶ τάπιτῆδεα συνεισήγοιν.

25. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐστέρα προσῆμε, συνδεῖσθηνοι ἔλαβεν ἀμφότεροι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς φίλους ἡδον. συνεκηνοῦντων δὲ εἴπε τις τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σφῶν πᾶσιν εὔκτα ταῦτα εἰη· εἰσὶ δὲ τινες τῶν Χαλδαίων οἱ ληξόμενοι ξόσι καὶ οὐτ’ ἀν ἐπίσταντο ἐργάζεσθαι οὔτ’ ἄν δύναιτο, εἰθισμένοι ἄπο τολέμου βιοτεύειν· ὃς γὰρ ἠλῆξοντο ἡ ἐμισθοφόρουν, πολλάκις μὲν παρὰ τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ (καὶ γὰρ, ἔφασαν, πολύχρυσος ἀνήρ) πολλάκις δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἀστυάγει.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔθη, Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ μισθοφοροῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ δῶσω δόσουν τις καὶ ἄλλος πλείστον δήποτε ἐδώκε. Συνέφασαν [οἴ], καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἐσεσθαὶ ἥλεγον τοὺς ἑθελήσουτας.

27. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω συνωμολογεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδῶν οῖ Χαλδαῖοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἀναμνησθεῖς ὅτι

1 [οἴ] omitted by Dindorf and bracketed by later Edd.; ol MSS.

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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 represent-
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ηλθον παρ' αυτοι κατασκεψόμενοι1 εις Μήδους τα αυτων πράγματα καλ άχοντο προς τους πολεμίους, ὅπως αυ και τα εκείνων κατίδωσιν, ἐβούλετο μαθεῖν τὸν Ἰνδόν τα έαυτῷ πεπραγμένα. 28. ήρξατο οὖν λόγον τοιούθεν:

‘Ω Ἀρμενε, ἐφη, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ Χάλδαιοι, εἰπτάτε μοι, εἰ τινα ἐγὼ νῦν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποστέλλωμι πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδόν, συμπέμψαι' ἀν μοι τῶν ύμετέρων οἴτινες αὐτῷ τὴν τε ὅδον ἡγοῦντο διὰ καὶ συμπράττοιεν ὧστε γενέσθαι ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Δ ἐγὼ βούλομαι; ἐγὼ γὰρ χρήματα μὲν προσγενέσθαι ἔτι δὲν βουλοίμην ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἐχω καὶ μυσθὸν ἀφθόνως διδόναι οἶς δὲν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ δωρεῖσθαι τῶν συστρατευμένων τοὺς ἄξιους· τούτων δὲ ἐνεκα βούλομαι ὡς ἀφθονώτατα χρήματα ἔχειν, δεῖσθαι τούτων νομίζων. τῶν δὲ ύμετέρων ἠδὺ μοι ἀπέχεσθαι· φίλους γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἤδη νομίζω· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἠδέως δὲν λάβοιμι, εἰ διδοῖ.

29. ‘Ο οὖν ἀγγελος, θ κελεύω ὑμᾶς ἁγεμόνας δούναι καὶ συμπράκτορας γενέσθαι, ἐλθὼν ἐκείσε ὥδε λέξει: Ἐπέμψε με Κύρος, ὦ Ἰνδε, πρὸς τέφησι δὲ προσδείσθαι χρημάτων, προσδεχόμενος ἅλλην στρατιάν οἰκοθεν ἐκ Περσῶν· (καὶ γὰρ προσδέχομαι, ἐφη) ἦν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψῃς ὀπόσα σοι προχωρεῖ, φησίν, ἣν θεὸς ἁγαθὸν τέλος διδότας 2 αὐτῷ, πειράσεσθαι πούῃσαι ὡστε σε νομίζῃς καλῶς βεβουλευθῇς χαρισάμενοι αὐτῷ. 30. ταῦτα μὲν ὦ παρ' ἐμοῦ λέξει. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑμεῖς αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλετε ὅ τι ὑμῖν σύμφορον δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ

1 κατασκεψόμενοι Stephanus, Edd. ; κατασκεψόμενοi MSS.
2 διδό MSS., most Edd. ; δὲ Hug after Weckherlin.
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-
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ἡν μὲν λάβωμεν, ἐφη, παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀφθονωτέρος χρησόμεθα: ἡν δὲ μὴ λάβωμεν, εἰσόμεθα ὅτι οὐδεμιὰν αὐτῷ χάριν ὁφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ἔξεσται ἦμιν ἐκεῖνον ἐνεκεν πρὸς τὸ ἠμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι.

31. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, νομίζων τὸν ἵππα τὸν Αρμενίων καὶ Χαλδαίων τοιαύτα λέξειν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Αρμενίων ἐπεθύμησε πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ, ὅπως καλῶς εἶχε, διαλύσαντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἀνεπαύνοντο.

III

1. Ἡ δ' ύστεραία ὁ τοῦ Κύρου ἐπεμπε τὸν ἅγιον ἐπιστείλας δοσαρ ἐφη καὶ ὁ Ἀρμενίως καὶ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι συνέπεμπτον οὗς ἰκανωτάτους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι καὶ συμπράξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν περὶ Κύρου τὰ προσήκοντα.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου κατασκευάζας ὁ Κύρος τὸ φρούριον καὶ φύλαξεν ἰκανοίς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους πάσι καὶ ἄρχονταν αὐτῶν καταλιπτόν Μήδον δὴ ὕφετο Κυαξάρη ἄν μᾶλλα χαρίσασθαι, ἀπήει συλλαβῶν τὸ στράτευμα ὅσον τε ἠλθεν ἔχων καὶ δ' παρ' Ἀρμενίων προσέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Χαλδαίων εἰς τετρακισχίλιους, οἱ φόντο καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων κρείττονες εἶναι.

2. Ἡ δ' κατέβη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐδὲις ἐμεινεν ἐνδον Ἀρμενίων οὗτ' ἀνὴρ οὔτε γυνή.

1 κατασκευάζας Poppo, most Edd.; παρασκευάζας z (made ready); ἐπιτελέσας xy (completed).

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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
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αλλὰ πάντες ὑπήντων ἥδομενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες ὃ τι ἐκαστὸς ἄξιον ἔχε. καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος τούτως ὀυκ ἤχετο, οὔτως ἂν νομίζων καὶ τὸν Κύρον μᾶλλον ἦδεσθαι τῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ. τέλος δὲ ὑπήντησε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὰς θυγατέρας ἡχοῦσα καὶ τὸν νεότερον ὑίον, καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις δώροις τὸ χρυσόν ἐκόμιζεν δὲ πρότερον ὀυκ ἦθελε λαβεῖν Κύρος.

3. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἰδὼν εἶπεν, "Τιμεῖς ἐμὲ οὐ ποίησετε μυσθὸν περιόντα εὐεργετεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ, ὦ γύναι, ἐχουσά ταύτα τὰ χρήματα ἅ φέρεις ἀπιθί, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἀρμενίῳ μηκέτι δοῦς αὐτὰ κατορύζαι, ἐκπεμψον δὲ τὸν ὑίον ὡς κάλλιστα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν 1 κατασκευάσασα ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιάν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν κτῶ καὶ σαυτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς νεότεροις τι κεκτημένου καὶ κοσμήσασθε κάλλιον καὶ ἰδιον τὸν αἰώνα διάξετε· εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν, ἐφη, ἀρκεῖσθαι τὰ σῶματα, δηλαν ἐκαστὸς τελευτήσῃ, κατακρυπτείν.

4. Ἐρεῖν τοῦτο εἴπων παρῆλαύνει· ὃς ἂν Ἀρμένιος συμπροφυτέμετο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐεργετήν, τὸν ἄλλο τὸν ἀγαθόν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησον, ἐώς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆν. συναπάντειλε δ’ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρμένιος καὶ στρατιὰν πλείονα, ὡς εἰρήνης οἴκοι οὕσης.

5. Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος ἀπῆλικα κεχρηματισμένος ὑπὲρ ἐλαβεῖ μόνων χρήματα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλείονα τούτων ἠτοιμασμένος διὰ τὸν τρόπον, ὁστε λαμβάνειν ὅποτε δέοιτο.

1 ἂν αὐτῶν zD, Edd.; ἄπαντων x; ἄπαντων F.
2 δή MSS., most Edd.; δ’ Hug.
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.
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Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπεμψε πρὸς Κναξάρην· ὁ δὲ πλησίον ἦν, ὡσπερ ἔφησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν Τιγράνῃ καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐθῆρα ὅπου περ ἐπιτυγχάνοιεν θηρίοις καὶ ἡφραίνετο.

6. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀφίκετο εἰς Μήδους, τῶν χρημάτων ἔδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχοις ὅσα ἔδοκει ἐκάστῳ ἱκανὰ εἶναι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνοι ἔχοιεν τιμᾶν, εἰ τινας ἄγαντο τῶν ὕφ’ ἕαυτούς· ἑνομίζε γάρ, εἰ ἐκαστός τὸ μέρος ἀξιέπαινον ποιήσει, τὸ ὅλον αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅ τι που καλὸν ἴδοι ὅνε εἰς στρατιάν, ταῦτα κτώμενος διεδώρειτο τοῖς ἄει ἀξιωτάτοις, νομίζων ὅ τι καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ἔχοι τὸ στράτευμα, τούτοις ἀπασιν αὐτὸς κέκοσμήσαται.

7. Ἡνίκα δὲ αὐτοῖς διεδίδοι ὅν ἔλαβεν, ἔλεξεν ὅδε πως εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν ταξιαρχῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ πάντων ὅσους ἔτιμα· Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνη τις νῦν παρεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι εὐπορία τις προσηγενήται καὶ ὅτι ἐχομεν ἀφ’ ὅν τιμᾶν ἔχομεν οὐς ἄν βουλόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὅς ἄν ἐκαστὸς ἀξίος ἦ. 8. πάντως δὴ ἀναμμηνησκώμεθα τὰ ποι ἄττ’ ἔργα τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν αἰτία· σκοπούμενοι γὰρ εὐρήσετε τὸ τε ἀγρυπνήσαι ὅπου ἔδει καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι καὶ τὸ στενᾶς καὶ τὸ μὴ εἴξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὕτως οὖν χρῆ

1 ὅπερ Hug, Breitenbach; not in MSS. or most Edd.

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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
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρας ἁγαθοὺς εἶναι, γυγνώσκοντας ὣτι τὰς μεγάλας ἡδονὰς καὶ τάγαθα τὰ μεγάλα ἡ πειθῶ καὶ ἡ καρτερία καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ πόνοι καὶ κινδύνου παρέχονται.

9. Κατανοῶν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ὡς εὐ μὲν αὐτῷ εἶχον τὰ σώματα οἱ στρατιώται πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους φέρειν, εὐ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔπιστῆμονες δὲ ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ὀπλίσει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄρχοσιν ἔφρα πάντας εὐ παρεσκευασμένους, ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἐπεθύμει τι ἡδὴ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πράττειν, γυγνώσκων ὃτι ἐν τῷ μέλλειν πολλάκις τοῖς ἄρχοι καὶ τῆς καλῆς παρασκευής ἀλλοιοῦταί τι.

10. Ἐτι δὲ ὅρων ὃτι φιλοτήμονες ἔχοντες, ἐν οἷς ἀντηγωνιζόντω, πολλοὶ καὶ ἑπιθύνοντες εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων ἐνεκα ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβούλετο εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ὡς τάχιστα, εἰδὼς ὃτι οἱ κοινοὶ κινδύνοι φιλοφρόνως ποιοῦσιν ἔχειν τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν τούτῳ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν ὅπλοις κοσμουμένοις φθονοῦσιν οὔτε τοῖς δόξας ἐφεμένοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἀπαξίζονται οἱ τούτων τοὺς ὁμοίους, νομίζουσιν συνεργοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἁγαθοῦ εἶναι.

11. Οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐξώπλισε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέταξεν ὃς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα τε καὶ ἁριστα, ἔπειτα δὲ συνεκάλεσε μυριάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς. οὕτωι

1 τούτων Breitenbach, later Edd.; τῶν δὲ xy, Dindorf, Sauppe; τούτων δὲ z.
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
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gαρ ἀπολελυμένοι ἦσαν τοὺς καταλέγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, καὶ ὁπότε δεόν ἐν παραγγέλλει τῇ στρατηγῷ ἢ παραγγέλλει τί, οὔδ' ὡς συνήθως ἀναρχόν κατελείπετο, ἀλλὰ δώδεκαδράχαις καὶ ἕξαδράχαις πάντα τὰ καταλείπόμενα διεκοσμεῖτο.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον οἱ ἐπικαίροι, παράγων αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἢ ἐκαστὸν ἵσχυρὸν ἢ τῶν συμμαχικῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κακείνους ἐποίησεν ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἢδη ποιεῖν τι, ἐπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ διδάσκειν ἐκαστὸν τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἀπὲρ αὐτὸς ἔκεινος, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν πάσι τοῖς στρατεύσῃσθαι, ὅπως εὐθυμότατα πάντες ἐξορμῆντο, παρὰ δὲ πρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκάρου θύρας. 13. τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες οὖν πάντες ἐποίουν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦμερᾳ παρῆσαν οἱ ἐπικαίροι ἐπὶ θύραις. σὺν τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύρος εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Κυκάρην ἥρχετο λόγου τοιούτου.

Ὀλίθα μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Κυκάρη, ὅτι ἢ μέλλω λέγειν σοι πάλαι δοκεῖ οὖν ἢπτον ἢ ἡμῖν. ἀλλ' ἵσως αἰσχύνει λέγειν αὐτά, μὴ δοκῆς ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τρέφεις ἡμᾶς ἢξόδον μεμνήσθαι. 14. Ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ σιωπᾷς, ἔγὼ λέξω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

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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."
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ήμιν γὰρ δοκεῖ πάσιν, ἐπείπερ παρεσκευάσμεθα, μὴ ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν σὴν χώραν, τότε μάχεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ καθημένους ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἵναι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. 15. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρᾳ ὄντες πολλὰ τῶν σῶν σιωνεῖθα ἄκουτες. ἦν δ' εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἵωμεν, τὰ ἐκεῖνων κακῶς ποιήσομεν ἡδομένοι.

16. Ἐπείτα νῦν μὲν σὺ ἡμᾶς τρέφεις πολλὰ δαπανῶν, ἦν δ' ἐκστρατευσόμεθα, θρεψόμεθα ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας. 17. ἔτι δὲ εἰ μὲν μείζων τις ἡμῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἐμελλεν εἶναι ἐκεῖ ἡ ἐνθάδε, ἵσως τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἦν αἰρετέον. νῦν δὲ ἵνα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἑσονται, ἦν τε ἐνθάδε ὑπομένωμεν ἦν τε εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἰόντες ὑπαντῶμεν αὐτοῖς. ἵνα δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες μαχούμεθα, ἦν τε ἐνθάδε ἑπὶ λόγω τὰς αὐτός δεχόμεθα ἦν τε ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος ἰόντες τὴν μάχην συνάπτωμεν. 18. πολὺ μέντοι ἡμεῖς βελτιστός καὶ ἔρρωμεν τέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν στρατιστῶν χρησόμεθα, ἢν ἵωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ μή ἄκουντας ὅραν δοκῶμεν τοὺς πολεμίους. πολὺ δὲ κάκεινοι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς φοβήσονται, ὅταν ἄκουσωσιν ὅτι οὐ φοβούμενοι πτήσομεν αὐτοὺς οἰκο καθήμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἰσθανόμεθα προσίστασαν ἀπαντῶμεν τε αὐτοῖς, ἵνα τάχιστα συμμιξζῶμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἔως ἢ ἦμετέρα χώρα κακωτάται, ἀλλὰ ἐχάνω τοὺς ἦδη δηούμεν τὴν ἐκείνων ἵλην. 19. καίτοι, ἐφ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι μὲν φοβεροτέρους ποιήσομεν, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς χαραλευτέρους, πολὺ τούτο ἡμῖν ἐγὼ πλεονέκτημα νομίζω, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως ἡμῖν μὲν ἐλάττων λογίζομαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις μείζω. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον, καὶ ὁ
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
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πατήρ ἄει λέγει καὶ σὺ φής καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, δὲς αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ρώμαις.

20. Ὅ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε Κυαξάρης δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὲν, ὁ Κῦρε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, ἐγὼ ἄχομαι ὡμᾶς τρέφων μηδ’ ὑπονοεῖτε· τὸ γε μέντοι ἴναι εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν ἥδη καὶ ἐμὸ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντα.

Ἐπεὶ τούτων, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁμογενοῦσιν, συσκευαζόμεθα καὶ ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἢμῖν θάττουν συγκαταίνῃ, ἐξώσαμεν ὡς τάχιστα.

21. Ἐκ τούτου τοῦ μὲν στρατιώτασι εἰπον συσκευάζομεθα· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυν πρῶτον μὲν Διὸ βασιλεῖ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οὓς ἠτείτο Ἰλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς οὐτας ἡγεμόνας γενέωθαι τὴ στρατιὰ καὶ παραστάτας ἁγαθῶς καὶ συμμάχους καὶ συμβούλους τῶν ἁγαθῶν. 22. συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ ἱρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτωρας καὶ κηδεμόνας.

Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκαλλιέρησε τε καὶ ἀθρόου ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς ὀρίους, τότε δὴ οἰωνοὶς χρησάμενοι αἰσίοις ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν πολέμιαν. ἔπει δὲ τάχιστα διέβη τὰ ὅρια, ἐκεῖ αὐ καὶ Γῆν ἔλασκετο χοαῖς καὶ θεοὺς θυσίαις καὶ ἱρωας Ἀσσυρίας οἰκήτωρας ἡμενίζετο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας αὖθις Διὸ πατρῷ καὶ αὐτὸς τίς ἀνεφαίνετο, οὐδὲν ἤμελεν.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, εὐθὶς τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς προαγαγόντες οὐ πολλὴν ὁδὸν 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
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πεδεύοντο, τοῖς δ' ἵπποις καταδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι περιεβάλοντο πολλὴν καὶ παντοίαν λείαιν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ μεταστρατοπεδεύομενοι καὶ ἔχοντες ἀφθονα τάπιτηδεια καὶ δηούντες τὴν χώραν ἀνέμενον τοὺς πολεμίους.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ προσιόντες ἐλέγοντο οὐκέτι δεχόμεθα ἁμέρῳ ὦν ἄπεχειν, τότε δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, Ὡ Κναξάρη, ὦρα δὴ ἀπαντῶν καὶ μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκεῖν μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις φοβουμένους μὴ ἀντιπροσιέναι, ἀλλὰ δῆλοι ὅμως ὅτι οὐκ ἀκοντεῖ μαχοῦμεθα.

25. Ἐπεῖ δὲ ταῦτα συνέδοξε τῷ Κναξάρῃ, οὕτω δὴ συντεταγμένοι προῆς τοσοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὅσον ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ δειπνοῦν μὲν ἀεὶ κατὰ φῶς ἐποιοῦντο, πυρὰ δὲ νῦκτωρ οὐκ ἔκασυ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐμπροσθεν μὲντοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκασυ, ὅπως ὅριζον μὲν εἰ τιμῶν νυκτὸς προσιόνειν διὰ τὸ πῦρ, μὴ ὁρῶντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν προσιόντων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὤπισθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπετρόπου ἀπάτης ἐνέκα τῶν πολεμίων. ὅτε τ' ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ κατάσκοποι ἐνεπιπτον εἰς τὰς προφυλακὰς αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ὤπισθεν τὰ πυρὰ εἶναι ἐτὶ πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου οἰόμενοι εἰναι.

26. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀ σσύριοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ ἥδη ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατεύματα ἐγίγνετο, τάφρον περιεβάλοντο, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι βασιλεῖς, ὅποι ἄν στρατοπεδεύονται, τάφρον περιβάλλονται εὐπετῶς διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν ἱσασὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἰππικῶν στρά- Πρόσω τ', Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; πάρρων χυ, Gemoll (far from).

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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
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tεμα ἐν νυκτὶ ταραχώδες ἐστὶ καὶ δύσχρηστον ἄλλως τε καὶ βάρβαρον. 27. πεποδισμένους γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς ἱπποὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις, καὶ εἰ τις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἵνα, ἔργον μὲν νυκτὸς λύσαι ἱπποὺς, ἔργον δὲ χαλινώσαι, ἔργον δὲ ἐπισάξαι, ἔργον δὲ θαρακίσασθαι, ἀναβάντας δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἱππῶν ἐλάσσαι διὰ στρατοπέδου παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. τούτων δὲ ἐνεκα πάντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἐρυματα περιβάλλονται, καὶ ἀμα αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν ἐχυροῖ εἶναι ἔξουσίαν παρέχειν ὅταν βούλωνται μάχεσθαι.

28. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὲ ποιούντες ἐγγύς ἄλληλων ἐγίγνουσιν. ἕπει δὲ προσιόντες ἀπείχον ὅσον παρασάγησι, οἱ μὲν Ἄσσυροι οὕτως ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ὅσπερ εἰρηταί, ἐν περιτεταφρεμένῳ μὲν καταφανεὶ δὲ, ὦ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐν ἀφανεστάτῳ, κόμας τε καὶ γηλόφους ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι, νομίζον τάντα τὰ πολέμια ἔξαίφνησι δρόμους φόβερότερα τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὅσπερ ἔπρεπε προφυλακόντα ποιησάμενοι ἐκάστεροι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

29. Τῇ δ᾽ ύστεραι ο μὲν Ἄσσυροι καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἤνεπαυν τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ. Κύρος δὲ καὶ Κυαξάρης συνταξάμενοι περιέμενος, ὡς εἰ προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, μαχούμενοι. ὡς δὲ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἔξοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος οὐδὲ μάχην ποιήσωσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὦ μὲν Κυαξάρης καλέσας τὸν Κύρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἔλεξε τοιάδε: 30. Δοκεῖ μοι, ἕφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσπερ τυγχάνομεν 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-
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tαγμένοι οὕτως ἰέναι πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι θέλομεν μάχεσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ, ἐφι, ἠν μὴ ἀντεπεξῆκοιν ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες ἀπλασίν, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ τὴν τόλμαν ἰδόντες ἦμῶν μᾶλλον φοβηθοῦνταί.

31. Τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως ἐδόκει. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, Μηδαμώς, ἐφι, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Κναξάρη, οὕτω ποιήσωμεν. εἰ γὰρ ἦδη ἐκφανέντες πορευσόμεθα, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, νῦν τε προσίόντας ἦμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι θέασονται οὐδὲν φοβούμενοι, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν ἀσφαλεί ἐστι τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ἐπειδὰν τε μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἀπλώμεν, πάλιν καθορῶντες ἦμῶν τὸ πλῆθος πολὺ ἐνδεέστερον τόν ἐαυτῶν καταφρονήσουσι, καὶ αὐριον ἔξισι πολὺ ἔρρωμενεστέρας ταῖς γυνώμαις. 32. νῦν δ', ἐφι, εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι πάρεσμεν, οὐχ ὁρῶντες δὲ ἦμᾶς, εὐ τούτο ἐπίστω, οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ φροντίζουσί τί ποτε τούτ' ἐστι, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ ἦμῶν ἐγὼδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν παύνονται. ὅταν δ' ἔξισι, τότε δεί αὐτοῖς ἀμα φανεροὺς τε ἦμᾶς γενόσθαι καὶ ἰέναι εὐθὺς ὀμόσε, εἰληφότας αὐτοὺς ἐνθα πάλαι ἐβουλόμεθα.

33. Λέξαντος δ' οὕτω Κύρου συνέδοξε ταῦτα καὶ Κναξάρη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν φυλακῶν καύσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν.

34. Τῇ δ' υστεραίᾳ πρὸς Κύρου μὲν ἐστεφάνωμένος ἔθνε, παρῆγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀμοτίμοις ἐστεφανωμένοι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ παρεῖναι.

1 φοβηθοῦνται: Dindorf, most Edd.; φοβηθοῦσαί: MSS., Sauppe.

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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
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ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἰχεν ἡ θυσία, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεξεν. Ἀνδρεῖς, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ, ὡς οί τε μάντεις φασί καὶ ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖ, μάχην τ' ἔσεσθαι προ- αγγέλλουσι καὶ νίκην διδάσας καὶ σοφηρίαν ὑπισχυόνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. 35. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡμῶν μὲν πάραιν ἐπαίνοις τινὰς χρῆ εἶναι ἐν τῷ τοιῶδε καὶ ἀισχυνοίμην ἄν. οἶδα γὰρ ὡμᾶς ταύτα ἐπισταμένους καὶ μεμελητήκοτας καὶ ἀκούοντας διὰ τέλους [οἴαπερ ἐγὼ],1 ὡστε κἂν ἄλλους εἰκότως ἄν διδάσκοιτε. τάδε δὲ εἰ μὴ τυγχάνετε κατανευρικότες, ἀκούσατε.

36. Όδη γὰρ νεωστὶ συμμάχους τε ἔχομεν καὶ πειρώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ποιεῖν, τούτους δὲ ήμᾶς δεὶ ὑπομιμήσκειν ἐφ' οίς τε ἐτερφόμεθα ὑπὸ Κυαξάρου, ἀ τε ἡσκούμεν, ἐφ' ἂ τε αὐτοὺς παρακεκληκάμεν, ὅν τε ἐγ' ἀσμενοὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἐφασαν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι. 37. καὶ τότε δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπομιμήσκετε ὅτι ἡδὲ ἡ ἡμέρα δείξει ὅν ἐκαστὸς ἐστιν ἄξιος, ὅν γὰρ ἄν ὅψιμαις ἀνθρώποι γένονται, οὐδὲν βαυμαστὸν εἰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ὑπομιμήσκοντος δέοντο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ ἔξ ὑποβολῆς δύναυτο ἀνδρεῖς ἴγαθοι εἶναι. 38. καὶ ταύτα μέντοι πράττοντες ἄμα καὶ ὡμῶν αὐτῶν πείραν λήψεσθε. ο μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ τοιῶδε καὶ ἄλλους βελτίους ποιεῖν εἰκότως ἄν ἡδὲ καὶ ἐαυτῷ συνει- δείη τελέως ἁγαθὸς ἄνηρ ὁν, ὅ δὲ τὴν τούτων ὑπόμνησιν αὐτὸς μόνος ἔχων καὶ τούτων ἁγαπῶν,

1 οἴαπερ ἐγὼ γ., Dindorf, Marchant; ἀπερ ἐγὼ γ., Gemoll; ἀστερ ἐγὼ x; omitted by Pantazides; bracketed by Hug, Breitenbach.
2 ἐν τέ Schneider, Edd.; ἀστε ἄθυ; παρακεκλημένων τε γ.
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
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eikótως δὲ ἡμιτελὴ αὐτῶν ὁμίζομεν. 39. τοῦτον δὲ ἔνεκα οὐκ ἔγω, ἐφη, αὐτοῖς λέγω, ἀλλ' ύμας κελεύω λέγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἄρεσκειν ὑμῖν πειράνται· ὑμεῖς γὰρ καὶ πλησιάζετε αὐτοῖς ἔκαστος τῷ ἔαυτον μέρει. εὖ δὲ ἑπιστασθε ὡς ἡν θαρροῦντας τούτοις ύμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδεικνύητε, καὶ τούτους καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἐργῳ θαρρεύν διδάξετε. 40. τέλος εἰπεν ἀπίόντας ἀριστάν ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ σπονδᾶς ποιησάμενοι ἤκειν εἰς τὰς τάξεις αὐτοῖς στεφάνοις.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήλθον, αὐθίς τοὺς οὕραγοις προσ- εκάλεσε, καὶ τούτοις τοιάδε ἐνετέλλετο. 41. "Ἀν- δρες Πέρσαι, ύμεῖς καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων γεγόνατε καὶ ἐπιλεξεγμένοι ἐστέ, οἱ δοκείτε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς κρατίστους ομοίοι εἶναι, τῇ δ' ἡλικίᾳ καὶ φρονιμώτεροι. καὶ τοῖς χώραν ἔχετε οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐντιμον τῶν πρωτοστατῶν· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ὁπισθεν ὄντες τοὺς τ' ἀγάθους ἄν ἐφορῶντες καὶ ἐπικελεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ κρείττους ποιοῦτε, καὶ εἴ τις μαλακίζοιτο, καὶ τούτων ὄρωντες οὐκ ἄν ἐπιτρέποιτε αὐτῷ. 42. συμφέρει δ' ὑμῖν, εἰπέρ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ, τῷ νικάν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς στολῆς. ἦν δ' ἄρα ύμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἐμπροσθέν ἀνακαλούντες ἐπεσθαί παρεγ- γυώσων, ὑπακούετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως μηδ' ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῶν ἤττηθήσεσθε, ἀντιπαρακελευόμενοι αὐτοῖς θάττον ἤγείσθαι ὑπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

1 αὐτῶν Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS.
2 πρωτοστατῶν Dindorf, later Edd.; πρωτοστατῶν MSS.
3 ἤγείσθαι Stephanus, Edd.; ἤγείσθε MSS.

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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
καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἔφη, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστεφανωμένοι εἰς τὰς τάξεις.

43. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄμφι Κύρον ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ δὴ ἡρασήκοτες ἐξῆκαν τε θρασείως καὶ παρετάττοντο ἐρρωμένως. παρέταττε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφ' ἀρματος παρελαύνων καὶ τοιάδε παρεκκλείετο. 44. Ἀνδρες Ἀσσύριοι, νῦν δεὶ ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι· νῦν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἐν ἂν ἐφυτε καὶ οἴκων ἐν ὡς ἐτράφυντε, καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὄν πέπασθε ἀγαθῶν. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τούτων ὑμεῖς ἀφικὼν πρὸς θεοὺς κύριοι ἔσεσθε· εἰ δ' ἡττήθησεςθε, εὖ ἵστε ότι παραδόσετε ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 45. ἂτε οὖν νίκης ἐρώτες μένοντες μάχεσθε. μόρον γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄσπλη καὶ ἀχειρα ταῦτα ἐναυτὰ τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ξην βουλόμενος φεύγειν ἐπίχειροι, εἰδὼς ότι οἱ μὲν νικώντες σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν μάλλον τῶν μενόντων· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἰ τις χρημάτων ἑπεθύμων ἤτταν προσιεται. τὸς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ότι οἱ μὲν νικώντες τὰ τε ἐαυτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων προσλαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡττώμενοι ἄμα ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν πάντα ἀποβάλλουσιν;

1 ὑπὲρ z, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; περὶ xvm, Gemoll.
2 καὶ Hug; καὶ περὶ MSS., Dindorf; [καὶ περὶ] Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll.

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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?"

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46. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος ἐν τούτοις ἦν. ὃ δὲ Κυνάρης πέμπτων πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγεν ὧτι ἦδη καιρὸς εἴη ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Εἰ γὰρ νῦν, ἐφη, ἔτι ὀλγοί εἰσὶν οὐ έξω τοῦ ἐρύματος, ὃ δ᾽ ἂν προσίωμεν πολλοὶ ἐςονται· μὴ οὖν ἀναμείνωμεν ἕως ἂν πλείους ἥμων γένονται. ἀλλ᾽ ἦμεν ἕως ἔτι οἰόμεθα εὐπετῶς ἂν αὐτῶν κρατήσαι.

47. Ὅ δ᾽ αὐ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὡ Κυνάρης, εἰ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμιον αὐτῶν ἔςονται οἱ ἡττηθέντες, εὑ ἵσθι ὧτι ἡμᾶς μὲν ἔρουσι φοβουμένους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ὀλγοῖς ἐπιχειρήσαι, αὐτὸλ δὲ οὐ νομισόσιν ἡττήσαται, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλησ σοι μάχης δεήσει, ἐν ἦ ἄμεινον ἀνίσοις βουλεύσαι τὸ νῦν βεβούλευται, παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμεύεσθαι ὃς ὁπός ὑπὸς ἂν βουλόμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι.

48. Οί μὲν δὴ ἄγγελοι ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες πάσοντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκε Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ὁμοτίμων αὐτομόλους ἀγοντες. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὁσπερ εἰκὸς ἡράτα τοὺς αὐτομόλους τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ᾽ ἔλεγον ὧτι ἐξωτερικοὶ ἂν ἦδη σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ παρατάττοι αὐτοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ὃν καὶ παρακελεύσαι μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἔξω ὑστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ὡς ἐφασαν λέγειν τοὺς ἀκούνοντας.

49. Ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπε, Τί δ᾽ ἐφη, ὁ Κύρε, εἰ καὶ σὺ συγκαλέσας ἔως ἔτι ἐξεστὶ παρακελεύσαι, εἰ ἀρα τι καὶ σὺ ἀμείνους ποιήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας;

50. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ὡ Χρυσάντα, μηδὲν

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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

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σε λυπούντων αἱ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου παρακελεύσεις. οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐτοὶ καλὴ παραίνεσις ἢτις τοὺς μὴ ὁντας ἀγαθοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀκούσαντας ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσειν οὐκ ἄν οὐν τοξότας γε, εἰ μὴ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦτο μεμελετηκότες εἶεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀκοντιστάς, οὐδὲ μὴν ἵππεας, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ γε σώματα ἴκανοὺς πονεῖν, ἢ μὴ πρόσθεν ἱσκηκότες ὈΣΙ.

51. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν, ἈΛΛ’ ἀρκεῖ τοι, ὁ Κῦρε, ἢν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀμείνωνας παρακελευσάμενος ποιήσης.

Ἡ καὶ δύναιτ’ ἄν, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς λόγος ῥηθεὶς αὐθημερὸν αἰδοὺς μὲν ἐμπλήσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκούσωντων, ἢ ἄπό τῶν αἰσχρῶν κωλύσαι, προτρέψαι δὲ ὡς χρῆ ἐπαινοῦ μὲν ἐνεκα πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι, λαβεῖν δ’ ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις βεβαιῶς τοῦτο ὡς αἱρετωτέρον ἐστὶ μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν μᾶλλον ἢ φεύγοντας σώζεσθαι; 52. ἢρ’ οὖν, ἐφη, εἰ μέλλονυ τοιαύτα διάνοιαν ἐγγραφήσεσθαι αὐθρόποις καὶ ἐμμονοὶ ἐσεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν νόμους ὑπάρξαι δεὶ τοιοῦτος δι’ ὁν τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἔντιμος καὶ ἑλευθερίος ὁ βίος παρασκευασθήσεται, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ταπεινῶς τε καὶ ἄλγεινος καὶ ἁβίωτος ὁ αἰών ἐπανακείσεται;

53. Ἕπειτα διδασκάλους οἷμα δεὶ καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τοῦτοις γενέσθαι οἱ τινὲς δείξουσι τε ὀρθῶς καὶ διδάξουσι καὶ ἠθικοῦσι ταῦτα δρᾶν, ἐστ’ ἄν ἐγγένηται αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθούς καὶ εὐ-κλεείς εὐδαιμονεστάτους τῷ ὀντὶ νομίζειν, τοὺς

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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
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dè κακοὺς καὶ δυσκλεῖσις ἀθλετάτους ἀπάντων ἠγείσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ δεῖ διατεθῆναι τοὺς μέλ·
λοντας τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβου τὴν μά-
θησιν κρείττονα παρέξεσθαι. 54. εἰ δὲ τοι ὑν·
tων εἰς μάχην σὺν ὀπλοῖς, ἐν φολλοὶ καὶ τῶν
παλαιῶν μαθημάτων ἔξιστανται, ἐν τούτῳ δυνή-
σεται τις ἀπορραψιόνας παραχρήμα ἀνδρας
πολεμικοὺς ποιῆσαι, πάντων ἢν ῥᾴστον εἰὴ καὶ μα-
θεῖν καὶ διδαξαί τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις
ἀρετῆν. 55. ἐπελ ἔγωγ', ἐφ' ὁδ' ἂν τούτοις ἐπὶ-
στενον ἐμμόνοις ἔσεσθαι ὅσι νῦν ἔχοντες παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἤσκομεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐώρουν
παρόντας, οὐ καὶ παραδείγματα αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε
οὗν χρῆ εἶναι καὶ ὑποβαλεῖν δυνήσεσθε, ἢ τι
ἐπιλαυθάνωνται. τοὺς δ' ἀπαίδευτοις παντά-
πανὶ ἀρετῆς θαυμάζωμ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὡς Χρυσάντα,
ei τι πλέον ἂν ὠφελῆσει λόγους καλῶς ῥηθεὶς
εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἢ τοὺς ἀπαίδευτους μουσικῆς
ἀσμα καλῶς ἓσθεν εἰς μουσικῆν.

56. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διελέγοντο. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης
πάλιν πέμπτων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔξαμαρτάνοι διατρήβων
καὶ οὐκ ἄγον ὡς τάχιστα ἔπλο τοὺς πολεμίους.
kai ὁ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ τὸτε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις,
Ἀλλ' εὐ μὲν ἱστῶ, ἔφη, ὅτι ὅπως εἰς ἔξω ὅςοις
dei καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτῷ ἐν ἀπασίν·
ἀμως δὲ, ἐπελ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ, ἔξω ἢδη.

57. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ προσενεύμενος τοῖς θεοῖς
ἔξηγε τὸ στράτευμα. ὡς δ' ἥρξατο ἄγειν, ἡδη¹
θάττων ἥγειτο, οἳ δ' εἴποντο εὐτάκτως μὲν δια

¹ ἡδη Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; ἤτι xy; ἐπελ z; αὐ·
ti < ka> Gemoll; omitted by Dindorf.

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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
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tὸ ἐπίστασθαι τε καὶ ἀνερέσθαι, ἐρρομένως δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλονίκος ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλους καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ σώματα ἐκπεπονηθέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτοστάτας εἶναι, ἥδεως δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν ἡπτισταντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ οὕτως ἐμεμάθηκεναν ἀνθρώποι πολύτειλοι, ἀλλοι τε καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἀκουτοσταῖς καὶ ἰππεύσιν.

58. Ἔως δέ ἐτι ἔξω βελῶν ἤσαν, παρηγγύα ὁ Κύρος σύνθημα Ζεὺς σύμμαχοι καὶ ἴγκεμών. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦκε τὸ σύνθημα ἀνταποδιδόμενον, ἢξηρχεῖν αὐτός ὁ Κύρος1 παιάνα τὸν γομιζόμενον ὁ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεστήχησαν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ εἰς τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δευτεραίμοις ήττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνταί. 59. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παιάν ἐγένετο, ἀμα πορεύόμενοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι φαιδροὶ [πεπαιδευμένοι]2 καὶ παρορρόντες εἰς ἄλληλους, ὁνομάζοντες παραστάτας, ἐπιστάτας, λέγοντες πολὺ τὸ "Ἄγετ ἀνδρεῖς φίλου, Ἀγετ ἀνδρεῖς ἄγαθοι, παρεκάλουν ἄλληλους ἐπεσθαί. οἱ δ' ὑπισθεν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἀντιπαρεκελεύοντο τοὺς πρῶτοις ἴγκειθαί ἐρρομένως. ἂν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ῥόμης, θάρρους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πείδους, ὅπερ οἶμαι δεινότατον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις.

1 αὐτὸς ὁ Κύρος Hug, Breitenbach, Nitsche, Marchant, Gemoll; αδ διοσκόρος yC (against the sons of Zeus [Castor and Pollux]); αδ ὁ Κύρος zC²F³, Dindorf; ὁ Κύρος ἀμα διοσκόρος E.

2 πεπαιδευμένοι MSS., Dindorf, et al.; bracketed by Hug,

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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. 2; <δε> τε πεπαιδευμένοι. Gemoll.

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60. Τῶν δ’ Ασσυρίων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων προμαχοῦντες, ὡς ἔγνυς ἦδη προσεμέγνυ τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος, ἀνέβασιν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρματα καὶ ὑπεξήγησαν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ σφενδονῆται αὐτῶν ἀφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολὺ πρὶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι. 61. ὡς δ’ ἐπιώντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφειμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγξατο δὴ ὁ Κῦρος, Ἀνδρέας ἀριστοι, ἦδη θάττον τις ἰδὼν ἐπιδεικνύτω ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρεγγυάτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμίξαι δρόμου τινὲς ἥρξαν, συνεφείπτε τὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ. 62. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳ ἤγεῖτο, καὶ ἁμα ἐφθέγγετο· Τὸς ἔφεται; Τὸς ἄγαθος; Τὸς πρῶτος ἀνδρα καταβαλεῖ; Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα τοῦτο ἐφθέγγυντο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὅσπερ παρηγγύνα ὦτως ἔχωρει· Τὸς ἔφεται; Τὸς ἄγαθος; 63. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι ὦτως ἔχοντες ὁμός ἐφέροντο. οἱ γε μὴν πολέμοι οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο μένειν, ἀλλὰ στραφέντες ἐφευγον εἰς τὸ ἑρυμά. 64. οἱ δ’ αὖ Πέρσαι κατὰ τε τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφεπομενοὶ ὀδομένων αὐτῶν πολλοὺς κατεστρώνουσαν, τοὺς δ’ εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἐμπίπτοντας ἐπεισήδωντες ἐφόνευν ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἦπειοι· ἦνια γὰρ τῶν ἀρμάτων εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἴναγκασθη φεύγοντα ἐμπεσεῖν. 65. καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ’ ἦπεῖοι ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἠλαυνοῦν εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας τοὺς τῶν 300
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
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πολεμίων· οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ αὐτοὶ.\(^1\) ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὅπων διώγμος ἦν καὶ ἄνδρῶν καὶ φόνος δὲ\(^2\) ἀμφοτέρων.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἔντος τοῦ ἐρύματος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφου τοξεύειν μὲν ἢ ἀκοντίζειν εἰς τοὺς κατακαίνοντας οὕτε ἐφρόνουν οὕτε ἐδύναντο διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὀράματα καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον. τάχα δὲ καὶ καταμαθόντες τῶν Περσῶν τινὰς διακεκοφότας πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν ἐνδον.\(^3\) 67. Ἰδοῦσαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἢ ἢν φυγήν καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἔθεον ἐκτεληθηκύνηεν, αἱ μὲν καὶ τέκνα ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι, καταρρηχύμεναι τέ πέπλους καὶ δρυπτόμεναι, καὶ ἰκετεύουσαι πάντας ὑπὸ ἑντυχάνον μὴ φεύγειν καταλυτόντας αὐτὰς, ἀλλὰ ἀμύναι καὶ τέκνης καὶ ἑαυτᾶς καὶ σφίσσων αὐτοῖς.

68. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς σὺν τοῖς πυροτάτοις στάντες ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο καὶ τῶς ἄλλως παρεκελεύοντο.

69. Ὡς δὲ ἔγνω ὁ Κύρος τὰ γυνόμενα, δείσας ὑμῖν, καὶ εἰ βιάσαιντο εἴσω, ὅλγοι δοτὲς ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖν τις, παρηγγύησαν ἐπὶ πόδι ἀνώγειν ἐξω βελῶν [καὶ πείθεσθαι].\(^4\)

70. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔγνω τις ἄν τοὺς ὀμοτίμους πεπαι-

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1 auct. Sauppe, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτοις z, Dindorf; τούτων xy; οὕτωι Pantazides.
2 δὲ Pantazides, most Edd.; εἷς MSS., Dindorf.
3 τῶν ἐνδον z, Edd.; ἑφευγον xy.
4 καὶ πείθεσθαι MSS., Dindorf; bracketed by Wörner and most Edd.
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

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δευμένοις ώς δει: ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸι ἐπείθοντο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον. ὡς δ᾽ ἐξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, ἔστησαν κατὰ χώραν, πολὺ μᾶλλον χρονὸν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅπου ἐδει ἐκαστὸν 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
Δ

I

1. Μείνας δὲ ὁ Κύρος μέτριον χρόνον αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ δηλώσας ὅτι ἔτοι-

μοί εἰσι μάχεσθαι εἰ τις εξέρχοιτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆι, ἀπήγαγεν ὅσον ἐδοκεὶ καλὸς ἔχειν καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. φυλακᾶς δὲ καταστη-
σάμενος καὶ σκοποῦσι προπέμψας, στὰς εἰς τὸ μέσον συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε:

2. Ἀνδρεὺς Πέρσαι, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ ὅσον δύναμαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες, ὅμαι νῖκης τε γὰρ τετυχήκαμεν καὶ σωτηρίας.

τούτων μὲν οὖν ἥρα χαριστήρια ὅπως ἐκχωμεν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποτελεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ σύμπαντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἤδη ἐπανῶ τὸ γὰρ γεγενημένου ἔργου σύμπασιν ὑμῖν καλὰς ἀποτελεῖται. ὅπως δὲ ἔκαστος ἄξιος, ἔπειδὰν παρ᾽ ὅν προσήκῃ πῦθω-

μαι, τότε τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκάστῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειρᾶσομαι ἀποδίδοναι. 3. τὸν δ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐγγυτάτα
tαξίαρχον Χρυσάνταν οὐδέν ἄλλων δέομαι πυν-

θάνεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς οἶδα οἶος ἦν πάντα τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα δισπερ οἶμαι καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐποιεῖτε. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγὼ παρηγγύησα ἐπανάγειν καλέσας αὐτὸν

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BOOK IV

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
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όνομαστί, ἀνατεταμένος οὗτος τὴν μάχαραν, ὡς παίσων πολέμιον, ὑπῆκουσέ τε ἐμοὶ εὐθὺς ἀφεῖς τε ὅ ἐμελλὲ ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον ἔπραττεν· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἔπανῆγε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλα ἐπισπερχόμενοι παρηγαγά· ὅστ' ἔφθασεν ἔξω βελῶν τὴν τάξιν ποιήσας πρὶν τοὺς πολέμιοις κατανοῆσαι ὅτι ἀνεχωροῦμεν καὶ τόξα ἐντείνασθαι καὶ τὰ παλτὰ ἐπαφεῖναι· ὅστε αὐτὸς τε ἀβλαβῆς καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας ἀβλαβεῖς διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι παρέχεται. 4. ἄλλως δ', ἔφη, ὅρω τετρωμένους, περὶ ὅν ἐγὼ σκέψαμεν ἐν ὑποίῳ χρόνῳ ἔτρωθησαν, τότε τὴν γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφανοῦμαι. Χρυσάντων δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐργάτην τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ φρόνυμον καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ ἀρχεῖν χιλιαρχία μὲν ἢ ἦθη τιμῶν ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἄγαθόν ὁ θεὸς δῷ, οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιλήσομαι αὐτοῦ.

5. Καὶ πάντας δὲ βούλομαι ύμᾶς, ἔφη, ὑπομνῄσας: ἵνα γὰρ νῦν εἴδετε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῆς, ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι μὴ τοποῦται παύσεσθε, ὡς παρ' ὕμιν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ κρίνετε πότερον ἡ ἀρετὴ μᾶλλον ἡ φυγή σώζει τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πότερον οἱ μάχεσθαι ἐθέλουν ἐὰν ἀπαλλάττοις ὥς οἱ οὐκ ἐθέλουντες, καὶ ποίαν τινὰ ἡδονὴν τὸ νικᾶν παρέχει· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν ἀριστα κρίνατ' ἄν πεῖραν τε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ἄρτι γεγενημένου τοῦ πράγματος. 6. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἀεὶ διανοοῦμενοι βελτίστοις ἄν εἴητε.

Νῦν δὲ ὡς θεοφίλεις καὶ ἄγαθολ καὶ σώφρονες

1 ὅστ' xy, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; ὅστ' z, Dingdorff, Hug (untill).
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.

“The lessons of the battle now go to dinner, as men beloved of God and
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άνδρες δειπνοποιεῖσθε καὶ σπουδᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖσθε καὶ παιᾶνα ἐξάρχεσθε καὶ ἀμά τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖτε.

7. Εἴπον δὲ ταῦτα ἄναβας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἡλασε καὶ πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἔλθον καὶ συνηθεῖς ἐκεῖνης κοινῆς ὡς ἑκός καὶ ἵδων τάκει καὶ ἔρομενος εἰ τι δέουτο, ἀπήλαυνε εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφί Κύρων δειπνοποιηθάμενοι καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστηθαμενοί ὡς ἦδει ἐκοιμήθησαν.

8. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ἀτε καὶ τεθυμάτος τοῦ ἁρχοντος καὶ σχεδὸν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων, ἡθύμοιο μὲν πάντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδίδρασκον αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ στρατόπεδου. ὁρώντες δὲ ταῦτα ὅ τε Κροίσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἡθύμοι τὰντα μὲν γὰρ ἦν χαλεπά, ἀθυμίαν δὲ πλείστην παρείχε πᾶσιν ὦτι τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φύλον διέφθαρτο τὰς γνώμας. ὦτω δὴ ἐκλείπουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπέρχονται τῆς νυκτὸς. 9. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν ἑφάνη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, εὐθὺς διαβιβάζει ὁ Κύρως τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτους κατελέειπτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα, πολλοὶ δὲ βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀμάξαι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεσταί· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διέβαινον ἕκας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυαξάρην Μῆδου πάντες καὶ ἄριστοποιοῦντο ἐνταῦθα. 10. ἔπει δὲ ἠρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κύρως τοὺς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχους καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδει·

Οἶδα μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθά, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἀφεῖναι, θεῶν ἡμῖν αὐτὰ διδόντων. νῦν γὰρ ὦτι

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
οἱ πολέμοι ἡμᾶς ἀποδεδράκασιν αὐτοὶ ὀράτε· οὖτινς δὲ ἐν ἐρύματι ὠντες ἐκλιπώντες τὸῦτο φεύγουσιν, πῶς ἃν τις τούτους οἴονθ’ ἀν μεῖναι ἴδοντας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ; οὗτινς δὲ ἡμῶν ἀπειρο ὠντες οὐχ ὑπεμειναν, πῶς νῦν γὰ ἀν ὑπομείνειαν, ἐπεὶ ήττηνταὶ τε καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν πεπόνθασιν; ὅν δὲ οἱ βέλτιστοι ἀποκλώλασι, πῶς οἱ πονηρότεροι ἐκεῖνων μάχεσθαι ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλοιεν;

11. Καὶ τις εἶπε, Τί οὖν οὐ διώκωμεν ὡς τάχιστα, καταδήλων γε οὗτω τῶν ἁγαθῶν ὄντων; Καὶ δὲ εἶπεν, "Ὅτι ἵππων προσδέομεθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κράτιστοι τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς μάλιστα καίρος ἢ ἡ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακανεῖν,1 οὕτωι ἐφ’ ἵππων ὄχοῦνται2 οὐδ’ ἡμεῖς τρέπεσθαι μὲν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανοῖς, διώκοντες δὲ αἱρεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοῖς.

12. Τί οὖν, ἔφασαν, οὐκ ἔλθων Κυνάρη λέγεις ταῦτα;

Καὶ δὲ εἶπε, Συνέπεσθε τοῖς ἄνα τοὺς πάντες, ὡς εἰδῆ ὅτι πάσιν ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

Εἴ τούτων εἶπον τοιν πάντες καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐπιτήδεια ἔδοκον εἶναι ύπερ ὑπὲρ ἐδέοντο.

13. Καὶ ο Κυνάρης ἄμα μὲν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἠρχον τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ὑπερθόνει· ἄμα δ’ ἵσως καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ μὴ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς τε περὶ εὐθυμίαν ἐτύγχανεν ὅν καὶ τῶν

1 κατακανεῖν Dindorf, Edd.; κατακαλεῖν z; ἄποκτείαι xh.
2 ὄχοῦνται Cobet, Breitenbach, Marchant; νέονται xf, Dindorf (are moving off); <κι>νοῦνται Gemoll; ἵσονται zDF.

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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
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άλλων Μήδων ἐώρα πολλοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας· εἰπὲ δὲ ὦν ὤδε. 14. Ἀλλ’, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων μελετάτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡδονήν ἀπλήστως διακείσθαι καὶ ὅρων καὶ ἀκούων οἶδα· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἡδονής πολὺ μάλιστα συμφέρειν ἐγκρατῆ εἶναι. μεῖζω δὲ ἡδονὴ τί παρέχει ἀνθρώπων εὐτυχίας ἢ νῦν ἦμιν παραγεγένηται;

15. Ἡν μὲν τοῖνυν [ἐπεὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν], σωφρόνως διαφυλάττωμεν αὐτήν, ἵσως δυναίμεθ’ ἄν ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονοῦντες γηρᾶν· εἰ δ’ ἀπλήστως χρώμενοι ταύτῃ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ πειρασόμεθα διώκειν, ὤρατε μὴ πάθωμεν ἀπερ πολλοὺς μὲν λέγουσιν ἐν θαλάττῃ πεποιθέναι, διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλοντας παύσασθαι πλέοντας ἀπολέσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ νῖκης τυχόντας ἑτέρας ἐφεμένους καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀποβαλεῖν. 16. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι ήττους ὄντες ἡμῶν ἐφευγόν, ἵσως ἄν καὶ διώκειν τους ήττους ἀσφαλῶς εἰχε. νῦν δὲ κατανόησον πόστω μέρει αὐτῶν πάντες μαχεσάμενοι νεικήκαμεν· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἁμαχοὶ εἰσίν· οὐδὲ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀναγκάσομεν μάχεσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ έαυτοὺς δι’ ἁμαθίαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἀπίσται· εἰ δὲ γνώσονται ὅτι ἀπίστους οὐδὲν

1 τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον z, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κάλλιστα x, Marchant, Gemoll; μάλιστα y.
2 [ἐπεὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν] bracketed by Hug.

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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.
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ήττον κινδυνεύουσιν ἢ μένοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκά- 
σομεν¹ αὐτοῦς, κἂν μὴ βούλωνται, ἀγαθοὺς 
γενέσθαι. 17. ἤσθι γὰρ ὅτι οὐ σὺ μᾶλλον τὰς 
ἐκεῖνων γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖς 
ἡ ἐκεῖνοι σῶσαι. ἐννόει δ’ ὅτι καὶ αἱ σύνε 
ἐπειδὰν ὁφθῶσι, φεύγομεν, κἂν πολλαὶ ὅσι, σὺ 
τοῖς τέκνοις· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὶς αὐτῶν θηρᾶ τι 
τῶν τέκνων, οὐκέτι φεύγει οὐδ’ ἢν μία τύχῃ οὕσα, 
ἀλλ’ ἔται ἐπὶ τὸν λαμβάνειν πειρόμενον. 18. κα 

νῦν μὲν κατακλέισαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἔρημα παρ 

ἔσχον ἡμῖν ταξινεύοσθαι ὅστε ὀπόσοις ἐβουλό 

μεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι· εἰ δ’ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ πρόσι 

μεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαθήσονται χωρίς γενόμενοι οἱ 

μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῖν ὅστερ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιο 

σθαι, οἱ δ’ ἐκ πλαισίου, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεῖν, ὅρα 

μὴ πολλῶν ἐκάστω ἡμῶν χειρῶν δεησι καὶ 

ὀφθαλμῶν. προσέτι δ’ οὐδ’ ἂν ἐθέλομε, ἐφη, 

ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅρων Μήδους εὐθυμομένους, ἐξαναστή 

σας ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύοστας ἴναι.

19. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὑπολαβὼν ἔστεν, Ἀλλὰ σὺν 

μηδένα ἀναγκάςῃ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς μοι 

ἐπεσθαί δός· καὶ ἴσως ἂν σοι καὶ τῶν σῶν 

φίλων τούτων ἦκοιμεν ἐκάστῳ ἄγοντες ἐφ’ ὅσ 

ἀπαινεῖ εὐθυμήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος ἡμεῖς 

γε τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲ διωξόμεθα· πῶς γὰρ ἂν 

καὶ καταλάβοιμεν; ἣν δὲ τι ἢ ἀπεσχισμένον 

τοῦ στρατεύματος λάβωμεν ἢ τι ὑπολειπόμενον,

¹ ἀναγκάζομεν Dindorf, Edd.; ἀναγκάζωμεν 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 anyone 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
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ͳͻομεν προς σε ἀγοντες. 20. ἐνώει δ', ἐφη, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπει σὺ εἶδου, ἦλθομεν σοι χαρεῖμενοι μακρὰν ὁδὸν καὶ σὺ οὖν ἡμῖν δίκαιος εἰ ἀντι-
χαρῆς θεαι, ἵνα καὶ ἔχοντες τι οὐκαὶ ἀφικώμεθα καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν σοῦ θησαυρόν πάντες ὀρῶμεν.

21. Ἠπειραθα δὴ ἐλεξεν ὁ Κυαξάρης, 'Ἀλλ' εἰ γε μέντοι ἐθέλων τις ἔποιηστο, καὶ χάριν ἐγωγεῖ 
σοι εἰδεὶς ἄν.

Σύμπεμψων τούννυν μοι τινα, ἐφη, τῶν ἀξιο-
πίστων τουτών, δς ἔρει ἄν σὺ εἰποστείλης.

Lambdaν ἐδ' ἔθι, ἐφη, οὖντια εἴθελες τουτώνι.

22. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔπνυχε παρῶν 1 ὁ φήσας ποτὲ 
συγγενῆς αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ φιληθεὶς [παρ' αὐτοῦ]. 2 
εἰθὺς οὖν ὁ Κύρος εἴπεν, 'Ἀρκεῖ μοι, ἐφη, αὐτοσι.

Οὔτος τούννυν σοι ἐπέσθων. καὶ λέγε σὺ, ἐφη, 
τὸν ἔθελοντα λέναι μετὰ Κύρου.

23. Οὔτω δὴ λαβῶν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήει. ἐπει 
δ' ἐξηλθον, 3 ὁ Κύρος εἴπεν, Νῦν δὴ σὺ δηλώσεις 
εἰ ἀληθῆ ἔλεγες, ὅτε 4 ἐφης ἤδεσθαι θεώμενος 
ἐμέ.

Οὐκουν ἀπολειψομαι γέ σου, ἐφη ὁ Μήδος, 
εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις.

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἴπεν, Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλους προθύμων 
ἐξέδιεις;

'Επομόσας οὖν ἐκείνος Νὴ τὸν Δή', ἐφη, ἔστε 
γ' ἀν τοιῆσον καὶ σὲ ἐμὲ ἡδέως θείασθαι.

24. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυαξάρου 

1 παρὼν Schneider, Edd.; δὲn MSS.
2 παρ' αὐτοῦ x, Hug, Gemoll; omitted in z, Dindorf, Marchant, Breitenbach.
3 ἔξηλθον Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἔξηλθεν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
4 ὅτε MSS., all Edd. except Hug, who writes ὅτι.
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
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tά τε άλλα προθύμως ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς Μίδοις καὶ προσετίθει ὅτι αὐτὸς γε ὅποι ἀπόλειψεντο ἀνδρὸς καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὸ θεῶν γεγονότος.

II

1. Πράττοντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρου ταῦτα θείως πως ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπὸ Ἱρκάνιων ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Ἱρκάνιοι ὀμοροὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εἰσίν, ἔθνος δ’ οὐ πολύ, διὸ καὶ ὑπῆκοι ήσαν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εὐπποι. 1 δὲ καὶ τότε ἔδοκουν εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐτί δοκοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ ἑξρώντο αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀσσυρίοι ὤσπερ καὶ οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι τοῖς Σκιρταῖοι, οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὔτ’ ἐν πόνοις οὔτ’ ἐν κινδύνοις καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὤπισθοφυλακεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ὡς χιλίους ἵππεας ὑπερα, ὅπως εἰ τι ὤπισθεν δεινὸν εἶναι, ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ αὐτῶν τοῦτ’ ἔχοιν. 2. οἱ δὲ Ἱρκάνιοι, ἀτε μέλλοντες ὑστατοὶ πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας τὰς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑστάτους ἐξον. στρατεύονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ μεθ’ ὄντερ καὶ οἰκοῦν καὶ τότε δὴ ἐστρατεύουσον οὖτως οἱ Ἱρκάνιοι.

3. Ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἶλα τα πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ὦτι νῦν τεθναίη μὲν ὁ ἅρχον αὐτῶν, ἤττημένοι δ’ εἰς, φόβος δ’ ἑνείη τῷ στρατεύματι, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ὡς ἄθυμως ἔχοιον καὶ ἀπολεῖποιν, ταῦτα ὑπομομένοι εἴδο- 1 εὐπποι Fischer, Edd.; ἐπιπποι 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
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zeug autois νῦν καλὸν εἶναι ἀποστήμαι, ει θέλοιεν οἱ ἄμφι Κύρον συνεπιθέσθαι. καὶ πέμπτος πρὸς Κύρον ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς μάχης τὸ τοῦτο ὄνομα μέγιστον ἠξῆρτο. 4. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες λέγουσι Κύρῳ ὅτι μισοῖεν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους δικαίως, νῦν τ', εἰ βούλοιτο ἕναι ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ σφεῖς σύμμαχοι ὑπάρξοιεν καὶ ἡγήσοιτο ἀμα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς διηγοῦντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἔχοι, ἐπάρειν βουλόμενοι μάλιστα στρατεύεσθαι αὐτῶν.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπήρετο αὐτοὺς. Καὶ δοκεῖτε ἀν, ἐφη, ἐτι ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν εἶναι; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, μᾶλα συμφοράν τοῦτο ἡγούμεθα εἶναι ὅτι ἔλαθον ἡμᾶς ἀποδράντες. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ὡς μέγιστον φρονεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσιν.

6. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι καὶ αὖριον, ἔσθεν εἰ εὐξώνοι πορεύοιτο, καταλήψοιτο ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὀχλοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σχολῆ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἀμα, ἐφασαν, τὴν προτέραν νύκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες νῦν μικρὸν προελθόντες ἐστρατοπέδευνται.

7. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐφη, Ἐχετε οὖν ὃν λέγετε πιστῶν τὶ ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἀληθεύετε;

'Ομήρους γ', ἐφασαν, έθέλομεν αὐτίκα ἐλάσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγαγείν μόνον καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν πιστὰ θεῶν [πεποίησο] καὶ ἐξίαν δός, ἵνα φέρωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπέρ ἀν αὐτοὶ λάβωμεν παρὰ σοῦ.

1 προελθόντες Zeune, Edd., προσελθόντες z; πορευθέντες xy.
2 [πεποίησο] Cobet, Breitenbach; πεποίησο z, Dindorf, Merchant; ποιήσον 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 encumbered 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."
8. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ πιστὰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ μῆν, ἐὰν ἐμπεδώσωσιν ἀ λέγουσιν, ὡς φίλοις καὶ πιστοῖς χρήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε Πέρσῶν μήτε Μηδῶν μεῖον ἔχειν παρ’ ἐαυτῷ. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἐτὶ ἱδεῖν Ἰρκανίους καὶ πιστευομένους καὶ ἀρχαῖς ἔχοντας, ὥσπερ καὶ Πέρσῶν καὶ Μηδῶν οὐ διν δοκῶσιν ἅξιοι εἶναι.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν, ἐξήγη τὸ στράτευμα ἐτὶ φάσιν ὑπόσιός, καὶ τούς Ἱρκανίους περιμένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἁμα ἵοιεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ εἰκός, πάντες ἔξησαν, καὶ Τνγάνης ἔχων τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. 10. τὸν δὲ Μηδῶν ἔξησαν 1 οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ παιδὶ ὑπτι Κύρφω παιδες ὑπὲρ φίλοι γενέσθαι, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐν θήραις συγγενόμενοι ἀγαθήναι αὐτοῦ τῶν τρόπων, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ χάρων εἴδεναι ὅτι μέγαν αὐτοῖς φόβον ἀπεληλακέναι ἐδόκει, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπτίδας ἔχοντες διὰ τὸ ἀνδρα φαϊνεσθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐτυχὴ καὶ μέγαν ἐτὶ ἴσχυρὸν ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ, ὅτε ἐτρέφετο ἐν Μηδοῖς, εἰ τι ἄγαθόν τῷ ἔπραξεν, ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι ἐβούλοντος. πολλοῖς δὲ πολλὰ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τοῦ πάππου ἄγαθὰ διεστέρακτο. πολλοὶ δὲ, ἑπεὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἰρκανίους εἶδον καὶ λόγος διήλθεν ὡς ἡγησιούστε ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἄγαθὰ, ἔξησαν καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἐνεκα.

11. Οὔτω δὲ ἔξησαν σχεδὸς ἀπαντες καὶ οἱ Μηδοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι σὺν Κυαξάρῃ ἐτυχον σκηνοῦν-

1 ἔξησαν Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; έξω ἦσαν MSS., Dindorf, et al.
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
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test' οὗτοι δὲ κατέμενοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ὑπήκοοι. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες φαινόμενοι καὶ προθύμως ἔξωρ-
μόντα, ἔτε ὦκι άνάγκη ἀλλ' ἔθελονσιοι καὶ χάριτος ἔνεκα ἐξεντεῖτε.

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω ἤσαν, πρὸ τοῦ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐλθὼν ἐπήνεσε τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπηύξατο μάλιστα μὲν θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ἱλεως ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δυνασθήναι χάριν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδοῦναι. τέλος δὲ έιπεν ὅτι ἡγήσωμον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπεσθαί σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ὅπως ἄν ἀναπαύσωμεν ἡ ἐπίσχωσι τῆς πορείας, ἔνετει-
λατο αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρελαιῶνεις τινάς, ἵνα εἰδώση τὸ ἄει καλρίον. 13. ἐκ τούτων ἡγεῖσθαί ἐκέλευ οἱ Έτκανίους.

Καὶ οἱ ἡρώτων, Τί δὲ; οὗκ ἀναμενεῖς, ἐφάσαν, τοὺς ὑμήρους ἔως ἀν ἀγάμημεν, ἵνα ἔχων καὶ σὺ τὰ πιστὰ παρ' ὡμὸν πορεύῃ;

Καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγεται, Ἐννοῶ γὰρ, φάναι, ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ πιστὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσίν. οὗτο γὰρ δοκοῦμεν παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς ἴνα ἀληθεύτη, ἰκανοί εἶναι ἡμᾶς εὑ ποιεῖν ἤν δὲ ἐξαπατᾶτε, ὅτω νομίζομεν ἔχειν ὡς τοὺ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐσταῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἵνα θεοὶ θέλωσιν, ὑμᾶς εὑ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. καὶ μέντοι, ἐφ' ὡς Γρκάνου, ἐπείκετο φάτε ὑπότους ἐπεσθαί τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἐπειδὰν ἠδήτε αὐτοῖς, σημάνατε ὑμῶν ὅτι οἱ ἡμετέροι εἶσαι, ἵνα φειδώμεθα αὐτῶν.

1 ἀναμενεῖς Dindorf, later Edd.; ἀναμένεις MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.
2 σημάνατε Dindorf, later Edd.; σημαντεῖ z; σημαλντε χυ.
3 ὑμετέροι Brodæus, Edd.; ἡμετέροι MSS.

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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."
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14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Τρκάνιοι τὴν μὲν ὁδὸν ἡγούντο ὡσπερ ἐκέλευε, τὴν δὲ ρώμην τῆς ψυχῆς ἑθαύμαζον· καὶ οὕτε Ἀσσυρίους οὕτε Δυσδοὺς οὕτε τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ὁ Κύρος μικράν τινα αὐτῶν οὖσιν ῥοπὴν εἶναι καὶ προσόντων καὶ ἀπόντων.

15. Πορευομένων δὲ ἐπεὶ νῦξ ἐπεγένετο, λέγεται φῶς τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προφανὲς γενέσθαι, ὅστε πᾶσι μὲν φρίκην ἐγγίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θείου, θάρρος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥς δ' εὐξώοι τε καὶ ταχὺ ἐπορεύοντο, εἰκότως πολλήν τε ὁδὸν διήνυσαν καὶ ἄμα κνέφα πλησίον γέγονται τοῦ τῶν Τρκανίων στρατεύματος. 16. ὥς δ' ἐγνωσαν οἱ ἄγγελοί, καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι οὕτως εἰσὶν οἱ σφέτεροι· τῷ τε γὰρ ἱστάτους εἶναι γεγονόσκειν ἐφασάν καὶ τῷ πληθεὶ τῶν πυρῶν. 17. ἐκ τούτου πέμπει τὸν ἐτερον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, προστάξας λέγειν, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὥς τάχιστα ὑπαντᾶν τὰς ἰδιὰς ἀνατέλλαντας· συμπέμπει δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῶν σύν ἑαυτῷ καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς Τρκανίοις ὅτι ὅσιν ὀρῶσιν αὐτοὺς προσφερομένους, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιήσουσιν. οὗτος δὲ ὁ μὲν μένει τῶν ἀγγέλων παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ, ὁ δὲ προσελαύνει πρὸς τοὺς Τρκανίους.

18. Ἐν δὲ ἐσκόπηε τοὺς Τρκανίους ὁ Κύρος ὅ τι ποιήσουσιν, ἐπέστησε τὸ στράτευμα· παρελαύνουσι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Μῆδων προεστη-

1 ἔτι xy, Dindorf, Gemoll; omitted in z, Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant.
2 τινὰ Zeune, Edd.; τινὰς MSS,
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 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 ἐπερωτῶσι τίς δεῖ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι τούτ’ ἔστι τὸ πλησίον Ὄρκανων στράτευμα καὶ οἴχεται ὁ ἄτερος τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τις σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐροῦντες, εἰ χίλιοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάζειν τὶς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὗτοι ποιῶσι, δεξιοῦσθέ τε αὐτούς καθ’ ὅν ἦ ἔκαστος, καὶ ἀμα ἀναρίστε. ἦν δὲ ὅπλα αἰρόνται ἡ φεύγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι, τούτων, ἐφ’ ἐνδ’ δεὶ πρῶτων πειρᾶσθαι μηδένα λιπεῖν. 

19. Ὅ μὲν τοιαύτα παρήγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ Ὅρκανοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἰσηθησάν δὲ καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντες ἔπλο τοὺς ἱππους παρῆσαν τὰς δεξιὰς, ὥσπερ ἐφ’ ἐρρητο, προτείνοντες. οἱ δὲ Μήδοι καὶ Πέρσαι ἀντεδεξιοῦντο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔθαρρυνον. 

20. Ὅκ τούτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει, Ἰμμηὶς μὲν δὴ, ὁ Ὅρκανος, Ἦδη ὑμῖν πιστεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὅπλα ἐφ’ ἃς ὑμᾶς οὕτως ἐκεῖν. τούτῳ δ’, ἐφ’ ἐνδ’, πρῶτον ἦμιν εἰπάντε πόσον ἀπέχει ἐνθένε ἔσθα αἱ ἀρχαί εἰσὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ ἀθρόον αὐτῶν. Οἳ δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ὀλίγο πλέον ἡ παρασάγγηαν. 

21. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Κῦρος Ὅγανες δὴ, ἐφ’ ἐφ’ ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδοι καὶ Ἰμμηὶς, ὁ Ὅρκανος, Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ως πρὸς συμμάχους καὶ κοινωνίας διαλέγομαι, εἷς χρῆ εἰδέναι νῦν ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ ἐσμὲν ἐνθάμεν δῆ μαλακισάμενοι μὲν πάντων ἀν τῶν χαλκοίτων τῦχοιμεν. ἵσασι γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσ’ δ’ ἔκαμεν ἔδω τὸ καρτερὸν ἐμβαλόμενοι ἔσθαν ρώμη καὶ θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτίκα μᾶλ’ ὅπεσθε ὅσπερ 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..."
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touν ἡγημένων τοὺς μὲν ἰκετεύοντας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ οὔδε ταῦτα φρονεῖν δυναμένους. ἦττημένοι τε γὰρ ὄψονται ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτε οἰόμενοι ἤξειν οὔτε συντεταγμένοι οὔτε μάχεσθαι παρασκευάσμενοι κατειλημμένοι ἔσονται. 22. εἰ οὖν ἢδεως βουλόμεθα καὶ δειπνῆσαι καὶ νυκτερεύσαι καὶ βιοτεύειν τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε, μὴ δῶμεν αὐτοῖς σχολὴν μήτε βουλεύσασθαι μήτε παρασκευάσασθαι ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν, μηδὲ γνῶναι πάμπαν ὧτι ἄνθρωποι ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ἀπαντα καὶ πληγᾶς ἤκειν νομίζονται.

23. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Ἱρκάνιος, ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς προτεταύσατις ἡμῶν πορεύεσθε ἐμπροσθεν, ὅπως τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπλων ὀρομένων λανθάνωμεν ὑτὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ στρατεύματι γένωμαι τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν καταλύπτετε ἐκαστοὶ τάξειν ἰππέων, ἦν, ἀν τὶ δὲ, χρωμαί μένων παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

24. ὑμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ πρεσβυτεροὶ ἐν τάξει ἄθροι ἐλαύνετε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, ὅνα μῆποτε ἄθρόῳ τῷ ἐντυχόντες ἀποβιασθῆτε, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἐφίστε διώκειν· οὕτως δὲ καινόντων τοῦτο γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον, νῦν ὡς ἐλαχίστους τῶν πολεμίων λιπέων.

25. Ἡν δὲ νικῶμεν, ἐφη, ὁ πολλοὶς δὴ κρατοῦσι τὴν τύχην ἀνέτρεψε, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐφ' ἀρταγην τραπέσθαι· ὡς ὁ τούτο ποιῶν οὐκέτ' ἀνήρ ἠστιν, ἀλλὰ σκευοφόρος· καὶ ἐξέπετο τῷ βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι ἦδη τούτω ὡς ἀνδραπόδῳ.

26. Ἐκείνῳ δὲ χρῆ γνῶναι ὡτι οὔδεν ἐστὶ κερδαλεώτερον τοῦ νικῶν· ὁ γὰρ κρατῶν ἄμα πάντα συνήρπακε, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας 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
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γυναίκας καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦτο μόνον ὅπως τὴν νίκην διασωζόμεθα· ἦν γὰρ κρατηθῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρπάζων ἔχεται. καὶ τοῦτο ἀμα διώκοντες μὲ- μνημεῖ, ἦκειν πάλιν ὡς ἔμε ἔτι φάος δύντος· ὡς σκότους γενομένου οὐδένα ἐτι προσδεξόμεθα.

27. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐκάστους καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἀμα πορευομένους τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστὸν δεκαδάρχοις ταῦτα σημαίνειν· ἐν μετώπῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ δεκάδαρχοι, ὡστε ἀκούειν τοὺς δὲ δεκάδαρχους τῇ δεκάδι ἐκαστον κελεύειν παραγγέλλειν.

Εκ τούτου προηγούντο μὲν οἱ Ὅρκανοι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μέσῳ ἔχουν σὺν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἑπορεύετο· τοὺς δὲ ἰππέας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὡσπερ εἰκός, παρ- ἐταξε.

28. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων, ἐπεὶ φῶς ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὰ ὀρώμενα, ὁ δὲ ἐγέγυμνου ἦδη, οἱ δ' ἤγγελλον, οἱ δ' ἔβρων, οἱ δ' ἔλυον ἵππους, οἱ δὲ συνυσκευάζοντο, οἱ δ' ἔρριπτον τὰ ὀπλα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δ' ὀπλίζοντο, οἱ δ' ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οἱ δ' ἱππάξοντο, οἱ δὲ τὰς γυναικὰς ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπὶ τὰ σχήματα, οἱ δὲ τὰ πλείστον ἄξια ἔλαμβανον ὡς διασωσόμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατορύπτοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἥλισκοντο, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι εἰς φυγήν ὁμοῦ οἴσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τε καὶ παντοδαπὰ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς, πλὴν ἐμάχετο οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἀμαχητή ἀπώλλυντο.

29. Κροῖσος δὲ ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς θέρος

1 ὀρώμενα xy, most Edd.; ὀρώμενα z, Dindorf (the doings).

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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,
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ἡν, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις προσπέμψατο τῆς νυκτὸς, ὡς ἀν ράον πορεύοιντο κατὰ ψύχος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχον τοὺς ἵππεας ἐπηκολούθει. 30. καὶ τὸν Φρύγα τὰ αὐτὰ ποιῆσαί φασι τὸν τῆς παρ’ Ἑλλήσποντον ἀρχοντα Φρύγας. ὡς δὲ παρήσθοντο τῶν φευγόντων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων αὐτούς, πυθόμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐφευγον δὴ καὶ αὐτὸι ἀνὰ κράτος.

31. Τὸν δὲ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα καὶ τῶν τῶν Ἀραβίων ἔτη ἐγγὺς ὄντας καὶ ὑποστάντας ἀθωρακίστους κατακαίνουσιν οἱ Ἱρκάνιοι. τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἢν τῶν ἀποθανόντων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῶν ὄντες χώρα ἀσυντονώτατα πρὸς τὴν πορείαν εἶχον.

32. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἱρκάνιοι, οὐδὲ δὴ εἰκὸς κρατοῦντας,1 τοιαῦτα ἐποίουν διόκοντες. οἱ δὲ Κύρος τοὺς παρ’ ἐαυτῷ ἵππεας καταλειφθέντας περιελαύνεις ἐκέλευε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εἰ τινὰς σὺν ὅπλοις ἴδοι εἴσι ὦντας, κατακαίνεις τοῖς δ’ ὑπομένουσιν ἐκήρυξεν, ὅποιοι τῶν πολεμίων στρατιωτῶν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς ἢ πελτασταὶ ἢ τοξόται, ἀποφέρειν τὰ ὅπλα συνδεδεμένα, τοὺς δὲ ἱπποὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς καταλείπειν ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῆσοι, αὐτίκα τῆς κεφαλῆς στερήσεσθαι τὰς δὲ κοπίδας προχείρους ἔχοντες εἰν τὰξει περιέστασαν.2 33. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐρριπτοῦν, ἀποφέροντες εἰς ἐν χωρίον ὅποι ἐκέλευε· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἷς ἐπέταξιν έκασον.

34. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐνενόησεν ὅτι ἤλθον μὲν οὔτε

1 κρατοῦντας Castalio, Edd.; κρατοῦντας 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 Hyrcanians. 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 Hyrcanians, 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
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σίτα οὔτε ποτὰ ἔχοντες, ἀνευ δὲ τούτων οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι δυνάτων οὔτ᾽ άλλο ποιεῖν οὐδέν. σκοπῶν δ᾽ ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα ταῦτα γένοιτο, ἐνθυμεῖται ὅτι ἀνάγκη πάσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις εἶναι τινὰ ὅτι καὶ σκηνὴς μελήσει καὶ ὅπως τάπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσιοῦσιν ἔσται. 35. καὶ τοίνυν ἔγγος ὅτι τούτους εἰκὸς μάλιστα πάντων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νῦν κατειλήφθαι ἦν διὰ τὸ ἀμφὶ συσκευασίαν ἔχειν· ἐκήρυξε δὴ παρεῖναι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους πάντας· εἰ δὲ ποι μὴ εἰ ἐπίτροπος, τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀπὸ σκηνῆς· τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ ἀνεῖπεν. οἱ δὲ ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς δεσπότας πειθομένους ταχὺ ἐπείθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευεν καθίζεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσοις ἐστὶν πλέον ἢ δυοῖν μηνὸιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τάπιτήδεια. 36. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους εἶδεν, αὐθὶς ἐκέλευεν ὅσοις μηνὸς ἦν ἐν τούτῳ σχεδὸν πάντες ἐκαθίζοντο. 37. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔμαθεν, εἶπεν ὅδε αὐτοῖς:

Ἄγετέ νυν, ἐφη, ὡς ἄνδρες, οἱ τινὲς ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν κακὰ μισεῖτε, μαλακοῦ δὲ τίνος παρ᾽ ἡμῶν βούλουσθ᾽ ἂν τυχάνειν, ἐπιμελήθητε προθύμως ὅπως διπλάσια ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐκάστη σίτα καὶ ποτὰ παρεσκευασμένα ὡς τοῖς δεσπόταις καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτε· καὶ τάλλα δὲ πάντα ὡς ἡμῖν καλὴν δαίτα παρέξει ἔτοιμα ποιεῖτε, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα παρέσονται ὁπότεροι ἄν κρατῶσι, καὶ ἀξιόσουσιν ἐκπλεω ἔχειν πάντα

1 "Αγετέ νυν Edd.; ἄγετε νυν 2 ; ἄγετε τοίνυν xD.

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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
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tαπιτήδεια. εὖ οὖν ἵστε ὅτι συμφέροι ἂν ὑμῖν ἀμέμπτως δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

38. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες πολλῇ σπουδῇ τὰ παρηγγελμένα ἐπραττόν οὔ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔλεγε τοιάδε: "Ἄνδρες φίλοι, γινωσκὼ μὲν ὅτι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν προτέρους τῶν ἀπόντων συμμάχων ἀρίστου τυχεῖν καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα ἐσπουδασμένοις σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς χρησθαί: ἀλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἂν τὸ ἄριστον πλέον ὥφελθαι ἡμᾶς ἢ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιμελείς φανῆναι, οὐδ' ἂν αὕτη ἡ εὐωχία ἰσχυροπέρους τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι ὅσον εἰ δυναίμεθα τοὺς συμμάχους προθύμους ποιεῖσθαι. 39. εἰ δὲ τῶν νυνὶ διωκόντων καὶ κατακαίνοντων τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους καὶ μαχομένων, εἰ τις ἐναντιοῦται, τούτων δοξομεν οὕτως ἀμελεῖν ὅστε καὶ πρὶν εἰδέναι πῶς πράττουσιν ἡρωικότες φαίνεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ αἰσχροί μὲν φανοῦμεθα, ἀσθενεῖς δὲ ἐσόμεθα συμμάχους ἀπορούντες. τὸ δὲ τῶν κινδυνεύσων καὶ πονοῦσών ἐπιμεληθήναι ὅπως εἰσίντες ταπιτήδεια ἐξουσιών, αὐτῇ ἂν ἡμᾶς ἡ θοίνῃ πλέον εὐφράνειν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἢ τὸ παραχρῆμα τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίσασθαι. 40. ἐννοήσατε δ', ἐφ' ὡς εἰ μηδ' ἐκεῖνοις αἰσχυντέοι ἢν, οὔ δ' ὅσι ἡμῖν νῦν προσήκει ὅτε πλησμονῆς πω ὅστε μέθης· οὐ γάρ πω διαπέπρακται ἡμῖν ἢ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' αὔ τὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκαμάξει ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα. ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίους πολλαπλασίους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ

¹ γινωσκὼ μὲν an otherwise unknown MS. of Valckenaer (cited as O by Dindorf), Breitenbach, Gemoll; γινωσκομεν xyz, Marchant.

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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,
τούτους λελυμένους· οὐς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἔτι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὡς ὁ σι καὶ οἱ ποιήσουσιν τὰ πιτήδεια· ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἠμῶν ἀπεισὶ, φρουτίδα παρέχουσι ποποὶ εἰς· κἂν ἐλθοσιν, εἰ παραμενοῦσιν.

41. "Ωστ', ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, νῦν μοι δοκεῖ τοιοῦτον σῖτον ἡμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοιοῦτον ποτὸν ὅποιον ἂν τις οἴεται μάλιστα σύμφορον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μήτε ὑπὸν μήτε ἀφροσύνης ἐμπίμπλασθαι.

42. "Ετι δὲ καὶ χρῆμα πολλά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, διὸ οὐκ ἀγρόω ὅτι δυνατόν ἠμῶν κοινῶν ὄντων τοῖς συγκατείληφοι νοσφίσασθαι ὁπόσα αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα μηδεὶς ἀν δοκεῖ τὸ λαβεῖν κερδαλεώτερον εἰναι τοῦ δικαίου φαινομένους ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ πρίασθαι ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ νῦν ἀσπάζομαι ἡμᾶς. 43. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἐφη, καὶ τὸ νεῖμαι τὰ χρήματα, ἐπειδὰν ἐλθοὶ, Μήδους καὶ Τρκανίως καὶ Τυγράνη ἐπιτρέψαι· καὶ ἂν τὶ μεῖον ἠμῶν δᾶσωνται, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὰ κέρδη ἡδιον ἠμῶν παραμενοῦσι. 44. τὸ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πλεονεκτήσαι ὀλυγοχρόνιον ἂν ἠμῶν τὸν πλοῦτον παράσχοι· τὸ δὲ ταῦτα προεμένους ἐκεῖνα κτήσαις οἴειν ὁ πλοῦτος φύεται, τοῦτο, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ἀνενάωτερον ἠμῶν δύνατ' ἂν τὸν ὀλβοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἠμετέροις παρέχειν.

45. Οἴμαι δ', ἐφη, καὶ οὐκ ήμᾶς τοιοῦτον ἐνεκά ἀσκείν καὶ γαστρὸς κρεῖττος εἶναι καὶ κερδέων

1 ὁποὺ 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,
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ἀκαίρων, ἵν', εἰ ποτε δέοι, δυνάμεθα αὐτοῖς συμφόρως χρῆσθαι: ποῦ δ' ἂν ἐν μείζοσι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐπιδειξάμεθ' ἂν τὴν παιδείαν ἐγὼ μὲν οὕς ὀρῶ.

46. 'Ο μὲν οὖτως εἶπε. συνεῖτε δ' αὐτῷ 'Τστάσπας ἀνήρ Πέρσης τῶν ὁμοτίμων ὁδε: Δεινὸν γάρ τὰν εἰῆ, ὁ Κύρη, εἰ ἐν θήρα μὲν πολλάκις ἁσίτοι καρτεροῖμεν, ὅπως θηρίων τι ὑποχείριον ποησώμεθα καὶ μάλα μικροῦ ἵσως ἄξιον ὅλβουν δὲ ὅλον πειρόμενοι θηραίν, εἰ ἐμποδών τι ποιησάμεθα γενέσθαι ἡμίν ἂ τῶν μὲν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἅρχει, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς πείθεται, οὐκ ἂν πρέποντα ἡμῖν δοκοῦμεν¹ ποιεῖν.

47. 'Ο μὲν οὖν 'Τστάσπας οὖτως εἶπεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ταῦτα συνήνων. ὁ δὲ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἄγε δη, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ ὁμοοούμεν ταῦτα, πέμψατε ἀπὸ λόχου ἕκαστος πέντε ἄνδρας τῶν σπουδαίο- τάτων, οὕτω δὲ περικύνετε, οὗς μὲν ἂν ὅρῳς περσύνοντος τάπτηθεια, ἐπαινούντων οὗς δ' ἂν ἀμελοῦντας, κολαζόντων ἀφειδέστερον ἡ ὁ δε- σπόται.

Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίοιν.

III

1. Τῶν δὲ Μῆδων τωμῆς ἦδη, οἱ μὲν ἀμάξας προωρημείνας καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες προσήλαυνον μεστάς ὅν δεῖται στρατιά, οἱ δὲ

¹ δοκοῦμεν Dindorf⁴, Marchant, Hug; δοκολήμεν zE², Dindorf³, Breitenbach; δοκοῦν E¹; δοκούμεν CD.
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 in the wagons which had been hurried forward and which they had overtaken and turned back packed
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καὶ ἀρμαμάξας γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γυνησίων, τῶν δὲ καὶ παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ κάλλος συμπεριαγομένων, ταύτας εἰληφότες προσήγουν.

2. πάντες γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεύομεν έχοντες τὰ πλεῖστον ἄξια στρατεύονται, λέγοντες ὅτι μᾶλλον μάχοντ' ἂν εἰ τὰ φίλτατα παρείη· τούτοις γὰρ φασίν ἀνάγκην εἶναι προθύμως ἄλεξεν. ὦσίς μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ὦσίς δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ χαριζόμενοι.

3. Ὅ δὲ Κῦρος θεωρῶν τὰ τῶν Μήδων ἔργα καὶ Ὑπερίων ὡσπερ κατεμέμφετο καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι τούτου τῶν χρόνων ἀκμάζειν τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν ἐδόκουν καὶ προσκτά-σθαί τι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν ἀργοτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ὑπομένειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἀπάγοντες καὶ ἀποδικοῦντες Κῦρῳ δ ἤγχον πάλιν ἀπήλαυνον, μεταδικόκοντος τοὺς ἄλλους· ταύτα γὰρ σφίσων ἐφασαν προστετάχθαι πονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.

Δακνόμενος δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ταύτα μὲν ὅμως κατεχώριζε· συνεκάλει δὲ πάλιν τοὺς τα-ξιάρχους, καὶ στὰς ὅπου ἔμελλον πάντες ἀκού-σθαι τὰ βουλεύομενα λέγει τάδε: 4. Ὅτι μὲν, ὡς ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰ κατάσχομεν τὰ νῦν προφαίνο-μενα, μεγάλα μὲν ἂν ἀπασι Πέρσας ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, μέγιστα δ' ἂν εἰκότωs ἡμῖν δι' ὅν πράτ-τεται, πάντες οἴμαι γυγνόσκομεν· ὅπως δ' ἂν 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 Hrycanians 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
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αυτῶν ἦμεις κύριοι γνυόμεθα, μὴ αυτάρκεις ὄντες κτήσασθαι αὐτά, εἰ μὴ ἔσται οἰκεῖον ἰππικῶν Πέρσαις τούτο ἔγω οὐκέτι ὀρῶ. 5. ἐννοεῖτε γὰρ ὅτι, ἐφεξήκοντο ἦμεις οἱ Πέρσαι ὅπλα οὐς δοκούμεν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμότε ὄντες· καὶ δὴ τρεπόμενοι πῶς ἡ ἰππεάς ἡ τοξότας ἡ πελταστάς ἀνευ ἰππῶν ὄντες δυναίμεθ᾽ ἀν φεύγοντας ἢ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακανεῖν; τίνες δὲ ἀν φοβοῦντο ἡμᾶς προσιόντες κακοῦν ἡ τοξότα ἡ ἀκουσταταὶ ἡ ἰππεῖς, εὐ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν κακὸν τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πεφυκότων δένδρων; 6. εἰ δὲ οὖτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει, οὐκ εὐδηλον ὅτι οἱ νῦν παρόντες ἡμῖν ἰππεῖς νομίζουσι πάντα τὰ ὑποχείρια γινόμενα ἐαυτῶν εἶναι οὐχ ἢ τὸν ἢ ἡμέτερα, ἵσως δὲ νὴ ἔνα καὶ μᾶλλον; 7. νῦν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην. εἰ δὲ ἦμεις ἰππικῶν κτησαίμεθα μὴ χείρον τούτων, οὐ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καταφανὲς ὅτι τοὺς τ᾽ ἀν πολεμίους δυναίμεθα καὶ ἀνευ τούτων ποιεῖν ὀσπερ νῦν σὺν τούτοις, τούτως τε ἐχοίμεν ἄν τότε μετριώτερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φρονοῦντας; ὅποτὲ γὰρ παρεῖναι ἥ ἀπεῖναι βούλοιτο, ἢ τὸν ἢ ἡμῖν μέλοι, εἰ αὐτοὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἀρκοῦμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. εἰς. 8. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἴμαι οὐδεὶς ἄν ἀντιγνωμονήσει μὴ οὐχὶ τὸ πᾶν διαφέρειν Περσῶν γενέσθαι οἰκεῖον ἰππικῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἰσως ἐννοεῖτε πῶς ἄν τοῦτο γένοιτο. ἀρ᾽ οὖν σκεφτώμεθα, εἰ βουλοιμέθα καθιστάναι ἰππικῶν, τὶ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει καὶ τῖνος ἐνδει; 9. οὐκ-

1 τῶς Jacob, Gemoll; πολοὺς MSS., most Edd.
2 ἢ ζ; not in xy or most Edd.
3 εὐδηλον yzE, most Edd.; ἐνδηλον C, Hug.

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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
οὐν ἵπποι μὲν οὕτωι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατειλημμένοι καὶ χαλινοὶ οἷς πείθονται καὶ τάλλα ὅσα δεὶ ἵπποις ἔχουσι χρήσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἷς γε δεὶ ἄνδρα ἵππεα χρήσθαι ἔχομεν, θώρακας μὲν ἐρύματα τῶν σωμάτων, παλτὰ δὲ οἷς καὶ μεθιέντες καὶ ἔχουντες χρώμαθ' ἄν. 10. τῇ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν; δῆλον οτι ἄνδρῶν δεὶ. οὐκοῦν τούτο μάλιστα ἔχομεν· οὔδεν γὰρ οὕτως ἡμέτερον ἐστιν ὡς ἥμεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Ἀλλ' ἔρει τις ἱσως ὅτι οὐχ ἐπιστάμεθα. μὰ Δί' οὔδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐπισταμένων υἱῶν πρὶν μαθεῖν οὐδές ἦπίστατο. ἀλλ' εἴποι ἂν τις ὅτι παιδεῖς ὄντες ἐμάνθανον. 11. καὶ πότερα παῖδες εἰσὶ φρονιμώτεροι ὅστε μαθεῖν τὰ φραξόμενα καὶ δεικνύμενα ἡ ἄνδρες; πότεροι δὲ ἂν μάθωσιν ἰκανώτεροι τῷ σώματι ἐκπονεῖν, οἱ παῖδες ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες; 12. ἀλλὰ μὴν σχολῆ γε ἡμῖν μοναύλειν ὅση οὕτε παισίων οὕτε ἄλλοις ἄνδρασι· οὕτε γὰρ τοξεῦειν ἡμῖν μαθητέον ὅσπερ τοῖς παῖσι· προεπιστάμεθα γὰρ τούτῳ οὕτε μὴν ἀκοντίζειν· ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ· ἀλλ' οὔδε μὴν, ὅσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνδρασι τοῖς μὲν γεωργίαι ἀσχολίαν παρέχουσι, τοῖς δὲ τέχναι, τοῖς δὲ ἅλλα οἰκεία· ἡμῖν δὲ στρατεύεσθαι οὐ μόνον σχολῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. 13. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ ὃσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν χαλεπὰ μὲν, χρῆσιμα δὲ· ἰππικὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ μὲν ἡγίαν ἢ αὐτοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν πορεύεσθαι· ἐν δὲ στουδῇ οὐχ ἢδον ταχὺ μὲν φίλῳ παραγενέσθαι, εἰ δέοι, ταχὺ δὲ, εἰτε ἄνδρα εἰτε θήρα 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 horseman 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
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ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐχὶ εὐπτεῖς τὸ ὃ τι ἀν δέῃ ὁπλοῦν
φέρειν τὸν ἱππὸν τούτῳ συμφέρειν; οὐκοῦν ταύτῳ
γὰρ ἔστιν ἐχειν τε καὶ φέρειν.

14. "Ὁ γε μὴν μάλιστ᾽ ἂν τις φοβηθείη, μὴ
ei δεήσει ἐφ᾽ ἱππὸν κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς πρότερον
πρὶν ἀκριβοῦν τὸ ἔργον τούτο, καπεῖτα μὴν
tεξῄει οἷς μὴν ποι ἱππεῖς ἰκανοί, ἀλλ' οὔδε
τούτῳ ἀμήχανον ὅσπον γὰρ ἄν θουλῷμεθα, ἔξεσται
ἡμῖν πεζῶις εὐθὺς μάχεσθαι· οὔδεν γὰρ τῶν
πεζικῶν ἀπομαθησόμεθα ἱππεύειν μανθάνοντες.

15. Κύρος μὲν οὖτως εἰπέ. Χρυσάντας δὲ συν-
αγορεύον αὐτῷ ὅδε ἔλεξεν· 'Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη,
οὖτως ἐπιθυμῶ ἱππεύειν μαθεῖν ὡς νομίζω, ἂν
ἱππεύς γένωμαι, ἀνθρώπος πτηνὸς ἔσεσθαι. 16.
νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἔγγυος ἀγαπῶ ὅτι γὰρ ἔξ ἵσον τῷ θεῷ
ὀρμηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων μόνον τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσχω, κἂν
θηρίον παραθέον ἰδὼν δυσάσθω διατεινάμενος φθά-
σαι ὅστε ἀκοντίσαι ἢ τοξεύσαι πρὶν πάνω πρόσω
αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. ἂν δὲ ἱππεύς γένωμαι, δυνήσομαι
μὲν ἄνδρα ἐξ ὄψεως μῆκος καθαρεῖν· δυνήσομαι
dὲ θηρία διόκων τὰ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς παίειν καταλαμ-
βάνων, τὰ δὲ ἀκοντίζειν ὅστερ ἑστηκότα. [καὶ
γὰρ ἐάν ἀμφοτερα ταχέα ἢ, ὡμοὶ ἐάν πλησίον
γίγνηται ἄλληλων, ὅσπερ τὰ ἑστηκότα ἔστιν.] 1
17. ο ὅτι μάλιστα δοκῶ· ἐφη, ἐξήλωκέναι
ἱπποκενταύρους, εἰ ἐγένοντο, ὅστε προβουλεύει

1 καὶ ... ἔστιν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.;
bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
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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 cavalrymen. 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 infantry 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
σθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπου φρονήσει, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τὸ δεόν παλαμάσθαι, ἵππου δὲ τάχος ἔχειν καὶ ἱσχῦν, ὡστε τὸ μὲν φεύγουν αἰρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὑπομένου ἀνατρέπειν, οὐκόν πάντα κάγω ταῦτα ἱππεύς γενόμενος συγκομίζομαι πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. 18. προνοεῖν μὲν γε ἡξῶ πάντα τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ὀπλοφορήσω, διώξομαι δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ, τὸν δ’ ἐναντίον ἀνατρέψω τῇ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ῥύμῃ, ἀλλ’ οὐ συμπεφυκὼς δεδήσομαι ὡσπερ οἱ ἱπποκένταυροι. 19. οὐκόν τούτῳ γε κρεῖττον ἡ συμπεφυκέναι τούς μὲν γὰρ ἱπποκένταυρους οἰμαί ἔγωγε πολλοῖς μὲν ἄπορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώποις ηὐρημένων ἀγαθῶν ὡστε δεὶ χρῆσθαι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἱπποῖς πεφυκῶν ἦδεων πῶς αὐτῶν χρῆ ἀπολαύειν. 20. ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν ἱππεύειν μάθω, ὡταν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ γένωμαι, τὰ τοῦ ἱπποκένταυρον δῆπον διαπράξομαι ὡταν δὲ καταβῶ, δειπνήσω καὶ ἀμφίσομαι καὶ καθευδήσω ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι ὡστε τί ἄλλο ἡ διαφερέτος ἱπποκένταυρος καὶ πάλιν σύνθετος γίγνομαι; 21. Ἔτι δ’, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς δὲ πλεονεκτῆσιν τοῦ ἱπποκένταυρον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δυὸν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἐώρα τε καὶ δυὸν ὠτῶν ἢκουν, ἐγώ δὲ τέτταρσι μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς τεκμαρθύναμεν, τέτταρες δὲ ὡσὶν αἰσθητοῖς. πολλὰ γὰρ φασὶ καὶ ἱπποῦ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς προσφέραντα δηλοῦν, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς

1 ῥύμῃ B (Dindorf), Edd.; ῥώμῃ xyz.
2 ἐώρα τὸ Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; πρὸ(-σ D)εσφάτο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
3 ἀνθρώπῳ Pantazides, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀνθρώπῳ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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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
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ον προακούοντα σμαίνειν. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, ἀράφε τῶν ἰπτεύειν ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντων.

Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἐφασαν οἱ ἀλλοι πάντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς γε.

22. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει, Τί οὖν, ἐφη, ἔπει σφόδρα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ταύτα, εἰ καὶ νόμον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησαίμεθα αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, οἷς ἂν ἰπτοὺς ἐγὼ πορίσω, ἦν τις φανὴ πεζῆ ἡμῶν πορευόμενος, ἦν τε πολλὴν ἦν τε ὀλίγην ὄδον δέθει βεβαία καὶ παντάπασιν ἰπποκενταύρους ἡμᾶς οἰωνται ἀνθρωποί εἶναι.

23. Ὅ μὲν οὖτως ἐπήρετο, οἱ δὲ πάντες συνήνεσαν: ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔξε ἐκείνου χρῶνται Πέρσαι οὖτω, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄν τῶν καλῶν καγάθων ἐκών ὄφθεισις Περσῶν οὐδαμῇ πεζῶς ιῶν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτως τοῖς λόγοις ἦσαν.

IV

1. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἔξω μέσου ἡμέρας, προσήλαυνον μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι ἰππεῖς καὶ Ἑράκλεις, ἰπτοὺς τε ἀγοντες αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἀνδρας' ὅσοι γὰρ τὰ ὀπλα παρεδίδοσαν, οὐ κατέκαινον. 2. ἔπει δὲ προσήλαυσαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κῦρος εἰ σωθεῖν πάντες αὐτῷ. ἔπει δὲ τούτ' ἐφασαν, ἐκ τούτου ἡρώτα τί ἐπραξαν. οἱ δὲ διηγούντο ἀ' τ' ἐποίησαν καὶ ὡς ἀνδρείας ἐκαστα ἐμεγαληγόρουν. 3. ο ὁ δὲ διήκουε τε ἡ δεκα πάν-

1 κατέκαινον HG, Marchant, Gemoll; κατέκαινον Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; κατέκαινον A; ἀπεκτείνου XD.
2 διήκουε τε Schneider, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; διήκουε τε 2; διήκουε Gemoll.

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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
των ἂ ἐβούλοντο λέγειν· ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοὺς οὗτος.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλοι τοι, ἡφη, ἐστὲ ὅτι ἀνδρεῖς ἁγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε· καὶ γὰρ μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι ἦ πρόσθεν ἰδεῖν.

4. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπυνθάνετο ἦδη αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσην ὁδὸν διήλασαν καὶ εἰ οἰκοῖο ἡ χώρα. οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ πολλὴν διελάσειαν καὶ πᾶσα οἰκοῖο καὶ μεστὴ εἰς καὶ οἴων καὶ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ σίτου καὶ πάντων ἁγαθῶν.

5. Δυοῖν ἀν, ἡφη, ἐπιμελητέου ἡμῖν εἰς, ὅπως τε κρείττους ἐσώμεθα τῶν ταῦτα· ἐχόντων καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μενοῦσιν· οἰκουμένη μὲν γὰρ χώρα πολλοῦ άξιον κτήμα· ἐρήμη δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἔρημη καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν γίγνεται. 6. τοὺς μὲν οἷς ἀμυνομένους, ἡφη, οἶδα ὅτι κατεκάνετε, ὅρθως ποιοῦντες τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα σώζει τὴν νίκην· τοὺς δὲ παραδείγματος αἰχμαλώτους ἡγάγετε· οὐδὲ σοὶ ἀφεῖνεις, τοῦτο ἢ σὺ μερῶν ἄν, ὡς ἐγὼ φημί, ποιήσαις. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἂν φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲ φυλάττειν ἠμᾶς τούτους δείοι, οὐδὲ αὐτῶν οἰκούντων τούτων· οὐ γὰρ λιμῷ γε δήπον κατακανοῦμεν· αὐτοὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτως ἀφέντες πλείονος αἰχμαλώτους χρησόμεθα. 8. ἂν γὰρ κρατῶμεν τὴν χώραν, πάντες ἡμῖν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκούντες αἰχμαλώτους ἔσονται· μᾶλλον δὲ τούτους ἵσωντες ἵδοιτε καὶ ἀφεθέντας μενοῦσιν οἱ ἄλλοι.

1 taûta Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; aútâ MSS., earlier Edd. 2 katekánte Dindorf, later Edd.; katekánte 2; ápektelénte xD. 3 aú Castalio, Edd.; án MSS. 4 katakakanoûmen Zeune, Edd.; katakakainoûmen 2; ápektelénte xD.

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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
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καὶ πείθεσθαι αἰρήσονται μᾶλλον ἡ μάχεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γιγνώσκω· εἰ δ’ ἄλλο τις ὁρᾷ ἁμείνου, λεγέτω.

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες συνήνουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

9. Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος καλέσας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λέγει τοιάδε· 10. Ἀνδρεῖς, ἔφη, νῦν τε ὅτι ἐπείθεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς περιεποίησασθε, τοῦτο λοιποῦ, ἢν οὕτω ποιήσετε, οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔγραψαν ἡμῖν ἁλλ’ ἢ οὓς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρξεῖ ὑμῶν ὀσπερ καὶ πρότερον οἰκήσατε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς οἰκίας καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάσεσθε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτ ἄδει συνοικήσατε καὶ παῖδων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀρξεῖτε ὀσπερ νῦν. 11. ἡμῖν μὲν τοῖς οὐ μαχεῖσθε οὕτε ἂλλῳ οὕδεν; ἡμῖκα δ’ ἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἁδική, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα. ὅπως δὲ μηδ’ ἐπαγ-γέλλῃ μηδὲς ὑμῖν στρατεύων, τὰ ὁπλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς κομίσατε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν κομίζουσιν ἐσταί εἰρήνη καὶ ἅ λέγομεν ἄδολως. ὅποσοι δ’ ἂν τὰ πολεμικὰ μὴ ἀποφέρωσιν ὁπλα, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμεῖς καὶ δὴ στρατευσόμεθα. 12. ἐὰν δὲ τις ὑμῶν καὶ ἵδιν ὡς ἡμᾶσ εὐνοικῶσ καὶ πράττων τι καὶ διδάσκων φαίνεται, τούτον ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐυρεγήτην καὶ φίλον, οὐχ ὡς δούλον περιέψωμεν. ταῦτα οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτοὶ τε ἰστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διαγγέλλετε. 13. ἢν δ’ ἁρα, ἔφη, ὑμῶν βουλαμένων ταῦτα μὴ πείθωνται τίνες, ἐπὶ τούτους ἡμᾶς ἀνέχετε, ὅπως ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνων, μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ὑμῶν ἀρχωσιν.

"Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ εἰπεν· οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν τε καὶ ὑπισχουντο ταῦτα ποιήσειν.

1 καὶν xD, later Edd.; καὶν 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.
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V

1. Ἔπει δ’ ἐκεῖνοι ὕχοντο, ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, "Ὤρα δή, ὁ Μήδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, δειπνεῖν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν· παρεσκεύασται δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ πιτήδεα ὡς ἡμεῖς βέλτιστα ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀλλ’ ἵτε καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπτε τοῦ πεποιημένου ὁ ίδιος τὸν ήμισυν. ἢκανός δὲ ἀμφότεροις πεποίηται. ὃψον δὲ μὴ πέμπτε μηδὲ πιεῖν. ἢκανὰ γὰρ ἔχομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρεσκευασμένα.

2. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Ἱτσκάνιοι, ἐφῆ, διάγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας, γυνώσκετε δὲ, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους. ὡς ἀν δοκῇ κάλλιστα ἔχεις καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ δείπνεῖτε ὡποῦ περὶ ήδιστον ὑμῖν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀκέραιοι αἱ σκηναί· παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε ὡσπερ καὶ τούτοις.

3. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἵστε ἀμφότεροι ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἔξω ὑμῖν ἡμεῖς νυκτοφυλακήσομεν, τὰ δ’ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτοὶ ὅρατε καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ἐν τίθεσθε· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς οὕτω φίλοι ἡμῖν.

4. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Μήδοι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Τιγράνην ἔλοντο· καὶ ἢν γὰρ παρεσκευασμένα, ἰμάτια μεταλαβόντες ἐδείπνουν· καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς εἶχον τὰ πιτήδεα.

Καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας δὲ ἔσπερμον τῶν ἄρτων τοὺς ἡμίσεις. ὃψον δὲ οὐκ ἔσπερμον οὐδ’ οἶνον, οἰόμενοι ἔχειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κύρον ἔτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα. 1 ὁ δὲ

1 πεποιημένον Zeune, Edd.; πεποιημένων MSS.
2 ὃτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα Dindorf 4, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ὃτι ἔφη ἄφθονα ταῦτα ἔχειν xD, Dindorf 3, Breitenbach (for he said they had an abundance of that); ὃτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα ζ.

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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
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Κύρος ταύτα ἔλεγεν, ὅψον μὲν τὸν λιμόν, πιεῖν δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ.

5. Ὁ μὲν σὺν Κύρος δευτνύσας τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐπεὶ συνεσκότασε, κατὰ πεμπάδας καὶ κατὰ δεκάδας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέσπευσε καὶ ἐκέλευσε κύκλῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κρυπτεῦειν, νομίζου ἀμα μὲν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἃν τις ἐξοθεῖ προσή, ἀμα δὲ, ἃν τις ἔξω φέρων χρήματα ἀποδιδράσκῃ, ἀλώσεσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτω πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδίδρασκον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐάλωσαν. 6. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοὺς λαβόντας εἷς ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄνθρωπους ἀποσφάξας ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε τού λοιποῦ οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἄν ἑωρῇς ῥαδίως τὸν νύκτωρ πορευόμενον.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Πέρσαι οὕτω διήγοντο οἱ δὲ Μήδοι καὶ εὐσχοῦντο καὶ ἐπεῖνον καὶ ἠλούντο καὶ πάσης εὔθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλαντος πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοι- αῦτα ἦλω, ὡστε μὴ ἀπορεῖν ἐργὰν τοὺς ἐγη- γορότας.

8. Ὁ δὲ Κυκάζαρης ὁ τῶν Μήδων βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐν ἣ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτὸς τε ἐμεθύσκετο μεθ’ ὄντερ ἐσκῆνον ώς ἐπὶ εὐτυχία, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ Μήδους ἄστεο παρεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἀκούὼν θόρυβον πολύν. οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τῶν Μήδων, ἀτε τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄπεληλυθότων, ἀνειμένως ἐπεῖνον καὶ ἑδορύβουν, ἀλλος τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου στρατεύματος καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰλη- φότες.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας οὕδεις ἤκε πλὴν οἷπερ καὶ συνεδείπνουν, καὶ τὸ στρα- 366
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
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tόπεδου ἦκονε κενὸν εἶναι τῶν Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἱππεῶν, καὶ ἑώρα, ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθεν, οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐβριμοῦτο τε τῷ Κῦρῳ καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις τῷ καταλυτῶντας αὐτὸν ἔρημον οἶχοσθαί, καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ λέγεται ὃμοι ἐἶναι καὶ ἀγνώμων, τῶν παρόντων κελεύει τινὰ λαβόντα τοὺς ἔαυτον ἱππέας πορεύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον στράτευμα καὶ λέγειν τάδε.

10. 'Ὅμων μὲν ἔγγογη, οὐδ’ ἄν σέ, ὁ Κῦρε, περὶ ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀπρονοήτως βουλεύσαι, εἰ δὲ Κῦρος οὕτω γιγνώσκοι, οὐκ ἄν ὑμᾶς, ὁ Μῆδος, ἑθελήσαι οὕτως ἔρημον ἐμὲ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ νῦν, ἂν μὲν Κῦρος βούληται, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑμεῖς γε τὴν ταχύτητιν πάρεστε.

11. Ταῦτα δὴ ἐπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ ταττόμενος πορεύεσθαι ἐφ’ Ἐφε. Καὶ πῶς, ὡς δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εὐρήσω ἐκείνους;

Πῶς δὲ Κῦρος, ἐφ’, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐφ’ οὐς ἐπορεύοντο;

"Ὅτι νὴ Δῆ, ἐφ’, ἀκούω ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων Ἰρκανίων τινὰς καὶ ἐλθόντας δεύρο οἶχοσθαί ἤγουμένους αὐτῷ.

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κυκάρης πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ Κῦρῳ ἀφιξέτο τῷ μηδ’ εἰπτεὶν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, καὶ πολλὴ σπουδή μᾶλλον ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ὡς ψιλόσων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰσχυρότερον ἔτι ἢ πρόσθεν τοῖς Μῆδοις ἀπειλῶν ἀπεκάλευ καὶ τῷ πεπομένῳ δὲ ἠπείλει, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλω.

13. Ὅ μὲν δὴ πεπόμενος ἐπορεύετο ἔχον

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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
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toûs eautou ἵππεας ὡς ἐκατόν, ἀνιῶμενοι ὅτι
οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς τότε ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τοῦ Κύρου.
ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι διασχισθέντες τρίβο
τινὶ ἐπλανῶντο, καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἄφικοντο ἐπὶ
tὸ φίλιον στράτευμα πρὸν ἐνυχόντες ἀποχώ
ρουσί τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἦν ἄγκασαν αὐτοὺς
ἡγεῖσθαι· καὶ οὔτως ἄφικονται τὰ πυρὰ κατι
δόντες ἀμφὶ μέσας πως νῦκτας. 14. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, οἱ φύλακες, ὁσπερ
εἰρημένον ἤν ὑπὸ Κύρου, οὐκ εἰσέφηρκαν 1 αὐτοὺς
πρὸ ἡμέρας.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς
μάγους καλέσας οὐ Κύρος τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς νομίζομενα
ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄγαθοίς ἐξαιρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε.
15. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον· οὐ δὲ συγκαλέσας
τοὺς ὁμοτίμους εἶπεν, "Ἀνδρεία, οἱ μὲν θεοὶ προ-
φαίνει πολλὰ κἀγαθά· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ 2 Πέρσαι ἐν
τῷ παρόντι ὁλίγοι ἐσμέν ὡς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι
αὐτῶν. εἰτε γὰρ ὅποσα 3 ἀν προσεργασώμεθα,
μὴ φυλάξομεν, πάλιν ταῦτα ἄλλοτρια ἔσται·
eἰτε καταλείψομεν τινας ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φύλακας
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν γιγνομένους, αὐτῖκα οὐδεμά
ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες ἀναφανοῦμεθα. 16. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι
ὡς τάχιστα ἴεραι τινα ὑμῶν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ
dιδάσκειν ἀπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ κελεύειν ὡς τά-
χιστα ἐπιπέμπειν στράτευμα, εἰτε ἐπιθυμοῦσι
Πέρσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς 'Ασίας αὐτοῖς 4 καὶ τὴν
κάρπωσιν γενέσθαι. .17. ἵδι μὲν οὖν σὺ, ἐφι,
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
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ο πρεσβύτατος, καὶ ἰδὲν ταῦτα λέγε, καὶ ὅτι οὐς ἀν πέμπωσι στρατιώτας, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθωσι παρ᾽ ἐμὲ, ἐμοὶ μελήσει περὶ τροφῆς αὐτοῖς. ἄ δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς, ὅρας μὲν αὐτὸς, κρύπτε τε τούτων μηδὲν, ὅ τι δὲ τούτων ἐγὼ πέμπων εἰς Πέρσας καλῶς καὶ νομίμως ποιοῖν ἀν τὰ μὲν πρὸς τους θεους τὸν πατέρα ἔροτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς. πεμφάντων δὲ καὶ ὑπέρας ὅν πράττομεν καὶ φραστήρας ὅν ἐρωτῶμεν. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἥφη, συσκευάζου καὶ τὸν λόχον προπομπὸν ἄγε.

18. Ἔκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀμα ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυαξάρου ἄγγελος παρίσταται, καὶ ἐν πάσι τὴν τε πρὸς Κῦρον ὅργην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Μήδους ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε. καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπιέναι Μήδους κελεύει, καὶ εἰ Κῦρος μένεις βούλεται.

19. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Μήδοι ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ἄγγελον ἐσίγιησαν, ἀποροῦντες μὲν τῶς χρῆ καλοῦντος ἀπειθεῖν, φοβοῦμεν δὲ πῶς χρῆ ἀπειλοῦντι ὑπακούσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδότες τὴν ὀμότητα αὐτοῦ. 20. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν, 'Ἀλλ' ἤγῳ, ὁ ἄγγελος τε καὶ Μήδοι, οὐδέν. ἥφη, θαυμάζως εἰ Κυαξάρης, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίων τὸν ἰδίων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὧ τι πράττομεν, διεξεῖ περὶ τε ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἰσθηταί πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλότας, πάντας δὲ ἀπεληλαμένους, πρῶτον μὲν παύσειται φοβοῦμεν, ἑπείτα γνώσεται, ὅτι οὐ νῦν ἔρημος γίγνε-

1 aὐτὸς Cobet, most Edd.; aὐτά 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 maintenance 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
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ταὶ, ἡνίκα οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ἔχροις ἀπολλύσασιν.

21. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μέμψεως γε πῶς ἐσμὲν ἄξιοι,
εὐ τε ποιοῦντες ἐκεῖνον καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα αὐτομα-
τίςαντες; ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἐπεισά ἐσοι
μὲ λαβόντα ὑμᾶς ἐξέλθεῖν1 ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ ὡς
ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ἐξόδου ἡρωτήσατε εἰ ἔξοιτε
καὶ νῦν δεύρο ἤκετε, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον κελευ-
σθέντες ἔξιεναι ὄτε ὑμῶν μὴ ἄχθομενοι εἰη.
καὶ
ἡ ὀργή οὐν αὐτὴ σάφ’ οἶδα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν
πεπαυθήσεται καὶ σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι ἀπεισί.

22. Νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἐφ’ εὐν τε, ὁ ἄγγελε,
ἀνάπαυσαι, ἔτει καὶ πεπόνηκας, ἥμεις τε, ὁ
Πέρσαι, ἐτει προσδεχόμεθα πολεμίους ἡτοι μα-
χομένους γε ἡ πεισομένους παρέσεσθαι, ταχθῶ-
μεν ὡς κάλλιστα οὐτω γὰρ ὅρωμένους εἰκὸς
πλέον προανύτειν ὑμν χρῆμοις.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Τρκάνιος προσ-
ήλθε, λέγει ὁ Κύρος, Ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐφ’, ὁ Ὅρκανιε,
ὁδοιμαί αἰσθανόμενοι ὅτι οὐ μόνον φιλίας ἐπι-
δεικνύμενος πάρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύνεσιν ψάλεις
μοὶ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν ὦτι συμφέρει ἡμῖν ταύτα δῆλον:
ἔμοι τε γὰρ πολέμων Ἀσσύρωσι, σοὶ τε νῦν ἐτὶ
ἐχθιονές εἰσιν ἡ ἐμοὶ. 24. οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν ἄμφο-
τέροις θεωτεύτῳ ὁπως τῶν μὲν νῦν παρόντων
μηδεὶς ἀποπτατήσει ἡμῖν συμμάχων, ἄλλους δὲ,
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
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έαν δυνώμεθα, προσληψόμεθα. τού δε Μήδου ήκονες ἀποκαλούντος τοὺς ἰππέας: εἰ δ' οὕτωι ἀπίασιν, ἡμεῖς μόνοι οἱ πεζοὶ μενοῦμεν. 25. οὕτως οὖν δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ ὅπως ὁ ἀποκαλὼν οὕτως καὶ αὐτὸς μένειν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν βουλήσεται. σὺ μὲν οὖν εὐρών σκηνήν δὸς αὐτῷ ὅπου κάλλιστα διάξει πάντα τὰ δεόντα ἔχων: ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτῷ πειράσομαι αὐτῷ ἔργον τι προστάξαι ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἦδιον πράξει ἡ ἀπεισί: καὶ διαλέγων δὲ αὐτῷ ὁπόσα ἐλπίς γενέσθαι ἀγαθῶ πάσι τοῖς φίλοις, ἤν ταῦτ᾽ εὐ γένηται: ποιήσας μέντοι αὐτὰ ἢκε πάλιν παρ᾽ ἐμὲ.

26. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Τρκάνιος τὸν Μήδον φχετο ἄγων ἐπὶ σκηνήν: ὁ δ' εἰς Πέρσας ἰὼν παρῆν συνε- σκευασμένος: ὁ δὲ Κύρος αὐτῷ ἑπέστελλε πρὸς μὲν Πέρσας λέγειν ἃ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται, Κναξάρη δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα. ἀναγνώσαι δὲ σοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιστελλόμενα, ἐφη, βούλομαι, ἵνα εἴδος αὐτὰ ὀμολογήσῃ, εάν τί σε πρὸς τάντα ἑρωτῇ.

'Ενην δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τάδε:

27. Κύρος Κναξάρη χαίρειν. ἡμεῖς σε οὔτε ἔρημον κατελύσομεν οὔδεις γάρ, ὅταν έχθρῶν κρατή, τότε φίλων ἔρημος γίγνεται. οὔδὲ μὴν ἀποχωροῦντες γέ σε οἴσμεθα εἰ κινδύνῳ καθι- στάναι ἀλλὰ ὅσφι πλέον ἀπέχομεν, τοσοῦτῳ πλείονά σοι τῇ ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖν νομίζομεν. 28. οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν φίλων καθήμενοι 376
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
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μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μὴ κιστών ἀπελαύνοντες μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ καθιστᾶσι.

29. Σκέψαι δὲ οὕτω ὤντει μοι περὶ σὲ οἶδος ὅτι 

περὶ ἐμὲ ἐπειτά μοι μέμφει. ἐγὼ μὲν γε σοι ἰγαγον συμμάχους, οὐχ ὅσους σὺ ἐπείσας, ἀλλ' ὁπόσους ἐγὼ πλείστους ἑδυνάμην σὺ δὲ μοι ἐδωκας μὲν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ὄντι ὅσους πείσαι δυνα-

σθείν πλὴν δ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντος οὐ τὸν θέλοντα ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖς. 30. τοιγαροῦν τότε μὲν ὅμων ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῖν χάριν όφείλειν πλὴν δὲ σὺ μὲν ἀναγκάζεις σοῦ μὲν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀκο-

λουθήσασι πειρᾶσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν χάριν ἀποδι-

δόναι.

31. Οὐ μέντοι ἐγὼ γε σοι ὅμοιος δύναμαι γενέ-

σθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν πέμπτων ἐπὶ στράτευμα εἰς Πέρσας ἐπιστέλλω, ὅποσοι δὲν ἰῶσιν ὡς ἐμὲ, ἥν τι σὺ αὐτῶν δέχῃ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, σοι ὑπάρχειν, οὐχ ὅπως δὲν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως 

ἂν σὺ βούλῃς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς.

32. Συμβουλεύω δὲ σοι καίπερ νεώτερος ἃν 

μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἃν δῆς, ἵνα μὴ σοι ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἐχθραι όφειλοται, μηδὲ ὄντων βούλει πρὸς σὲ 

tαχὺ ἐλθεῖν, ἀπειλοῦντα μεταπέμπεσθαι, μηδὲ 

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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
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φάσκοντα ἔρημον εἶναι ἁμα πολλοῖς ἀπειλεῖν, ἢν μὴ διδάσκης αὐτούς σοῦ μὴ φροντίζειν.

33. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρασόμεθα παρεῖναι, ὅταν τάχιστα διαπραξῶμεθα ἃ σοὶ τ' ἀν καὶ ἡμῖν νομίζομεν πραχθέντα κοινὰ γενέσθαι ἀγαθά. ἐρρωσο.

34. Ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀπόδεικτο καὶ ὃ τι ἄν σε τούτων ἐρωτᾷ, ἢ γέγραπται σύμφαθι. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπιστέλλω σοι περὶ Περσῶν ἄπερ γέγραπται.

Τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, καὶ δοὺς τὴν ἑπιστολὴν ἀπέσταμεν, προσενετελάμενος οὕτω σπεύδειν ὅσπερ οἶδεν ὅτι συμφέρει ταχύ παρεῖναι.

35. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἔστω μὲν ἔξωπλισμένους ἡδη πάντας καὶ τοὺς Μῆδοὺς καὶ τοὺς Τρκανίους καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Τυγράνην· καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι δὲ ἔξωπλισμένους ἡσαν· ἡδὴ δὲ τινὲς τῶν προσχόρων καὶ ἱππους ἀπῆγγον καὶ ὁπλα ἀπέφερον. 36. ο δὲ τά μὲν παλτὰ ὅποιπερ τοὺς πρόσθεν καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἔκαστον οἰς τούτου ἔργον ἢν ὁπόσων μὴ αὐτοῖ ἐδέοντο· τοὺς δ' ἱππους ἐκέλευε φυλάττειν μένοντας τοὺς ἀγαρόν τας ἐως ἃν τι σημανθῇ αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δ' ἀρχοντας τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Ἱππανίων καλέσας τοιάδε ἐλέξειν.

37. Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὃτι πολλάκις χρόνος συγκαλὼ· καὶ 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
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ημιν δοντα τα παροντα πολλα- αυτων εστιν
ασυντακτα. δε δεν ασυντακτα η, αναγκη ταυτα
αει πραγματα παρεχειν, εως δεν χωραν λαβη.

38. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν πολλὰ τὰ αἰχμαλωτὰ
χρήματα, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τὸ μῆτε
ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι ποιὰ τούτων ἐκάστου εστὶν ἡμῶν,
μήτε τούτους εἰδέναι ὄστις ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν δε-
στότης, περαινοντας μὲν δὴ τὰ δέον ταοῦ πάνω
ἐστιν ὅραν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ἀποροῦντας δὲ ὁ τι
χρῆ ποιεῖν σχεδὸν πάντας. 39. ὡς οὖν μὴ ὤντως
ἐχῇ, διαρίσατε αὐτῶ· καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἔλαβε σκη-
νήν ἔχουσαν ἰκανὰ καὶ σῆτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τοὺς
ὑπηρετήσοντας καὶ στρωμῆν καὶ ἐσθήτα καὶ
τάλλα οἷς οἰκεῖται σκηνὴ καλῶς στρατιωτική,
ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεί προσγενέσθαι ἡ τὸν
λαβόντα εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτων ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμέλε-
σθαι δεί· ὅστις δ' εἰς ἐνδεόμενα τοῦ κατεσκή-
νωσε, τούτως οὐ̂μεῖς σκεψάμενοι ὁ τὸ ἐπλεῖπτου
ἐκπληρώσατε· 40. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ οἴδ
ὅτι ἐσται· πλεῖον γὰρ ἀπαντὰ ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον
πλῆθος εἶχον οἱ πολέμουι. ἦλθον δὲ πρῶς ἐμὲ καὶ
χρημάτων ταμίαι, οἳ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως
καὶ ἀλλων δυναστῶν, οἳ ἔλεγον ὅτι χρυσίον εἴη
παρὰ σφῖσιν ἐπίσημον, δασμοῦς τινας λέγοντες.
41. καὶ ταῦτα οὖν κηρύττετε πάντα ἀποφέρεσαν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπου ἀν καθέξησθε· καὶ φόβον ἐπιτι-
θεσθε τῷ μὴ ποιοῦντί τὸ παραγγελλόμενον· οὐ̂μεῖς
dὲ διάδοτε λαβόντες ἱππεῖ μὲν τὸ διπλοῦν, πεζῷ δὲ
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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
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tο ἄπλουν, ἵνα ἔχητε, ἦν τινος προσδέθησθε, καὶ οὗτον ὤνησέσθη.

42. Τὴν δ’ ἄγοραν τὴν οὔσαν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ κηρυξάτω μὲν ἦδη, ἐφη, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδένα, πωλεῖν δὲ τοὺς κατήλους ὦ τι ἔχει ἔκαστος πράσιμον, καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους ἄλλα ἄγειν, ὅπως οἴκηται ἡμῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

43. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐκήρυττον εὐθὺς. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἡράκλειοι εἴπον ὡδε. Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἐφασαν, ἡμεῖς ἄνευ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σοῦ διανέμοιμεν ταῦτα;

44. Ὀ δ’ αὐ Κύρος πρὸς τούτοις τὸν λόγον ὡδὲ προσηνέχθη. Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ἐφη, ὦ ἀνδρεῖς, γιγνώσκετε ὡς ὦ τι ἀν δέη πραχθῆναι, ἐπὶ πᾶσι πάντας ἡμᾶς δεῆσει παρεῖναι, καὶ οὔτε ἔγω ἄρκεσον πράττων τι πρὸ ἦμων ὦ τι ἀν δέη, οὔτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἦμων; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄλλωσ πλεῖον μὲν πράγματα ἔχοιμεν, μείω δὲ διαπραττοῖμεθα ἡ οὕτως;

45. ἄλλ’ ἀρατε, ἐφη’ ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ διεφυλάξαμεν τε ὑμῖν τάδε, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν πιστεύετε καλῶς διαπεφυλάξατε. ὑμεῖς δ’ αὐ διανεῖματε, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύσομεν ὑμῖν καλῶς διανεμηκέναι. 46. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ τι αὐ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα κοινῶν ἁγαθῶν πράττειν. ὀρατε γὰρ δή, ἐφη, νυνὶ πρῶτον ὑπ’ αὐτούς ὑποι ὢσοι ἡμῖν πάρεισαν, οἱ δὲ προσώγονται τούτους οὐν εἰ μὲν εάσομεν ἀναμβάτους, ὡφελήσουσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς, πράγματα δὲ παρέξουσιν ἐπιμέλεσθαι. ἢν δ’ ἵππεος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καταστήσωμεν, ἀμα πραγμάτων τε ἀπαλλαξόμεθα καὶ ἰσχύν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προσθησόμεθα. 47. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἔχετε

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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
οίστισιν δὲν δοίητε αὐτούς, μεθ' ἄν ἄν καὶ κινδυνεύοντε  Ἡδίον, εἴ τι δεότι, ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἐκεῖνος δίδοτε εἰ μέντοι ἡμᾶς βούλεσθε παραστάτας ἄν μάλιστα ἐχεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς δότε. 48. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὅτε ἁνε γι μ<vector>οντος ἡμῶν προσελάσαντες κινδυνεύετε, τολμῶν μέν φόβον ἡμῖν παρεῖχετε μή τι πάθητε, μάλα δὲ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐποιήσατε ὅτι οὐ παρῆμεν ὅπουτε ὑμεῖς. ἢν δὲ λάβωμεν τοὺς ἱπποὺς, ἐφόμεθα ὑμῖν. 49. καὶ μὲν δοκῶμεν ὦφελεῖν πλέον ἀπ' αὐτῶν 1 συναγωνιζόμενοι, οὕτω προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἑλλείψομεν. ἢν δὲ πεζοὶ γενόμενοι δοκῶμεν καιριοτέρως ἄν παρεῖναι, τὸ τε καταβῆναι ἐν μέσῳ καὶ εὐθὺς πεζοὶ ὑμῖν παρεσόμεθα· τοὺς δ' ἱπποὺς μηχανήσομεθα οἷς ἄν παραδοίημεν.

50. Ὅ μὲν οὗτος ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὁ Κύρη, οὐτ' ἀνδρας ἐχομεν οὕς ἀναβιβάσαμεν ἄν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς ἱπποὺς, οὗτ' εἰ ἐξελέξαμεν, σοῦ ταύτα βουλομένου ἅλλο ἄν ἀντί τούτων ἠρώμεθα. καὶ νῦν, ἐφασαν, τούτοις λαβὼν ποιεῖ ὀπως ἀριστόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι.

51. Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἡμεῖς τε ἱππεῖς γενόμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖς διέλοιτε τὰ κοινά. πρῶτον μὲν οὐν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, ἐξαιρεῖτε ὅ τι ἄν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦνται· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Κναξάρη ἐκλέξασθε ὅποι ἄν οἴεσθε αὐτῷ μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι.

52. Καὶ οἱ γελάσαντες εἶπον ὅτι γυναῖκας ἐξαιρετέον εἴη.

Γυναῖκας τε τοίνυν ἐξαιρεῖτε, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο οὐ τῶν ἱππών D.

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1 ἀπ' αὐτῶν Cobet, Edd.; εἰ' αὐτῶν xz; ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν D.

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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
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τι ἄν δοκῇ ὑμῖν. ἐπειδὰν δ’ ἐκεῖνο ἐξέλητε, τοὺς ἔμοι, ὡς Τρκάνιοι, ἐθελουσίους τούτους ἐπιστομένους πάντας ἀμέμπτους ποιεῖτε εἰς δύναμιν.

53. 'Τιμεῖς δ’ αὖ, ὡς Μῆδοι, τοὺς πρώτους συμμάχους γενομένους τιμᾶτε τούτους, ὥσπερ εὖ βεβουλεύσατε ἡγήσασθαι ἦμῖν φίλοι γενόμενοι. νείματε δὲ πάντων τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ παρὰ Κναξάρου ἤκουσί αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ συν-διαμένειν δὲ παρακαλεῖτε, ὅσ’ ἕμοι τούτο συνδόκοιν, ἢν καὶ Κναξάρη μᾶλλον εἴδως περὶ ἐκάστου ἰππαγγείλῃ τὰ ὄντα. 54. Πέρσαις δ’, ἔφη, τοῖς μετ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅσα ἀν περιττὰ γένηται ὑμῶν καλῶς κατε-σκευασμένων, ταῦτα ἄρκεσεν καὶ γάρ, ἔφη, μάλα πως ἤμεις ὤκεν ἐν χλιδῇ τεθράμμεθα ἀλλὰ χωρι-τικῶς, ὥστε ἰσως ἀν ἦμῶν καταγελάσατε, εἰ τι σεμνῶν ἦμῖν περιτεθείς, ὅσπερ, ἔφη, οἶδ’ ὅτι πολὺν ὑμῖν γέλωτα παρέξομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθῆμενοι, οἷμαι δ’, ἔφη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατα-πίπτοντες.

55. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν διάρρεων, μάλα ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππηκὸ γελώντες. οἱ δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρ-χους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππους λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων σκεύη καὶ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους, καὶ ἀριθμήσαντας διαλάβειν1 κληροσαμένους εἰς τάξιν ἰσοὺς ἐκάστοις.

56. Αὔθις δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἀνεπτεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ τις εἰς ἐν τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ἢ Σύρων ἢ Ἀραβίων στρατεύματι ἀνήρ δοῦλος ἢ Μῆδων ἢ Περσῶν ἢ Βα-κτρίων ἢ Καρών ἢ Κιλίκων ἢ Ἐλλήνων ἢ ἀλλοθέν ποθὲν ἐβεβαιομένος, ἐκφαίνεσθαι. 57. οἱ δὲ ἰκοῦ-

1 διαλαβεῖν Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; λαβεῖν MSS.; earlier Edd.
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
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σαντες του κήρυκος ἀσμενοι πολλοὶ προυφάνησαν. 1
ὁ δὲ ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς τὰ εἶδη βελτίστους
εἶλεγεν ὅτι ἐλευθέρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας δεῖσει ὁπλα
ὑποφέρειν ἄν αὐτοῖς διδῶσιν· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια ὁπως
ἀν ἔχωσιν ἔφη αὐτῷ μελήσειν.

58. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγων πρὸς τοὺς ταξιάρχους
συνέστησεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὰ τὲ γέρρα καὶ
τὰς ψιλὰς μαχαίρας τούτοις δοῦναι, ὅπως ἔχοντες
σὺν τοῖς ὕπποις ἔπωνται, καὶ ταπιτήδεια τούτοις
ἐσπερ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ Πέρσαις λαμβάνειν,
αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς θώρακας καὶ τὰ ξυστὰ ἔχοντας ἀεὶ
ἐπὶ τῶν ὕππων ὀχεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτως ποιῶν
κατήρχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν ὀμοτίμων ἀνθ’
αὐτοῦ ἐκαστὸν καθιστάναι ἄλλον ἄρχοντα τῶν
ὀμοτίμων.

VI

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον. Γωβρύνας δὲ ἐν
toúτῳ παρῆν Ἀσσύριος πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ ἔφε ἔπ-
pου σὺν ἱππικῇ θεραπεῖᾳ εἶχον δὲ πάντες τὰ
ἐφίππων ὀπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τα ὡπλα παρα-
λαμβάνειν τεταγμένοι ἐκέλευσαν παραδίδοναι τὰ
ξυστά, ὅπως κατακάοιεν ὁσπερ τάλλα. ὁ δὲ
Γωβρύνας εἶπεν ὅτι Κύρον πρῶτον βουλευτὸ ἰδεῖν·
καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἱππεὰς αὐτοῦ

1 προυφάνησαν Edd. ; προ(–σ D)εφάνησαν MSS.

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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,
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4. καὶ τὸτε μὲν δὴ ἀνιαθείς ἃρ’ οὗτος κατέσχεν ὑπὸ σκότου τὸν φθόνον· ὥς δὲ πάλιν λέοντος παρατυχόντος ὁ μὲν αὐτὸ ἦμαρτεν, οὐδὲν θανμαστὸν οἶμαι παθῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς παῖς αὖθις τυχῶν κατεργάσατο τε τὸν λέοντα καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄρα βέβληκα δὲς ἐφεξῆς καὶ καταβέβληκα θῆρα ἐκατεράκις, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οὐκέτι κατέσχει ὁ ἀνόσιος τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ’ αἰχμὴν παρὰ τινος τῶν ἐπομένων ἀρπάσας, παύσας εἰς τὰ στέρνα τὸν μόνον μοι καὶ φίλον παῖδα ἀφείλετο τὴν ψυχήν. 5. καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ τάλας νεκρὸν ἀντὶ νυμφίου ἐκομίσαμη καὶ ἔθαψα τηλικοῦτος ἃν ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἀριστον παῖδα τὸν ἀγαπητὸν· ὁ δὲ κατακανὼν ὡσπερ ἐχθρὸν ἀπολέσας οὔτε μεταμελέμενος πώποτε φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὔτε ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔργου τιμῆς τινος ἥξισεν τὸν κατὰ γῆς. ὃ γε μὴν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνόκτισεν με καὶ δῆλος ἦν συναχθομενός μοι τῇ συμφορᾷ. 6. ἐγὼ οὖν, εἰ μὲν ἔξη ἔκεινος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἰλθον πρὸς σέ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔκεινον κακῷ· πολλὰ γὰρ φιλικὰ ἔπαθον ὑπ’ ἔκεινου καὶ ὑπηρέτησα ἔκεινος· ἐπεὶ δέ εἰς τὸν ἐμοῦ παιδὸς φονέα ἡ ἀρχὴ περίκει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τούτῳ ἔγὼ δυναῖμην εὐνοῦς γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔμε εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι φίλον ἂν ποτε ἤγησαιτο. οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι ἔγω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχω καὶ ὡς πρόσθεν φαιδρῶς βιοτεύων νῦν διάκειμαι, ἔρημος ὅν καὶ διὰ πένθους τὸ γῆρας διάγων.

7. Εἰ οὖν σὺ μὲ δέχει καὶ ἐλπίδα τινὰ λάβοιμι τῷ φίλῳ παιδί τιμωρίας ἂν τινος μετὰ σοῦ τυχεῖν, καὶ ἀνηβῆσαι ἃν πάλιν δοκῶ μοι καὶ οὕτω ξῶν ἄν

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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
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ἐτι αἰσχυνοίμην οὔτε ἀποθυησκών ἀνιωμένος ἀν τελευτάν δοκῶ.

8. Ὁ μὲν οὖτος εἶπε· Κῦρος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλ' ἤντερ, ὁ Γωβρύα, καὶ φρονῶν φαίνη ὅσα-περ λέγεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δέχομαι τε ἰκέτην σε καὶ τιμωρήσεις σοι τού παιδός σὺν θεοὶ ὑπεισχυνοῦμαι. λέξουν δὲ μοι, ἐφη, εάν σοι ταύτα ποιώμεν καὶ τὰ τείχη σε ἔχειν ἔωμεν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὴν ἰδαμαίν ἤντερ πρόσθεν εἴχες, σο ἡμῖν τί ἀντὶ τούτων ὑπερητήσεις;

9. Ὅ δὲ εἶπε, Τὰ μὲν τείχη, ὡταν ἔλθης, οἶκον σοι παρέξω· δασμὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας ὄντερ ἔφερον ἐκείνῳ σοι ἀποίσω καὶ ὅποι αὐτὸν στρατεύῃ, συντρα-τεύσομαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἰδαμαίν ἔχων. ἔστι δὲ μοι, ἐφη, καὶ θυγάτηρ παρθένος ἀγαπητή γάμου ἢδη ὡραίᾳ, ἢ ἐγὼ πρόσθεν μὲν ὁμοι τῷ νῦν βασιλεύοντι γυναῖκα τρέφειν· νῦν δὲ αὐτή τέ μοι ἡ θυγάτηρ πολλὰ γουμένη ἱκέτευσε μη δοῦναι αὐτήν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φονεί, ἐγὼ τὲ ὁσαίτως γυνώσκω. νῦν δὲ σοι δίδωμι βουλεύσασθαι καὶ περὶ ταύτης οὖτος ὀσπερ ἄν καὶ ἐγὼ βουλεύων περὶ σὲ φαίνομαι.

10. Οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Ἑπὶ τούτοις, ἐφη, ἐγὼ ἀληθευομένοις δίδωμι σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ λαμ-βάνω τὴν σὴν δεξιὰν· θεοὶ δέ ἡμῖν μάρτυρες ἔστων.

Ἦπερ δὲ ταύτα ἐπράξη, ἀπείραν τε κελεύει τὸν Γωβρύαν ἄχοιντα τὰ ὁπλα καὶ ἐπήρετο πόση τῆς ὁδὸς ὡς αὐτὸν εἶη, ὡς ἤξων. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν, Ἡν αὐριον ἦς πρό, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἀν αὐλίζοιο παρ’ ἡμῖν.

11. Οὔτω δὴ οὔτος μὲν φίλετο ἢγεμόνα καταλ-
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
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πών. οἱ δὲ Μήδηι παρῆσαν, ἄ¹ μὲν οἱ μάγοι ἔφασαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελεῖν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις, Κύρῳ δὲ ἔξηρηκότες τὴν καλλιστὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν Σουσίδα γυναίκα, ἡ καλλιστὴ δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ἱσίῳ γυνῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ μουσουργοὺς δὲ δύο τὰς κρατίστας· δεύτερον δὲ Κυαξάρη τὰ δεύτερα· τοιαῦτα δὲ ἄλλα δὲν ἔδεοντο ἐαυτοῖς ἐκπληρώσαντες, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενοι στρατεύοντας· πάντα γὰρ ἦν πολλά.

12. Προσέλαβον δὲ καὶ Ἱρκάννιοι δὲν ἔδεοντο· ἰσόμοιρον δὲ ἐποίησαν καὶ τὸν παρὰ Κυαξάρου ἀγγελοῦ· τὰς δὲ περιπτάς σκηνὰς ὅσαι ἦσαν Κύρῳ παρέδοσαν, ὡς τοῖς Περσαῖς γένοιτο. τὸ δὲ νόμωσιν ἔφασαν, ἐπειδὰν ἄπαν συλλεξθῆ, διαδώσειν· καὶ διέδωκαν.

¹ ἄ Stephanus, Edd.; τὰ MSS.
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.
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