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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In preparing a text I have used as a basis that of A. Hug (Leipzig, 1905), and wherever variants of any importance occur they will be found in the critical notes.

W. M.
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XENOPHON'S CYROPAEDIA

BOOK V

GOBRYAS AND GADATAS
Ε

1. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἔπραξάν τε καὶ ἔλεξαν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰ μὲν Κναξάρου ἐκέλευσε διαλαβόντας φυλάττειν οὗς ἤδει οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ ὅντας· καὶ ὅσα ἐμοὶ δίδοτε, ἥδεως, ἔφη, δέχομαι· χρηστεῖται δ’ αὐτοῖς ὕμων ὁ ἂδι μάλιστα δεόμενος.

Φιλόμουσος δὲ τὸς τῶν Μῆδων εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ, ὁ Κὺρε, τῶν μουσουργῶν ἀκούσας ἐσπέρας δόν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἤκουσά τε ἥδεως κἂν μοι δός αὐτῶν μίαν, στρατεύεσθαι ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἢδιον ἢ οἰκοὶ μένειν.

Ο ’Ο δὲ Κύρος εἶπεν, ’Αλλ’ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ διδωμὶ σοι καὶ χάριν ὁμιας σοι πλείω ἔχειν ὅτι ἐμὲ ήττη- σας ἢ σὺ ἐμοὶ ὅτι λαμβάνεις· οὔτως ἐγὼ ὕμων διψῶ χαρίζεσθαι.

Ταῦτην μὲν οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ αἰτήσας.

2. Καλέσας δὲ ὁ Κύρος Ἀράσταν Μῆδον, ὅσ’ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐταῖρος, φοι καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἐκδύς εἶσαι τὴν Μηδικήν, ὅτε παρὰ Ἀστυνάγους εἰς Πέρσας ἀπῆλε, τούτον ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῷ
BOOK V

I

1. Such were their words and deeds. Then Cyrus ordered the men whom he knew to be Cyaxares's most intimate friends to divide among themselves the keeping of the king's portion of the booty. "And what you offer me," he added, "I accept with pleasure; but it shall always be at the service of any one of you who at any time is most in need of it."

"If you please, then, Cyrus," said one of the Medes who was fond of music, "when I listened last evening to the music-girls whom you now have, I was entranced; and if you will give me one of them, I should, I think, be more happy to go to war with you than to stay at home."

"Well," said Cyrus, "I will not only give her to you, but I believe that I am under greater obligation to you for your asking than you to me for receiving her; so thirsty am I to do you favours."

So he that asked received her.

2. Then Cyrus called to him Araspas, a Mede, who had been his friend from boyhood—the same one to whom he had given his Median robe when he laid it off as he was returning from Astyages's court to Persia—and bade him keep for him both the lady
XENOPHON

τήν τε γυναίκα καὶ τήν σκηνήν. 3. ἤν δὲ ἀυτὴ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ 'Αβραδάτου τοῦ Σουσίου; ὅτε δὲ ἠλισκέτο τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στρατόπεδον, ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀυτῆς οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὧν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλέα πρεσβεύων ὄχετο. ἔστη τε ἀυτὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος περὶ συμμαχίας. ξένος γὰρ ὄν ἐτύγχανε τῷ τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλείᾳ ταύτην οὕν ἐκελευσεν ὁ Κῦρος διαφυλάττειν τοὺ' Ἀράσπαν, ἔστω ἂν αὐτός λάβῃ. 4. κελευόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας ἐπῆρετο, Ἐώρακας δ', ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, τῆν γυναίκα, ἢν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν;

Μὰ Δ' ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐκ ἔγορη.

Αλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἡνίκα ἔξηρούμεν σοι αὐτήν καὶ δήτα, ὅτε μὲν εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτήν· χαμαί τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθήτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ γνῶναι βουλήμενοι ποία εἰ ἡ δέσποινα πάσας περιΒελέφαμεν, ταχὺ πάνω καὶ παζών ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ καθημένη κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὀρῶσα. 5. ὅσι δὲ ἀναστήναι αὐτήν ἐκελεύσαμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτήν ἀπασαί αἰ ἄμφ' αὐτήν, διήνεγγε δ' ἐνταύθα πρὸς τὸν μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, ἐπεὶ ταὶ τῇ ἁρετῇ καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ καίπερ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι ἐστηκίᾳ. δῆλα δ' ἦν αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ διάκρινα στάχυντα, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν πέπλων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πώδας. 6. ὡς δ' ἦμοιν ὁ γεραιτάτος ἔφη, Θάρρει, ὁ γύναι· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ κἀγαθὸν ἀκούομεν

1 γεραιτάτος F, most Edd.; γεραιτέρως xyD, Dindorf.
and the tent. 3. Now this woman was the wife of Abradatas of Susa; and when the Assyrian camp was taken, her husband happened not to be there, having gone on an embassy to the king of Bactria; for the Assyrian king had sent him thither to negotiate an alliance, because he chanced to be a guest-friend of the Bactrian king. This, then, was the lady that Cyrus placed in the charge of Araspas, until such a time as he himself should take her. 4. And when he received this commission Araspas asked: "And have you seen the lady, Cyrus, whom you give into my keeping?" said he.

"No, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "not I."

"But I have," said the other. "I saw her when we selected her for you. And when we went into her tent, upon my word, we did not at first distinguish her from the rest; for she sat upon the ground and all her handmaids sat around her. And she was dressed withal just like her servants; but when we looked round upon them all in our desire to make out which one was the mistress, at once her superiority to all the rest was evident, even though she sat veiled, with her head bowed to the earth. 5. But when we bade her rise, all her attendants stood up with her, and then was she conspicuous among them both for her stature and for her nobility and her grace, even though she stood there in lowly garb. And she could not hide her tears as they fell, some down her dress, some even to her feet. 6. Then, when the oldest man in our company said: 'Have no fear, lady; for
καὶ τὸν σὺν ἀνδρᾷ εἶναι· γὰς μέντοι ἔξαιρομεν ἀνδρὶ σε εὐ ὠσθι ὅτι οὔτε τὸ εἰδὸς ἐκεῖνον χείρονι οὔτε τὴν γυνὴν οὔτε δύναμιν ἤττω ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥμεις γε νομίζουμεν, εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ, καὶ Κῦρος ἄξιός ἦστι θαυμάζεσθαι, οὐ σὺ ἔσει τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὡς οὖν τοῦτο ἦκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ, περικατερ-ρήξατο τε τὸν ἀνώθεν πέπλον καὶ ἀνωδύρατο· συνανεβόησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ δμώαι.

7. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐφάνη μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ προσώπου, ἐφάνη δὲ ἡ δέρη καὶ αἱ χεῖρες· καὶ εὐ ἱσθι, ἐφη, ὡς Κῦρε, ὡς ἐμοὶ τε ἐδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί τοῖς ἴδοισι μῆτω φῦναι μηδὲ γενέσθαι γυνὴ ἀπὸ θυτῶν τοιαύτη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἄλλα πάντως, ἐφη, καὶ σὺ θέασαι αὐτὴν.

8. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐφη, [Ναὶ] ¹ Μᾶ Δία, πολὺ γε ἦττον, εἰ τοιαύτη ἐστὶν οἷαν σὺ λέγεις.

Τί δαί; ἐφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

"Οτι, ἐφη, εἰ πως σοῦ ἀκούσας ὅτι καλὴ ἐστὶ πεισθῆσομαι ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενος, οὐδὲ πάνυ μοι σχολὴς οὐσις, δέδοικα μὴ πολὺ θάττον ἐκείνῃ αἰθις ἀναπείσῃ καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἱσως ἂν ἀμελήσας ὅν με δεῖ πράττειν καθήμεν ἐκείνην θεώμενος.

9. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας εἶπεν, Ὁλει γὰρ, ἐφη, ὡς Κῦρε, ἰκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπων ἀναγκαζέως τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστὸν; εἰ μέντοι, ἐφη, τοῦτο οὖτως ἐπεφύκει, πάντας ἂν ἦναγκαζέων ὁμοίως. 10. ὀρὰς, ἐφη, τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πάντας ὁμοίως καὶ; τέφυκε γὰρ τοὐποῦ-τον· τῶν δὲ καλῶν τῶν μὲν ἐρωτοῖ τῶν δὲ οὐ, καὶ

¹ val MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Cobet, Marchant, Gemoll.

6
though we understand that your husband also is a noble man, yet we are choosing you out for a man who, be assured, is not his inferior either in comeliness or intelligence or power, but, as we at least think, if there is any man in the world who deserves admiration, that man is Cyrus; and his you shall henceforth be. Now when the lady heard that, she rent her outer garment from top to bottom and wept aloud; and her servants also cried aloud with her.

7. “And then we had vision of most of her face and vision of her neck and arms. And let me tell you, Cyrus,” said he, “it seemed to me, as it did to all the rest who saw her, that there never was so beautiful a woman of mortal birth in Asia. But,” he added, “you must by all means see her for yourself.”

8. “No, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “and all the less, if she is as beautiful as you say.”

“Why so?” asked the young man.

“Because,” said he, “if now I have heard from you that she is beautiful and am inclined just by your account of her to go and gaze on her, when I have no time to spare, I am afraid that she will herself much more readily persuade me to come again to gaze on her. And in consequence of that I might sit there, in neglect of my duties, idly gazing upon her.”

9. “Why Cyrus,” said the young man breaking into a laugh, “you do not think, do you, that human beauty is able to compel a man against his will to act contrary to his own best interests? Why,” said he, “if that were a law of nature, it would compel us all alike. 10. Do you observe,” said he, “how fire burns all alike? That is its nature. But of beautiful things we love some and some we do not; and one loves one,
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άλλος γε άλλου. έθελούσιον γάρ, ἔφη, ἔστι, καὶ ἔρα ἕκαστος δὲν ἂν βούληται. αὐτίκ’, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔρα ἄδελφος ἄδελφῆς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης, οὔδε πατήρ θυγατρός, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης· καὶ γὰρ φόβος καὶ νόμος ικανὸς ἔρωτα κωλύειν. 11. εἰ δὲ γ’, ἔφη, νόμος τεθείη μὴ ἐσθίοντας μὴ πεινῆν καὶ μὴ πίνοντας μὴ διψῆν μηδὲ ῥγοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μηδὲ θάλπησθαι τοῦ θέρους, οὔδεις ἂν νόμος ἑυθεῖᾳ διαπράξασθαι ταύτα πείθεσθαι ἀνθρώ- πους· πεφύκασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατεῖσθαι. τὸ δ’ ἐραν ἐθελούσιον ἐστιν· ἐκαστὸς γοῦν τῶν καθ’ ἕαυτὸν ἔρα, ὦσπερ ίματίων καὶ ὑποδημάτων.

12. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ο Κύρος, εἰ ἐθελούσιον ἐστίν τὸ ἐρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παύσασθαι ἐστὶν ὅταν τις βούληται; ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἐώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι’ ἕρωτα, καὶ δουλεύοντας γε τοῖς ἐρω- μένοις καὶ μάλα κακὸν νομίζοντας πρὶν ἔραν τὸ δουλεύειν, καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ ἄν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, καὶ εὐχομένους ὦσπερ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμέ- νους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεδεμένους ἵσχυ- ροτέρα ἀνάγκη ἢ εἰ ἐν σιδήρῳ ἑδέστεντο. παρέχουσι γοῦν ἕαυτος τοῖς ἐρωμένοις πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῆ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὐδ’ ἀποδιδράσκειν

1 νόμος MSS.; bracketed by Hug.
another another; for it is a matter of free will, and each one loves what he pleases. For example, a brother does not fall in love with his sister, but somebody else falls in love with her; neither does a father fall in love with his daughter, but somebody else does; for fear of God and the law of the land are sufficient to prevent such love. 11. But," he went on, "if a law should be passed forbidding those who did not eat to be hungry, those who did not drink to be thirsty, forbidding people to be cold in winter or hot in summer, no such law could ever bring men to obey its provisions, for they are so constituted by nature as to be subject to the control of such circumstances. But love is a matter of free will; at any rate, every one loves what suits his taste, as he does his clothes or shoes."

12. "How then, pray," said Cyrus, "if falling in love is a matter of free will, is it not possible for any one to stop whenever he pleases? But I have seen people in tears of sorrow because of love and in slavery to the objects of their love, even though they believed before they fell in love that slavery is a great evil; I have seen them give those objects of their love many things that they could ill afford to part with; and I have seen people praying to be delivered from love just as from any other disease, and, for all that, unable to be delivered from it, but fettered by a stronger necessity than if they had been fettered with shackles of iron. At any rate, they surrender themselves to those they love to perform for them many services blindly. And yet, in spite of all their misery, they do not attempt
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαύτα κακὰ ἔχοντες, ἄλλα καὶ φυλάττουσι τοὺς ἐρωμένους μὴ ποι ἀποδρῶσι.

13. Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα, Ποιοῦσι γὰρ, ἐφι, ταῦτα· εἰσὶ μέντοι, ἐφη, οἱ τοιούτοι μοχθηροὶ· διὸπερ οἶμαι καὶ εὑρχονται μὲν ἣς ἁθλιοὶ ὅντες ἀποθανεῖν, μυρίων δ' οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγὴς τοῦ βίου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττονται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ γε οὕτω καὶ κλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχονται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τι ἀρπάσωσιν ἢ κλέψωσιν, ὅρας ὅτι σὺ πρῶτος, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δυν᾽ τὸ κλέπτειν, αἵτια τὸν κλέπτοντα καὶ ἀρπάζοντα, καὶ οὐ συγγυνώσκεις, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις. 14. οὐτω μέντοι, ἐφη, καὶ οἱ καλοὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαζοῦσιν ἑρᾶν ἑαυτῶν οὕτως ἐφίεσθαι ἀνθρώπους ὡς μὴ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπινα πασῶν οἶμαι τῶν ἑπιθυμιῶν ἀκρατῆ ἄστι, κάπετα ἐρωτα αἰτιῶνται· οἱ δὲ γε καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἑπιθυμοῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀγαθῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καλῶν, ὃμως πάντων τούτων δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὡστε μὴ ἀπτεθαί αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. 15. ἔγὼ γοῦν, ἐφη, ταύτην ἐσφραγὸς καὶ πάνυ καλῆς δοξάσης μοι εἶναι ὃμως καὶ παρὰ σοὶ εἰμὶ καὶ ἵππεύοι καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα ἀποτελῶ.

16. Ναὶ μὰ Δλʹ, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος· ἵσως γὰρ θάττων ἀπῆλθης ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ἔρως πέφυκε συσκευάζεσθαι ἀνθρωπον. καὶ πυρὸς γὰρ τοι ἔστι θυγόντα μὴ εὐθὺς κἀσθαι καὶ τὰ ἱππαλάϊς 1 ὅντος εὐθὺς ἀναλάμβανον

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1 ὅν added by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
to run away, but even watch their darlings to keep them from running away."

13. "Yes," the young man answered; "there are some who do so; but such are wretched weaklings, and because of their slavery, I think, they constantly pray that they may die, because they are so unhappy; but, though there are ten thousand possible ways of getting rid of life, they do not get rid of it. And this very same sort attempt also to steal and do not keep their hands off other people's property; but when they commit robbery or theft, you see that you are the first to accuse the thief and the robber, because it was not necessary to steal, and you do not pardon him, but you punish him. 14. Now in this same way, the beautiful do not compel people to fall in love with them nor to desire that which they should not, but there are some miserable apologies for men who are slaves to all sorts of passions, I think, and then they blame love. But the high-minded and the good, though they also have a desire for money and good horses and beautiful women, have the power to let all that alone so as not to touch anything beyond the limit of what is right. 15. At any rate," he added, "I have seen this lady and though she seemed to me surpassingly beautiful, still I am here with you, I practise horsemanship, and I do everything else that it is my duty to do."

16. "Aye, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "for you came away perhaps in less time than love takes, as its nature is, to get a man ensnared. For, you know, it is possible for a man to put his finger in the fire and not be burned at once, and wood does not burst at once into flame; still, for my part, I neither
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πει· ὁμώς δ' ἔγωγε οὔτε πυρὸς ἐκὼν εἶναι ἀπτομαί
οὔτε τοὺς καλοὺς εἰσορῶ. οὐδὲ γε σοὶ συμβουλεύω,
ἔφη, ὁ Ἀράστα, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς εὰν τὴν ὁψιν
ἐνδιατρίβειν· ὦς τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοὺς ἀπτομένους καίει,
οί δὲ καλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀπώθην θεωμένους ὑφάπτο-
σιν, ὥστε αἰθεσθαί τῷ ἔρωτί.

17. Θάρρει, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρης οὐδ' ἐὰν μηδέποτε
παύσωμαι θεώμενοι, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ ὥστε ποιεῖν
τι ὅν μὴ χρῆ ποιεῖν.

Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις· φύλαττε τοῖνυν, ἔφη,
ὡσπερ σε κελεύω καὶ ἔπιμέλου αὐτῆς· ἵσως γὰρ
ἀν πάνυ ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο αὐτῇ ἢ γυνῇ.

18. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησαν.

Ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἀμα μὲν ὅρῶν καλὴν τὴν
γυναῖκα, ἀμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τὴν καλοκάγαθιαν
αὐτῆς, ἀμα δὲ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν καὶ οἰόμενος
χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῇ, ἀμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος οὐκ ἀχά-
ριστον οὖν, ὥστε ἐπιμελομένην διὰ τῶν αὐτῆς
οἰκετῶν ὡς καὶ εἰσίοντι εἰῇ αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα καὶ
ei ποτε ἀσθενῆσειν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἐνδεύσετο, ἐκ
πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἔρωτι, καὶ ἵσως οὐδὲν
θαυμαστῶν ἐπασχε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως
ἐπράττετο.

19. Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Κύρης ἔθελοντάς μένειν
μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς τε Μήδους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιροὺς· ἐπεὶ δὲ
συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· 20. Ἀνδρεῖς Μήδοι καὶ
πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐγὼ ύμᾶς οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι
οὔτε χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε οὔτε
put my hand into the fire nor look upon the beautiful, if I can help it. And I advise you, too, Araspas," said he, "not to let your eyes linger upon the fair; for fire, to be sure, burns only those who touch it, but beauty insidiously kindles a fire even in those who gaze upon it from afar, so that they are inflamed with passion."

17. "Never fear, Cyrus," said he, "even if I never cease to look upon her, I shall never be so overcome as to do anything that I ought not."

"Your professions," said he, "are most excellent. Keep her then, as I bid you, and take good care of her; for this lady may perhaps be of very great service to us when the time comes."

18. After this conversation, then, they separated. And as the young man found the lady so beautiful and at the same time came to know her goodness and nobility of character, as he attended her and thought he pleased her, and then also as he saw that she was not ungrateful but always took care by the hands of her own servants not only that he should find whatever he needed when he came in, but that, if he ever fell sick, he should suffer no lack of attention—in consequence of all this, he fell desperately in love with her; and what happened to him was perhaps not at all surprising. Thus matters began to take this turn.

19. Cyrus, however, wishing to have his Medes and allies stay with him voluntarily, called a meeting of all his staff-officers, and when they were come together he spoke as follows: 20. "Men of Media and all here present, I am very sure that you came out with me, not because you desired to get money by it nor because you thought that in this you were..."
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Κναξάρη νομίζετε τούτο υπηρετείν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ βουλόμενοι τούτο χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ τιμῶντες νυκτοπορείν καὶ κινδυνεύειν σὺν ἐμοὶ ἥθελήσατε. 21. καὶ χάριν τούτων ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἔχω μέν, εἰ μὴ ἄδικῶ· ἀποδιδόναι δὲ ὦτῳ ἄξιον δύναμιν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων· τὸ δ' ἔαν μένητε παρ' ἐμοὶ, ἀποδώσω, εἰ ἵστε, ἐφη, αἰσχυνοῦμην ἂν εἰπέην· νομίζω γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν ἐοικέναι λέγοντι ταῦτα ἑνεκα τοῦ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἔθελεν παρ' ἐμοὶ καταμένειν. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τάδε λέγω· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἡ ἡπτή τον Κναξάρην πειθόμενοι, ὅμως, ἢ ἀγαθὸν τι πράξω, πειρᾶσομαι οὕτω ποιεῖν ὅστε καὶ υμᾶς ἐμὲ ἑπανεῖν. 22. οὔ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸς γε ἀπειμῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡρκάνιοι οἱ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἔδωκα ἐμπέδῳ καὶ οὕποτε τούτους προδίδον διὰ συνομαῖν, καὶ τῷ νῦν διδόντι Γωβρύναι καὶ τείχῃ ὑμῖν καὶ χώραν καὶ δύναμιν πειρᾶσομαι ποιεῖν μὴ μεταμελήσαι τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ὅδου. 23. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ, θεῶν οὕτω διδόντων περιφανῶς ἀγαθὰ καὶ φοβοῖν ἃν αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰσχυνοῦμην ἀπολύτων ταῦτα εἰκῇ ἄπελθεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἐφη, ποιήσω· ύμεῖς δὲ ὅπως γηγὼσκέτε οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἑπάτε  ο τι ἢ ἕμεν δοκῇ.

24. Ὅ μὲν οὖτως εἶπε. πρῶτος δ' ὁ φήσας ποτὲ συγγενῆς τοῦ Κύρου εἶναι εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ βασιλεὺς· βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἔμοι γε δοκεῖς σὺ φύσει πεσκείναι οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡ ὁ ἐν τῷ σμήνει φυόμενοι τῶν μελητῶν ἴνεμών· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ
doing Cyaxares a service; but it was to me that you wished to do this favour, and it was out of regard for me that you were willing to make the night-march and to brave dangers with me. 21. For this also I thank you—I should be in the wrong not to do so; but I do not think that I am as yet in a position to make you an adequate return, and this I am not ashamed to say. But let me assure you," said he, "that I should be ashamed to say 'if you will stay with me, I will make you a proper return;' for I think it would look as if I were saying it merely to make you more willing to stay with me. Instead of that, this is what I mean: even though you go back now in obedience to Cyaxares, still, if I achieve any success, I shall try so to act that you also will praise me. 22. For as to myself, I certainly am not going back, but I will be true to the oaths and the pledges which I gave the Hyrcanians, and I will never be caught playing them false; and I will also endeavour so to conduct myself that Gobryas, who is now offering us both his castle and his country and his forces, shall not repent his coming to us. 23. And above all, now that the gods are so manifestly blessing our efforts, I should fear to offend them, and I should be ashamed in their sight to go away without good reason and leave what they have bestowed. Thus, therefore, I propose to act," said he; "and do you also do as you judge to be best, and tell me what your decision is."

24. Thus he spoke. And the first one to reply was Artabazus the man who had once upon a time claimed to be a kinsman of Cyrus. "For my part, O my king," said he—"for to me you seem to be a born king no less than is the sovereign of the bees in a hive.
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αἱ μέληται ἐκοῦσαι μὲν πείθονται, ὅπου δ' ἀν μένῃ, οὐδεμία ἐντεύθεν ἄπερχεται· εὰν δὲ τοι 1 ἐξή, οὐδεμία αυτοῦ ἀπολεῖται. οὗτω δεινός τις ἔρως αὐταῖς τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγγίγνεται. 25. καὶ πρὸς σὲ δὲ μοι δοκοῦσι παραπλησίως πως οἱ ἀνθρώποι [οὗτοι] 2 διακείσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Πέρσας ὅτε παρ' ἦμων ἀπήχεις, τῖς Μήδων ἡ νέος ἡ γέρων σοῦ ἀπελεύθη τὸ μὴ σοι ἀκολουθεῖν ἔστε Ἀστυάγης ἡμᾶς ἀπέστρεψεν; ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ Περσῶν βοηθός ἦμων ὁμήρης, σχέδον αὐ̣ ἑωρῶμεν 3 τοὺς φίλους σου πάντας ἐθελουσίους συνεπομένους. ὅτε δ' αὐ̣ τῆς δεύρου στρατείας ἐπεθύμησας, πάντες σοι Μήδοι ἐκόμιες ἴκολούθησαν. 26. νῦν δ' αὐ̣ οὗτος ἔχομεν ὡς σὺν μὲν σοι ὅμως καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντες θαρροῦμεν, ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ καὶ οὐκάδε ἀπίεναι φοβούμεθα. οἳ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ὅπως ποιήσον- σιν αὐτοὶ ἑρούσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ, ὁ Κύρη, καὶ ὁν ἐγὼ κρατῶ καὶ μενοῦμεν παρὰ σοὶ καὶ ὅρωντες σὲ ἀνεξόμεθα καὶ καρτέρησομεν ὑπὸ σου ἐνεργε- τούμενοι.

27. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλεξεν ὁ Τιγράνης ὅδε· Σὺ, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, μήποτε θαυμάσῃς ἃν ἐγὼ σιωπῶ· ἢ γάρ ψυχή, ἔφη, οὐχ ὡς βουλεύσουσα παρε- σκευαστῇ ἀλλὰ ὡς ποιήσουσα τι τι ἄν παραγ- γέλλῃς.

28. ὃ δὲ 'Τρικάνιος εἰπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ Μήδου, εἰ νῦν ἀπέλθοντε, δαίμονος ἃν φαιν ὑπὶ ἐπιβουλήν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἐᾶσαι ὕμας μέγα εὐθαί-

1 τοι Dindorf, Edd.; παυ MSS.
2 οὗτο MSS., most Edd.; [οὗτο] Hug; φιλως Gemoll.
3 ἑωρῶμεν Camerarius, Edd.; ὅρωμεν MSS.
For as the bees always willingly obey the queen-bee and not one of them deserts the place where she stays; and as not one fails to follow her if she goes anywhere else—so marvellous a yearning to be ruled by her is innate to them; 25. so also do men seem to me to be drawn by something like the same sort of instinct toward you. And of that we have proof; for when you started to return from our country to Persia, what man of the Medes either young or old failed to follow you, until Astyages made us turn back? And when you hastened to our aid from Persia, we saw that almost all your friends followed with you of their own free will. Again, when you wished to come out on this expedition, all the Medes volunteered to follow you. 26. And now, too, this is our feeling, so that with you we are not afraid even in the enemy’s land, while without you we are afraid even to return home. Now the rest may tell for themselves what they mean to do. But as for me, Cyrus, I, with the men whom I command, will remain with you and endure the sight of you and tolerate your goodness to us.”

27. Following him, Tigranes spoke as follows: “Cyrus,” said he, “you need never be surprised when I fail to speak. For my mind has been disciplined not to offer counsel but to do what you command.”

28. “Well, Medes,” said the Hyrcanian king, “if you should go away now, I should say that it was the plot of the evil one to prevent your becoming
μονας γενέσθαι· ἀνθρωπίνη δὲ γνώμη τῆς ἂν ἢ
φευγόντων πολεμίων ἀποτρέποιτο ἢ ὀπλα παρα-
διδόντων οὔκ ἂν ἀλμβάνοι ἢ ἐαυτοὺς διδόντων
καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν οὔκ ἂν δέχοιτο, ἄλλως τε καὶ
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἡμῶν ὅποτος τοιούτου δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,[ゐς]¹ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς, εὖ ποιῶν
ἡμᾶς μάλλον ἠδεσθαί ἢ ἐαυτῶν πλούτιζων.

29. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες οἱ Μῆδοι τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον:
Σὺ, ὁ Κύρε, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς καὶ οἷκαδε, ὡς
ἀπιέναι καιρὸς δοκῇ, σὺν σοὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγε.

'Ο δὲ Κύρος ταύτα ἀκούσας ἐπηξάτο, Ἀλλ',
ἡ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, αὐτοῦμαι σε, δὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ τιμῶντας
υικήσαι με εὖ ποιοῦντα.

30. Ἐκ τούτου ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φυ-
λακὰς καταστήσαντας ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἰδὴ ἔχειν,
toὺs δὲ Πέρσας διαλαβεῖν τὰς σκηνὰς, τοὺs μὲν
ἵππευσι τὰς τούτους πρεποῦσας, τοὺs δὲ πέζοις
toὺs toútou árkoúsas· καὶ οὕτω καταστήσασθαι
ὅπως ποιοῦντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς πάντα τὰ
δέοντα φέρωσιν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ
toῖς ὑποτευθεῖν τεθεραπευμένους παρέχωσι. Πέρσαις
dὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἦ ἔργον ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἐκπονεῖν.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν οὕτω δὶγγον τὴν ἡμέραν.

¹ ὡς MSS.; omitted by Schneider, Edd.
exceedingly blest. For, in all common sense, who would turn away from the enemy when they are in flight, or refuse to take their arms when they surrender them, or their persons and property when they offer them—especially under such a leader as we have? For, I swear to you by all the gods, he seems to me happier in doing us kindnesses than in enriching himself."

29. Following him, all the Medes spoke to this effect: "It is you, Cyrus, that have brought us out here, and when you think the time to return has come, lead us back with you."

And when Cyrus heard that, he uttered this prayer: "Hear me, I beseech thee, O Zeus almighty, and grant that in service to them I may surpass the honour they show to me."

30. Thereupon he commanded the rest to station guards and after that to do for themselves whatever they pleased; and the Persians he bade divide the tents among themselves—to the cavalry the ones appropriate to their use and to the infantry such as sufficed for their needs—and to arrange matters so that the commissaries in the tents should do all that was required of them, prepare everything necessary, and carry it to the quarters of the Persians, and have their horses groomed and fed, and that the Persians should have no duty other than to practise the arts of war.

Thus they spent that day.
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II

1. Προὶ δ’ ἀναστάντες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Γωβρύναν, Κύρος μὲν ἐφ’ ὑππού καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἵππεῖς γεγενημένοι εἰς δισχιλίους· οἱ δὲ τὰ τοῦτων γέρρα καὶ τὰς κοπίδας ἐχοντες ἐπὶ τούτως εἰποντο, ἵσοι ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ στρατιὰ τεταγμένη ἐπορεύετο. ἔκαστον δ’ ἐκέλευσε τοῖς καίνοις ἑαυτῶν θεράπουσιν ἐπιείν ὦτι ὡστὶ ἄν αὐτῶν η τῶν ὑπερθοφυλάκων φαίνηται ὑπισθεῖν ἡ τοῦ μετώπου πρόσθεν ἤ ἡ κατὰ τὰ πλάγια ἔξω τῶν ἐν τάξει ἴδιντων ἀλήσκηται, κολασθήσεται.

2. Δευτεραῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην γίγνονται πρὸς τὸν Γωβρύου χορῷ, καὶ ὅρωσιν ὑπερίσχυρὸν τε τὸ ἐρυμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν πάντα παρεσκευασμένα ὡς ἀν κράτιστα ἀπομάχοιτο· καὶ βοῦς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πάμπολλα πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὰ ἐρυμα προσηγμένα ἑώρων.

3. Πέμψας δ’ ὁ Γωβρύας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἐκέλευσε περιελάσανται ἰδεῖν ἢ ἢ πρόσωδος εὐπετεστάτη, εἰσὼ δὲ πέμψας πρὸς ἑαυτῶν τῶν πιστῶν τινας, οἰτίνες αὐτῶ 4 τὰ ἔδων ἴδοντες ἀπαγγέλοισιν. 4. οὔτω δὴ ὁ Κύρος αὐτῶς μὲν τὸ ὁντι βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν εἰ που εἰς αἱρέσιμον τὸ τείχος, εἰ ψευδής φαίνοιτο ὁ Γωβρύας, περιήλαινε πάντοθεν, ἐώρα τε ἰσχυρότερα πάντα ἢ

1 tὰ supplied by Pantazides, most Edd.; not in MSS., Dindorf.
2 ἴδιντων Pantazides, most Edd.; ὄντων MSS., Dindorf.
3 ἢ, Camerarius, Edd.; εἰ MSS.
4 αὐτῶ Stephanus, Edd.; αὐτῶν MSS.
II

1. Rising early the next morning they started—The Persian army visits Gobryas Cyrus, on horseback, with those of the Persians who had been transformed into cavalrymen, to the number of about two thousand—to visit Gobryas. And those who carried the horsemen's shields and sabres followed behind them, to the same number; the rest of the army also proceeded in its proper divisions. He ordered the horsemen, each one, to inform their new squires that if any one of them should be seen behind the rear-guard or get in front of the van or be found on the flanks outside the line of march, he should be punished.

2. Toward evening of the second day they arrived at Gobryas's castle; and they saw that the fortress was exceedingly strong and that everything was ready on the walls so that there might be most effective fighting from them. And they saw many cattle also and a great many sheep driven up under protection of the fortifications.

3. Then Gobryas sent to Cyrus and bade him ride around and see where access was most easy and send in some of his trusted officers to examine what was inside and report back to him what they saw. 4. So Cyrus, wishing, as a matter of fact, to see for himself whether the fort could be stormed in case Gobryas should prove false, rode round on every side and saw that it was everywhere too strong for any one to approach. And those whom he had
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προσέλθειν ὁδ' ἐπεμψε πρὸς Γωβρύαν, ἀπήγγελλον τῷ Κύρῳ ὅτι τοσαῦτα εἶναι ἐνδον ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπων γενεὰν, ὡς σφίσε δοκεῖν, μὴ ἄν ἐπιλιπέων τοὺς ἐνδον ὄντας.

5. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ἐν φροντίδι ἦν τι ποτ' εἰη ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας αὐτὸς τε ἔξηκε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοθεῖν πάντας ἔξηγε φέροντας οἶνον, ἀλφίτα, ἄλειμα, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλαύνοντας βόος, αἶγας, ὅσ, σῦς, καὶ εἰ τι βρωτόν, πάντα ἰκανά προσήγων ὃς δειπνῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν σὺν Κύρῳ στρατιάν. 6. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντες διῆρον τε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδειπνοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ Γωβρύας, ἐπεὶ πάντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες ἔξω ἦσαν, εἰσίνεα τὸν Κύρον ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως νομίζῃ ψφαλεστα. προεισπέμψας οὖν ὁ Κύρος προσκόπους καὶ δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτώς εἰςη. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰςήλθεν ἀναπεπταμένας τὰς πῦλὰς ἑχων, παρεκάλει τοὺς φίλους πάντας καὶ ἀρχοῦτας τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. 7. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνδον ἦσαν, ἐκφέρων οἱ Γωβρύας φιάλας χρυσᾶς καὶ πρόχους καὶ καλπίδας καὶ κόσμου παντοῦ καὶ ἀρείκους ἀμέτρους τινὰς καὶ πάντα καλὰ πολλά, τέλος τὴν θυγατέρα, δεινὸν τὸ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, πενθικὼς δ' ἐχουσαν τοῦ ἄδελφον τεθυηκότος, ἐξώγων ὡδε εἰπεν. Ἐγώ σοι, ὁ Κύρε, τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα δωροῦμαι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτῃ ἐπιτρέπω διαθέσαι ὅπως ἂν σὺ βούλῃ, ἢκετεύομεν δε, ἐγώ μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν τοῦ υἱοῦ, αὕτη δὲ νῦν τοῦ ἄδελφον τιμωρήσεις σε.

8. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος πρὸς ταύτα εἰπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοι μὲν καὶ τὸτε ὑπεσχόμην ἄψευδοντός σου τιμωρήσειν εἰς δύναμιν. νῦν δὲ ὅτε ἀληθεύοντά σε
sent in to Gobryas brought back the report that there were provisions enough inside to last the garrison, as it seemed to them, for a whole generation.

5. Now Cyrus was pondering what all this meant, when Gobryas himself came out bringing with him all his followers; and some of them brought out with them wine and flour and barley-meal; others brought cattle, goats, sheep, swine, and all kinds of provisions—a plenty of everything for a dinner for Cyrus’s whole army. 6. And they whose business it was apportioned it and set about preparing the meal. And when all his men were outside, Gobryas bade Cyrus enter, in whatever way he thought he might enter most safely. So Cyrus sent in ahead of him some scouts and a part of his forces, and then with this precaution he went in himself. And when he had gone in, keeping the gates wide open, he called to him all his friends and the officers of the troops with him. 7. And when they were inside, Gobryas brought out golden goblets, pitchers, and vases, all sorts of ornaments, an almost countless pile of darics, and all sorts of treasure in great quantities; and finally he brought out his daughter, a marvel of beauty and stature, but in mourning for her brother who was dead; IV. vi. 2 f. and he said: “These treasures, Cyrus, I present to you, and this my daughter I entrust to you to make what disposal of her you may see fit. But we make our prayer to you, I, as I have done already, that you avenge my son, and she that you be the avenger of her brother.”

8. “Well,” said Cyrus in reply to this, “I promised you even then that, assuming that you did not speak me false, I should do all in my power to avenge you;
ὁρῶ, ἦδη ὥφείλω τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, καὶ ταύτῃ ὑποσχνοῦμαι τὰ αὐτὰ ταύτα σὺν θεοῖς ποιῆσειν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα, ἐφη, ἐγὼ μὲν δέχομαι, δίδωμι δ’ αὐτὰ τῇ παιδί ταύτῃ κάκεινώ ὅσι ἀν γήμη αὐτὴν. ἐν δὲ δῷρον ἀπειμὸ ἔχων παρὰ σοῦ ἄνθ’ οὐ οὔδ’ ἄν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, [ἐκεῖ πλειστά ἐστιν,]¹ οὐδὲ τὰ πανταχοῦ [ἀντὶ τούτου οὐ σὺ μοι δεδώρησαι]² ἢδιον ἄν ἔχων ἀπέλθοιμι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας θαυμάσσεις τε τί τούτ’ εὐχα καὶ ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα λέγοι, οὔτως ἤρετο. Καὶ τί τούτ’ ἔστιν, ἐφη, θύρε;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο, "Ὅτι, ἐφη, ἐγώ, ὁ Γωβρύα, πολλοὺς μὲν οἴμαι εἶναι ἀνθρώπους οἱ οὐτε ἀσβεῖν ἄν ἕθελον εἰσέ τέκνα ἀξίαραστα, ἀποθνῄσκουσι πρότερον πρὶν δῆλον γύνησθαι οἴοι ἔσαν. 10. ἔμοι δὲ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ τείχη ἔρμυνα καὶ πλοῦτον παντοδαπὸν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν σὴν καὶ θυγατέρα αξιόκτητον ἐγχειρίσας πεποίηκας με δῆλον γενέσθαι πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὔτ’ ἄν ἀσβεῖν περὶ ξένους ἔθελομι οὔτ’ ἄν ἀδικεῖν χρημάτων ἕνεκα οὔτε συνθήκας ἂν ψευδόμην ἑκὼν εἶναι. 11. τούτων ἐγώ, εὐ ὲσθι, ἐως ἅν ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ὁ καὶ δοκῶν εἶναι τοιοῦτος ἐπαινῶμαι ὑπ’ ἄνθρώπων, οὕτως ἐπιλήσομαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι σε αὐτυμήσαι πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς.

¹ [ἐκεῖ πλειστά ἐστιν] Hug; ei ἐκεῖ πλειστά ἐστιν MSS.; [ei ἐκεῖ . . . ἐστιν] Hirschig; ei καὶ πλειστά ἐστιν Dindorf.

² ἀντὶ . . . δεδώρησαι MSS.; bracketed by Hirschig, most Edd.
and now, when I see that you are truthful, my promise is already due; and I promise her likewise that with heaven's help I will fulfil my promise to the letter.

"Now as to these treasures," said he, "I accept them, but I give them again to your daughter here and the man who shall marry her. But one gift of yours will I take as I leave you, in place of which not even all the wealth of Babylon (and that is enormous)—no, not even all the wealth of all the world would send me away more happy than with this gift from you."

9. And Gobryas, wondering what he meant and suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked: "And what might that gift be, Cyrus?"

"Gobryas," he replied, "it is this: I believe that there are many men who would not consent to be wicked or unjust or false, but they die before it is ever discovered what sort of men they are, simply because no one has ever seen fit to entrust them with great wealth or kingly power or mighty fortresses or lovely children; 10. but you have now placed in my hands your fortress and all sorts of wealth, your forces and your precious child, and have thus given me an opportunity of showing to all the world that I would not do an act of wickedness against a friend or do a wrong for the sake of gain or willingly prove false to a covenant. 11. And so long as I am an honest man and receive men's approbation as bearing this reputation, I assure you that I shall never forget this proof of your confidence but shall try to show you all fair honour in return.
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12. Καὶ ἄνδρος δ’, ἔφη, τῇ θυγατρὶ μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις ἄξιον ταῦτης· πολλοὶ γὰρ κἀγαθοὶ φίλοι εἰσὶν ἐμοὶ· ὃν τὸς γαμεῖ ταῦτην· εἰ μέντοι χρήμαθ᾽ ἔξει τοσαῦτα ὅσα σὺ δίδως ἢ καὶ ἄλλα πολλαπλάσια τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν· σὺ μέντοι εὐ ἴσθι ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν οὐ δὲν μὲν σὺ δίδως χρημάτων οὐδὲ μικρὸν τούτων ἐνεκά σε μᾶλλον θαυμάζουσιν· ἐμὲ δὲ ξηλοῦσι νυνὶ καὶ εὔχονται πάσι θεοῖς γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐπιδεῖξασθαι ὡς πιστοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν οὐδὲν ἢττον ἐμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὡς οὐποτ’ ἄν ὑφείτω ξῶτες, εἰ μή τις θεὸς βλάπτων· ἀντὶ δ’ ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς ὅτι οὐδ’ ἂν τὰ Σύρων πρὸς τοῖς σοίς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων πάντα προέλθειν· τοιούτοις ἄνδρας εὐ ἴσθι ἐνταῦθα καθημένους.

13. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπε γελάσας, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὁ Κῦρε, δεῖξον δὴ μοι ποῦ οὕτω εἰσιν, ἵνα σε τούτων τινὰ αἰτήσωμαι παίδα μοι γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν, Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ σε δεήσει πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἂν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔπη, αὐτὸς σὺν ἔξεις καὶ ἀλλὰ δεικνύναι αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν.

14. Τοσαυτ’ εἰπὼν δεξιάν τε λαβὼν τοῦ Γωβρύα καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐξῆς, καὶ τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτῶν ἐξήγειν ἀπαντας· καὶ πολλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Γωβρύα ἐνδον δειπνεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδείπνηε καὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν σύνδεσθαι παρέλαβεν.

15. ἐπὶ στυβάδος δὲ κατακλυνεὶς ἤρετο αὐτῶν ὅδε·
12. "And as for your daughter," he continued, "do not fear that you shall fail to find a husband worthy of her; for I have many noble friends; some one of them will marry her. But whether he will have as much money as you are ready to give me or even many times as much, I could not say. Let me tell you, however, that there are some of them who do not admire you one whit the more for the money you have to offer; but with me they are vying now and praying to all the gods that it may be granted them one day to prove that they are not less faithful to their friends than I, and that so long as they live they would never yield to their enemies, unless some god should cross them. But their virtue and their good name they would not barter for all your wealth and the wealth of the Assyrians and Syrians to boot. Such men, let me tell you, are sitting here."

13. "By the gods, Cyrus," said Gobryas with a laugh, "please show me where they are, that I may ask you for one of them to be my son-in-law."

"There will be no need of your getting that information from me," answered Cyrus; "but, if you will go with us, you will be able yourself to point each one of them out to somebody else."

14. When he had thus spoken, he clasped Gobryas's right hand in his and rose to depart, taking with him all his followers. And though Gobryas urged him to dine in the castle, he declined, but dined in camp and took Gobryas with him as his guest. 15. And as he reclined upon a mat of straw he asked this question: "Tell me,
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Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Ὅ Γωβρύα, πότερον οἶει σοι εἶναι πλεῖω ἢ ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν στρώματα;

Καὶ δὲ εἰπεν, Τῇ μὲν Ψ Δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ στρώματα πλεῖω ἐστὶ καὶ κλίναι, καὶ οἶκία γε πολὺ μεῖζων ἢ υμετέρα τῆς ἐμῆς, οὔ γε οἶκία μὲν χρῆσθε γῆ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ, κλίναι δ' ὑμῖν εἰσιν ὁπόσαι εὐναὶ γένοιτ' ἀν ἐπὶ γῆς στρώματα δὲ νομίζετε οὖν ὅσα πρόβατα φύει [ἔρια], ἀλλ' ὅσα όρη τε καὶ πεδία ἀνίησι.

16. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον συνδειπνῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὀρῶν τῆν φαυλότητα τῶν παρατηθεμένων βρωμάτων πολὺ σφᾶς ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθερωτέρους εἶναι αὐτῶν. 17. ἑπεὶ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν μετριότητα τῶν συσσίτων—ἐπ' οὐδενὶ γὰρ βρωματὶ οὐδὲ πόματι Πέρσης ἀνήρ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων οὐτ' ἂν οὕμασιν ἐκπεπληγμένοις καταφάνης γένοιτο οὔτε ἀρπαγὴ οὔτε τῷ νῷ μῇ οὐχὶ προσκοπεῖν ἀπερ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ σίτῳ ὅν. ἄλλ' ὃσπερ οἱ ἵππικοι διὰ τὸ μὴ ταράττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτῶν δύνανται ἄμα ἴππενοιτε καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν τὸ δέον, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ σίτῳ οἴονται δὲν φρόνιμοι καὶ μέτριοι φαίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ κεκινηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ τῆς πόσεως πάνω αὐτοῖς υικὸν [καὶ θηριώδες] δοκεῖ εἶναι.

18. Ἐνενόησε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπηρώτων ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα οἷα ἐρωτηθήναι ἦδιον ἢ μὴ καὶ

1 ἔρια MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, most Edd.
2 συσσίτων Muretus, Edd.; σίτων MSS.
3 καὶ θηριώδες MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, et al.; bracketed by Cobet.

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Gobryas, do you think you have more coverlets than each one of us?"

"I am perfectly sure, by Zeus," the other answered, "that you have more coverlets and more couches, and that your dwelling is much larger than mine; for you take heaven and earth for your dwelling, and you have as many couches as you can find resting-places on the ground, while you regard as your proper coverlets not wool that sheep produce, but whatever the mountains and plains bring forth."

16. Thus, as Gobryas dined with them for the first time and saw the simplicity of the food set before them, he thought his own people more refined than they. 17. But he soon perceived the temperance of the soldiers who sat at meat with him; for no Persian of the educated class would allow it to appear that he was captivated with any kind of food or drink, either with his eyes gloating over it, or with his hands greedy to get it, or with his thoughts so engrossed by it as to fail to observe things that would attract his attention if he were not at meat; but just as good horsemen do not lose their self-command when on horseback but can ride along and at the same time see and hear and say whatever they should, so also the educated Persians think that at their meals they ought to show themselves sensible and temperate; and to become excited over food or drink seems to them altogether swinish and bestial.

18. He noticed further about them that they asked one another such questions as people are more

"Costly coverlets and couches were a special feature of oriental luxury."
XENOPHON

ἐσκωπτον διὰ σκωφθήναι ἦδιον ἢ μή; ἃ τε ἐπαίξων ως πολὺ μὲν ὑβρεως ἀπήν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ χαλεπαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους. 19. μέγιστον δ' αὐτῷ ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι τὸ ἐν στρατείᾳ οὖν τῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κίν- δυνον ἐμβαινόντων μὴ δὲν τι σοφεῖν ἐν ἑπτά- πλείως παρατιθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ νομίζειν ἡδίστην εὐω- χίαν εἶναι τοὺς συμμάχους μέλλοντας ὡς βελτί- στους παρασκευάζειν.

20. Ἡνίκα δὲ Γωβρύας ως εἰς οἰκον ἄπιον ἀ νίστατο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται. Οὐκέτι θαυμάζω, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ ἐκπώματα μὲν καὶ ἰμάτια καὶ χρυσίων ἠμείς ὑμῶν πλεύσανα κεκτήμεθα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐλάτ- τονος ὑμῶν ἄξιοί ἐσμέν. ἦμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελοῦ- μεθα ὅπως ἥμιν ταύτα ὡς πλείστα ἐσται, ἦμεῖς δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως αὐτοὶ ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσεσθε.

21. 'Ο μὲν ταύτ' εἶπεν· ὦ δὲ Κῦρος, Ἀγ'. ἐφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, ὅπως πρὸ παρέσει ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεις ἐξωπλησμένους, ἵνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν σου ἱδώμεν, καὶ ἄμα διὰ τὴς σὴς χώρας ἄξιες ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἀν εἰδώμεν ἀ τε δεῖ φίλια καὶ πολέμια ἡμᾶς νομίζειν.

22. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταύτ' εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον ἕκα- τερος ἐπὶ τὰ προσήκοντα.

'Επεὶ δὲ ἠμέρα ἐγένετο, παρὴν ὁ Γωβρύας ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεις, καὶ ἤγείτο. ὦ δὲ Κῦρος, ὡσπερ προσήκεις ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, οὐ μόνον τῷ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν προσείχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀμα προϊῶν ἐπεσκοπεῖτο εἰ τι δυνατὸν εἴη τοὺς πολεμίους

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pleased to be asked than not, that they indulged in such banter as is more agreeable to hear than not; he observed how far their jests were removed from insult, how far they were from doing anything unbecoming, and how far from offending one another. 19. But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all was that when on active service they did not think they ought to be served with a larger share than any one else of those who were going into the same dangers, but that they considered it the most sumptuous feast to make those who were to be their comrades in arms as efficient as possible.

20. When Gobryas rose to go home, he is reported to have said: "I am no longer surprised, Cyrus, that while we possess more cups and clothing and gold than you, we ourselves are worth less than you are. For our whole thought is to have as much of those things as possible, while your whole thought seems to me to be that you may be yourselves as capable as possible."

21. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Please see to it, Gobryas, that you are here early in the morning with your cavalry under arms, so that we may see your forces, and then you shall lead us through your country so that we may know what we have to consider as belonging to our friends and what as belonging to our enemies."

22. When they had thus spoken, they went away, each to his own proper task.

When day dawned, Gobryas came with his cavalry and led the way. But Cyrus, as became a general, turned his thoughts not only upon the march, but at the same time, as he proceeded, he kept studying the situation to see whether it might be in any way
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ἀσθενεστέρους ποιεῖν ἢ αὐτοὺς ἵσχυροτέρους. 23. καλέσας οὖν τὸν Ἰρκάνιον καὶ τὸν Γαβρύναν, τούτους γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰδέναι μάλιστα ὅν ἀυτὸς ἦν "καὶ δεῖσθαι μαθείν. Ἐγὼ τοι, ἐφή, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι, οἶμαι σὺν ἦμιν ἄν ὡς πίστοῖς βουλευόμενοι 1 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε οὐκ ἂν ἔξαμαρτάνειν. ὅρω γὰρ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἦμιν ἡ ἐμοὶ σκεπτέου ὅταν ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἦμᾶς μὴ ἑπικρατήσῃ. ἐμὸι μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, τῶν ἡ ἀποσφαλέντι ἔστων ἱσως καὶ ἀλλὰ ἀποστροφή ἦμιν δ', εἰ οὗτος ἑπικρατήσῃ, ὅρω ἀμα τάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀλλότρια γιγνόμενα. 24. καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐμὲ μισῶν, ὅλλ' οἴμονος ἀσύμφορον ἑαυτῷ μεγάλους εἶναι Ἰμᾶς, καὶ στρατεύει2 διὰ τούτο ἐφ' ἦμᾶς: ἦμᾶς δὲ καὶ μισεῖ, ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζων ὅφ' ἦμων.

Πρὸς τάντα ἀπεκρίναντο ἀμφότεροι κατὰ ταύτα περαινεῖν ἃ τι μέλλει, ὡς ταύτ' εἰδόσι σφίσι καὶ μέλον αὐτοὺς ἵσχυρὼς ὅτι τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσετο. 25. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἠρξατο ὦδε. Δέξατε δὴ μοι, ἐφη, ἦμᾶς νομίζει μόνους πολεμικοὺς ἔχειν ὁ Ἀσσύριος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἡ ἐπίστασθε καὶ ἀλλον τινὰ αὐτὸ πολέμον;

Ναὶ μῶ Δι', ἐφη ὁ Ἰρκάνιος, πολεμιώτατοι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ Ἐκδούσιοι, ἔθνος πολύ τε καὶ ἀλκίμον. Σάκαι γε μὴν ὄμοροι ἦμῖν, οὐ̇ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσύριου· ἐπειρᾶτο γὰρ κάκεινος ὅσπερ καὶ ἦμᾶς καταστρέφασθαι.

1 βουλευόμενοι xyA, Edd.; βουλευόμενοις GH (taken into my counsels).
2 στρατεύει xxF, Edd.; ἐστράτευες DG3 (it was for this reason that he began the war).
possible to make the enemy weaker or his own side stronger. 23. So he called Gobryas and the
Hyrcanian king to him, for he supposed that they
must know best what he thought he needed to learn,
and said: "My dear friends, I think that I should be
making no mistake to consult with you in regard to
this war and to rely upon your trustworthiness. For
I observe that you have greater need than I to see
to it that the Assyrian shall not get the upper
hand of us: if I am unsuccessful in this, I shall,
perhaps, find some other place of refuge; whereas in
your case, I see that if he gains the upper hand, all
that you have passes into other hands. 24. For, as
for me, he is my enemy, not because he hates me,
but because he imagines that it would be inimical
to his interests for our nation to become great, and
for that reason he is making war upon us; but
you he actually hates, for he thinks that you have
done him wrong."

To this they both answered in the same way, that
he should proceed with what he had to say, for they
recognized the truth of what he had said and knew
that it was a matter of vital concern to them how
things turned out in the future. 25. Then he
began as follows: "Tell me, then," said he, "does
the Assyrian king believe that you are the only ones
who are hostile to him, or do you know of any one
else who is his enemy?"

"Yes, by Zeus," said the Hyrcanian; "the Cadu-
sians, a large and powerful nation, are most bitter
enemies of his; and so are our neighbours, the
Sacians, for they have suffered very severely at his
hands; for he attempted to subjugate them just as
he did us."
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26. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἶεσθε νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἢδέως ἃν ἐπιβήναι μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ; Ἕφασαν, Καὶ σφόδρ' ἂν, εἰ τή γε δύναιντο συμμίξαι.
Τί δ', ἔφη, ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ συμμίξαι;
Ἀσσυρίοι, Ἕφασαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ἐθνὸς δὲ οὕπερ νῦν πορεύει.

27. Ἐπει δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὁ Κῦρος, Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, οὐ σὺ τοῦ νεανίσκου τούτου δς νῦν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καθέστηκεν ὑπερηφανίαν πολλήν τινα τοῦ τρόπου κατηγορεῖς;
Τοιαῦτα γάρ, οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, ἐπαθον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Πότερα δήτα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς σὲ μόνου τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς;

28. Νη Δλ', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ εἰς ἄλλους γε' ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας οία ύβρίζει τί δεὶ λέγειν; ἐνὸς δὲ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ δυνατωτέρου ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, καὶ ἑκείνου ἑταίρον οὐντα ὄσπερ τὸν ἐμὸν, συμπίνοντα παρ' ἑαυτῷ συλλαβοῦν ἐξέτημεν, ὥς μὲν τινὲς Ἕφασαν, ὅτι ἡ παλλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπήνευσεν αὐτὸν ὡς καλὸς εἰς καὶ ἐμακάρισε τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα ἐσεῦσαι· ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς νῦν λέγει, ὅτι ἐπείρασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακίδα.
καὶ νῦν οὕτος εὐνούχος μὲν ἐστι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ἐπει ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν.

29. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἶει ἀν καὶ τούτων ἢδέως ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, εἰ οὐιτο ἑαυτῷ βοηθοῦν δὲ γενέσθαι;
26. "Well then," said he, "do you think that these two nations would like to join us in an attack upon the Assyrian?"
"Yes," they answered, "and right eagerly, if they could find a way to combine their forces with ours."
"And what is to hinder such a union of forces?" asked Cyrus.
"The Assyrians," they answered, "the same nation, through whose country you are now marching."
27. "But, Gobryas," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "do you not accuse this young fellow who has just come to the throne of cruel insolence of character?"
"That judgment, I think," said Gobryas, "is warranted by my experience with him."
"Pray, are you the only man towards whom he has acted in this way," Cyrus asked, "or are there others also?"
28. "Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas; "there are others also. But why should I recount his acts of insolence toward the weak? For once when he and the son of a man much more powerful than I were drinking together, a young man who, like my son, was his comrade, he had him seized and castrated; and the occasion, so some people said, was simply because his concubine had praised his friend, remarking how handsome he was and felicitating the woman who should be his wife; but the king himself now maintains that it was because the man had made advances toward his concubine. And so now he is a eunuch, but he has come into the kingdom, for his father is dead."
29. "Well then," said Cyrus, "do you think that he also would be glad to see us, if he thought we could help him?"
XENOPHON

Εὖ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, οίδα, ὁ Γωβρύς· ἄλλη ἰδεῖν τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶν ἔστιν, ὦ Κῦρε.

Πῶς; ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος.

"Οτι εἰ μέλλει τις ἐκείνης συμμείξειν, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλώνα δεῖ παρεῖναι.

30. Τῷ οὖν, ἐφη, τούτῳ χαλεπῶν;

"Οτι ἡ Δῆ, ἐφη ὁ Γωβρύς, οίδα ἐξελθοῦσαν ἂν 1 δύναμιν ἐξ αὐτῆς πολλαπλασίαν ἦς οὐ ἐχεῖς νῦν· εὐ δ' ἵσθι ὅτι καὶ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο ἦττόν σοι νῦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον Ἀσσύριοι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποφέρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπαγόουσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδούσιν αὐτῶν ὁλίγη ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἢ σῇ δύναμις· καὶ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πολὺς ἤδη ἔσπαρται· δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἐφη, βέλτιον εἶναι φυλαττομένους πο- ρεύεσθαι.

31. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ Γωβρύου τοιαύτα τοιάδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλεξεν. Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὁ Γωβρύς, κελεύων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. ἔγωγ' οὖν σκοπῶν τὸ δύναμιν ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν αὐθεμίαν πορείαν ἥμιν τοῦ 2 πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαβυλώνα ἴναι, εἰ ἐκεῖ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσίν, ὡς σὺ φης· εἰ δὲ θαρρήσουσι, καὶ δεινὸν ἥμιν, ὡς ἔγω φημι, ἔσονται. 32. μὴ ὀρῶντες μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οἶκομενοί ἄφανες εἰναι διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἐκεῖνους, σάφ' ἵσθι, ἐφη, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν φόβου ἀπαλλάξωται δι' αὐτῶς ένεγέντο, θάρρος δ' ἐμφύσεται ἀντὶ τούτου τοσοῦτο μεῖζον ὅσῳ ἀν πλείωνα χρόνων ἡμᾶς μὴ ὀρῶσιν· ἦν δὲ

1 ἂν added by Schaefer, Edd.; not in MSS.
2 τοῦ Weckherlein, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τῆς MSS., Marchant (who writes, after Βαβυλώνα, πορείας εἶναι), Gemoll.

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"Think!" said Gobryas, "I am sure of it. But, Cyrus, it would be difficult to see him."
"Why?" asked Cyrus.
"Because, to effect a union of forces with him, one has to march along under the very walls of Babylon."
30. "Why, pray," said the other, "is that so difficult?"
"Because, by Zeus," said Gobryas, "I know that the forces that would come out of that city alone are many times as large as your own at present; and let me tell you that the Assyrians are now less inclined than heretofore to deliver up their arms and to bring in their horses to you for the very reason that to those of them who have seen your army it seemed a small one; and a rumour to this effect has now been widely spread abroad. And," he added, "I think we should do better to proceed cautiously."
31. "I think you are right, Gobryas, in admonishing us to march with the utmost caution," Cyrus made answer upon hearing this suggestion from him. "But when I think of it, I cannot conceive of any safer procedure for us than to march directly upon Babylon, if that is where the main body of the enemy's forces is. For they are, as you say, numerous; and if they take courage, they will also, as I say, give us cause to fear them. 32. However, if they do not see us and get the idea that we are keeping out of sight because we are afraid of them, then, let me assure you, they will recover from the fear with which we inspired them; and the longer we keep out of their sight, the greater the courage that will spring up within them in place of that fear.
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ηδη ἱσμεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν εὐρήσομεν ἐτι κλαῖοντας τοὺς ἀποθανόντας υφ' ἦμῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐτι τραύματα ἐπιδειδέμενους δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐλαβον, πάντας δ' ἐτι μεμημένους τῆς μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ στρατεύματος τόλμης, τῆς δ' αὐτῶν φυγῆς τε καὶ συμφορᾶς. 33. εὖ δ' ἰσθι, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, [ίνα καὶ τούτ' εἰδῆς.] 1 οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ φρόνημα παρέχονται· ὅταν δὲ δείσοσιν, ὅσοὶ ἀν πλείους ώσιν, τοσοῦτῳ μείζω καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένου μᾶλλον τὸν φόβον κέκτηται. 34. ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ κακῶν λόγων ἦγεμένους αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν, ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποιηρῶν σχημάτων,2 ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυσθύμων τε καὶ εξετηκότων προσώπων ἥθροισται. ἀὖθισ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐ ράδιον αὐτὸν ἐστιν οὕτε λόγοις κατασβέσαι οὕτε προσάγωντα πολεμίως μένος ἐμβαλεῖν οὕτε ἀπάγοντα ἀναθρέψαι τὸ φρόνημα, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἀν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς θαρρεῖν παρακελεύῃ, τοσοῦτῷ ἐν δεινοτέροις ἣγούνται εἶναι.

35. Ἐκείνῳ μεντοῦ νη Δῆ, ἔφη, σκεψώμεθα ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἔχει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τούδε αἰ νῦκαι ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ὁπότεροι ἄν πλείονα ὦχλον ἀπαριθμήσωσιν, ὀρθῶς καὶ σοφοὶ περὶ ἠμῶν καὶ ἠμεῖς τῷ ὅτι ἐν δεινοῖς ἐσμὲν· εἰ μέντοι ὡσπερ πρόσθεν διὰ τοὺς εὖ μαχομένους ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ μᾶχαι κρίνονται, θαρρῶν οὐδὲν ἄν σφαλείς· πολὺ μὲν γὰρ σὺν

1 ἵνα . . . εἰδῆς xz, Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Schneider, Marchant, Gemoll; εἶναι καὶ τούτο ἡδη ὡς yG.
2 σχημάτων Toup (ad Longinus, p. 480), Gemoll; χρωμάτων xz, Dindorf, Breitenbach; χρημάτων yG.
But if we march upon them at once, we shall find many of them still in tears over those whom we have slain, many still wearing bandages on the wounds they received from us, and all still mindful of the daring of this army of ours and of their own flight and defeat. 33. And let me assure you, Gobryas," he continued, "that your large bodies of men, when they are inspired with confidence, display a spirit that is irresistible; but when once they are frightened, the greater their numbers are, the greater and more overpowering the panic that seizes them. 34. For it comes over them increased by the many faint-hearted words they hear and magnified by the many wretched figures and the many dejected and distorted countenances they see; and by reason of the large numbers it is not easy with a speech to quell the panic, nor by a charge against the enemy to inspire them with courage, nor by a retreat to rally their spirits; but the more you try to encourage them to bravery, in so much the greater peril do they think they are.

35. "Again, by Zeus," said he, "let us consider precisely how this matter stands: if, in future, victory on the field of battle is to rest with that side which counts the greater numbers, you have good reason to fear for us and we really are in danger. If, however, battles are still to be decided by good fighting as they have been before, it would not be at all amiss for you to be bold and confident; for,
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tois theōs pleōnastai eurhēseis par' hēmín touz θέλοντας μάχεσθαι ἣ παρ' ἐκείνοις. 36. ὡς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρῆς, καὶ τόδε κατανόησον οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττωνες εἰσὶ νῦν ἢ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι υφ' ἡμῶν, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττωνες γὰρ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ μείζονες νῦν, ἐπεὶ νευκηκάμεν, καὶ ἱσχυρότεροι, ἐπεὶ ύμεῖς ἡμῖν προσεγένεσθε· μὴ γὰρ ἔτι ἀτίμαζε μηδὲ τοὺς σοὺς, ἐπεὶ σὺν ἡμῶν εἰσὶ· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς νικῶσι, σάφ' ἵσθι, ὦ Γνωρύνα, θαρροῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι ἔπονταί.

37. Μὴ λανθανέτω δὲ σε μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐξεστὶ μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νῦν ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς· γοργότεροι δὲ, σάφ' ἵσθι, οὐδαμῶς ἂν αὐτοῖς φανέρημεν ἢ ἰόντες ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ὅσον οὖν ἐμοὶ τάντα γυνώσκοντος ἀγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ [τὴν ἐπὶ] ¹ Βαβυλόνως.

III

1. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ πορεύομενοι τεταρταῖοι πρὸς τοὺς ὄριοις τῆς Γνωρύνου χώρας ἐγένοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἢν, κατέστησε λαβών ἐν τάξει μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς τε πεζοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἄσως ἐδόκει καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἱππέας ἀφῆκε καταθέναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντας κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ πρόβατα ὅσα ἄν λάβωσι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄγειν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας συγκαταθεῖν· καὶ

¹ τὴν ἐπὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Cobet, Marchant; τὴν εὐθύ [ἐπὶ] Gemoll.
please God, you will find far more men on our side who are eager to fight, than on theirs. 36. And to give yourself still more confidence, bethink you also of this: the enemy are much fewer now than they were before we defeated them, much weaker than when they fled before us; while we are bigger now since we have conquered and stronger since you have been added to us. For you must no longer undervalue your own men, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobryas, that when they are with the victors, even those who follow the camp go along without a fear.

37. “And do not forget this either, that the enemy may find us even now, if they will. And, let me assure you, we could in no possible way strike more terror into them when they do see us, than by marching upon them. As this, therefore, is my conviction, lead us straight on to Babylon.”

III

1. As they thus proceeded, they arrived on the fourth day at the boundaries of Gobryas’s domains. And as soon as Cyrus was in the enemy’s country, he arranged in regular order under his own command the infantry and as much of the cavalry as seemed to him best. The rest of the cavalry he sent out to forage, with orders to kill those who were under arms but to bring every one else to him, as well as any cattle they might take. The Persians he ordered to join the foraging party. And many of them
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ἡκον πολλοι μὲν αὐτῶν κατακεκυλισμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λείαι πλείστην ἄγουντες.

2. 'Ως δὲ παρῆν ἡ λεία, συγκαλέσας τοὺς τὸν Μηδών ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν 'Αρκανίων καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἐλεξεν ὅδε: Ἂνδρες φίλοι, ἐξέσηοι ἡμᾶς ἀπαντάς πολλοίς ἀγαθοῖς Γωβρῦας. εἰ οὖν, ἥφη, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελόντες τὰ νομικόμενα καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἱκανὰ τὴν ἄλλην τούτῳ δοῦμεν λείαν, ἅρ' ἂν, ἥφη, καλὸν ποιήσαμεν τῷ εὐθὺς φανερώ ἐίναι ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εὖ ποιούντας πειρόμεθα νικᾶν εὖ ποιοῦντες;

3. 'Ως δὲ τούτ' ἦκουσαν, πάντες μὲν ἔπημουν, πάντες δὲ ἐνεκωμίαζον εἷς δὲ καὶ ἐλεξεν ὅδε: Πάνυ, ἥφη, ὦ Κύρη, τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἥφη, ὦ Γωβρῦας πτωχοὺς τινὰς ἡμᾶς νομίζειν, ὅτι οὐ δαρεικῶν μεστὸν ἔκομεν οὐδὲ ἐκ χρυσῶν πίνομεν φιλῶν· εἰ δὲ τούτῳ ποιήσομεν, γνοίη ἄν, ἥφη, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθερίους εἶναι καὶ ἀνευ χρυσοῦ.

4. Ἀγε δὴ, ἥφη, τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ὡσα τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱκανὰ ἐξελόντες τὰλλα καλέσαντες τὸν Γωβρῦαν δότε αὐτῷ.

Οὕτω δὴ λαβόντες ἐκείνοι ὅσα ἔδει τὰλλα ἔδοσαν τῷ Γωβρῦᾳ.

5. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἥς πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα παραταξάμενος ὁσπερ ὅτε ἡ μάχη ᾗν. ὡς δ' οὖκ ἄντ-

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1 ἐξελόντες Aldine ed., Edd.; ἀφελόντες MSS.
were thrown from their horses and came back, but many of them also came bringing a great quantity of plunder.

2. When all the booty was brought in, he called the peers and the officers of the Medes and Hyrcanians together and addressed them as follows: "My friends, Gobryas has entertained us all with great munificence. So, if we should set apart the share of the spoil ordained for the gods and a portion sufficient for the army and give the rest to him, should we not be doing the right thing? For we should be giving immediate proof that we are trying to outdo those who do good to us, in the good we do to them."

3. When they heard this they all signified their approval and applauded the proposition; and one of them also spoke as follows: "By all means, Cyrus," said he, "let us do that. And it would be a good stroke of policy, too; for it seems to me that Gobryas regards us as no better than a lot of beggars because we have not come here with our pockets full of darics and because we do not drink from golden goblets. And if we do this, then he would realize that it is possible for men to be gentlemen, even without gold."

4. "Come then," said Cyrus, "turn over to the magi what belongs to the gods, set apart for the army its share, and then call Gobryas in and give the rest to him."

So they set aside what was required and gave the rest to Gobryas.

5. After this Cyrus renewed his march upon Babylon, with his army in the same order as when the battle was fought. But as the Assyrians did
εξήσαν οἱ Ἄσσυριοι, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κὺρος τὸν Γωβρύαν προσελάσαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι εἰ βούλεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας μάχεσθαι, κἂν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχοιτο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμυνεῖ τῇ χώρᾳ, ὅτι ἀπάγη τοῖς κρατοῦσι πείθεσθαι.

6. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας προσελάσας ἔνθα ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψεν ἀποκρινούμενον τοιάδε. Δεσπότης ὁ, σος λέγει, ὁ Γωβρύα, ὅν ὅτι ἀπέκτεινα σου τὸν υἱὸν μεταμέλει μοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ καὶ σὲ προσαπέκτεινα. μάχεσθαι δὲ ἐὰν βούλησθε, ἠκέτε εἰς τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ. νῦν δ' οὔπω ἡμῖν σχολή ἔτι γὰρ para-
skevázhómeba.

7. Ὅ δὲ Γωβρύας εἰπεῖν, Ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτὲ σοι λήξειν αὐτή ἡ μεταμέλεια· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἀνίκω σὲ τι, ἐξ οὗ αὐτὴ σε ἡ μεταμέλεια ἔχει.

8. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας ἀπῆγγειλε τὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου· ὁ δὲ Κὺρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπῆγγαγε τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ καλέσας τὸν Γωβρύαν, Εἰπέ μοι, ἡ ψήφη, οὐκ ἔλεγες μεντοῦ συ ὅτι τὸν ἐκτητήθηνα ὕπτῳ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου οἰεὶ ἄν σὺν-ἡμῖν γενέσθαι;

Εὐ μὲν οὖν, ἡ ψήφη, δοκῶ εἰδέναι· πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε κάκεινος ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

9. Ὅ ποτέ τοίνυν σοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, πρόσθι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὕτω πολεῖ ὅπως ἄν αὐτὸι λάθρᾳ συνῆτε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ συγγένει αὐτῷ, ἐὰν γνῶς αὐτὸν φίλον βουλόμενον εἰναι, τοῦτο δεῖ μηχανάσθαι ὅπως λάθη φίλος ὅν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ

1 δῶς δὲν αὐτῷ λάθρᾳ συνῆτε Muretus; δῶς δὲν αὐτῷ δὲ δὲν λέγη εἰδήτε yP, Marchant, Gemoll; δῶς δὲν οὕτως λέγη x; δῶς δὲν αὐτὸς λέγη ἥδη γε z; δῶς δὲν λέγη αὐτῷ εἰδήτε Pantazides, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say: "If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors."

6. Accordingly, Gobryas rode to a place where he could safely give his message; and the king sent out a messenger to deliver to Gobryas this reply: "This is your sovereign's response to you, Gobryas: 'I do not regret that I killed your son, but only that I did not kill you, too. And if you and your men wish to fight, come back a month from now. Just at present we have no time to fight, for we are still busy with our preparations.'"

7. "I only hope that this regret of yours may never cease," Gobryas replied; "for it is evident that I have been something of a thorn in your flesh, ever since you began to feel it."

8. Gobryas returned with the Assyrian king's reply, and when Cyrus heard it he drew off his army; then summoning Gobryas he said to him: "Tell me, you were saying, were you not, that you thought that the prince who was castrated by the Assyrian would be on our side?"

"Why, of course;" he replied, "I feel perfectly sure of it; for he and I have often talked together freely."

9. "Well then, when you think best, go to him; but first of all be sure that you meet him alone and in secret; and when you have conferred with him, if you see that he wishes to be our friend, you must manage to keep his friendship a secret. For in time
Δὲν φίλους τις ποιήσειν ἄλλως πως πλείω ἀγαθὰ ἐν πολέμῳ ἢ πολέμος δοκῶν εἶναι οὔτ’ ἂν ἐχθροὺς πλείω τις βλάψειν ἄλλως πως ἢ φίλος δοκῶν εἶναι.

10. Καὶ μὴν, ἑφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδ’ ὅτι κἂν πρίαιτο Γαβάτας τὸ μέγα τι ποιήσαι κακὸν τὸν νῦν βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων. ἂλλ’, τὸ ἂν δύνατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ήμᾶς σκοπεῖν.

11. Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἑφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ πρὸ τῆς χώρας, ὁ φατε Ἀρκανίοις τε καὶ Σάκαις ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ πρόβολον εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἄρ’ ἂν, ἑφη, οὐκ ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου παρεθήκαι τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐλθόντα σὺν δυνάμει;

Σαφῶς γ’, ἑφη ὁ Γωβρύας, εἴπερ ἀνύποπτος ἢν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔστιν, ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτὸν.

12. Οὐκοῦν, ἑφη, ἀνύποπτος ἂν εἰη, εἰ προσβάλομεν μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ὡς λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀπομάχοιτο δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ λάβοιμεν μὲν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐγὼ, ἀντιλάβοι δὲ κάκειν ἡμῶν ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ καὶ ἀγγέλους πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τούτους οὐς φατε πολέμους τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ εἶναι· καὶ οἱ μὲν λη-φθέντες λέγοιεν ὅτι ἐπὶ στράτευμα ἀπέρχονται καὶ κλίμακας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἄξουσι, ὁ δ’ εὐνοῦχος ἀκούσας προσποιήσεαιτο προαγγείλαι βουλόμενος ταῦτα παρεῖναι.

13. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἴπεν ὅτι οὕτω μὲν γνω-
of war one could not in any way do more good to one's friends than by seeming to be their enemy, nor more harm to enemies than by seeming to be their friend."

10. "Now mark my word," said Gobryas; "I am sure that Gadatas would even pay for the opportunity of doing the present Assyrian king some serious harm. But what harm he could do it is for us on our part to consider."

11. "Now tell me this," said Cyrus, "in regard to the fort which stands upon the frontier of the country and which you say was built to serve as a base of operations against the Hyrcanians and the Sacians and an outwork to protect this country in time of war—do you think that the eunuch, if he went there with his army, would be admitted by the commandant?"

"Yes; certainly he would," said Gobryas, "if he came to him as unsuspected as he now is."

12. "Then," answered Cyrus, "if I should make an attack on his fortifications as if I wished to gain possession of them, while he defended himself with all his might; and if I should take something of his and he in turn should capture either some of our other men or some of the messengers I send to those who, you say, are enemies of the Assyrian king; and if these captives should say that they had come out to get an army and ladders to use against the fortress; and if then the eunuch, on hearing this, should pretend that he had come to give warning; under these conditions, he would be unsuspected."

13. "Under such circumstances," answered Gobryas, "the commandant would certainly admit
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μένων σαφῶς παρείχ ἀν αὐτόν, καὶ δεικτό γ' ἀν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἔως ἀπέλθοις.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἰ γε ἀπαξ εἰσέλθοι, δύναιτ' ἄν ἦμιν ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι τὸ χωρίον;

14. Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, τὰ μὲν ἐνδον ἐκείνου συμπαρασκευάζοντο, τὰ δ' ἔξωθεν σοῦ ἱσχυρότερα προσάγοντος.

Ἅθι τόν, ἔφη, καὶ πειρῶ ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ διαπραξάμενος παρείναι: πιστὰ δὲ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀν μείζω οὔτ' εἰποῖς οὔτε δείξαις ὅν αὑτὸς σὺ τυγχάνεις παρ' ἦμων εἰληφὼς.

15. Ἐκ τούτου φίλετο μὲν ὁ Γωβρύας: ἀσμενὸς δὲ ἱδὼν αὐτοῦ ὁ εὐνοῦχος συνυμολογεῖ τε πάντα καὶ συνέθετο δ' ἔδει.

Ἐπελ δὲ ἀπῆγγειλεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὅτι πάντα δοκοὶ ἱσχυρὸς τῷ εὐνοῦχῳ τὰ ἐπισταλέντα, ἐκ τούτου τῇ ύστεραίᾳ προσέβαλε μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἀπεμάχετο δὲ ὁ Γαδάτας. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔλαβε χωρίον ὁ Κύρος, ὡποίων ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας. 16. τῶν δὲ ἄγγελων οὗς ἐπεμψεν ὁ Κύρος προειπὼν ἥ πορεύσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν εἰδεῖ οἱ Γαδάτας διαφεύ-

γεῖν, ὅπως ἁγιοεν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς κλι-

μακας κομίζοιες γεος δ' ἔλαβε, βασανίζων ἑναυτῶν πολλῶν, ὡς ἦκουσεν ἐφ' ἀράνας πορεύσθαι, εὐθέως συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἐξαγγελών τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπορεύεθο. 17. τέλος δὲ πιστευθεὶς ὡς βοηθος

εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ φρούριον καὶ τέως μὲν οὐμ-

παρεσκεύαξεν οἱ τὸ δύνατο τῷ φρουράρχῳ ἔπειρ 

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him—aye, and would beg him to remain there until you went away.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “if he could but once get in, he would be in a position to put the fort in our hands?”

14. “That is at all events probable,” answered Gobryas, “if he were within, helping with the preparations, while you on the outside made a vigorous attack.”

“In that case,” Cyrus replied, “go and try to explain these plans to him and win his coöperation and then return. And no better assurance of our good faith could you give him in word or deed than to show him what you happen to have received at our hands.”

15. Thereupon Gobryas went away; and when the eunuch saw him, he gladly concurred in all the plans and settled with him the things they were to do.

So, when Gobryas reported back that all the proposals were heartily accepted by the eunuch, on the day following Cyrus made his attack and Gadatas his defence. And there was also a fort which Cyrus took, as Gadatas had indicated; 16. while of the messengers whom Cyrus sent with instructions which way to go, some Gadatas allowed to escape to bring the troops and fetch the ladders; but some he took and straitly examined in the presence of many witnesses, and when he heard from them the purpose of their journey, he made ready at once and set out in the night as if to give the alarm. 17. And the end was that he was trusted and entered the fort as an ally to defend it; and for a while he helped the commandant to the extent of his ability in making preparations; but when Cyrus came, he
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dè ὁ Κύρος ἦλθε, καταλαμβάνει τὸ χωρίον συνεργοὺς ποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου αἰχμαλώτους.
18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς [Γαδάτας] 1 ὁ εὐνοῦχος τὰ ἐνδον καταστήσας ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσκυνήσας εἶπε, Χαίρε, Κῦρε.
19. Ἀλλὰ ποιῶ ταῦτ', ἐφη σὺ γὰρ με σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ κελεύεις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκάζεις χάρειν. εὗ γὰρ ἵσθι, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ μέγα ποιοῦμαι φίλου τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ἐνθάδε συμμάχοις καταλείπων σοῦ δ', ἐφη, ὁ Γαδάτα, ὁ Ἀσσύριος παῖδας μέν, ὡς ξυίκε, τὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀφείλετο, οὐ μέντοι τὸ γε φίλους δύνασθαι κτάσθαι ἀπεστέρησεν ἀλλ' εὗ ἵσθι ὅτι ἡμᾶς τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ φίλους πεποίησαί, οἳ σοι, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα, πειρασόμεθα μὴ χείρονες βοηθοὶ παραστήναι ἢ ἐι παῖδας ἐκγόνους ἐκεκτησο.
20. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐλεγεν. εὗ δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀρκάνιος ἄρτι ἡσθημένος τὸ γεγενημένον προσθεὶ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν δεξίαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ὡ μέγα ἄγαθον σὺ τοῖς φίλοις Κῦρε, ὡς πολλὴν με τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖσ χάριν ὥφειλεν ὅτι σοὶ με συνήγαγον.
21. Ἡθι νῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον ὑπερ ἐνεκα με ἀστάξει διατίθει αὐτῷ οὕτως ὡς ἄν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ φύλῳ πλείστον ἤξιον ἦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις, μάλιστα δ', ἐφη, Γαδάτα τοιτῷ, 2 δς ἡμῖν αὐτῷ λαβὼν παραδίδοσι.

1 Γαδάτας MSS.; bracketed by Zeune, Edd.
2 τοιτῷ Hirschig, Marchant, Gemoll; τοίτῳ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
made himself master of the place, employing also as his assistants in seizing it those men of Cyrus's whom he had taken prisoners.

18. When this was accomplished, the eunuch, after setting things in order within the fort, came out and did him obeisance according to the custom and said: "Joy be with you, Cyrus!"

19. "So it is," said he; "for by the favour of the gods you not only bid me joy but even compel me to be joyful. For believe me, I consider it a great advantage to leave this place friendly to my allies in this country. From you, Gadatas," Cyrus went on, "the Assyrian has, it seems, taken away the power of begetting children, but at any rate he has not deprived you of the ability of acquiring friends. Let me assure you that by this deed you have made of us friends who will try, if we can, to stand by you and aid you no less efficiently than if we were your own children."

20. Thus he spoke; and at this juncture the Hyrcanian king, who had just heard what had happened, ran up to Cyrus and taking his right hand said to him: "O what a blessing you are to your friends, Cyrus, and what a debt of gratitude to the gods you lay upon me, because they have brought me into association with you!"

21. "Go then," said Cyrus, "take this fortress on account of which you congratulate me and so dispose of it that it may be of the most service to your people and to the rest of the allies, and especially," he added, "to Gadatas here, who gained possession of it and delivered it to us."
22. Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ 'Τρκάνιος, ἐπειδὴν Καδούσιοι ἔλθωσι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ οἱ ἕμοι πολίται, καλέσωμεν καὶ τούτων,1 ἵνα κοινὴ βουλευσώμεθα πάντες ὅσοι προσήκει πῶς ἄν συμφορώτατα χρήματα τῷ φρουρίῳ.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω συνήγεσεν ὁ Κύρος· ἔπει δὲ συνήλθον οἷς ἔμελε περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου, ἐβουλεύσαντο κοινὴ φυλάττειν οἷσπερ ἄγαθον ἦν φίλιον ὅν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς μὲν πρόβολος εἴη πολέμου, τοῖς δὲ 'Ασσυρίοις ἐπιτετειχίσμενοι.

24. Τούτων γενομένων πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον καὶ πλείονας καὶ Καδούσιοι συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ Σάκαι καὶ 'Τρκάνιοι καὶ συνελέγη ἐπειδήθην στράτευμα Καδούσιων μὲν πελτασταὶ εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Σακῶν δὲ τοξόται εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἵπποτοξόται εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ 'Τρκάνιοι δὲ πεζοὶ τε ὅποσοι εἴδοντο προσέξεσθεν καὶ ἵπτες ἐξεπίηρσαν εἰς δισχιλίους· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν πλείους οὐκοὶ αὐτοῖς ἵππεῖς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ Καδούσιοι καὶ οἱ Σάκαι τοῖς 'Ασσυρίοις πολεμοῦ ἦσαν.

25. "Ωσον δὲ χρόνον ἀκαθέστω ὁ Κύρος ἀμφὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ φρουρίου οἰκονομίαν, τῶν Ἦσσυρίων τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπήγαγον ἵππους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέφερον ὅπλα, φοβοῦμενοι ἡδή πάντας τοὺς προσχώροντας."

26. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων προσέρχεται τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ Γαδάτας καὶ λέγει ὅτι ήκουσιν αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι ὡς ὁ Ἦσσυριος, ἔπει πῦθοιτο τὰ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου,

1 τούτων Pantazides, most Edd.; τούτων MSS., Dindorf (i.e. the Hyrcanian).
22. "What then?" said the Hyrcanian. "When the Cadusians come and the Sacians and my people, are we to call in some of them also, that all of us who are concerned may consult together how we may use the fortress to the best advantage?"

23. To this plan Cyrus gave assent. And when all those who were interested in the fort were gathered together, they decided that it should be occupied in common by those to whose advantage it was to have it in the hands of friends, so that it might be an outwork for them in time of war and a base of operations against the Assyrians.

24. Because of this incident the Cadusians, Sacians, and Hyrcanians joined the expedition in greater numbers and with greatly increased zeal. And thereafter a new division was added to the army, consisting of Cadusians, about twenty thousand targeteers and about four thousand horsemen; of Sacians, about ten thousand bowmen and about two thousand mounted archers; while the Hyrcanians also sent as many more foot-soldiers as they could and filled up the ranks of their cavalry to the number of two thousand; for up to this time most of their cavalry had been left at home, because the Cadusians and the Sacians were enemies of the Assyrians.

25. Now during the time that Cyrus was busy with the arrangements about the fortress, many of the Assyrians of the country round about surrendered their horses and many laid down their arms, because now they were afraid of all their neighbours.

26. And after this, Gadatas came to Cyrus and said that messengers had come to him with the information that when the Assyrian king heard the
χαλεπῶς τε ἐνέγκοι καὶ συσκευάζοιτο ὡς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. ἐδώ οὖν ἄφης με, ὁ Κύρε, τὰ τείχη ἄν πειραθεῖν διασώσαι, τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν μείων λόγος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔπευ, Ἐὰν οὖν ἤγες βυῖν, πότε ἔσει οἶκοι;

Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἔπευ, Ἐἰς τρίτην δευτερήσῳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.

Ἡ καὶ τῷ Ἄσσυριον, ἔφη, οἴει ἐκεῖ ἤδη καταλήφησαί;

Εὐ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἴδα, σπεύσει γὰρ ἔως ἔτι πρόσω δοκεῖς ἀπείναι.

28. Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ποσταῖος ἀν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκείσε ἀφικοίμην;

Πρὸς τούτῳ δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας λέγει, Πολὺ ἤδη, ὁ δέσποτα, ἔχεις τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναι μείον ἢ ἐν ἐξ ἢ ἐπτὰ ἡμέραις ἑλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ὀικῆσιν.

Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀπιθὶ ὡς τάχιστα· ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἂν δυνατὸν ἢ πορεύσομαι.

29. Ο μὲν δὴ Γαδάτας φίλετο· ὁ δὲ Κύρος συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἀρχονταῖς τῶν συμμάχων· καὶ ἤδη πολλοὶ τε ἐδόκουν καὶ καλοὶ καγαθοὶ παρεῖναι· ἐν οἷς δὴ λέγει ὁ Κύρος ταῦτα·

30. Ἀνδρες σύμμαχοι, Γαδάτας διέπραξεν ἃ δοκεῖ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολλοὶ ἄξια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ύπ' ἡμῶν παθεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ Ἄσσυριος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐμβαλεῖν ἀγγέλλεται, δῆλον ότι ἡμᾶς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, ὅτι δοκεῖ ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλα βεβλαφθαί· ἀμα δὲ ἰσος κακεῖνο ἐννοεῖται ὅς εἰ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιστάμενοι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κακὸν 54
facts about the fortress, he was exceedingly wroth
and was preparing to invade his country. "If, then,
you will permit me to go, Cyrus, I should try to save
the fortified places; the rest is of less account."

27. "If you start now," said Cyrus, "when shall
you reach home?"

"The day after to-morrow," answered Gadatas, "I
shall dine in my own land."

"But you do not think, do you, that you will find
the Assyrian already there?" said Cyrus.

"Nay, I am sure of it," he replied; "for he will
make haste while he thinks you are still far away."

28. "How many days," asked Cyrus, "do you
think it would take me with my army to get there?"

"Sire," Gadatas made reply, "your army now is
large and you could not reach my residence in less
than six or seven days."

"Well," said Cyrus, "do you go as quickly as
possible, and I will follow as best I can."

29. So Gadatas went away, and Cyrus summoned
all the officers of the allies, and there seemed to be
there now many noble men and brave. In this
assembly, then, Cyrus spoke as follows:

30. "Friends and allies, Gadatas has done what
seems a very valuable service to us all, and that, too,
before receiving any favour whatsoever at our hands.
And now comes the report that the Assyrian is going
to invade his country, partly, as it seems plain, from
a wish to punish him because he thinks Gadatas has
done him a great wrong; and perhaps also he under-
stands that if those who desert him for us do not
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πείσονται, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐκεῖνῳ ὄντες υφ’ ἡμῶν ἀπολούνται, ὅτι τάχιστα οὐδένα εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἰναι. 31. νῦν οὖν, ὃ ἀνδρείς, καλὸν τι ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν ποιῆσαι, εἰ προθύμως Γαδάτω βοηθήσαμεν ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ· καὶ ἀμα δίκαια ποιοῦμεν ἄν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες· ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ σύμφορά γ’ ἂν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, πράξαι μην ἁυτοῖς. 32. εἰ γὰρ πᾶσι φαινόμεθα τοὺς μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντας νικᾶν πειρώμενοι κακῶς ποιοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγαθοῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φίλους μὲν πολλοὺς ἡμῖν βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἐχθρὸν δὲ μηδένα ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰναι.

33. Εἰ δὲ ἀμελήσαι δόξαιμεν Γαδάτου, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποίους λόγους ἄν ἄλλουν πείθομεν χαρίζεσθαι τι ἡμῖν; πῶς δ’ ἄν τολμῶμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν; πῶς δ’ ἄν ἀντιβλέψῃ τις ἡμῶν δύναιτο Γαδάτα, εἰ ἢττομεθ’ αὐτοῦ εὐ ποιοῦντος τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἕνος ἄνδρός καὶ τούτου οὕτω διακειμένου;

34. Ὡ μὲν οὖν ἐπειπ’ οἱ δὲ πάντες ἵσχυρὸς συνεπήνουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

Ἀγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐπεί καὶ ἡμῖν συνδοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐποξυγίοις καὶ ὀχήμασι καταλύσωμεν ἐκαστοι τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους πορεύεσθαι. Γωβρύας δ’ ἡμῖν ἀρχέτω αὐτῶν καὶ ἤγείσθω αὐτοῖς· 35. καὶ γὰρ ὅδῳν ἐμπειρὸς καὶ τάλλα ἰκανός· ἡμεῖς δ’, ἔφη, καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ ἀνδράσι πορευόμεθα, τάπιτη-56
suffer any harm at his hands, while those who follow
him are destroyed by us, the chances are that very
soon no one will be willing to stay with him. 31. So
now, my men, it seems to me that we should be
doing what is fair, if we gave Gadatas, our benefactor,
our heartiest assistance; and at the same time we
should be doing only what is right in paying a debt
of gratitude. But apart from that, it seems to me
that we should be gaining an advantage for ourselves.
32. For if we should show every one that we try to
surpass in doing harm those who do us harm, and
that we surpass in well-doing those who do well by
us, the consequences of such conduct would be that
many would wish to become our friends and not one
would desire to be our enemy.

33. “But should we decide to abandon Gadatas,
with what arguments under heaven could we ever
persuade any one else to do us a favour? How
could we have the effrontery to approve our own
conduct? And how could any one of us look
Gadatas in the face, if, as numerous as we are, we
should be surpassed in well-doing by one man and
that one a man in such a plight as Gadatas is?”

34. Thus he spoke, and all heartily agreed to do
as he said.

“Come then,” he continued, “since you agree
with these suggestions, and first, let us leave men
in charge of the beasts of burden and the wagons,
each division appointing such of their number as are
best suited to go with them; and let Gobryas have
command of them in our place and be their guide;
35. for he is acquainted with the roads and in other
ways is qualified for that task. As for us, let us
proceed with the most able-bodied men and horses,
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δεια τριών ἡμερῶν λαβόντες· ὅσῳ δὲ ἂν κουφότερον συσκευασώμεθα καὶ εὐτελέστερον, τοσοῦτῳ ἦδιον τὰς ἐπιούσιας ἡμέρας ἀριστησόμεν τε καὶ δειπνήσομεν καὶ καθευδήσομεν. 36. νῦν δ’, ἐφε, πορευόμεθα διδ: πρώτους μὲν ἄγε σὺ, Χρυσάντα, τοὺς θωρακοφόρους, ἐπεὶ ὀμαλῆ τε καὶ πλατείᾳ ἡ ὄδος ἦστι, τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἡγοῦν ἐν μετώπῳ πάντας· ἦ δὲ τάξις ἐκάστη ἐφ’ ἐνὸς ἰτω· ἀθρόοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πορευομέθη· ἀν. 37. τούτοις δ’ ἔνεκα, ἐφε, κελεύω· τοὺς θωρακοφόρους ἤγειροθαί ὅτι τούτο βραδύτατον ἔστι τοῦ στρατεύματος· τοῦ δὲ βραδυτάτου ἤγουμένου ἀνάγκη βράδιος ἐπεσθαί πάντα τὰ θάττου· ὅταν δὲ τὸ τάχιστον ἠγείρατε ἐν νυκτὶ, οὐδὲν ἔστι βαμματὸν καὶ δισπάσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα· τὸ γὰρ προταχθὲν ἀποδιδράσκει.

38. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐφε, Ἀρτάβαζος τοὺς Περσοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ τοξότας ἀγέτω· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀρδαμίας ὁ Μήδος τὸ Μήδων πεζοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἐμβας τὸ Ἀρμενίων πεζοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀρτουχας Ἰρκανίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θαμβράδας τὸ Ζακών πεζοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Δατάμας Καδουσίους. 39. ἀγόντων δὲ καὶ ὦτοι πάντες ἐν μετώπῳ μὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐχοντες, δεξιοῖς δὲ τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἀριστεροῖς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τοῦ ἐναυτῶν πλαισίον· οὕτω γὰρ πορευόμενοι καὶ εὐχρηστότερους γήγονται. 40. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ σκευοφόροι, ἐφε, πάντων ἐπέσθαν· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπιμελέσθων ὅπως συνεσκευα-

1 βραδύτατον (and βραδυτάτου) Cobet, Hirschig, Marchant, Gemoll; βαρύτατον (and βαρυτάτου) MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 πεζόν Dindorf, Edd.; πεζοῦ MSS.

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taking with us three days' provisions. For the more lightly and simply equipped we go, the more we shall enjoy our luncheon and dinner and sleep in the days to follow. 36. And now let us march in the following order: Chrysantas, do you lead in the van the men armed with breastplates, for the road is smooth and wide. Have all your captains in front, each company following in single file; for, massed together, we can march with the greatest speed and the greatest safety. 37. And the reason why I direct the men armed with breastplates to lead the march is that they are the slowest portion of the army; and when the slowest lead, then all the more quickly moving troops can follow easily, as a matter of course. But when at night the light forces lead, it is not at all a strange thing for the line to be broken and a gap formed, for the vanguard outstrips the rear.

38. "Next let Artabazus follow at the head of the Persian targeteers and bowmen; following him, Andamyas, the Mede, in command of the Median infantry; next, Embas with the Armenian infantry; then, Artuchas with the Hyrcanians; he will be followed by Thambradas at the head of the Sacian infantry force and Datamas with that of the Cadusians. 39. Let these all lead the way with their captains in front, the targeteers on the right and the archers on the left of their own squares; for, marching thus, they are more easily handled. 40. Next to these the camp-followers of all the army are to follow; their officers should see to it that they have everything ready packed up before they sleep,
σμένοι τε ὅσι πάντα πρὶν καθεύδειν καὶ πρὸ τὸν τοὺς σκεύεσι παρῶσιν εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην χώραν καὶ ὅπως κοσμίως ἔσονται.

41. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς σκευοφόρους, ἔφη, τοὺς Πέρσας ἱππέας Μαδάτας ὁ Πέρσης ἀγέτω, έχοι καὶ οὕτως τοὺς ἐκατοντάρχους τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐν μετώπῳ ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος τὴν τάξιν ἀγέτω εἰς ἔνα, ὥσπερ οἱ πέξαρχοι. 42. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥαμβάκας ὁ Μήδος ὀς σαύτῳς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ἐπὶ τούτοις σὺ, ὁ Τυγράνη, τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἱππικόν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἵπποι παρχοι μὲθ' ὄν ἐκαστοι ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐπὶ τούτοις Σάκαι ἀγετε ἔχαχοι δὲ, ὥσπερ ἦλθον, Καδούσιοι ἵοντων Ἀλκεύνα, σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄγων αὐτοὺς ἐπιμέλου τὸ γίνει πάντων τῶν ὀπίσθεν καὶ μηδένα ἐα ὑστερον τῶν σῶν ἱππέων γίγνεσθαι.

43. Ἐπιμέλεσθε δὲ τοῦ σιωπῆ πορεύεσθαι οἱ τε ἀρχοντες καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ σωφρονούντες διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὠνων ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἄν διὰ τῶν οὐθαλμῶν ἐκαστα καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι καὶ τὸ ταραξθῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ πολὺ μεῖζον ἐστὶ πράγμα ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ δυσκαταστατώτερον. 44. οὗ ἐνέκα ἡ τε σιωπὴ ἀσκητέα καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλακτέα.

Τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακὰς, ὅταν μέλλητε νυκτὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι, χρῆ ὡς βραχυτάτας καὶ πλείστας ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μηδένα ἡ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀγρυπνία πολλή οὐσα λυμαίνεται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἤνικα δ᾽ ἄν ὁρὰ ἡ πορεύεσθαι, σημαίνειν τῷ κέρατι. 45. ὦ μεῖσ δ᾽ ἔχοντες ἄ δει ἐκαστοι πάρ-60
and early in the morning let them be present with the baggage at the appointed place, ready to follow the march in proper order.

41. "After the camp-followers let Madatas, the Persian, bring up the Persian cavalry; let him also arrange the cavalry captains in front, and let each captain lead his company in single file, just like the infantry officers. 42. After them will come Rhambacas, the Mede, with his cavalry in the same order; after them you, Tigranes, with yours, and the rest of the cavalry officers, each with the forces with which he joined us. After them you Sacians are to fall in line; and last of all, just as they came, the Cadusians will bring up the rear; and you, Alceunas, who are their commander, for the present look out for all in the rear and do not allow any one to fall behind your horsemen.

43. "Take care to march in silence, both officers and all who are wise; for in the night there is more need to use ears than eyes to secure information and to have things done. And to be thrown into confusion in the night is a much more serious matter than in the daytime and one more difficult to remedy. 44. Therefore let silence be maintained, and let the prescribed order be preserved.

"And the night watches, whenever you are to start off before daylight, must be made as short and as numerous as possible, so that want of sleep on account of doing sentinel duty may not be serious and exhaust the men for the march. And when the hour for starting comes, let the signal be given on the horn. 45. And then do you all, with whatever
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κεστε εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνος ὁδὸν· ὁ δ’ ὀρμώ-
μενος ἀει τῷ κατ’ οὐράν παρεγγυνάτω ἔπεσθαι.

46. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὀχοῦντο ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ
ἀμα ἀπιόντες διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς μνη-
μοικῶς ὁ Κύρος ὀπόσος συνέταττε πᾶσιν 1
ὀνομάξων ἐνετέλεσε. 47. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπιμελεία
τοῦτο ἐποίει· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει θαυμαστὸν
εἶναι εἰ οἱ μὲν βάναυσοι ἴσασι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης
ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἐργαλείων τὰ ὄνόματα, καὶ ὁ ἱστρὸς
δὲ οἶδε καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων οἵς
χρήται πάντων τὰ ὄνόματα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὕτως
ἡλίθιος ἐσούτο ὅστε οὐκ ἐποίο τῶν ὕψ᾽ ἑαυτῷ
ἡγεμόνων τὰ ὄνόματα, οἱς ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν αὐτῷ
ὄργανοι χρησθαί καὶ ὅταν καταλαβεῖν τι βού-
ληται καὶ ὅταν φυλάξαι καὶ ὅταν ἱεράναι καὶ
ὅταν φοβῆσαι· καὶ τιμῆσαι δὲ ὅποτε τινὰ βού-
λοιτο, πρέπον αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὄνομαστὶ προσ-
ἀγορεύειν. 48. ἐδόκουν δ’ αὐτῷ οἱ γυνώσκεσθαι
δοκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ καλὸν τοὺς
ποιοῦντες ὀρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ὑγείσθαι καὶ τοῦ
αισχρὸν τι ποιεῖν μᾶλλον προθυμείσθαι ἀπέχε-
σθαι. 49. ἡλίθιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐδόκει εἶναι αὐτῷ
τὸ ὅποτε τι βούλοιτο πραχθῆναι, οὕτω προστά-
τειν ὁσπερ ἐν ὁικῷ ἕνοις δεσπόται προστάτοις,
Ἱτω τις ἐφ’ ὑδώρ, Ξύλα τις σχισάτως. 50. οὕτω
γὰρ προσταττομένων εἰς ἀλλήλους τε ὅραν πάντες
ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδὲς περαινεῖν τὸ προσταχθὲν
καὶ πάντες ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶναι καὶ οὐδὲς τῇ αἰτίᾳ
οὕτε αἰσχύνεσθαι οὕτε φοβεῖσθαι ὁμοίως διὰ
τὸ σὺν πολλοῖς αἰτίαν ἔχειν· διὰ ταύτα δὴ πάντας

1 τὰσιν Heindorf, Edd.; τῶς MSS.

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is necessary, step out into the road to Babylon; and let each commander, as he gets his division in motion, pass the word to the man behind him to come on."

46. Hereupon they went to their tents, and, as they went, they remarked to one another what a good memory Cyrus had and how he called every one by name as he assigned them their places and gave them their instructions. 47. Now Cyrus made a study of this; for he thought it passing strange that, while every mechanic knows the names of the tools of his trade and the physician knows the names of all the instruments and medicines he uses, the general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the officers under him; and yet he must employ them as his instruments not only whenever he wishes to capture a place or defend one, but also whenever he wishes to inspire courage or fear. And whenever Cyrus wished to honour any one, it seemed to him proper to address him by name. 48. Furthermore, it seemed to him that those who were conscious of being personally known to their general exerted themselves more to be seen doing something good and were more ready to abstain from doing anything bad. 49. And when he wanted a thing done, he thought it foolish to give orders as do some masters in their homes: "Some one go get water!" "Some one split wood!" 50. for when orders are given in that way, all, he thought, looked at one another and no one carried out the order; all were to blame, but no one felt shame or fear as he should, because he shared the blame with many. It was for this reason, therefore, that he himself spoke to every one by name to whom
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ονόμαζεν αὐτὸς ὅτῳ τι προστάττοι. 51. καὶ Κύρος μὲν δὴ περὶ τοῦτων οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκεν.
Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστήσαμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι πάντα δὲ ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν. 52. ἡμίκα δὲ ὴν ἐν μέσῳ νυκτὸς, ἐσήμην τῷ κέρατι. Κύρος δὲ εἰπὼν τῷ Χρυσάντῳ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ὑπομενοῖ έν τῷ πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔξηκε λαβὼν τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας. βραχεὶ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Χρυσάντας παρῆν ἀγων τοὺς θωρακοφόρους. 53. τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Κύρος δοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐκέλευεν ἡσύχως; οὐ γάρ πω ἐν ὁδῷ πάντες ἦσαν· 1 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐστηκὼς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ μὲν προσίστατα προπέμπετο ἐν τάξει, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν υστερίξοντα ἔστεμπε καλῶν. 54. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν, πρὸς μὲν Χρυσάνταν ἐπτέας ἔσπεψαν ἐροῦντας ὅτι ἐν ὁδῷ ὴν ἦν πάντες. Ἀγε ὁμοῦ ὴν ὴδη θάττου. 55. αὐτὸς δὲ παρελάύνων τὸν ὕππον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἡσύχως κατεβαίνο τὰς τάξεις. καὶ οὗς μὲν ἰδοι εὐτάκτως καὶ σωστῇ ἰόντας, προσελαύνων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἤν ἦροτα καὶ ἐπεὶ πῦθοιτο ἑπήμενεν εἰ δὲ τινὰς θορυβουμένους αἰσθητοῦ, τὸ αἰτίων τοῦτο ποιπῶν κατασβενύναι τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπετράτο.

56. Ἐν μόνον παραλέλειπται τῆς ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος πεζοῦς εὐξώνους οὐ πολλοὺς προὔπεμπεν, ἐφορωμένους ὑπὸ Χρυσάντα καὶ ἐφορώντας αὐτὸν, ὥς ὦτακουστοῦντες καὶ εἰ πῶς ἄλλως δύναντο αἰσθάνεσθαι τι, σημαίνοιεν τῷ Χρυσάντῃ ὃ τι ἡσύχως . . . ἡσαν χζ, Edd.; ἡσυχον ἐως ἀγγελος ἕλθοι δητί πάντες ἐν ὁδῷ γῆ.
he had any command to give. 51. Such, at least, was Cyrus's opinion about this matter.

The soldiers, however, then went to dinner, stationed sentinels, packed up everything they needed, and went to bed. 52. At midnight the signal horn sounded. Cyrus informed Chrysantas that he would wait for him on the road ahead of the army, took with him his aides-de-camp, and went on; and a short time afterward Chrysantas came up at the head of his heavy-armed soldiers. 53. To him Cyrus turned over the guides and bade him advance leisurely, for the troops were not yet all on the way. He himself took his stand by the roadside, and as the troops came on he sent them forward in their order, and to those who were late he sent a messenger to bid them hasten. 54. And when they were all on the road, he sent some horsemen to Chrysantas to say that they were now all on the way; "Now then, double quick!" 55. He himself riding his horse leisurely along to the front inspected the ranks; and to those whom he saw marching along in silence and in good order he would ride up and inquire who they were, and when he was informed he would praise them. But if he saw any in confusion, he would inquire into the cause of it and try to quiet the disorder.

56. Only one of his measures of precaution that night has been left unmentioned—namely, that he sent out in front of the main body of the army a few light-armed infantrymen to keep Chrysantas in sight and be kept in sight by him, to listen and gather information in whatever way they could, and report to Chrysantas what it seemed expedient that he
καιρὸς δοκοίη εἶναι· ἀρχῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἢν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐκόσμει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄξιον λόγον ἐσήμαινε, τὸ δὲ μὴ οὐκ ἦν χλει λέγων.

57. Τὴν μὲν δὴ νῦκτα οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπελ ὃς ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Καδουσίων ἰππεάς, ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἐόχατοι, παρά τούτους κατέλυπεν, ὡς μηδ' οὕτως ὕλοι ἰππέων ἴοιον· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν παρελαύνειν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἤσαν, ὅπως εἰ τί ποὺ ἐναντιοῦτο αὐτῷ, ἀπαντών ἔχων τὴν ἱσχύν ἐν τάξει καὶ μάχοιτο, εἰ τέ τί ποὺ φέύγον ἀφθείη, ὡς ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτου διώκοι.

58. ἤσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ τεταγμένοι οὐς τε διώκειν δέοι καὶ οὐς παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν· πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν τάξιν λυθήμει συὐδέποτε εἶα.

59. Κύρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἦστε τὸ στράτευμα· οὐ μέντοι αὐτὸς γε μὴ χῶρα ἐχρήτω, ἀλλ' ἀλλοτε ἀλλαχῆ περιελαύνων ἐφεώρα τε καὶ ἐπεμέλετο, εἰ τοῦ δέοιτο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κύρον οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο.

IV

1. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Γαδάτου ἰππικοῦ τῶν δυνατῶν τῆς ἀνδρῶν ἐπελ ἔωρα αὐτὸν ἄφεστηκότα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τί οὕτως πάθος, αὐτὸς δὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου πάντα τὰ Γαδάτου·
should know. There was also an officer in command of them who kept them in order, and what was of importance he communicated to Chrysantas, but he did not trouble him by reporting what was immaterial.

57. In this manner, therefore, they proceeded all night long; but when it became day, he left the cavalry of the Cadusians with their infantry (for these also were in the extreme rear), so that the latter might not be without the protection of cavalry; but the rest he ordered to ride up to the front, because the enemy were in front. He adopted this plan, in order that, if he happened to find any opposition, he might have his forces in fighting order to meet it, and that, if anything should be seen anywhere in flight, he might give chase with the utmost readiness.

58. He always kept drawn up in order one body of troops who were to pursue and another who were to stay with him; but he never suffered his main line to be broken.

59. Thus, then, Cyrus led his army; but he himself did not keep to the same position, but riding about, now here, now there, kept watch, and if they needed anything, he provided for it.

Thus, then, Cyrus and his army were proceeding.

IV

1. Now there was a certain man among the officers of Gadatas's cavalry who, when he saw that his prince had revolted from the Assyrian, concluded that if some misfortune were to overtake Gadatas, he might himself obtain from the Assyrian all his chief's wealth
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οὕτω δὴ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν έαυτοῦ πιστῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἰόντα, εἰ καταλάβῃ ἢ δὴ ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ τὸ Ἀσσύριον στράτευμα, λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὅτι εἰ βούλοιτο ἐνεδρεῦσαι, λάβοι ἄν Γαδάταν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. 2. δηλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο ὅσην τε εἴχεν ὁ Γαδάτας δύναμιν καὶ ὁ Κύρος ὁ συνέποιτο αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ὅδον ἐδήλωσεν ἢ προσιέναι μέλλοι. προσεπέστειλε δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέταις, ὡς πιστεύοιτο μᾶλλον, καὶ τὸ τείχος ὃ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτός ἔχων ἐν τῇ Γαδάτου χώρᾳ παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ καὶ τὰ ἐνώντα. ἦξεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὲν δύνατο, ἀποκτείνας Γαδάταν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς σὺν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσόμενος.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταχθεῖς ἔλαυνὼν ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν τάχιστα ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ ἐδήλωσεν ἐφ’ ἃ ἦκοι, ἀκούσας ἐκείνος τὸ τε χωρίον εὐθὺς παρέλαβε καὶ πολλὴν ἱππον ἔχων καὶ ἄρματα ἐνήδρευεν ἐν κώμαις ἀθρόαις.

4. Ο δὲ Γαδάτας ὡς ἐγγὺς ᾔν τούτων τῶν κωμῶν, πέμπει τινὰς προδευτητησουμένους. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὡς ἐγγὺς προσιόντας τοὺς διερευνήσας, φεύγειν κελεύει ἄρματα ἐξαναστάντα δύο ἢ τρία καὶ ἵππους ὁλίγους, ὡς δὴ φοβηθέντας καὶ ὁλίγους ὤντας. οἱ δὲ διερευνηται ὡς εἶδον ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ τε ἔδιωκον καὶ τῷ Γαδάτα κατέσειον καὶ δὲ
and power. With this in view, he sent one of his trusted friends to the Assyrian, instructing his messenger, in case he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's country, to tell their king that if he would lay an ambuscade, he would take Gadatas and his followers prisoners. 2. He furthermore commissioned him to explain how small an army Gadatas had and to make it clear that Cyrus was not with him; he also pointed out the road by which Gadatas was likely to return; and, that he might find fuller credence, he instructed his own subordinates to surrender to the Assyrian king, together with all that was in it, the fortress which he himself happened to be holding in Gadatas's country. He promised besides that he would come himself when he had slain Gadatas, if he could, but that, if he failed in the attempt, at least he would in future be on the king's side.

3. And the man who had been given this commission rode as fast as his horse could carry him; he came into the presence of the Assyrian king and made known the purpose of his coming. When the king heard it, he at once took possession of the fortress and with a large force of horse and chariots laid his ambuscade in a cluster of villages.

4. When Gadatas was not far from these villages, he sent some scouts on in advance to make a thorough search. And when the Assyrian was informed of the scouts' approach, he ordered two or three chariots and several horsemen to start up and gallop off as if they were affrighted and only a few in number. When the scouts saw that, they started in pursuit themselves and beckoned to Gadatas to come on. He, too, was deceived and started at full speed in

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ἐξαπατήθεις διώκει ἀνὰ κράτος. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ώς ἐδόκει ἀλώσιμος εἶναι ὁ Γαδάτας, ἀνίστανται ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας. 5. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γαδάταν ἰδόντες ὀσπερ εἰκός ἐφευγον, οἱ δ' αὐ ὀσπερ εἰκός ἐδίωκον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἐπιβουλευόν τῷ Γαδάτα παλεῖ αὐτόν, καὶ καιρίας μὲν πληγῆς ἀμαρτάνει, τύπτει δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ὧμον καὶ τιτρώσκει.

Ποιήσας δὲ τούτῳ ἐξίσταται, ἐὼς σὺν τοῖς διώκοντιν ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγνώσθη δὴ ἢ, ὅμοι ἡ ὁν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις προθύμοις ἐκτείνων τὸν ἱπποὺν σὺν τῷ βασιλεὶ ἐδίωκεν. 6. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἡλίσκομεν μὲν δήλων ὅτι οἱ βραδυτάτους ἦχοντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ταχιστούς. 1 ἦδη δὲ μάλα πάντες πιέζομεν διὰ τὸ κατατερύσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας οἱ τοῦ Γαδάτον ἱππεῖς καθορῶσι τοῦ Κύρου προσιόντα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· δοκεῖν δὲ χρὴ ἀσμένους καὶ ὀσπερ εἰς λιμένα ἕκ χειμωνὸς προσφέρεσθαι αὐτοῦς. 7. ο ὃς Κύρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθαύμασεν· ώς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ πράγμα, ἐὼς πάντες ἐναντίοι ἦλαυνον, ἐναντίος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τάξει ἤγε τὴν στρατιάν· ὡς δὲ γρόνες οἱ πολέμοι τὸ ὅν ἐτράποντο εἰς φυγήν, ἐνταῦθα ο Κύρος διώκειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴπετο ὡς φέτο συμφέρει. 8. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ ἀρματα ἡλίσκετο, ἐναὶ μὲν καὶ ἐκπεπτόντων τῶν ἴνων, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ἐναὶ δὲ καὶ περιτεμνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων.

1 ταχιστοῦ Cobet, most Edd.; ταχιστῶν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
pursuit. The Assyrians, in turn, when they thought Gadatas near enough to be taken, issued from their ambuscade. 5. And when Gadatas and his men saw this, they began to flee, as was natural; and the enemy, as was also natural, started in pursuit. At this juncture, the man who was plotting against Gadatas struck a blow at him but failed to inflict a mortal wound; still he smote him on the shoulder and wounded him.

When he had done this, he darted off to join the pursuing Assyrians; and when they recognized who he was, he took his place with them and urging his horse at full speed he joined with the king in the pursuit. 6. Then those who had the slowest horses were evidently being overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and just as Gadatas’s men were becoming quite exhausted, because they were already jaded and worn out by their march, they saw Cyrus coming up with his army, and one may imagine that they rushed up to them with delight, like men putting into port out of a storm. 7. At first Cyrus was surprised; but when he comprehended the situation, he continued, while the enemy were all riding against him, to lead his army in battle order against them. But the enemy, recognizing the real state of affairs, turned and fled. Thereupon Cyrus ordered those who had been detailed for that purpose to start in pursuit, while he himself followed as he thought expedient. 8. Here chariots also were captured, some because the charioteers were thrown out, a part of them from wheeling around too sharply, others for other reasons, while some were intercepted by the cavalry and
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[ήλέσκετο]. 1 καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι δὲ ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν παίσαντα Γαδάταν. 9. τῶν μὲντοι πεζῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οἱ ἔτυχον τὸ Γαδάτου χωρίον πολιορκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ τείχος κατέφυγον τὸ ἁπὸ Γαδάτου ἀποστάν, οἱ δὲ φθασάντες εἰς πόλιν τινὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου μεγάλην, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπ'ποισ καὶ τοῖς ἁρμασὶ κατέφυγεν ὁ Ἀσσύριος.

10. Κύρος μὲν δὴ διαπραξάμενος ταῦτα ἐπαναχωρεῖ εἰς τὴν Γαδάτου χώραν· καὶ προστάξας οἷς ἔδει ἀμφι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἔχειν, εὕθυς ἐπορεύετο, ὡς ἐπισκέψατο τὸν Γαδάταν πῶς ἔχων ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Γαδάτας ἑπιδεδέμενος ἦδη τὸ τραύμα ἀπαντᾷ. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κύρος ἡσθη τε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ ἵνα ἐπισκεψόμενος ὅπως ἔχεις.

11. Ἐγὼ δὲ γ', ἐφή ὁ Γαδάτας, ναί μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς σὲ ἐπαναθεασόμενος ἤτα ὅποιος τίς ποτὲ φαίνει ἵδειν ὁ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν ἔχων· ὡς τίς οὐτ' οἴδα ἔγγισέ πρῶυ ἐμοῦ δεόμενος οὔτε μὴν ὑποσχόμενος γέ μοι ταῦτα πράξειν οὔτε εὑ πεπονθὼς ὡς ἔμοι εἰς γε τὸ ἱδίον οὐδ' ὅτιον, ἀλλ' ὁτι οὐκ ἂν τοὺς φίλους ἐδοξάσασθε σοὶ τι ὑπῆρξαι, οὔτω μοι προθύμως ἐβοήθησας ὡς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἴχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοι σέσωσθαι. 12. οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὁ Κύρος, εἶ ἢν ὁλοίς ἐφυν ἔξ ἄρχῃς καὶ ἐπαιδιοποιήσα- μην, οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ ἐκτησάμην παῖδα τοιοῦτον περὶ ἐμὲ. ἐπεὶ ἄλλους τε οὐδ' παῖδας καὶ τούτον τῆς νῦν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πολὺ πλεῖο ἢδη τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πατέρα ἀνίσαστα ἢ σὲ νῦν δύνασθαι ἀνιών·

1 ἡλίσκετο, MSS., Hug; bracketed by Marchant, Gemoll.
taken. And many men were slain, and among them the man who had wounded Gadatas. 9. Of the Assyrian infantry, however, who happened to be besieging Gadatas's fortress, some fled to that fort which had been lost to Gadatas by betrayal, others had time to reach a large city of Assyria, in which the king himself with his horsemen and chariots also took refuge.

10. Now when Cyrus finished his pursuit of the enemy, he returned to Gadatas's country; and after he had given instructions to those whose duty it was to take care of the spoil, he went at once to visit Gadatas and see how his wound was. But as he was going, he was met by Gadatas with his wound already bandaged. And Cyrus was delighted at seeing him and said: "Why, I was coming to see how you were."

11. "And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was showing gratitude coming to gaze upon you again and see what you may look like, you who possess such a soul. For though I do not see what need you now have of my assistance, and though you made no promise to do this for me and have been put under no obligation whatever to me, at least no personal obligation, yet because you fancied that I had given some assistance to your friends, you have come so gallantly to my relief that at this moment, whereas by myself I am a lost man, by your goodness I am saved. 12. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such a man as once I was and had children, I doubt if I could have had a child as kind to me as you have been; for I know that this present king of Assyria, like many another son that I have known, has caused his own father much more trouble than he can now cause you."
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13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁδὲ. Ὡ Γαδάτα, ἡ πολὺ μεῖξον παρεῖς θαύμα ἐμὲ νῦν θαυμάζεις.
Καὶ τί δὴ τούτ’ ἔστιν; ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας.
"Ὅτι τοσοῦτοι μέν, ἔφη, Περσῶν ἐσπούδασαν περὶ σέ, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Μῆδων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Ἰρρκανίων, πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες Ἀρμενίων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Καδούσιων.

14. Καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπηξάτο, Ἀλλ’, ὁ Ζεῦ, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτοι πόλλοι ἀγαθὰ δοῦν οἱ θεοί, καὶ πλεῖστα τῷ αἰτῶ τοῦ καὶ τούτου τοιούτους εἴναι. ὅπως μέντοι οὗ ἐπαινεῖς τούτους, ὁ Κύρη, ξενίσωμεν καλῶς, δέχου τάδε ξένια οία ἐγὼ δούναι 1 δύναμαι.

"Αμα δὲ προσήγῃ πάμπολλα, ὅστε καὶ θύειν τῶν βουλόμενον καὶ ξενίζεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἀξίως τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων καὶ καλῶς συμβαίνω.

15. Ὡ δὲ Καδούσιως ὀπισθοφυλάκει καὶ οὐ μετέσχε τῆς διώξεως. βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λαμπρὸν τι ποιῆσαι, οὗτε ἀνακοινωσάμενος οὔτε εἰπὼν οὐδὲν Κύρῳ καταθεῖ τὴν πρὸς Βαβυλώνα χώραν. διεσπασμένοις δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν ἀπίστων ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐκ τῆς έαυτοῦ πόλεως, οἱ 2 κατέφυγε, συντυχίας μάλα συντεταγμένοιν ἐχών τὸ ἕαυτοῦ στράτευμα. 16. ὃς δ’ ἔγνω μόνους ὄντας τοὺς Καδούσιους, ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ τὸν τε ἄρχοντα τῶν Καδούσιων ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἄλλους

1 δοῦναι supplied by Laar, most Edd.; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 οἱ Dindorf, most Edd.; οὗ MSS., Breitenbach.

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13. "You fail to notice a much greater wonder, Gadatas, when you now express your wonder at me," Cyrus made reply.

"And what is that, pray?" asked Gadatas.

"That so many Persians have shown their interest in you," he answered, "and so many Medes and Hyrcanians, and all the Armenians,Sacians, and Cadusians here present."

14. "O Zeus," said Gadatas in prayer, "I pray that the gods may grant many blessings to them and most of all to him who is responsible for their being so generous toward me. But, Cyrus, in order that we may entertain handsomely these men whom you have been praising, accept as gifts of friendship these trifles, such as I can give."

At the same time he had a great many things brought out, so that any one who wished might sacrifice and that the whole army might be entertained in a manner worthy of their deeds of glory and the glorious issue.

15. The Cadusian prince had been guarding the rear and had no share in the pursuit; so, wishing to do something brilliant on his own account, he went off, without consulting Cyrus or saying anything to him, to make a foray into the country toward Babylon. And as the Cadusian cavalry were scattered, the Assyrian, returning from his city in which he had taken refuge, came suddenly upon them with his own army in battle array. 16. And when he discovered that the Cadusians were alone, he made an attack, slew the commander of the Cadusians and many
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πολλοὺς, καὶ ἵππους τινὰς λαμβάνει τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἢν ἄγοντες λείαν ἐτύγχανον ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος διώξας ἄχρι οὗ ἀσφαλεῖς φέτο εἴναι ἀπετράπτετο· οἱ δὲ Καδούσιοι ἐσώζοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀμφὶ δεῖλην οἱ πρῶτοι.

17. Κύρος δὲ ὡς ἦσθε τὸ γεγονός, ἀπήντα τε τοῖς Καδούσιοις καὶ ὄντων ἵδιοι τετρωμένους ἀναλαμβάνων τούτον μὲν ὡς Γαδάταν ἔπεμπεν, ὡς ὅπως θεραπεύοιτο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συγκατασκήνου καὶ ὅπως τάπιτηδεία ἔξουσι συνεπεμέλετο, παραλαμβάνων Περσῶν τῶν ὀμοτίμων συνεπιμελήτας, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιοῦτοι οἱ ἄγαθοι ἐπιπονεῖν ἐθέλονσιν.

18. καὶ ἀνιώμενος μέντοι ἱσχυρῶς δῆλοι ἦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δειπνοῦντων ἄνικα ὅρα ἦν, Κύρος ἐτὶ σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὐδένα ἐκὸν ἀτημέλητον παρέλειπεν, ἀλλ’ ἢ αὐτόπτης ἐφεώρα ἢ ἐξ ἀυτὸς ἐξανύτοι, πέμπων φανερὸς ἦν τοὺς θεραπεύοντας.

19. Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κηρύξας συνιέναι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τοὺς δὲ Καδούσιοις ἀπαντᾶς, ἔλεξε τοιᾶδε·

"Ἀνδρές σύμμαχοι, ἀνθρώπων τὸ γεγενημένον· τὸ γὰρ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπους ὅντας οὐδὲν οἰμαι θαυμαστῶν. ἡξοῖο γε μέντοι ἐσμὲν τοῦ γεγενημένου πράγματος τούτου ἀπολαῦσαι τι ἄγαθόν, τὸ μαθεῖν μὴ τοὺς διασπᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως. 20. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο, ἐφη, λέγω ὡς οὐ δεί ποτε καὶ ἐλάτ-
others, took some of their horses, and recovered the spoil which they happened to be carrying off. He also pursued them as far as he thought was safe and then turned back. So the survivors of the Cadusians arrived at the camp, the first of them towards evening.

17. When Cyrus found out what had happened, he went out to meet them, and if he saw any one that was wounded he received him kindly and sent him on to Gadatas, that he might receive attention; the rest he helped into their tents and saw to it that they should have provisions, taking some of the Persian peers along to help him in looking after them. For under such circumstances, the good are ready to undertake extra labour. 18. Still Cyrus was evidently very much distressed, so that, when the rest went to dinner at the usual hour, he with his aides and the surgeons did not go; for he would not wittingly leave any uncared for, but either looked after them in person, or, if he did not succeed in doing that, he showed his personal interest by sending some one to attend to them.

19. Thus they went to sleep that evening. At daybreak he made proclamation for all the Cadusians and the officers of the rest to assemble; and he addressed them as follows:

"Friends and allies, that which has happened might happen to any man; for it is not at all strange, I think, for mortal man to err. Still it is worth our while to reap some benefit from this occurrence, the lesson never to detach from our main body a force weaker than the forces of the enemy. 20. I do not mean by that that we should never go off, if circumstances require it, with a still smaller de-
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tου ἐτι μορίῳ ἰέναι, ὅπου ἄν δέη, ἡ ὑπὸν ὁ Καδοῦ-
σιος ὄχετο· ἀλλ' ἐάν τις κοινούμενος ὀρμᾶται τῷ
ἰκανῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἔστι μὲν ἀπατηθῆναι, ἔστι δὲ τῷ
ὑπομένοντι ἐξαπατήσαντι τοὺς πολέμιοις ἄλλοσσε
τρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων, ἔστι δὲ ἅλλα
παρέχοντα πράγματα τοῖς πολέμιοις τοῖς φίλοις
ἀσφάλειαν παρέχει· καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐδ' ὁ χωρίς
ἂν ἀπέσται, ἀλλ' ἐξαρτήσεται τῆς ἱσχύος· ὃ δὲ
ἀπεληλυθός μὴ ἀνακοινωσάμενος, ὅποι οὖν ἄν ᾧ,
οὔδὲν διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μόνος ἑστατεύετο.

21. Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τούτου, ἔφη, ἐὰν θείος θέλη,
ἀμυνοῦμεθα τοὺς πολέμιοις οὐκ εἰς μακράν. ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσητε, ἀξιοὶ ὑμᾶς ἐνθα τὸ
πράγμα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν θάψομεν τοὺς
τελευτήσαντας, ἅμα δὲ δεῖξομεν τοῖς πολέμιοις
ἐνθα κρατήσαι νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλους αὐτῶν
κρείττους, ἂν θείος θέλη· καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲ τὸ
χωρίον ἢδέως ὀρῶσιν ἐνθα κατέκανον ἡμῶν τοὺς
συμμάχους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀντεπεξῆσθι, καύσομεν
αὐτῶν τὰς κόμας καὶ δηώσομεν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα
μὴ ἡ ὑμᾶς ἐποίησαν ὁρῶντες εὐφραίωνται, ἀλλὰ
tὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ θεώμενοι ἀνίσονται.

22. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἅλλοι, ἔφη, ἀριστάτε ἱόντες·
ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὁ Καδοῦσιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελθόντες
ἀρχοντα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεσθε ἃπερ ὑμῖν νόμος,
ὅστις ὑμῶν ἐπιμελήσεται σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σὺν

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attachment than that with which the Cadusian prince went. But if an officer, when he starts on an expedition, communicates his intention to one that is able to bring help, he may possibly fall into a trap, but then it is equally possible for the one who remains behind to entrap the enemy and turn them away from the detached corps; or he may annoy the enemy in some other way and so secure safety for his friends; and thus even those who are at a distance will not be out of reach but will keep in touch with the main body. But the man who goes off without communicating his purpose is in the same situation, no matter where he is, as if he were carrying on a campaign alone.

21. "But in return for this, we shall ere long, God willing, have our revenge on the enemy. So, as soon as you have had luncheon, I shall lead you to the place where this befell. There we shall not only bury the dead, but, God willing, on the very spot where the enemy think they have won a victory we will show them others better than they are. We shall at least let them have no satisfaction in looking even on the place where they slaughtered our allies. If they do not come out to meet us, we shall burn their villages and ravage their country, so that they may have no joy in viewing what they did to us but may be distressed at contemplating there their own misfortunes.

22. "The rest of you, therefore, go to luncheon. But you, Cadusians, go first and elect from your own number according to your custom a new general, who shall look out for your interests with the help of the gods and of us, if you have any need of our help
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ήμων, ἧν τι προσδέχομαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἔλησθε [καὶ ἀριστήσητε],1 πέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν αἴρεθέντα.

23. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπραξαν' ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπεὶ εἶχαν γι' τὸ στράτευμα, κατέστησε εἰς τὰξιν τῶν ἵρμημένων ὑπὸ τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἐκέλευσε πλη-
σίον αὐτοῦ ἀγείν τὴν τάξιν."Οπως, ἔφη, ἂν δυνώ-
μεθα, ἀναθαρρύνωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. τὸ τὸ ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἔθαπτον μὲν τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἐδήμου δὲ τὴν χώραν. ποιήσαντες
dὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθον τάπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας
ἐχοντες πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαδάτου.

24. Ἐννοήσας δὲ ὅτι οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄφεστηκό-
tες δύνατον Βαβυλώνως κακῶς πείσονται,
ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παρῇ, οὕτως ὅσοι τε τῶν πολε-
mίων ἄφιει, τούτους ἐκέλευε λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ,
καὶ αὐτὸς κήρυκα ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα2
λέγοντα, ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἰς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν
gῆν έαν καὶ μὴ ἄδικεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος βουλοιτο
ἐάν ἐργαζέσθαι τοὺς τῶν πρὸς εαυτὸν ἄφεστηκό-
tων ἐργάτας. 25. Καίτοι, ἔφη, σὺ μὲν ἦν καὶ
dύνη κωλύειν, ὅλωσιν τινὰς κωλύεις· ὅλην γάρ
ἐστι χώρα ἡ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἄφεστηκότων· ἐγὼ δὲ
πολλὴν ἄν σοι χώραν ἔφην ἐνεργον εἶναι. εἰς δὲ
tὴν τοῦ καρποῦ κομιδὴν, ἐὰν μὲν πόλεμος ἦ, ὁ
ἐπικρατῶν οἰμαι καρπώσεται· ἐὰν δὲ εἰρήνη,
δήλουν, ἔφη, ὅτι σὺ. ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν
ὀπλα ἀνταίρηται σοὶ ἡ τῶν σῶν ἐμοὶ, τούτους,
ἔφη, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἐκάτεροι ἀμυνοῦμεθα.

1 καὶ ἀριστήσητε MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Gemoll; καὶ ἀριστήσητε after αἴρεθέντα Marchant.
2 ταῦτα Dindorf, Edd.; ταῦτα MSS.
as well; and when you have made your choice, send the man you have elected to me."

23. So they did as he bade. And when Cyrus led the army out, he assigned the man elected by the Cadusians his position and bade him lead his contingent near to himself, "in order," he said, "that we may, if we can, put new courage into your men." Thus, then, they proceeded; and when they came to the place, they buried the Cadusians and ravaged the country. And when they had done so they returned again into the land of Gadatas, bringing their supplies from the enemy's country.

24. And when he reflected that those who had gone over to him would suffer severely, as they were in the vicinity of Babylon, if he were not always at hand, he ordered those of the enemy whom he released to tell the Assyrian king (he also sent a herald to bear the same message) that he was ready to leave in peace the labourers tilling the land and to do them no harm, provided the king, on his part, would be willing to allow those farmers who had transferred their allegiance to him to work their farms. 25. "And yet," he had them say, "even if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but few; for the country of those who have come over to me is small; while the land under your dominion that I should allow to be cultivated is extensive. Then, as to the harvesting of the crops, if there is war, the victor, I suppose, will do the reaping; but if there is peace, it is evident that you will do it. If, however, any of my adherents take up arms against you, or any of yours against me, upon such we will both execute vengeance according to our ability."
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26. Ταύτα ἐπιστείλας τῷ κήρυκι ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι ὡς ἦκουσαν ταύτα, πάντα ἐποίουν πείθοντες τῶν βασιλέα συγχωρήσαι ταύτα καὶ ὅτι μικρότατον τοῦ πολέμου λιπεῖν. 27. καὶ ὁ Ἀσσύριος μέντοι εἶτε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀμοφύλων πεισθεὶς εἶτε καὶ αὐτὸς οὔτω βουληθεὶς συνήνεσε ταύτα· καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθήκαι τοῖς μὲν ἐργαζόμενοις εἰρήνην εἶναι, τοῖς δ’ ὀπλοφόροις πόλεμον.

28. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ διεπέπρακτο περὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν ὁ Κῦρος· τὰς μέντοι νομὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλουσο, ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἑπικρατεῖᾳ· τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων λείαιν ἤγον ὅπόθεν δύναντο, ὅπως εἰ ἡ στρατεία ἡδίων τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κίνδυνοι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ λαμβάνειν τάπιτη- δεία, ἡ δ’ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τροφὴ κουφοτέραν τὴν στρατείαν ἐδόκει παρέχειν.

29. Ἔπει δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἡδὴ ὁ Κῦρος ὡς ἀπιών, παρῆν ὁ Γαδάτας ἄλλα τε δώρα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῦρα φέρων καὶ ἀγῶν ὡς ἄν εἶξ οἶκον μεγάλου, καὶ ἔποιες δὲ ἤγεν πολλοὺς ἀφελόμενος τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἱππεῶν οἷς ἦπιστήκει διὰ τὴν ἔπι- βουλὴν. 30. ὡς δὲ ἐπλησίασεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδει· ὁ Κῦρε, νῦν μὲν σοι ἐγὼ ταύτα δίδωμι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν δέρ τι νόμιζε δ’, ἐφι, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τὰμὰ σὰ εἶναι· οὐτε γὰρ ἐστίν οὕτʼ ἐσται ποτὲ ὅσο ἐγὼ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ φυντὶ καταλείψω τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη, ἐφι, σὺν ἐμοὶ τελευτῶντι πᾶν ἀποσβῆναι τὸ
26. This message he entrusted to the herald and sent him away. And when the Assyrians heard it, they did everything they could to persuade the king to accept the proposal, and to leave as little of the war as possible. 27. The Assyrian king, moreover, whether because he was persuaded by his countrymen or whether he himself also wished it so, agreed to the proposal; so a covenant was made to the effect that the farmers should have peace, but the men under arms war.

28. This concession Cyrus obtained for the farming classes. But as for the herds out grazing, he ordered his friends, if they wished, to drive them in and keep them in the territory under their own control; but the enemy’s cattle they brought in as their legitimate prey from whatever quarter they could, so that the allies might be better pleased with the expedition. For the dangers were the same, even if they did not go foraging for provisions, while the burdens of war seemed lighter, if the army was to be fed at the enemy’s cost.

29. When Cyrus was making preparations to depart, Gadatas came to him and brought many gifts of every sort, as might be expected from a wealthy house, and, most important of all, he brought many horses that he had taken from horsemen of his own whom he had come to distrust on account of the conspiracy against him. 30. When he came into Cyrus’s presence he spoke as follows: “These gifts, Cyrus, I beg to offer you for the present; and do you accept them, if you have any use for them. But pray consider that everything else of mine is yours; for there is not and never can be a child of my own to whom I can leave my estates, but with my
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ἡμέτερον γένος καὶ ὄνομα. 31. καὶ τάῦτα, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρης, ὃμωμι σοὶ θεοῦς, οὐ καὶ ὅρωσι πάντα καὶ ἀκούουσι πάντα, οὔτε ἀδικοῦν οὔτε αἰσχρῶν οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπῶν οὔτε ποιήσας ἔπαθον.

Καὶ ἀμα τάῦτα λέγου κατεδάκρυσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδυνήθη πλεῖω εἰπεῖν.

32. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀκούοντα τοῦ μὲν πάθους φακτειρεῖν αὐτόν, ἔλεγε δὲ ὅδε. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους δέχομαι, ἔφη· σὲ τε γὰρ ὠφελήσω εὐνοούσ- 
τέροις δοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢ οἱ νῦν σοι εἴχον, ὡς έουκεν, ἐγώ τε οὐ δὴ πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ, τὸ Περσῶν ἰππικὸν 
θάττον ἐκπληρώσω εἰς τοὺς μυρίους ἱππέας· τὰ δ’ ἀλλα χρήματα σὺ ἀπαγαγῶν φύλαττε, ἐστ’ 
ἀν ἐμὲ ἰδῆς ἐχοντά ὡστε σοῦ μὴ ἡττάσθαι 
ἀντιδωρούμενον· εἰ δὲ πλεῖω μοι δοὺς ἀπίους 
ἡ λαμβάνοις παρ’ ἐμοῦ, μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔκ οἶδ’ 
ὅπως ἀν δυναίμην μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι.

33. Πρὸς τάῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τάῦτα 
μὲν, ἔφη, πιστεύω σοι· ὅρω γὰρ σου τοῦ τρόπου· 
φυλάττεις μὲντοι ὁρα εἰ ἐπιτήδειος εἰμι. 34. έως 
μὲν γὰρ φίλου ἦμεν τῷ Ἀσσυρίω, καλλίστη 
ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς κτήσις· τῆς 
γὰρ μεγίστης πόλεως Βαβυλῶνος ἐγγύς οὔσα 
ὅσα μὲν ὀφελεῖσθαι ἐστὶν ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως, 
τάῦτα ἀπελαύνομεν, ὡσα δὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, οὐκαδε 
δεῦρ’ ἀπίουτες τούτων ἐκποδῶν ἦμεν· νῦν δ’ ἐπεὶ 
ἐχθροὶ ἐσμέν, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπειδὰν σὺ ἀπέλθης, 
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβουλευσόμεθα καὶ ὁ ὅκος ὅλος, 
καὶ οἶμαι λυπηρῶς βιωσόμεθα ὅλως τοὺς ἔχθροὺς

1 ἰδῆς y, Edd.; εἰδῆς zz (known).
death our race and name must be altogether blotted out. 31. And by the gods, who see all things and hear all things, I swear to you, Cyrus, that it is not for anything wrong or base that I have said or done that I have suffered this affliction."

As he uttered these words he burst into tears over his lot and could say no more.

32. And Cyrus, as he listened, pitied him for his misfortune and answered him thus: "Your horses I accept; for I shall do you a service by giving them to men who are more loyal to you, it seems, than your own men who had them but now; and for myself, I shall the sooner increase my Persian cavalry to full ten thousand horse, as I have been eager this long time to do. But do you take these other things away and keep them until you see me in possession of wealth enough so that I shall not be outdone in requiting you. For if, as we part, you should give me larger gifts than you receive from me, by the gods, I do not see how I could possibly help being ashamed."

33. "Well," said Gadatas in reply, "I can trust you for that; for I know your ways. Still, bethink you whether I am in a position to keep these things safe for you. 34. For while we were friends to the Assyrian king, my father's estate seemed to me the finest in the world; for it was so near to the mighty city of Babylon that we enjoyed all the advantages of a great city but could come back home and be rid of all its rush and worry. But now that we are his enemies, it is obvious that with your departure we ourselves and our whole house shall be the victims of plots; and I think we shall lead an utterly miserable life, for we shall have our
καὶ πλησίον ἔχοντες καὶ κρείττους ἥμων αὐτῶν ὀρῶντες.

35. Τάχ' οὖν εἶποι τις ἂν. Καὶ τί δήτα σοῦ ὀυχ' οὕτως ἐνενοοὺ πρὶν ἀποστήμαι; ὅτι, ὁ Κύρη, ἡ ψυχή μου διὰ τὸ ὑβρίσθαι καὶ ὄργιζον ὀν τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον σκοποῦσα δίηγεν, ἀλλ' ἂν τοῦτο ἐκνοῦσα, ἀρά ποτὲ ἔσται ἀποτίσασθαι τὸν καὶ θεοῦς ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπως, ὅσ διατελεῖ μισῶν, ὡν ἦν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἄδική, ἀλλ' ἔαν τίνα ὑποπτεύσῃ βελτίωνα ἑαυτὸν ἐίναι. 36. τούγαρον ὁμαί αὐτὸς πονηρὸς ὁν πᾶσι πονηροτέροις ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχοις χρήσεται. ἐὰν δὲ τίς ἄρα καὶ βελτίων αὐτοῦ ψυχή, θάρρει, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρη, οὐδὲν σε δεήσει τῷ ἁγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔκεινος τούτῳ ἀρκέσαι μηχανώμενος, ἔως ἄν ἔλη τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίωνα. τού μέντοι ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν καὶ σὺν πονηροὶς ῥαδίως ὁμαί κρείττων ἐσται.

37. Ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ ἔδοξεν ἄξια ἐπιμελεῖας λέγειν καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπε, Τί οὖν, ἐφη, ὁ Γαδάτα, οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν τεῖχη φυλακῆ ἐχυρὰ ἐποιήσαμεν, ὅπως ἄν σοι σὰ ἡ χρήσησαι ἀσφάλως, ὅπως εἰς αὐτὰ ἰης. αὐτοῖς δὲ σὺν ἦμιν στρατεύει, ἴνα ἴνα οἱ θεοὶ ὀσπερ νῦν σὺν ἦμιν ωσιν, οὕτω καὶ φοβηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺν τούτοις; ὁ τε δὲ ἦδυ σοι ὀρᾶν τῶν σῶν ἡ ὀτρο συνή νυν χαῖρεις, ἐχών σὺν σαυτῷ τ' ἑαυτῷ, ὃς ἔζεσιν σαυτῷ. 1 σαυτῷ Hertlein, most Edd.; ἑαυτῷ MSS., Dindorf, Sauppe.

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enemies close at hand and see them stronger than ourselves.

35. "Perhaps, then, some one might say: 'And why, pray, did you not think of that before you revolted?' Because, Cyrus, on account of the outrage I had suffered and my consequent resentment, my soul was not looking out consistently for the safest course but was pregnant with this thought, whether it would ever be in my power to get revenge upon that enemy of gods and men, who cherishes an implacable hatred not so much toward the man who does him wrong as toward the one whom he suspects of being better than himself. 36. Therefore, since he is such a scoundrel himself, he will find no supporters but those who are worse scoundrels than himself. But if some one of them by any chance be found better than he, never fear, Cyrus, that you will have to fight that good man; but he will take care of him, scheming unceasingly until he has got rid of that man who is better than himself. But as for me, he will, I think, even with worthless fellows easily be strong enough to harass me.

37. As Cyrus heard this, it seemed to him that Gadatas said something worthy of consideration; so he answered at once: "Pray then, Gadatas," said he, "let us make the fortifications strong with garrisons and safe, that you may have confidence in their security, whenever you go into them; and then do you take the field with us yourself so that, if the gods continue on our side as they now are, he may be afraid of you, not you of him. And bring with you whatsoever of yours you like to look at or to have with you, and come. It seems to me, too, that
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γ’ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνυ χρήσιμος εἶχα, ἐγώ τε σοι ὅσα ἄν δύνωμαι πειράσομαι.

38. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνέπνευσε τε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄρ’ οὖν, ἔφη, δυναίμην ἄν συσκευασά
μένος φθάσαι πρὶν σε ἔξεναι; βούλομαι γάρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἄγειν μετ’ ἐμαυτοῦ.

Ναὶ μὰ Δ’, ἔφη, φθάσεις πρὸς τὸν ἄγειν τὰ καλά έχειν.

39. Οὕτω δὲ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀπελθὼν φῦλαξ 
μὲν τὰ τείχη σὺν Κύρῳ ἄχρωσσατο, συνεσκευά
σάτο δὲ πάντα ὕποσιος ἄν οἶκος μέγας καλῶς 
οἶκοίτο. ἦγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε πιστῶν 
οῖς ἦδετο καὶ ὃς ἠπίστευ πολλοῦς, ἀναγκάσας 
τοὺς μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄδελ
φοὺς, ὃς δεδεμένους τούτοις κατέχοι αὐτοὺς.

40. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Γαδάταν εὐθὺς ὁ Κύρος ἐν 
τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν εἶχον καὶ ὅδων φραστῆρα 
καὶ ὕδατων καὶ χίλου καὶ σιτοῦ, ὡς εἰν ἐν [τοῖς] 
ἀφθονωτάτοις στρατοπεδεύσθαι.

41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος καθεώρα τὴν 
τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πόλιν καὶ ἐδοξεὶ αὐτῷ ἡ ὅδος ἦν 
ἕως παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος φέρειν, καλέσας τὸν 
Γοββρύαν καὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ἠρώτα εἰ εἰ ἄλλη 
ὁδός, ὧστε μὴ πάνυ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἄγειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Γοββρύας εἶπε. Ἐστὶ μὲν, ὁ δέσποτα, 
καὶ πολλαὶ ὅδοι· ἀλλ’ ἔγωγ’, ἔφη, φιμαν καὶ 
βούλεσθαι ἃν σε νῦν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω τῆς πόλεως 
ἀγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἐπιδείξας αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ στρατευμά 
σου ἥδη πολὺ τέ ἐστι καὶ καλῶν: ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅτε

1 φθάσεις MSS., most Edd.; φθάσατε Hertlein, Hug.
2 τοῖς MSS.; [τοῖς] Dindorf 4, later Edd.
you would be very useful to me, and I shall try to be the same to you, as far as I can."

38. On hearing this, Gadatas breathed more freely and said: "Could I get things ready before you go? For, you see, I should like to take my mother with me."

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered, "you will have plenty of time; for I will hold back until you say it is all right."

39. Accordingly, Gadatas went away in company with Cyrus and strengthened the forts with garrisons and then packed up everything that a great house might need for comfort. And he brought with him many of his own loved and trusted friends and many also of those whom he distrusted, compelling some to bring along their wives, others their brothers and sisters, in order that he might keep them under control, when bound by such ties.

40. And from the first Cyrus kept Gadatas among those about him as he marched, to give him information in regard to roads and water, fodder and provisions, so that they might be able to camp where things were most abundant.

41. And when, as he proceeded, he came in sight of the city of Babylon and it seemed to him that the road which he was following led close by the walls, he called Gobryas and Gadatas to him and asked if there were not another road, so that they need not march right by the wall.

42. "Yes, sire," answered Gobryas; "in fact, there are many roads; but I supposed that you would surely wish to march as near to the city as possible, in order to show him that your army is now large and imposing; for even when you had a smaller
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διεξαγαγόμενος τι ἔστω, καὶ ἐθέλητο ἦμᾶς οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας· νῦν δὲ εἰ καὶ παρασκευασμένοι τῷ ἔστω, ὥσπερ πρὸς σὲ εἶπεν ὦτα παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς μαχομένος σοι, οἷό ὦτι ἤδοντι αὐτῷ τῇ σῇ δύναμιν πάλιν ἀπαρασκευότατα τὰ ἐκατούς φανεῖται.

43. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε, Δοκεῖς μοι, ὡ Γωβρύα, θαυμάζειν ὦτι ἐν ὦ μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ μείονα ἔχων στρατιὰν ἦλθον, πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος προσήγον· νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ πλείονα δύναμιν ἔχω, οὐκ ἐθέλω ὑπ’ αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἀγείν. 44. ἄλλα μὴ θαυμάζει· οὐ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστι προσάγειν τε καὶ παράγειν. προσάγονσι μὲν γὰρ πάντες οὕτω ταξάμενοι ὡς ἄν ἀριστοὶ εἶδεν μάχεσθαι [καὶ ἀπάγοντι δὲ οἱ σώφρονες ἡ ἀν ἀσφαλέστατα, οὐχ ἡ ἀν τάχιστα ἀπέλθοιεν]. 45. παρεῖναι δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἐκτεταμέναις μὲν ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ἀνειρμένοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σκευοφόροις ἐπὶ πολὺ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δεῖ προκεκαλύφθαι τοῖς ὀπλοφόροις καὶ μινδαμῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνὰ ὑπὸ λῶν τὰ σκευοφόρα φαίνεσθαι. 46. ἀνάγκη οὖν οὕτω παρενομένως ἐπὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἀσθενεῖς τὸ μάχημα τετάχθαι· εἰ οὖν βούλοιτο ἄθροί ἐκ τοῦ τείχους προπεσεῖν πη, ὅπῃ προσμίξειαν, πολὺ ἄν ἐρρωμενέστεροι συμμετοχοὶ τῶν παρίστων. 47. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρὸν παρενομένοις μακραί καὶ αἱ ἐπιβοήθειαι,

1 καὶ ἀνέλθοιη MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant.
2 ἀνειρμένοις Dindorf, recent Edd.; ἀνειρημέλοις y, Suidas, Sauppe; ἀνειρηγένσεως y2E2.
3 ἐρρωμενέστεροι: Hertlein, recent Edd.; ἐρρωμενέστερον χ, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἐρρωμενέστερον z.
force, you came right up to the very walls and he saw that we had no great numbers. So now, even if he really is to some extent prepared (for he sent word to you that he was making preparations to fight you), I am sure that, when he sees your forces, his own will again seem to him extremely ill-prepared."

43. "You seem to be surprised, Gobryas," said Cyrus in answer, "that I marched right up to the walls when I came with a much smaller army, whereas now with a larger force I am unwilling to march close up under the walls. 44. But do not be surprised; for marching up to and marching by are not the same thing. For every one leads up in the order best for fighting [and the wise also retreat in the safest possible way, and not in the quickest], 45. but an army must needs march by with the wagons in an extended line and with the rest of the baggage vans in a long train. And these must all be covered by soldiers, and the enemy must never see the baggage wagons unprotected by arms. 46. When people march in this way, therefore, they necessarily have the fighting men drawn out in a thin, weak line. If, then, the enemy should ever decide to sally out in a compact body from their walls, on whichever part they came to close quarters they would close with much greater force than those have who are marching by. 47. Then, too, those who are marching in a long column must be a long distance from their supports, while the
τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους βραχὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐγγὺς καὶ προσδραμεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν.

48. Ἡν δὲ μῆ μειὼν ἀπέχοντες παρίσιμον ἡ ἐφ' ὁσον καὶ νῦν ἐκτεταμένοι πορευόμεθα, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατόφονται ἡμῶν· ὕπο δὲ τῶν παρ
υφασμένων ὀπλῶν πᾶς ὀχλος δεινὸς φαίνεται.

49. ἦν δ' οὖν τῷ ὤντι ἐπεξίωσι πη, ἐκ πολλοῦ προορώντες αὐτοῦς οὐκ ἄν ἀπαράσκευοι λαμβανοίμεθα. μᾶλλον δέ, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, ἐφη, οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσουσιν, ὅποταν πρόσω δὲ ἄπο τοῦ τεί
χους ἀπιέναι, ἢν μὴ τῷ ὄλῳ ὑπολάβωσι τοῦ παν
τὸς κρείττους εἶναι φοβερὰ γὰρ ἡ ἀποχώρησις.

50. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπεν, ἐδοξῆ τε ὅρθως τοῖς παροῦσι λέγειν καὶ ἦγεν ὁ Γοβρύας ὅσπερ ἐκέλευσε. παραμειβομένον δὲ τῇ πάλιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀεὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἴσχυρότερον ποιούμενος ἀπεχώρει.

51. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος οὖτως ἐν ταῖς γυνο
μέναις ἡμέρας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὰ μεθόρια τῶν Ὁδόν καὶ Μήδων, ἐνθεντερ ὅρμητο, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τρία ὁντα τῶν Ὁδόν φρούρια, ἐν μὲν αὐτός τὸ ἀσθενέστατον βία προσβαλὼν ἔλαβε, τῷ δὲ δύο φρουρίῳ φοβῶν μὲν Κῦρος, πείθον δὲ Γαδάτας ἔπεισε παραδοοῦν τοὺς φυλάττοντας.

1 ὅμητο Hertlein, Edd.; ὅματο MSS.
townspeople have but a short way to go to make a
dash on a force near them and again retire.

48. "On the other hand, if we march by at a
distance from the walls not less than that at which
we are now proceeding with our long extended line,
they will have a view of our full numbers, to be
sure, but behind the fringe of arms the whole host
will look terrible. 49. Be that as it may, if they
should really make a sally at any point, we should
see them a long way off and not be caught unpre-
pared; or rather, I should say, friends, they will
not so much as make the attempt when they
have to go far from their walls, unless they judge
that the whole of their force is superior to the
whole of ours; for a retreat is a perilous thing for
them."

50. When he said this, those present agreed
that what he said was right, and Gobryas led the
way as he had directed. And as the army marched
by the city, he constantly kept the part just passing
the city the strongest, and so moved on.

51. Thus he continued his march and came in the
usual number of days to the place on the boundaries
between Media and Syria from which he had origin-
ally started. Of the three forts of the Syrians
there, Cyrus in person assaulted one, the weakest,
and took it by storm; of the other two, Cyrus, by
intimidation, brought the garrison of the one to
surrender, and Gadatas, by persuasion, that of the
other.
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V

1. Ἠπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διεπέπραξεν, πέμπει πρὸς Κναξάρην καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἢκειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅπως περὶ τῶν φρουρίων ὅπως εἰλήφηςαν βουλεύσαντο τῷ τι χρῆσαντο, καὶ ὅπως θεασάμενος τὸ στράτευμα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σύμβουλος γίγνοιτο ὅ τι δοκοί ἐκ τούτου πράττειν. Ἡκαὶ δὲ κελεύῃ, εἰπέ, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἂν ὡς ἐκείνων ιότην συστρατοπεδευσόμενος.

2. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄγγελος ὄχετο ταῦτ᾽ ἀπαγγέλων. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἁσσυρίου σκηνῆν, ἣν Κναξάρην οἱ Μῆδοι ἔξειλον, ταύτην κατασκευάσας ὡς βέλτιστα τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἣν εἶχον καὶ τῷ γυναῖκα καταγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν γυναικῶν τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ σὺν ταύτῃ τὰς μουσουργοὺς, αὐτές ἔχομεν ἠσαν Κναξάρην. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττον.

3. Ὁ δὲ πειθεῖσι πρὸς τὸν Κναξάρην ἐπεὶ ἔλεξε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ὁ Κναξάρης ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα μένειν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι οὕς μετεπέμφατο ὁ Κύρος ἦκον ἠσαν δὲ μυρίαδες τέτταρες τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. 4. ὁ ὅρων οὖν καὶ τούτους συνομένους πολλὰ τῇ Μηδικῇ, τούτων ἀν ἐδόκει ἦδιον ἀπαλλαγῆναι μάλλον ἢ ἄλλον ὁχλον εἰσδέξασθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἔρομενος τὸν Κναξάρην κατὰ τὴν Κύρου ἐπιστολῆν εἰ τῷ δέοιτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι, αὐθημε-
1. When this had been accomplished, he sent to Cyaxares and requested him to come to camp to hold a council of war concerning the disposition to be made of the forts which they had captured, and, after reviewing the army, to advise what steps he thought they ought to take next for the future conduct of the war. "But if he bids me," said he, "tell him that I would come and join camps with him."

2. Accordingly, the messenger went away to deliver this message. Meanwhile Cyrus had given orders to bring out the tent of the Assyrian king which the Medes had selected for Cyaxares, to make it ready with all kinds of furnishings, and to conduct into the women's apartments of the tent the woman and with her the music-girls, who had been selected for Cyaxares. And this was done.

3. When the envoy to Cyaxares had delivered his message, Cyaxares gave it his attention and decided that it was better for the army to stay at the frontier. And there was the more reason, for the Persians whom Cyrus had sent for had come—forty thousand bowmen and peltasts. 4. And as he saw that these were a severe drain on the Median land, it seemed to him more desirable to get rid of the present army than to admit another host. So when the officer in command of the reinforcements from Persia inquired of Cyaxares, in accordance with the instructions he had had from Cyrus, whether he had any need of his army, he said "No"; and so this general went that same day at the head of his forces.
ρόν, ἐπεὶ ἠκούσε παρόντα Κύρον, φίλοι τορος αὐτὸν ἀγων τὸ στράτευμα.

5. Ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὑπεραία σὺν τοῖς παραμείνασιν ἦπερύσι Μῆδων· ὡς δ’ ἦσθετο ὁ Κύρος προσέρτοντα αὐτῶν, λαβῶν τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν ἰππέας, πολλοὺς ἤδη ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς Μῆδους πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἄρμενιούς καὶ τοὺς Τρκανίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς εὑποτάτους τε καὶ εὐπλοτάτους ἀπήντα, ἐπιδεικνύς τῷ Κυαξάρῃ τὴν δύναμιν.

6. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ἐπεὶ εἶδε σὺν μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ πολλοὺς τε καὶ καλοὺς κάγαθος ἐπομένους, σὺν ἔνατο δὲ ὀλίγῃν τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἄξιαν θεραπείαν, ἀτιμῶν τι αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄχος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ὁ Κύρος προσήλθεν ὡς φιλήσων αὐτὸν κατὰ νόμον, ὁ Κυαξάρης κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ, ἀπεστράφη δὲ καὶ ἐφέλησε μὲν οὐ, δακρύων δὲ φανερὸς ἦν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀποστάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύεσθαι αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Κυαξάρου καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔξω ὑπὸ φοινικάς τινας, τῶν τε Μῆδων πίλων ὑποβαλέν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καθίσας αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαθίσαμεν εἶπεν ὄδε.

8. Εἰπτὲ μοι, ἐφή, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ θεῖε, τί μοι ὀργίζει καὶ τί χαλεπῶν ὀρῶν οὕτω χαλεπῶς φέρεις;

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁτι, ὦ Κύρε, δοκῶν γε δὴ ἐφ’ ὅσον ἀνθρώπων μνήμη

1 πάντας y, Edd.; παρόντας xz, Zonaras (those who were with him).
to Cyrus, for he heard that Cyrus was in that neighborhood.

5. On the following day Cyaxares set out with the Median cavalry who had stayed with him, and when Cyrus learned that he was approaching, he went out to meet him with the Persian cavalry, which was now a large body; he took with him also all the Median, Armenian, and Hyrcanian horse, and those of the rest of the allies who were the best mounted and best armed; all these he took with him by way of displaying his forces to Cyaxares. 6. But when Cyaxares saw many fine, valiant men in the company of Cyrus, while his own escort was small and of little worth, he thought it a thing dishonourable, and grief got hold on him. So when Cyrus dismounted from his horse and came up to him, intending to kiss him according to custom, Cyaxares dismounted from his horse but turned away. He refused to kiss him and could not conceal his tears.

7. Thereupon Cyrus bade all the rest withdraw and wait. And he himself caught Cyaxares by the hand, led him to the shade of some palm-trees away from the road, ordered some Median rugs to be spread for him, and begged him to be seated; then sitting down beside him, he spoke as follows:

8. "In the name of all the gods, uncle," said he, "tell me why you are angry with me; and what do you find wrong that you take it so amiss?"

"Because, Cyrus," Cyaxares then made answer, "while I am supposed to be the scion of a royal
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ἐφικνεῖται καὶ τῶν πάλαι προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς βασιλέως πεφυκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεύς νομιζό-
μενος εἶναι, ἐμαυτὸν μὲν ὅρῳ οὔτω ταπεινῶς καὶ ἀναξίως ἐλαύνοντα, σὲ δὲ τῇ ἐμή θεραπεία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μέγαν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴ παρόντα. 9. καὶ ταῦτα χαλεπῶν μὲν οἷμαι καὶ ύπὸ πολεμίων παθεῖν, πολὺ δ’, ὦ Ζεῦ, χαλεπώτερον ύφ’ ὣν ἥκιστα ἔχρην ταῦτα πεποιθέναι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
dοκῶ δεκάκις ἂν κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύναι ἤδιον ἢ
ὁφθῆναι οὔτω ταπεινῶς καὶ ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐμού
ἀμελήσαντας καὶ ἐπεγεγελώντας ἐμοί. οὐ γὰρ
ἀγνοῶ τούτο, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ σύ μοι μόνον μείζων εἰ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ δοῦλοι ἱσχυρότεροι ἐμοῦ ὑπαντη-
άζουσί μοι καὶ κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὡστε
dύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐμὲ κακῶς ἢ παθεῖν ὑπ’
ἐμοῦ.

10. Καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα λέγων πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐκρατεῖτο ύπὸ τῶν δακρύων, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Κύρον
ἐπεστάσατο ἐμπλησθῆναι δακρύων τὰ ὀμματα. ἐπισχὼν δὲ μικρὸν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ὁ Κύρος:

'Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ, Κυνάρη, οὔτε λέγεις ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὀρθῶς γνυόσκεις, εἰ σὺ τῇ ἐμῇ
παρουσίᾳ Μῆδοις κατεσκευάσθαι ὡστε ἰκανοὺς
eῖναι σὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν. 11. τὸ μέντοι σε θυμοῦ-
σθαι καὶ φοβεῖν1 αὐτοῦς οὐ2 θαυμάζω· εἰ μέντοι
γε δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς χαλεπάινεις, παρῆσο
τούτο· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι βαρέως ἂν φέροις ἄκοιν
ἐμοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ύπὲρ αὐτῶν· τὸ μέντοι ἄνδρα
ἀρχοντα πᾶσιν ἀμα χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἄρχομένοις,
tούτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα ἁμάρτημα εἶναι. ἀνάγκη

1 φοβεῖν Hug; φοβεῖσθαι xy, other Edd.; not in z.
2 οὐ MSS.; omitted by Pantazides, Hug.
father and of a line of ancestors who were kings of old as far back as the memory of man extends, and while I am called a king myself, still I see myself riding along with a mean and unworthy equipage, while you come before me great and magnificent in the eyes of my own retinue as well as the rest of your forces. 9. And this I think it a hard thing to suffer even at the enemy's hands and much harder, O Zeus, at the hands of those from whom I should least of all expect such treatment. For I think I should rather ten times sink into the earth than be seen so humiliated and see my own men disregarding me and laughing at me; for I am not ignorant of the fact not only that you are greater than I, but also that even my vassals come to meet me more powerful than I am myself and well enough equipped to do more harm to me than I can do to them."

10. And as he said this he was still more violently overcome with weeping, so that he affected Cyrus, too, till his eyes filled with tears. But after pausing for a moment Cyrus answered him as follows:

"Well, Cyaxares, in this you do not speak truly nor do you judge correctly, if you think that by my presence the Medes have been put in a position to do you harm; 11. but that you are angered and threaten them gives me no surprise. However, whether your anger against them is just or unjust, I will not stop to inquire; for I know that you would be offended to hear me speak in their defence. To me, however, it seems a serious error for a ruler to be angry with all his subjects at the same time; for, as

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γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν φοβεῖν πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ πᾶσιν ἃμα χαλεπαίνειν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ἐμβάλλειν. 12. ὃν ἔνεκα, εὐ ἵσθι, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ἄνευ ἐμαυτοῦ τούτους, φοβοῦμενος μὴ τι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν ὁ τι πάντας ἡμᾶς λυπήσοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει σοι.

Τὸ μέντοι σε νομίζειν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτο ἐγὼ πάνω χαλεπῶς φέρω, εἰ ἁσκῶν ὅσον δύναμαι τοὺς φίλους ὡς πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν ἐπειτὰ τάναντι τοῦτον δοκῶ ἔξεργάζεσθαι.

13. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἔφη, μὴ οὕτως εἰκῇ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα: ἀλλ’, εἰ δυνατόν, σαφέστατα κατίδωμεν ποιόν ἔστι τὸ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδίκημα. καὶ τὴν ἐν φίλοις δικαιοτάτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχω ὑποτίθεναι: ἐὰν γὰρ τὶ σε φανῷ κακῶν πεποιηκὼς, ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν: ἐὰν μέντοι μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακῶν πεποιηκῶς μηδὲ βουληθεῖς, οὐ καὶ σὺ αὖ ὀμολογήσεις μηδὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι;

14. Ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη.

ведите δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγαθὰ σοι πεπραξὼς δήλος ὡ καὶ προθυμοῦμενος πρᾶξαι ὡς ἐγώ, πλείστα ἐδυνάμην, οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐπαίνου σοι ἅξιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ μέμψεως;

Δίκαιον γοῦν, ἔφη.

15. Ἀγε τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, σκοπῶμεν τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένα πάντα καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστον’ οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλλον δήλον ἔσται ὁ τι τε αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν ἐστι καὶ ὁ τι κακῶν. 16. ἀρξόμεθα δ’, ἔφη, ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ καὶ σοι ἀρκοῦντος δοκεῖ

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a matter of course, threatening many makes many enemies, and being angry with all at the same time inspires them all with a common sense of wrong. 12. It was for this reason, let me assure you, that I did not let them come back without me, for I was afraid that in consequence of your anger something might happen for which we should all be sorry. With the help of the gods, therefore, you are secured against that by my presence.

"As to your supposition that you have been wronged by me—I am exceedingly sorry, if, while I have been striving to the utmost of my ability to do as much good as possible to my friends, I seem after all to be accomplishing just the opposite.

13. "But enough of this; let us not thus idly accuse one another; but, if possible, let us examine what sort of wrong it is that has come from me. I am ready to make you a proposal, the fairest that can be made between friends: if it appear that I have done you harm, I confess that I am in the wrong; but if it turn out that I have done you no harm and intended none, will you then on your part confess that you have suffered no wrong at my hands?"


"And if it is demonstrated that I have done you good and have been eager to do as much for you as I could, pray should I not deserve your praise rather than your blame?"

"That is only fair," said he.

15. "Come, then," said Cyrus, "and let us consider all that I have done, all my acts one by one; for so it will be most clearly seen what is good and what is bad. 16. And let us begin, if you think it far enough back, with my assuming this command.
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ἐχειν. σὺ γὰρ δὴποι ἐπεὶ ἤσθον πολλούς πολεμίους ἡθροισμένους, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν χώραν ὀρμωμένους, εὐθὺς ἔσπεμπτε πρὸς τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν συμμάχους αἰτούμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἵδια δεμένος πειράσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἔλθειν ἡγούμενον, εἰ τινὲς Περσῶν ἵοιεν. οὐκον¹ ἐγὼ ἐπείσθην τε ταῦτα ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ παρεγενόμην ἄνδρας ἁγῶν σοι ὡς ἦν δυνατὸν πλεῖστος τε καὶ ἀριστος τοὺς;

Ἡλθες γὰρ σοιν, ἔφη.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν, ἔφη, πρῶτον μοι ἐπὶ τότερον ἀδικίαι τινά μου πρὸς σὲ κατέγνωσή ἡ μάλλον εὐεργεσίαν;

Δήλον, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, ὦτι ἐκ γε τούτων εὐεργεσίαν.

18. Τί γὰρ, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ² οἱ πολέμιοι ἠλθον καὶ διαγωνιζομαι ἐδει πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐν τούτῳ κατενοησάς πού με ἡ πόνου ἀποστάντα ἡ τινὸς κινδύνου πεισάμενον;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή.

19. Τί γὰρ, ἐπεὶ τῆς³ νίκης γενομένης σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμετέρας καὶ ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων παρεκάλουν ἐγὼ σὲ ὅτις κοινῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς διώκομεν, κοινῇ δὲ τιμωροίμεθα, κοινῇ δὲ εἰ τὶ καλὸν κἀκαθὸν συμβαίνοι, τοῦτο καρποῦμεθα, ἐν τούτοις ἔχεις τινά μου πλεονεξίαν κατηγορήσαι;

20. ὁ μὲν δὴ Κυαξάρης πρὸς τούτο ἐσίγα: ὁ δὲ Κύρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὅτε ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρὸς

¹ οὐκον Dindorf, Hug, Breitenbach, Marchant; οὐκον MSS., Gemoll.
² ἐπεὶ Schneider, Edd.; ἐπεὶ δὴ yG; εἰπὲ z; εἰπὲ μοι x.
³ τῆς Hertlein, Gemoll; not in MSS., most Edd.

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Now, you remember, when you learned that the enemy had gathered in great numbers and that they were starting against you and your country, you at once sent to the Persian state to ask for help and to me personally to ask me to try to come myself at the head of the forces, if any of the Persians should come. Did I not comply with your request, and did I not come to you leading for your service as many and as valiant men as I could?"

"Yes," said he; "you certainly came."

17. "Well then," he answered, "tell me first whether in this you impute to me any wrong against you or do you not rather count it a benefit towards you?"

"Obviously," Cyaxares replied, "in that I see a benefit."

18. "Good, then," answered Cyrus; "and when the enemy came and we had to do battle with them, did you then see me ever shirking toil or avoiding danger?"

"No, by Zeus," said he; "I certainly did not."

19. "Furthermore, when with the help of the gods the victory was ours and the enemy retreated, when I urged you to come in order that we might together pursue them, together take vengeance upon them, and together reap the fruits of victory if any rich spoil should fall to our lot—can you charge me with any selfish purpose in that?"

20. To this Cyaxares said nothing. So Cyrus went on again: "Well, seeing that it suits you better
τούτο σιωπᾶν ἢδιόν σοι ἡ ἀποκρίνασθαι, τόδε γ', ἐφη, εἰπ' εἰ τι ἀδικεῖσθαι ἐνώμισας ὅτι ἐπεὶ σοι οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐδόκει εἰναι τὸ διώκειν, σὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφήκα τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου μετέχειν, ἵππεις δὲ τῶν σῶν συμπέμψαι μοι ἐδεόμην σοι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τούτο αἰτῶν ἢδικουν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προπαρεσχηκός ἐμαυτὸν σοι σύμμαχον, τούτ᾽ αὖ παρὰ σοῦ, ἐφη, ἐπιδεικνύσθω.

21. Ἐπεί δὲ αὖ καὶ πρὸς τούτο ἐσίγα ὁ Κυαξάρης, Ἀλλ᾽ εἴ μηδὲ τούτο, ἐφη, βούλει ἄποκρίνασθαι, οὐ δὲ τούντεύθεν λέγει εἰ τι αὖ ἢδικον ὅτι σοῦ ἀποκριναμένου ἐμοὶ ὡς οὖκ ἂν βούλοιο, εὐθυμομένους ὀρῶν Μήδους, τούτου παύσας αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύσοντας ἰέναι, εἰ τι αὖ σοι δοκῶ τούτο χαλέπων πούησαι ὅτι ἀμελῆς τοῦ ὄργιζεσθαί σοι ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ὑτούν σε ὧν ἥδη οὔτε σοὶ μείου ὅν δοῦναι οὐδὲν οὔτε ῥάν Μήδωις ἐπιταχθήναι· τὸν γὰρ βουλομένου δῆτον ἐπεσθαί ἤτησά σε δοῦναι μοι.

22. Οὐκοῦν τούτου τυχῶν παρὰ σοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τούτους πείσαιμι. ἔλθον οὖν ἐπειδον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὦς ἐπείσα τούτους ἔχων ἐπορεύμην σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αἰτίας ἄξιον νομίζεις, οὐδ' ὦ τι ἄν διδάς, ὡς ἐοικε, παρὰ σοῦ δέχεσθαι ἀναίτιον ἔστιν.

23. Οὐκοῦν ἐξωρμήσαμεν οὕτως ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξήλθομεν, τί ἢμῖν πεπραγμένον οὐ φανερόν ἔστιν; οὔ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠλωκε τῶν πολεμίων; οὐ τεθνάσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἔπει σὲ ἐλθόντων; ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ζῶντων ἐχθρῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ὄπλων

1 τούτου Stephanus, Edd.; τούτου MSS.
to be silent than to reply to this question, tell me whether you thought you were wronged in any way because, when you did not think it safe to pursue, I excused you from a share in that peril and asked you to let some of your cavalry go with me. For if I did wrong also in asking that, and that, too, when I had previously given you my own services as an ally, that is yours to prove.”

21. And as Cyaxares again said nothing, Cyrus resumed: “Well, seeing that you do not choose to answer that either, please tell me then if I did you wrong in the next step I took: when you answered that you saw that the Medes were enjoying themselves and that you would not be willing to disturb their pleasures and oblige them to go off into dangers, then, far from being angry with you for that, I asked you again for a favour than which, as I knew, nothing was less for you to grant or easier for you to require of the Medes: I asked you, as you will remember, to allow any one who would to follow me. Was there anything unfair, think you, in that?

22. “Well then, when I had obtained this concession from you, it amounted to nothing, unless I were to gain their consent. So I went to see if I could get their consent; and those whom I persuaded I took with me, by your permission, on my expedition. But if you think that deserving of blame, then, no matter what you may offer, one may not, it seems, accept it from you without blame.

23. “Thus, then, we started; and does not every one know what we did when we were gone? Did we not capture the enemy’s camp? Are not many of those who came against you slain? Aye, and of the enemy still alive many have been deprived of
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ἐστέρηνται, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων μὴν τὰ τῶν περί ταῦτα ἄγοντα τὰ σὰ πρόσθεν μὲν ὅρας τοὺς σοὺς φίλους καὶ ἔχοντας καὶ ἄγοντας, τὰ μὲν σοί, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν. 24. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον καὶ καλίστον, τὴν μὲν σὴν χώραν αὐξανομένην ὅρας, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων μειομένην. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων φρούρια ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ σὰ τὰ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτεινα συγκαταρρέντανυν τὰν τάναντια σοι προσκεχώρηκότα. τούτων δὲ εἰ τι κακὸν σοι ἢ εἰ τι μὴ ἄγαθον σοι μαθεῖν μὲν ἔγωγε βούλεσθαι οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἂν εἴπομεν. ἀκούσαι μὲν τοι ἂν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἀλλὰ λέγει δὲ τι γιγνώσκεις περὶ αὐτῶν.

25. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Κύρος οὕτως εἰπὼν ἐπικάμας· ὁ δὲ Κυνάρης ἔλεε πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε· 'Αλλ', ὁ Κύρος, ὡς μὲν ταῦτα δὲ σὺ πεποίηκας κακὰ ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως χρή λέγειν· εὐ γε μέντοι, ἐφη, ἵσθι ὅτι ταῦτα τάγαθα τοιαύτα ἐστὶν οὐδὲ πλείων φαίνεται, τοσούτως μᾶλλον ἐμὲ βαρύνει. 26. τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν, ἐφη, ἐγὼ ἄν τὴν σὴν ἐβουλώμην τῇ ἐμῇ δύναμι μείζω ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ὅραν οὕτως αὐξανομένην· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιοῦντι καλὰ, ἐμοὶ δὲ γε ἐστὶ τη ταύτα 2 ἀτιμίαν φέροντα. 27. καὶ χρῆματα οὕτως ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἢδον σοι δωρεῖσθαι ἢ παρὰ σοῦ οὕτως λαμβάνειν ὡς σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δίδως· τούτως γὰρ πλουτιζόμενος ὑπὸ

1 συγκαταρρέντα Hug; συγκυρούντα xF (happening); συγκατασταθέντα AD, Dindorf, Breitenbach (demolished); συγκατελούντα Herwerden, Marchant, Gemoll (contribution).

2 ταῦτα Schneider, Edd.; ταῦτα yz; not in x.
their arms; many others of their horses; moreover, the belongings of those who before were robbing you and carrying off your property you now see in the hands of your friends and being brought in, some for you, some for those who are under your dominion.

24. But what is most important and best of all, you see your own territory increasing, that of the enemy diminishing; you see the enemy's fortresses in your possession, and your own, which had before all fallen under the Assyrian's power, now restored again to you. Now, I do not know that I can say that I should like to learn whether any one of these results is a bad thing or whether any one is not a good thing for you, but at any rate I have no objection to listening to what you have to say. So tell me what your judgment on the question is."

25. When he had thus spoken, Cyrus ceased, and Cyaxares answered as follows: "Well, Cyrus, I do not see how any one could say that what you have done is bad; but still, let me tell you, these services of yours are of such a nature that the more numerous they appear to be, the more they burden me. 26. For as to territory, I should rather extend yours by my power than see mine thus increased by you; for to you it brings glory to do this, but to me these same things somehow bring disgrace. 27. And as for money, it would be more agreeable for me to bestow it in this way upon you than to receive it from you under such circumstances as those under which you now offer it. For in being thus enriched
σοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσθάνομαι οὐς πενέστερος γίγνο-
μαι. καὶ τοὺς γέ ἔμοις ὑπηκόους ἰδὼν μικρά
γε ἁδικομένους ύπο σοῦ ἦττον ἄν δοκῶ λυπεῖ-
σθαι ἢ νῦν ὄρων ὧτι μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασιν
ὑπὸ σοῦ. 28. εἰ δὲ σοι, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκῶ ἁγιω-
μόνως ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἀλλ' εἰς
σὲ τρέψας πάντα καταθέασαι οἶλα σοι φαίνεται.
τί γὰρ ἂν, εἰ τις κύνας, οὖς σὺ τρέφεις φυλακις
ἐνεκά σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν, τούτους θεραπεύουν
γνωριμώτεροι ἐαυτῷ ἢ σοι ποιήσειν, ἀρ' ἂν
σε εὐφράναι τούτῳ τῷ θεραπεύματι; 29. εἰ δὲ
τούτῳ σοι δοκεῖ μικρὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ κατανόησον:
εἰ τις τοὺς σὲ θεραπεύουτας, οὖς σὺ καὶ φρουρᾶς
καὶ στρατεύεις ἐνεκά κέκτησαι, τούτους οὕτω
διατιθεῖται ὡστ' ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ σοὶ βούλεσθαι
εἶναι, ἄρ' ἂν ἀνεί ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριν
αὐτῷ εἰδείης; 30. τί δὲ, ἡ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι
ἀσπαζονται τε καὶ θεραπεύουσιν οἰκείοτατα, εἰ
τις τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὕτω θεραπεύσεις
ὁπδε ὀψείν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιήσεις ἐαυτόν ἢ
σέ, ἄρ' ἂν σὲ τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ εὐφράναι;
πολλοῦ γ' ἂν οἶμαι καὶ δεόι ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδ' ὦτι
πάντων ἄν μάλιστα ἁδικοί σε τούτῳ ποιήσας.
31. Ἰνα δὲ εἰπὼ καὶ τὸ μάλιστα τῷ ἐμῷ
πάθει ἐμφερέστ, εἰ τις οὐς σὺ ἡγαγες Πέρσας οὕτω
θεραπεύσεις ὡστε αὐτῷ ἑδοὺ ἐπεσθαί ή σοί,
ἄρ' ἂν φίλον αὐτῶν νομίζως; οἶμαι μὲν οὖ, ἀλλὰ
πολεμιστερον ἂν ἢ εὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατακάνων.
32. τί δ', εἰ τις τῶν σῶν φίλων φιλοφρόνως σου
εἰπόντως λαμβάνειν ὁπόσα ἐθέλοι εἴται οὕτως
1 ἐλτα οὕτος Hug; εἴ γ; εἴτ' αὐτοὶ C; εἴτ' αὐτῶς zE, Ding-
dorf, Breitenbach, et al.; εἴτα Marchant, Gemoll.
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by you, I feel even more wherein I am made poorer. And I think I should be less displeased to see my subjects actually wronged a little by you than to see, as I do, that they have received great benefits from you. 28. But," he went on, "if it seems to you that it is unreasonable of me to take these things to heart, put yourself in my place and see in what light they appear to you. And tell me—if any one should pet your dogs, which you have been training for the protection of yourself and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you with such petting? 29. Or if that seems to you a belittling comparison, think on this: if any one were to tamper with the attendants that you kept for your body-guard and for service in war, and so dispose them that they would rather be his than yours, would you be grateful to him for such kindness? 30. Again, let us take the object that men love most and most dearly cherish—suppose some one were to court your wife and make her love him more than yourself, would such kindness give you pleasure? Far from it, I think; for I am sure that he who should be guilty of such conduct would be doing you the greatest of all injuries.

31. "But to quote an example most nearly akin to my own case—if any one should so treat the Persians whom you have brought here as to make them more glad to follow him than you, would you consider him your friend? I trow not; but you would consider him more of an enemy than if he were to slay many of them. 32. Or again, if you in your kindness of heart were to tell one of your friends to take what-
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tóúto ἀκούσας λαβὼν οἶχοιτο ἂπαντα ὡπόσα δύναιτο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν γε τοῖς σοῖς πλούτοις, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ μετρίους ἔχοις χρήσθαι, ἃρ’ ἄν δύναιο τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀμεμπτον φίλον νομίζειν;

33. Νῦν μέντοι ἔγω, ὁ Κῦρε, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ τοιαύτα ὑπὸ σοῦ δοκῶ πεπονθέναι. σὺ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λέγεις: εἰπόντος ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας ἄγειν λαβῶν ὥχου πᾶσαν μοι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐρήμου κατέληπτες: καὶ νῦν ἃ ἐλαβες τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει ἄγεις δὴ μοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν αὕτες [σὺν] τῇ ἐμῇ ρώμῃ ἔγω δὲ δοκῶ οὐδὲν συναίτιος ὁυ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρέχειν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀστερ γυνὴ εὗ ποιείν, καὶ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὑπηκόοις σὺ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνει, ἐγὼ δ’ σὺν ἄξιοις ἄρχῃς. 34. ταῦτα σοι δοκεῖ εὐεργετήματ’ εἶναι, ὁ Κῦρε; εὗ ἵσθ’ ὅτι εἰ τι ἐμοῦ ἐκήδου, οὐδὲνος ἀν οὕτω με ἀποστερεῖν ἐφυλάττων ὡς ἄξιοματος καὶ τιμῆς. τῇ γὰρ ἐμοὶ πλέον τὸ τὴν γῆν πληθύνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀτιμάξεσθαι; οὐ γὰρ τοι ἔγω Μῆδων ἡρχον διὰ τὸ κρείττων αὐτῶν πάντων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τούτους ἄξιον ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶν πάντα βελτίωνες εἶναι.

35. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβῶν εἶπε, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ θείε, εἰ τι κἀκι ὑπὸ πρὸτερον ἐξαρισάμην, καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμὼ χάρισαι δ’ ἄν δεηθῶ σου παῦσαι, ἔφη, τὸ νῦν εἶναι μεμφόμενος μοι ἐπειδὰν δὲ πεῖραν ἡμῶν λάβῃς πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς σέ, ἐὰν μὲν δὴ σοι φαίνηται τὰ υπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένα ἑπὶ τῷ σῷ

1 σὺν MSS., Hug; [σὺν] Hartmann, Gemoll.

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ever of yours he wanted, and if he, accepting your offer, should make off with everything he could and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you had not even enough left for moderate use, could you consider such a one a blameless friend?

33. "Well then, Cyrus, it seems to me that your treatment of me has been, if not that, at least something like that; for what you say is true: I told you to take those who wished to go with you, and off you went with my whole force and left me deserted. And now what you have taken with my forces you bring to me, forsooth, and with my own strength you increase my realm; and I, it seems, having no share in securing this good fortune, must submit like a mere woman to receive favours, and you are a hero in the eyes of all the world and especially of my subjects here, while I am not considered worthy of my crown.

34. Do you think that these are deeds of kindness, Cyrus? Let me tell you that if you had any regard for me, there is nothing of which you would be so careful not to rob me as my reputation and my honour. For what do I gain, if I have my realm extended wide and lose my own honour? For I was not made king of the Medes because I was more powerful than they all, but rather because they themselves accounted us to be in all things better than themselves."

35. "By the gods, uncle," said Cyrus, interrupting Cyaxares reconciled him before he had finished speaking, "if I have ever done you any favour before, please do me now the favour that I beg of you: desist from blaming me for the present, and when you have proof from us how we feel toward you, if it then appears that what I have done was done for your benefit, return
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ἀγαθῷ πεποιημένα, ἀσπαζομένου τέ μοῦ σε ἀντασπάζου με εὐεργέτην τε νόμιζε, ἐὰν δ’ ἐπὶ θάτερα, τότε μοι μέμφου.

36. Ἀλλ’ ἐσως μέντοι, ἠφι ο Κυράρης, καλῶς λέγεις: καγώ οὕτω ποιήσω.
Τι οὖν; ἠφι ο Κύρος, ἡ καὶ φιλήσω σε;
Εἰ σὺ βούλει, ἠφι.
Καὶ οὖν ἀποστρέψει με ὁσπερ ἁρτί;
Οὐκ ἀποστρέψομαι, ἠφι.
Καὶ δὲ ἐφίλησεν αὐτὸν.

37. Ἡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Μήδοι τε καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, πάσι γὰρ ἐμελεν ὁ τι ἐκ τοῦτον ἔσοιτο, εὐθύς ήσθησάν τε καὶ ἐφαιδρύνθησαν.
καὶ ὁ Κύρος δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππους ἥγουντο, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κυαξάρῃ οἱ Μήδοι εὐποντο, Κύρος γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὖτως ἐπένευσεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοῦτοι.

38. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κατέστησαν τὸν Κυαξάρην εἰς τὴν κατεσκευασμένην σκηνὴν, οἷς μὲν ἐτέτακτο παρεσκεύαζον τάπιτήθεια τῷ Κυαξάρῃ. 39. οἱ δὲ Μήδοι ὅσον χρόνον σχολὴν πρὸ δείπνου ἤγεν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἤσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν, οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ύπὸ Κύρου ἐγκέλευσαν, δῶρα ἄγοντες, ὁ μὲν τις οἰνοχοῦν καλὸν, ὁ δ’ ὕψοποιον ἅγαθόν, ὁ δ’ ἀρτοποιόν, ὁ δὲ μουσουργόν, ὁ δ’ ἐκπώμα,1 ὁ δ’ ἐσθήτα καλήν πᾶς δὲ τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐν γέ τι ὁν εἰλήφη ἐδωρεῖτο αὐτῷ. 40. ὡστε τὸν Κυαξάρην μετα-

1 δ’ ἐκπώμα Hug; δ’ ἐκπώματα, δ’ ἐκπώμα Hug; Marchant, Gemoll;
oi δ’ ἐκπώματα zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Sauppe, et al.
my greeting when I greet you and consider me your benefactor; but if it seems the other way, then blame me."

36. "Well," said Cyaxares, "perhaps you are right after all; I will do so."

"Say then," said Cyrus, "may I kiss you, too?"
"If you please," said the other.
"And you will not turn away from me, as you did a little while ago?"
"No," said he.
So he kissed him.

37. And when the Medes and the Persians and the rest saw that, for they were all concerned to see what the outcome would be, they were satisfied and glad. Then Cyrus and Cyaxares mounted their horses and led the way, and the Medes followed after Cyaxares (for Cyrus gave them a nod so to do), the Persians fell in behind Cyrus, and the rest behind them.

38. And when they came to the camp and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that had been made ready for him, they who had been detailed to do so supplied him with what he needed; 39. and as long as he had leisure before dinner, Cyaxares received calls from the Medes; some of them came of their own accord, but most of them went at the suggestion of Cyrus, taking presents with them—the one a handsome cup-bearer, another a fine cook, another a baker, another a musician, another a cup, another fine raiment; and every one of them, as a rule, presented him with at least one of the things that he had himself taken, 40. so that Cyaxares changed
41. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δείχνου ὃρα ἦν, καλέσας ὁ Κυαξάρης ἥξιον τὸν Κύρον διὰ χρόνου ἴδων ἀυτῶν συνδείπνευν. ὦ δὲ Κύρος ἔφη, Μὴ δὴ σὺ κέλευε, ὦ Κυαξάρη. ἢ οὐχ ὥρας ὅτι οὕτως οἱ παροίτες ύπ' ἡμῶν πάντες ἐπαιρόμενοι πάρεισιν; οὐκ οὖν καλῶς ἂν πράττοιμι εἰ τούτων ἀμελών τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονὴν θεραπεύειν δοκοίην. ὡμελεῖσθαι δὲ δοκοῦντες στρατιώται οἱ μὲν ἁγαθοὶ πολὺ ἀθυμότεροι γίγνονται, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ πολὺ ύβριστότεροι.

42. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὅδιν μακρὰν ἡκὼν δείπνει ἦδη καὶ εἰ τινὲς σε τιμῶσιν, ἀντασπάζοι καὶ εὐώχει αὐτοὺς, ἵνα σε καὶ θαρρησώσωσιν. ἔγω δ' ἄπιῶν ἔφ' ἀπερ λέγω τρέφομαι. 43. αὐριον δ', ἔφη, πρὸ δεύρ' ἐπὶ τὰς σὰς θύρας παρέσονται οἱ ἐπικάλροι, ὅπως βουλευσώμεθα πάντες σὺν σοι ὃ τι χρή ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦτο. σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐμβαλε βουλήν 2 παρὼν περὶ τούτων πότερον ἐτὶ δοκεῖ 3 στρατεύεσθαι ἢ καιρὸς ἢδη διαλύειν τὴν στρατιάν.

44. Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης ἀμφι δείχνου εἰχείς, ὁ δὲ Κύρος συλλέξας τοὺς ἰκανώτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ συμπράττειν, εἰ τι δέοι, ἔλεξε τούδε.

'Ἀνδρές φίλοι, ὃ μὲν δὴ πρότατα ἡνεχόμεθα, πάρεστι σὺν θεοῖς. ὅπη γὰρ ἄν πορευόμεθα, κρατοῦμεν τῆς χώρας: καὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους

1 ἴδων Bothe, most Edd.; ἴδοντα MSS., Dindorf.
2 βουλήν supplied by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS. or earlier Edd. 3 δοκεῖ Ed. Junt., Edd.; δοκεῖς MSS.
his mind and realized that Cyrus was not alienating their affections from him and that the Medes were no less attentive to him than before.

41. And when the hour for dinner came, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus and asked him, as he had not seen him for a long time, to dine with him. But Cyrus answered: "Please, Cyaxares, do not ask me. Do you not see that all these who are here are here at our instance? I should not be doing right, then, if I should let them get the impression that I was neglecting them and pursuing my own pleasure. For when soldiers think they are being neglected, the good ones become much more despondent and the bad much more presuming. 42. But do you now go to dinner, especially as you have come a long way; and if any come to pay their respects to you, do you greet them kindly and entertain them well, so that they may feel confidence toward you also. For my part, I must go and attend to those matters of which I have been speaking to you. 43. And tomorrow morning my staff-officers will come with me to your headquarters, in order that we may all consult with you about what we should do next. Do you then and there lay before us the question whether it seems best to continue the campaign or whether it is now time to disband the armies."

44. After this Cyaxares attended to his dinner, while Cyrus collected those of his friends who were most able to think and to co-operate with him when occasion demanded, and addressed them as follows:

"My friends, with the help of the gods we have, you see, all that we prayed for at the first. For wherever we go, we are masters of the country. What is more, we see the enemy reduced, and our-
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ὁρῶμεν μειονμένους, ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πλείονάς τε καὶ ἑχυρωτέρους γιγνομένους. 45. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐθελήσειν οἱ νῦν προσηγεγενημένοι σύμμαχοι παραμείναι, πολλῶν ἀν μᾶλλον ἀνύσαι δυνάμεθα καὶ εἰ τι βιάσασθαι καιρὸς καὶ εἰ τι πεῖσαι δέοι. ὅπως οὖν τὸ μένειν ὡς πλείστοις συνδοκῆ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τούτῳ ἐμὸν ἔργον ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερον μηχανάσθαι, 46. ἀλλ’ ὃσπερ καὶ ὅταν μάχεσθαι δέχομεν, ὁ πλείστως χειρωσάμενος ἀλκιμώτατος δοξάζεται εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ὅταν πεῖσαι δέχομεν, ὁ πλείστως ὁμογνώμων ἡμῖν ποιήσας οὕτως δικαίως ἄν λεκτικώτατος τε καὶ πρακτικώτατος κρινοῦτο ἄν εἶναι. 47. μὴ μέντοι ὡς λόγον ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξόμενοι οἶον ἀν εἴπητε πρὸς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν τούτῳ μελετᾶτε. ἀλλ’ ὡς τοὺς πεπεισμένους ὡφ’ ἐκάστου δήλους ἐσομένους οἷς ἄν πράττοσιν οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε. 48. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἔφη, τούτων ἐπιμέλεσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντες τάπιτηδεία ὁσοῦ ἄν ἔγωγε δύνωμαι οἱ στρατεύωσι περὶ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι βουλεύωνται τούτῳ πειράσομαι ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

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selves increased in both numbers and strength. 45. Now, if the allies we have gained would only stay on with us, we should be able to accomplish much more both by force, when occasion calls for it, and by persuasion, when that is needed; and it is not my business a whit more than it is yours to see to it that as many of the allies as possible agree to stay; 46. but just as, when we are called upon to fight, the one who conquers the greatest number has the glory of being considered the most valorous, so also when we are called upon to use persuasion, he that converts the greatest number to our opinion would justly be accounted at once the most eloquent and the most efficient. 47. Do not, however, aim at displaying to us the arguments that you will address to each one of them, but set to work with the feeling that those who are persuaded by any one of you will show what they are by what they do. 48. Do you, therefore, see to this. And I, for my part, will try to see to it, as far as I can, that the soldiers are supplied with all that they need, while they are deliberating about going on with the campaign.”
BOOK VI

ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT BATTLE
Ζ

I

1. Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω διαγαγόντες καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἀνεπαύνοντο. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραῖα προὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς Κυνάρους θύρας πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἦσιν οὖν οἱ Κυνάρες ἐκοσμεῖτο, ἀκούον ὅτι πολὺς ὁχλὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις εἶχ, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ προσήγον οἱ μὲν Καδοῦσίους δεομένους αὐτοῦ μένειν, οἱ δὲ Τρκανίους, ὁ δὲ τὶς Σάκας, ὁ δὲ τὶς καὶ Γωβρύν. ὁ Τστάσπας δὲ Γαδάταν τὸν εὐνοῦχον προσήγε, δεόμενον τοῦ Κύρου μένειν. 2. ἔνθα δὴ ο Κύρος γυγνώσκων ὅτι Γαδάτας πάλαι ἀπωλόλει τῷ φόβῳ μὴ λυθείῃ ἡ στρατιά, ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ὡ Γαδάτα, δῆλος εἰ, ἐφη, ὑπὸ Ὡ Τστάσπου τοῦ δὲ πεπεισμένου ταῦτα γυγνώσκειν ἄ λέγεις. 3. καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνατείνως τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὡ Τστάσπου πεισθεὶς ταῦτα γυγνώσκειν. ἀλλ’ οἶδα, ἐφη, ὅτι ἡ μεῖς ἀπέλθητε, ἔρρει τὰμὰ παντελῶς. διὰ ταῦτ’, ἐφη, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς
BOOK VI

I

1. After spending that day in the manner described, they dined and went to rest. Early on the following morning all the allies came to Cyaxares's headquarters. So while Cyaxares was attiring himself (for he heard that there was a large concourse of people at his doors), various friends were presenting the allies to Cyrus. One group brought the Cadusians, who begged him to stay; another, the Hyrcanians; some one brought forward the Sacians, and some one else, Gobryas; Hystaspas presented Gadatas, the eunuch, and he also begged Cyrus to remain. 2. Then Cyrus, though he realized that Gadatas had for some time been frightened almost to death for fear the army should be disbanded, laughing said: "It is clear, Gadatas, that Hystaspas here has been instigating you to the ideas that you have been expressing." 3. And Gadatas lifting up his hands toward heaven declared on his oath that he had not been influenced by Hystaspas to entertain those feelings. "But I know," said he, "that if you and your men go away, it is all over with me. For this reason, I introduced the subject with him
Διελεγόμην, ἐρωτῶν εἰ εἰδεὶς τῇ ἐν ψυχής τῶν στρατεύματος ποιεῖν. {1}

4. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀδίκως ἅρα ἤγας ὡς Τστάσπας τόνδε ἑκατοντάωμα.

Ἀδίκως μέντοι νη Δλ', ἔφη ὁ Ὅς Τστάσπας, ὁ Κύρε. ἤγας γὰρ ἔλεγον τῷ Γαδάτα τῶς τοσοῦτον μόνον ὡς οὖν οὖν τῇ σοι εἰς στρατεύεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σε μετατέμπεται.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, Τί λέγεις; ἔφη τὸν τούτο ἐτόλμησας ἐξενεγκεῖν, εἰτ' ἤγα ἐβουλόμην εἰτε μή.

Ναὶ μᾶ Δλ', ἔφη ὁ Ὅς γὰρ σε ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντα ἐν Πέρσαις περίβλεπτον περιελθεῖν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξαςοι ἡ ἑκαστα διεπράξεω.

Ὅ δὲ Κύρος ἔφη, Σὺ δ' οὖν ἐπιθυμεῖς οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν;

Ὅ μᾶ Δλ', ἔφη, ὁ Ὅς Τστάσπας, οὐδ' ἅπειμί γε, ἀλλὰ μένων στρατηγήσως, ἔως ἀν ποιήσω Γαδάταν τοὐτον τοῦ Ἀσανθίου δεσπότην.

6. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἑπαξιοῦν σπουδὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κυαξρής σεμνῶς κεκοσμημένος ἐξήλθε καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου Μηδικοῦ ἑκαθέξετο. ὡς δὲ πάντες συνήλθον οὖς ἐδεί καὶ σωπὴ ἐγένετο, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐλέξαν ὅτε ὁ Ἀνδρέας σύμμαχοι, ἤσως, ἐπειδὴ παρῶν τυγχάνω καὶ πρεσβυτερὸς εἰμι Κύρου, εἰκὸς ἀρχεῖν με λόγου. νῦν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι εἰναι καιρὸς περὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον διαλέγεσθαι

1 ὑπὲρ . . . στρατεύματος MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

2 Ὅς Τστάσπας τόνδε Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Ὅς Τστάσπας τοῦ δε χειβε, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein; Ὅς Τστάσπας ο. 122
of my own accord, asking him if he knew what it was your intention to do with reference to disbanding the army."

4. "I was wrong, then, as it seems," said Cyrus, "in accusing our friend Hystaspas."

"Aye, by Zeus, Cyrus, you were indeed," said Hystaspas. "For I was only remarking to our friend Gadatas that it was not possible for you to go on with the campaign; for I told him that your father was sending for you."

5. "What do you mean?" said Cyrus. "Did you dare to let that get out, whether I would or no?"

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered; "for I observe that you are exceedingly anxious to go around in Persia the cynosure of all eyes, and to parade before your father the way you have managed everything here."

"And do not you wish to go home yourself?" asked Cyrus.

"No, by Zeus," said Hystaspas; "and I am not going either; but I shall stay here and be general, until I have made our friend Gadatas master of the Assyrian."

6. Thus half-seriously did they jest with one another.

Meantime, Cyaxares came out in gorgeous attire and seated himself on a Median throne. And when all whose presence was required had assembled and silence prevailed, Cyaxares addressed them as follows: "Friends and allies, since I happen to be here and am older than Cyrus, it is perhaps proper for me to open the conference. To begin with, this seems to me to be an opportune time for us to discuss the
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πότερον στρατεύεσθαι καίρος 1 ετὶ δοκεῖ [εἰναι] 2 ἡ διαλύειν ἡδη τὴν στρατιὰν. λεγέτω οὖν τις, ἐφη, περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἦγενοσκεῖ.

7. Ἐκ τοῦτον πρῶτος μὲν εἴπεν ὁ 'Τρκάνιος, Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ἔγωγε εἰ τι δεὶ λόγων ὅπως αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δείκνυσι τὸ κράτιστον. πάντες γὰρ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὅμοι μὲν ὄντες 3 πλείω κακὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιούμεν ἢ πάσχομεν ὄτε δὲ χωρίς ἥμεν ἀλλήλων, ἐκεῖνοι ἥμιν ἔχοντο ώσ ἐκεῖνοι ἤν ἢ διεστῶν, ἥμιν γε μὴν ὡς χαλεπῶτατον.

8. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Καδούσιος εἶπεν, Ὡμεῖς δὲ τί ἄν λέγουμεν, ἔφη, περὶ τοῦ οὐκαδε ἀπελθόντες ἐκαστοῦ χωρὶς εἶναι, ὅποτε γε οὐδὲ στρατευομένους, ώς εὐκεί, χωρίζεσθαι συμφέρει; Ὡμεῖς γοῦν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλῆθους στρατευομένου δίκην ἔδομεν ὡς καὶ Ὡμεῖς ἐπίστασθε.

9. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ποτε φήσας εἶναι Κύρου συγγενῆς ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ἔγω δ', ἔφη, ὁ Κναξάρη, τοσοῦτον διαφέρομαι τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγουσιν: οὕτωι μὲν γὰρ φασίν ὅτι δεὶ μένονται στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγω δὲ λέγω ὅτι οὕτωι μὲν οἰκοὶ ἢν, ἐστρατεύομην. 10. καὶ γὰρ ἐβοήθουν πολλάκις τῶν ἁμετέρων ἀγομένων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁμετέρων φρουρίων ὡς ἐπιβουλευομένων πολλάκις πράγματα εἶχον φοβοῦμενός τε καὶ φρουρῶν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραττον τὰ οἴκειά δαπανῶν. νῦν δ' ἔχομεν 4 τὰ ἐκείνων φρούρια, οὐ φοβοῦμαι δὲ ἐκείνως, εὐωδοῦμεν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ πίνω τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

1 καίρος xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; not in F; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 εἰναι MSS.; [εἰναι] Dindorf, Edd.
3 μὲν ὄντες Jacobs, Edd.; μένοντες MSS.; μὲν μένοντες D.
4 ἔχομεν E; ἔχο μὲν C; ἔχομεν F; ἔχω μὲν zV, most Edd.

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question whether it is desirable to continue our campaign longer or at once to disband the armies. Any one, therefore, may express his opinion in regard to this question.”

7. Thereupon the Hyrcanian was the first to speak: “Friends and comrades, I, for my part, cannot see what is the use of words, when the facts themselves point out the best course to follow. For we all know that when we are together, we do the enemy more harm than they do us; whereas as long as we were apart, they treated us as was most agreeable to them and most disagreeable to us.”

8. After him the Cadusian spoke: “Why,” said he, “should we talk about going back home and being separated from one another, since not even in the field, so it seems, is it well for us to get separated? At any rate, we not long ago went off on an expedition apart from your main body and paid for it, as you also know.”

9. After him Artabazus, the one who once claimed to be a kinsman of Cyrus, made the following speech: “In one point, Cyaxares, I beg to differ from the previous speakers: they say that we must stay here and carry on the war; but I say that it was when I was at home that I was carrying on wars. 10. And I say truly; for I often had to go to the rescue when our property was being carried off; and when our fortresses were threatened, I often had trouble to defend them; I lived in constant fear and was kept continually on guard. And I fared thus at my own expense. But now we are in possession of their forts; I am in fear of them no longer; I revel in the good things of the enemy and drink what is
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ὡς οὖν τὰ μὲν οίκοι στρατεύαν οὖσαν, τάδε δὲ ἐφορτήν, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ δοκεῖ, ἐφη, διαλύειν τήμηδε τὴν πανήγυριν.

11. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν, Ἔγω δ', ὁ ἄνδρας σύμμαχοι, μέχρι μὲν τούδε ἐπταινό τὴν Κύρου δεξιάν. οὔδεν γὰρ ψεύδεται ὃν ὑπέσχετο· εἰ δ' ἀπεισιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀσ- σύριος ἀναπνεύσεται, 1 οὐ τίνων ποινᾶς δὲν τε ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀδικεῖν καὶ ὃν ἐμὲ ἐποίησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνῳ πάλιν δῶσω δίκην ὅτι ὑμῖν φίλος ἐγενόμην.

12. Ἐπὶ τούτων πᾶσι Κύρου εἶπεν, Ὁ ἄνδρας, οὔτε ἐμὲ λανθάνει ὅτι ἐδὼ μὲν διαλύσωμεν τὸ στρά- τευμα, τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἀσθενέστερα γίγνοντ' ἀν, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πάλιν αὐξήσεται. ὅσοι τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅπλα ἀφῄρηται, ταχύν ἄλλα ποιήσον- ται· ὅσοι τε ὑπόσκεις ἀπεσέρηται, ταχύ\\u03b1 πάλιν ἄλλους ὑπόσκεις κτῆσονται· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἄποθα- νότων ἔτεροι ἐφηβήσοντοι [καὶ ἐπιγενάσονται]. 2 ὥστε οὖδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πάνυ ἐν τάχει πάλιν ἥμων πράγματα παρέχειν δυνάσθωσαν.

13. Τῇ δὴ ἐγώ Κυαξάρην ἐκέλευσα λόγον ἐμβαλείν περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς στρατιᾶς; εὖ ἵστε ὅτι φοβοῦμεν τὸ μέλλον. ὅρω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους προσιόντας οἷς ἡμεῖς, εἰ ὅδε στρα- τευσόμεθα, οὐ δυνησόμεθα μάχεσθαι. 14. προσ- ἐρχεται μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ χειμῶν, στέγαι δὲ εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἀυτοῖς εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ μὰ Δῆ ὑπὸς οὔδε

1 ἀναπνεύσεται: Hertlein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀναπνεύσεται MSS., earlier Edd.
2 καὶ ἐπιγενήθησονται MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Schneider, later Edd.

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Therefore, as life at home was warfare, while life here is a feast, I do not care to have this festal gathering break up."

11. After him Gobryas spoke: "Friends and comrades, up to the present time I have only praise for Cyrus's faithfulness; for he has not proved untrue in anything that he has promised. But if he leaves the country now, it is evident that the Assyrian will take new heart without having to pay any penalty for the wrongs he has attempted to do us all and for those which he has done me; and I, in my turn, shall pay to him the penalty for having been your friend."

12. Last of all Cyrus spoke: "I, too, am not unaware, my friends, that if we disband the army, our own situation would become weaker, while the enemy will again gather force. For as many of them as have been deprived of their arms will soon have new ones made, and as many as have been deprived of their horses will soon again procure others, while in place of those who have been killed others will have grown to young manhood to take their places. And so it will not be at all surprising, if in a very short time they are able again to give us trouble.

13. "Why then do you suppose I suggested to Cyaxares to bring up the question of disbanding the army? Let me tell you; it was because I feared for the future; for I see foes advancing against us that we shall never be able to cope with, if we go on campaigning in our present fashion. 14. For winter is coming, you know; and even granting that we have shelter for ourselves, still, by Zeus, there will
θεράπουσιν οὐδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅν ἀνευ ἡμέις οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα στρατεύεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ὅπου μὲν ἡμέις ἐληλύθαμεν ὡς ἦμῶν ἀνήλωται· ὅποι δὲ μὴ ἀφύγημεθα, διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι ἀνακεκομοσμένοι εἰσίν εἰς ἐρύματα, ὡστε αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ταῦτα μὴ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν. 15. τὸς οὖν οὕτως ἁγαθὸς ἢ τὸς οὕτως ἱσχυρὸς δὲ λυμῷ καὶ ρίγυι δύναι τὸν μαχόμενον στρατεύεσθαι; εἰ μὲν οὖν οὗτος στρατευσόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν φημι χρῆναι ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς καταλῦσαι τὴν στρατιὰν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκοντα ὡς ἁμηχανίας ἐξελαθήναι. εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ἐτί στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ὡς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων ὅχυρων ὡς πλείστα παραρεῖν, ἡμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς πλεῖστα ὅχυρα ποιεῖσθαι· εὰν γὰρ ταύτα γένηται, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια πλεῖον ἐξουσιοῦσιν ὅπότεροι ἢ τὸ πλεῖον δύνωνται λαβόντες ἀποτίθεσθαι, πολιορκήσονται δὲ ὅπότεροι ἢ ἡττος ὡςι. 16. νῦν δ' οὖδὲν διαφέρομεν τῶν ἐν τῷ πελάγει πλεούσης· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πλέουσι μὲν ἂεί, τὸ δὲ πεπλευσμένον οὐδὲν ὁκείοτερον τοῦ ἄπλευστον καταλείπουσιν. εὰν δὲ φρούρια ἡμῖν γένηται, ταῦτα δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀλλοτριώσει τὴν χώραν, ἡμῖν δ' ὡς εὐτίκεια εἰς τὸν πάντη ἔσται. 17. "Ο δ' ἵσως ἂν τινες ὑμῶν φοβηθεῖεν, εἴ δεσσει πόρρω τῆς εαυτῶν φρουρεῖν, μηδέν τούτο ὁκνήσῃτε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπείπερ καὶ ὡς οἰκοθεν ἀποδημούμεν, φρουρῆσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία τῶν πολεμίων, ὡμεῖς δὲ τὰ πρόσ-
be none for our horses or for our attendants or for the rank and file of the army; and without them we could not carry on the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, we have consumed; and where we have not gone, the people out of fear of us have conveyed them into their strongholds, so that they have them themselves, and we cannot get them.

15. Who then is so valiant and so strong that he can prosecute a war while battling against hunger and cold? If, therefore, we propose to go on with the war as we have been doing, I maintain that we ought of our own free will to disband the army, rather than against our will to be driven out of the country by lack of means. But if we wish to go on with the war, this I say we must do: we must try as quickly as we may to get possession of as many as possible of their forts and build for ourselves as many as we can. For, if this is done, that side will have more provisions which is able to get and store up more, and those will be in a state of siege who are weaker.

16. As we are, we are not at all different from those who sail the seas: they keep on sailing continually, but they leave the waters over which they have sailed no more their own than those over which they have not sailed. But if we get fortresses, these will alienate the country from the enemy while everything will be smooth sailing for us.

17. "But perhaps some of you may fear that you will possibly have to do garrison duty far from your own country. You need have no hesitation on that score. For since we are far from home in any event, we will take it upon ourselves to do the garrison duty for you in the places nearest to the enemy; but those parts of Assyria which are on your
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όρα ύμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐκεῖνα κτάσθε καὶ ἐργάζεσθε. 18. ἐὰν γὰρ Ἦμεις τὰ πλῆσιον 1 αὐτῶν φρουροῦντες δυνάμεθα σώζεσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ὑμεῖς εἰρήνῃ ἔσεσθε οἱ τὰ πρόσω αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι δυνὴν συναντᾷν τῶν ἐγγύς ἑαυτῶν ὄντων ἀμελοῦντες τοῖς πρόσω ύμῖν ἐπιβουλεῦεν.

19. 'Ως δὲ ταῦτ' ἔρρηθη, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνιστάμενοι συμπροθυμήσεσθαι ταῦτ' ἔφασαν καὶ Κυαξάρης. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ τεῖχος ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, ἡν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τείχεῖσθαι ἔφασαν, ὡστε καὶ ταῦτα φίλια τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπάρχειν.

20. Ὅτι οὖν Κύρος ἐπεί πάντας ἐώρα προθύμων ὄντας πράττειν ὡσα ἔλεγε, τέλος εἶπεν. Εἰ τοῖνυν περαιῶνες βουλόμεθα ὡσα φαμὲν χρήναι ποιεῖν, ὡς τάχιστ' ἄν δέοι γενέσθαι μηχανᾶς μὲν εἰς τὸ καθαρεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων τείχη, τέκτονας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ὀχυρὰ πυρροῦσθαι.

21. Ἐκ τούτου ὑπέσχετο ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης μηχανῆν αὐτὸς ποιησάμενοι παρέξειν, ἀλλὰν δὲ Γαδάτας καὶ Γωβρύας, ἀλλὰν δὲ Τυγράνης· αὐτὸς δὲ Κύρος ἔφη δύο πειράσεσθαι ποιήσασθαι. 22. ἐπεί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἐπορίζοντο μὲν μηχανοποιοῦσι, παρεσκευάζοντο δ᾽ ἐκαστοί εἰς τὰς μηχανὰς ὅν ἔδει· ἄνδρας δ᾽ ἐπέστησαν οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδείωτατοι εἶναι ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἔχειν.

23. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεί ἔγνω ὅτι διατρίβῃ ἔσται ἀμφὶ ταῦτα, ἐκάθισε τὸ στράτευμα ἐνθα φέτο

1 πλησιον y, Edd.; πλέω xz V (the greater part).
own borders—do you take possession of them and cultivate them. 18. For if we can safely guard what is near the enemy, you will enjoy a plenitude of peace in possession of the regions far away from them; for they, I trow, will not be able to neglect those who are close to them, while they lay schemes against those who are far away."

19. After these speeches all the rest, and Cyaxares with them, stood up and declared that they would be glad to co-operate with him in these plans. And Gadatas and Gobryas said that if the allies would permit them, they would each of them build a fortress, so that the allies should have these also on their side.

20. Accordingly, when Cyrus saw that all were ready to do whatever he suggested, he finally said: "Well then, if we wish to put into execution what we say we ought to do, we should as soon as possible procure siege-engines to demolish the enemy's forts, and builders to erect strong towers for our own defence."

21. Hereupon Cyaxares promised to have an engine made at his own expense and to put it at their disposal, Gadatas and Gobryas promised another, and Tigranes a third; Cyrus said that he would himself try to furnish two. 22. When this had been agreed upon, they set to work to procure engine-builders and to furnish whatever was needed for the construction of the engines; and they put in charge of it men whom they considered most competent to attend to this work.

23. Since Cyrus realized that a long time would be required for the execution of these designs, he encamped with his army in a place which he thought...
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υγιεινότατον εἶναι καὶ εὐπροσοδώτατον ὡσα ἐδεί προσκομίζεσθαι: ὡσα τε ἐρυμνότητος προσεδεῖτο, ἐποιήσατο, ὡς ἐν ἀσφαλεί τι ἀεὶ μένοντες εἶνεν, εἰ ποτὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἱσχύι ἀποστρατοπεδεύοιτο.

24. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐρωτῶν ὡς ὅτε μάλιστα εἰδέναι τὴν χώραν ὅποθεν ἄν ὡς πλεῖστα ὥφελοι
to τὸ στράτευμα, ἔξηγεν ἀεὶ εἰς προνομάς, ἀμα ἡ ὅπως ὡς τὴν πλεῖστα λαμβάνοι τῇ στρατιᾷ
tὰπτήδεια, ἀμα δ' ὅπως μᾶλλον υγιαίνοιν καὶ ἱσχύοιεν διαπονούμενοι ταῖς πορείαις, ἀμα δ' ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἁγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομιμήσκοιτο.

25. Ὁ μὲν δὲ Κύρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

Ἐκ δὲ Βασιλίδος οἱ αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ ἀλισκό-
μενοι ταῦτ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ὁ Ἀσσύριος οἶχοιτο ἐπὶ Λυδίας, πολλὰ τάλαντα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἀγων καὶ ἀλλὰ κτήματα καὶ κόσμον παντοδαπόν.

26. ὁ μὲν οὖν χόλος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγεν ὡς ὑπεκτίθοιτο ᾦδη τὰ χρήματα φοβοῦμενος. ὁ δὲ Κύρος γυναύσκων ὅτι οἶχοιτο συστῆσων εἰ τι δύναιτο ἀντίπαλον ἑαυτῷ, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο ἐρ-
ρωμένως, ὡς μάχης ἐτι δεήσουν. ὡστ' ἔξηγεν ἐξπίπτει
μὲν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἰππικόν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων

1 ταῦτ Bothe, Edd.; ταῦτ MSS.
2 ὡστ' Poppo, Edd.; ὡς δ' xeV; καὶ yV (corr.).
was most healthful and most readily accessible for conveying there everything that was necessary. And wherever any point needed further strengthening, he made provision that those who from time to time remained there should be in safety, even if he should be encamped at a distance with the main body of his forces. 24. But in addition to this, he made constant inquiry of those whom he thought likely to know about the country from what parts of it the army might get supplies as plentifully as possible and kept leading his men out on foraging expeditions; this he did partly that he might get supplies for the army in as great abundance as possible, partly that they might become inured to labour through these expeditions and might thus be in better health and strength, and partly that by such marches they might be enabled to keep their respective positions in mind.

25. Thus, then, Cyrus was occupied. From Babylon a report was now brought by deserters and confirmed by his prisoners of war, that the Assyrian king had gone off in the direction of Lydia with many talents of gold and silver and with other treasures and jewels of every sort. 26. So it became general talk among the rank and file of the soldiers that he was already conveying his treasures to a place of safety because he was afraid. But Cyrus, recognizing that he had gone for the purpose of forming, if he could, a coalition against him, made vigorous counter preparation in the expectation that he would have to fight again. And so he set about bringing to its full complement the Persian cavalry, for which he obtained horses, some requisitioned from the captives, and a certain number
λαμβάνων ἵππους· ταῦτα γὰρ παρὰ πάντων ἔδέχετο καὶ ἀπεωθεῖτο οὐδέν, οὔτε εἰ τις ὁπλοῦν διδοῖ καλὸν οὔτ' εἰ τις ἱπποῦν.

27. Κατεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ἀρματα ἐκ τε τῶν αἱχμαλώτων ἀρμάτων καὶ ἄλλοθεν ὀπόθεν ἐδύνατο. καὶ τὴν μὲν Τροικήν διφρεῖαν πρόσθεν οὖσαν καὶ τὴν Κυψηλαίαν ἐτί καὶ νῦν ἀρματηλασίαν κατέλυσε. τῶν γὰρ πρόσθεν χρόνου καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς ἀρμασίν οὕτως ἔχρωντο ὡσπερ νῦν οἱ Κυψηλαιοί. 28. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτῷ, δ' κράτιστον εἰκὸς ἦν εἶναι τῆς δυνάμεως, οὖν τῶν βελτίστων ἐτὶ τοῖς ἀρμασὶ, τούτῳ ἐν ἀκροβολιστῶν μέρει εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν οὐδὲν μέγα [βάρος] συμβάλλεσθαι. ἀρματα γὰρ τριακοσία τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους παρέχεται τριακοσίους, ἵπποις δ' οὐτοὶ χρῶνται διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι· ἡνίχοι δ' αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς ὡς μάλιστα πιστεύοντες, οἱ βέλτιστοι· ἀλλοι δ' εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι οὕτοι, οἱ οὖν ὑπὸν τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτουσι. 29. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν διφρείαν κατέλυσεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πολεμιστήρια κατεσκευάσατο ἀρματα τροχοῖς τε ἱσχυροῖς, ὡς μὴ βαδίως συντρίβηται, ἄξοι τε μακροῖς· ἤττον γὰρ ἀνατρέπεται πάντα τὰ πλατέα· τὸν δὲ δίφρον τοῖς ἡνίχοις ἐποίησεν ὡσπερ πύργον ἱσχυρὸν ξύλων· ὡς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀγκάνων, ὡς δύνανται ἡνιοχεῖσθαι οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὲρ τῶν διφρῶν· τοὺς δ' ἡνίχους

1 βάρος xz; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; μέρος yV, Dindorf; omitted by Bornemann, Breitenbach.
2 εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι οὕτοι Schneider, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant; εἰσὶ τριακοσίους οὕτοι εἰσὶ xz, Dindorf; εἰσὶ τριακοσίους οὕτοι δὲ εἰσὶ y.

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also presented to him by his friends; for he accepted such gifts from every one and never refused anything, whether any one offered him a fine weapon or a horse.

27. Besides, with the chariots taken from the enemy and with whatever others he could get he equipped a corps of chariots of his own. The method of managing a chariot employed of old at Troy and that in vogue among the Cyrenaeans even unto this day he abolished; for in previous times people in Media and in Syria and in Arabia, and all the people in Asia used the chariot just as the Cyrenaeans now do. 28. But it seemed to him that inasmuch as the best men were mounted on the chariots, that part which might have been the chief strength of the army acted only the part of skirmishers and did not contribute anything of importance to the victory. For three hundred chariots call for three hundred combatants and require twelve hundred horses. And the fighting men must of course have as drivers the men in whom they have most confidence, that is, the best men to be had. That makes three hundred more, who do not do the enemy the least harm. 29. So he abolished this method of handling chariots, and in place of it he had chariots of war constructed with strong wheels, so that they might not easily be broken, and with long axles; for anything broad is less likely to be overturned. The box for the driver he constructed out of strong timbers in the form of a turret; and this rose in height to the drivers' elbows, so that they could manage the horses by reaching over the top of the box; and, besides, he covered
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этомуся пάντα πλή τών ὀφθαλμῶν. 30. προσ-
έθηκε δὲ καὶ δρέπανα σιδηρᾶ ὡς διπήχη πρὸς
tοὺς ἄξονας ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῶν τροχῶν καὶ ἄλλα
cάτω ὑπὸ τῷ ἄξονι εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς ἔμ-
βαλοντον εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους τοῖς ἀρμασιν. ὡς
de τότε Κύρος τάυτα κατεσκεύασεν, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ
νῦν τοῖς ἀρμασι χρῶνται οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως
χώρᾳ.

"Ἡσαυ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κάμηλοι πολλαὶ παρὰ τε
tῶν φίλων συνειλεγμέναι καὶ αἱ ἁιχμάλωτοι
πᾶσαι συνήθροισμέναι.

31. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτω συνεπεραίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ κατάσκοπόν τινα πέμψαι ἐπὶ
Λυδίας καὶ μαθεῖν ὃ τι πράττοι ὁ Ἀσσύριος,
ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι Ἀράσπας ἐλθεῖν
ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὁ φυλάττων τὴν καλὴν γυναῖκα.

32. ή δὲ ἀπέφης μὲν καὶ ἢν πιστῇ τῷ ἄνδρι καίπερ ἀπόντι ἐφίλει
gὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ό ὁ μέντοι κατηγόρησε τοῦ
Ἀράσπου πρὸς τὸν Κύρου, ὅκουσα συμβαλεῖ
φίλους ἄνδρας. 33. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας δοκῶν
ὑπηρετήσειν τῷ τυχεῖν ὁ ἐβούλετο ἥπειλησε
τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι εἰ μὴ βούλιοτο ἔκουσα, ἄκουσα
ποιήσαι τάυτα, ἐκ τούτου ἡ γυνη, ὡς ἐδεισε τὴν
βίαιν, οὐκέτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ πέμπει τοὺς εὐνόουχο
πρὸς τὸν Κύρου καὶ κελεύει λέξαι πάντα.

34. ο ὅ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ
κρείττον τοῦ ἐρωτος φάσκοντι εἶναι, πέμπει
Ἀρτάβαζον σὺν τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ

1 aí Dindorf, Edd.; not in MSS.

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the drivers with mail, all except their eyes. 30. On both sides of the wheels, moreover, he attached to the axles steel scythes about two cubits long and beneath the axles other scythes pointing down toward the ground; this was so arranged with the intention of hurling the chariots into the midst of the enemy. And as Cyrus constructed them at that time, such even to this day are the chariots in use in the king's dominions.

He also had a large number of camels, some collected from among his friends and some taken in war, all brought together.

31. Thus these plans were being put into execution. Now, he wished to send some one as a spy into Lydia to find out what the Assyrian was doing, and it seemed to him that Araspas, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was the proper person to go on this mission. Now Araspas's case had taken a turn like this: he had fallen in love with the lady and could not resist the impulse to approach her with amorous proposals. 32. But she repulsed his advances and was true to her husband, although he was far away; for she loved him devotedly. Still, she did not accuse Araspas to Cyrus, for she shrank from making trouble between friends. 33. But when Araspas, thinking that he should thus further the attainment of his desires, threatened the woman that he would use force if she would not submit willingly, then in fear of outrage the lady no longer kept it secret but sent her eunuch to Cyrus with instructions to tell him the whole story.

34. When Cyrus heard it he laughed outright at the man who had claimed to be superior to the passion of love; and he sent Artabazus back with the
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eἰπεῖν βιάζεσθαι μὲν μὴ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πείθεν
δὲ εἰ δύνατο, οὐκ ἔφη κωλύειν.

35. Ἐλθὼν δ’ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος πρὸς τὸν Ἀράσπαν
ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτόν, παρακαταθήκην ὅνομάζων τὴν
γυναίκα, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτοῦ λέγων ἀδικίαν τε
καὶ ἀκράτειαν, ὡστε τὸν Ἀράσπαν πολλὰ μὲν
dακρύειν ὑπὸ λύπης, κατάδυσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς
αισχύνης, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ μὴ τι καὶ
πάθοι ὑπὸ Κύρου.

36. Ὅ οὖν Κύρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα ἐκάλεσεν
αὐτόν καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν, Ὅρῳ σε, ἔφη, ὁ
Ἀράσπα, φοβούμενόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνη
dεινῶς ἔχοντα. παύσαι οὖν τούτων ἐγὼ γὰρ
θεοὺς τε ἄκοι ἔρωτος ἡττήσθαι, ἀνθρώπους τε
οίδα καὶ μάλα δοκοῦντας φρονίμους εἶναι οὐα
πεπόνθασιν ὑπ’ ἔρωτος· καὶ αὐτὸς δ’ ἐμαυτῷ
catέγων μὴ ἀν καρτερὴσαι ὡστε συνὼν καλοῖς
ἀμελεῖν αὐτῶν. καὶ σοὶ δὲ τοῦτον τοῦ πράγματος
ἐγὼ αἰτιός εἰμι· ἐγὼ γὰρ σε συγκαθείρξα τούτῳ
τῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι.

37. Καλὸν ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ
σὺ μὲν, ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ταῦτα ὄμοιος εἰ οἶσπερ
cαὶ τάλλα, πρῶς τε καὶ συγγυμώνων τῶν ἀν-
θρωπίνων ἀμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ’, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀνθρωποί καταδύσοι τῷ ἄχει. ὃς γὰρ ὁ θρόος
dιήλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἔχθροι ἐφη-
dονται μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσιόντες συμβουλεύο-
ναι ἐκπόδῳ ἔχειν ἐμαυτόν, μὴ τι καὶ πάθοι ὑπὸ
σοῦ, ὡς ἡδικηκότος ἔμοι μεγάλα.

38. Καλὸν ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Εὖ τούτων ἵστη, ὁ

¹ καὶ MSS., most Edd.; τὴν Hartmann (calling his weakness ungodliness and sinfulness).
eunuch and bade him warn Araspas not to lay violent hands upon such a woman; but if he could win her consent, he himself would interpose no objection.

35. So, when Artabazus came to Araspās, he rebuked him severely, saying that the woman had been given to him in trust; and he dwelt upon his ungodliness, sinfulness, and sensuality, until Araspas shed bitter tears of contrition and was overwhelmed with shame and frightened to death lest Cyrus should punish him.

36. So, when Cyrus learned of this he sent for him and had a talk with him in private. "I see, Araspas," said he, "that you are afraid of me and terribly overcome with shame. Do not feel that way, pray; for I have heard say that even gods are victims of love; and as for mortals, I know what even some who are considered very discreet have suffered from love. And I had too poor an opinion of myself to suppose that I should have the strength of will to be thrown in contact with beauty and be indifferent to it. Besides, I am myself responsible for your condition, for it was I that shut you up with this irresistible creature."

37. "Aye, Cyrus," said Araspas, interrupting him, "you are in this, just as in everything else, gentle and forgiving of human errors. Other men make me ready to sink with my shame; for ever since the report of my fall got out, my enemies have been exulting over me, while my friends come to me and advise me to keep out of the way, for fear that you punish me for committing so great a wrong."

38. "Let me tell you then, Araspas," said Cyrus,
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'Αράσπα, ὅτι ταύτη τῇ δόξῃ ὅλος τ' εἶ ἐμοὶ τε ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεγάλα ὥφελήσαι.

Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, ἐφη ὁ 'Αράσπας, ὅ τι ἐγὼ σοι ἐν καιρῷ ἄν γενοῖμην [ἀν χρήσιμος].

39. Εἰ τοιῶν, ἐφη, προσποιησάμενος ἐμὲ φεύγειν ἑθέλοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλθεῖν, οἴμαι ἂν σε πιστευθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

'Εγώγε ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ 'Αράσπας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οἶδα ὅτι ὡς σὲ πεθευγὸς λόγον ἄν παρέχομη.

40. Ἔλθοις δὴ τοιῶν, ἐφη, ἡμῖν πάντα εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων οἴμαι δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινωνίαν ἂν σε ποιῶντο διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν, ὡστε μηδὲ ἐν σε λεληθήσαι. ὃν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι.

'Ως πορευσομένου, ἐφη, ἡδὴ νυνί· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἱσως ἐν τῶν πιστῶν ἔσται τὸ δοκεῖν με ὑπὸ σοῦ μελλήσαντά τι παθεῖν ἐκπεφευγέναι.

41. Ἡ καὶ δυνήσει ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐφη, τὴν καλὴν Πάνθειαν;

Δύο γὰρ, ἐφη, ὁ Κυρᾶς, σαφῶς ἡχο ψυχάς· νῦν τοῦτο πεφιλοσόφηκα μετὰ τοῦ ἄδικου σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἱρωτοῦ. οὗ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὔσα ἀμα ἁγαθῇ τε ἐστὶ καὶ κακῇ, οὔδ' ἀμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἔργων ἔρᾳ καὶ ταιτὰ 2 ἀμα βούλεται τε καὶ οὗ βούλεται πράττειν, ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστῶν ψυχά, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἁγαθὴ κρατή, τὰ καλὰ

1 ἀν χρήσιμος MSS. ; omitted by Weiske, Edd.
2 ταύτα Stephanus, Edd. ; ταύτα MSS.

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"that by reason of this very report which people have heard in regard to you, you are in a position to do me a very great favour and to be of great assistance to our allies."

"Would that some occasion might arise," answered Araspas, "in which I could be of service to you."

39. "If, then," said the other, "under pretence that you were fleeing from me you would go over into the enemy's country, I believe they would trust you."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Araspas, "and I know that even with my friends I could start the story that I was running away from you."

40. "Then you would return to us," said he, "with full information about the enemy's condition and plans. And I suppose that because of their trusting you they would make you a participant in their discussions and counsels, so that not a single thing that we wish to know would be hidden from you."

"Depend upon it," said he, "I will start at once; and one of the circumstances that will gain my story credence will be the appearance that I have run away because I was likely to be punished by you."

41. "And will you be able to give up the beautiful Panthea?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, Cyrus," said he; "for I evidently have two souls. I have now worked out this doctrine of philosophy in the school of that crooked sophist, Eros. For if the soul is one, it is not both good and bad at the same time, neither can it at the same time desire the right and the wrong, nor at the same time both will and not will to do the same things; but it is obvious that there are two souls, and when the good one prevails, what is right is done; but when the bad
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πράττεται, ὃταν δὲ ἡ ποιηρά, τὰ αἰσχρά ἐπι-
χειρεῖται. νῦν δὲ ὦς σὲ σύμμαχον ἔλαβε, κρατεῖ
ἡ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πάνυ πολύ.

42. Εἰ τοῖνυν καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ πορεύεσθαι, ἔφη
ὁ Κύρος, ὅδε χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἵνα κακεῖνοις πιστότεροι
ήσιν ἐξάγγελλε τε αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν, οὕτω τε
ἐξάγγελλε ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα
ἐμποδών μάλιστ' ἂν εἰς ἀν βουλοῦνται πράττειν.
εἰς δὲ ἂν ἐμποδών, εἰ ἦμᾶς φαίης παρασκευάζεσθαι
ἐμβάλειν ποιὸς τής ἑκείνων χώρας ταύτα γὰρ
ἀκούοντες ἦττον ἂν παντὶ σῆτενει ἄθροίζοντο,
ἐκαστὸς τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁίκων.

43. καὶ μένε, ἔφη, παρ᾽ ἑκείνως ὅτι πλείστου
χρόνου ἄγαρ ἂν ποιῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν
ὡσί, ταύτα μάλιστα καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι ἔσται.

συμβουλευε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκτάττεσθαι ὅτι ἂν
dοκή κράτιστον εἶναι ὅταν γὰρ σὺ ἀπέλθῃς
εἰδέναι δοκῶν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω
τετάχθαι αὐτοῖς μετατάττεσθαι γὰρ ὁκνήσουσίν,
καὶ ἢν πη ἀλλη μετατάττωνται ἐξ υπογνοῦ,
ταράξονται.

44. Ἀράσπασ μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξελθὼν καὶ συλ-
λαβὼν τοὺς πιστοτάτους θεράποντας καὶ εἰπὼν
πρὸς τινας ἃ φετο συμφέρει τῷ πράγματι ἄχeto.

45. Ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ὡς ἥσθετο οἰχόμενον τὸν
Ἀράσπαν, πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Κύρον εἶπε, Μῆ

1 τοι Cobet, Hug. Marchant, Gemoll; του MSS., Dindorfi,
Breitenbach.

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one gains the ascendancy, what is wrong is attempted. And now, since she has taken you to be her ally, it is the good soul that has gained the mastery, and that completely."

42. "Well then," answered Cyrus, "if you also have decided to go, this is what you must do so as to gain the more credence with them: tell them all about our affairs, but frame your account in such a way that your information will be the greatest possible hindrance to the success of their plans. And it would be a hindrance, if you should represent that we were making ready to invade their country at some point; for upon hearing this, they would be less likely to gather in full force, as each man would be afraid for his own possessions at home. 43. And stay with them as long as possible; for the most valuable information we can have will be in regard to what they are doing when they have come nearest to us. And advise them also to marshal themselves in whatever order seems best; for when you come away, it will be necessary for them to retain this order, even though they think you are familiar with it. For they will be slow to change it, and, if on the spur of the moment they make a change anywhere, they will be thrown into confusion."

44. Then Araspas withdrew; he got together the most trusted of his attendants, told some of his friends such things as he thought would contribute to the success of his scheme, and was gone.

45. When Panthea learned that Araspas had gone away, she sent word to Cyrus, saying: "Do not be
λυποῦ, ὁ Κῦρε, ὅτι Ἀράσπας οὔχεται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἐάσης πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἀνδρα, ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀναδέχομαι ἦξειν πολὺ Ἀράσπου πιστότερον φίλον καὶ δύναμιν δὲ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ὁπόσην ἄν δύνηται ἔχων παρέσται σοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατήρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος φίλος ἦν αὐτῶ· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἐπεχείρησέ ποτε ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων· ὑβριστήν οὖν νομίζοις αὐτὸν εὗ ὁδ᾽ ὅτι ἄσμενος ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρα οἶος σὺ εἰ ἀπαλλαγεῖ. 46. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐκέλευεν πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα· ἢ δ' ἐπεμψεν. ὡς δ' ἔγρω ὁ Ἀβραδάτας τὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σύμβολα, καὶ τάλλα δὲ ἱσθετο ὡς εἶχεν, ἄσμενος πορεύεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ἵππους ἔχουν ἀμφὶ τοῖς χιλίους. ὡς δ' ἦν πρὸς τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν σκοποῖς, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον εἰπὼν δς ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εὐθὺς ἀγειν κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα. 47. ὡς δ' εἴδετην ἄλληλους ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας, ἥσπάξοντο ἄλληλους ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκ δυσελπίστων. ἐκ τοῦτον δὴ λέγει ἡ Πάνθεια τοῦ Κῦρου τὴν ὀσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν. "Ο δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀκούσας εἶπε, Τί ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ὁ Πάνθεια, χάριν Κῦρῳ ὑπὲρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἔμαυτοῦ ἀποδοίην; Τί δὲ ἄλλο, ἥψῃ ἡ Πάνθεια, ἡ πειρώμενος ὅμοιος εἶναι περὶ ἐκείνων οἷόσπερ ἐκείνως περὶ σὲ; 48. Ἕκ τούτου δὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀβραδάτας· καὶ ὡς εἰδεν αὐτὸν, λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς εἶπεν, Ἀνθ' ὁν σὺ εὖ πεποίηκας ἡμᾶς, ὁ Κῦρε, οὐκ ἔχῳ τί μεῖζον εἶπω ἡ ὅτι φίλον σοι
distressed, Cyrus, that Araspas has gone over to the enemy; for if you will allow me to send to my husband, I can guarantee you that a much more faithful friend will come to you than Araspas was. And what is more, I know that he will come to you with as many troops as he can bring. For while the father of the present king was his friend, this present king once even attempted to separate me from my husband. Inasmuch, therefore, as he considers the king an insolent scoundrel, I am sure that he would be glad to transfer his allegiance to such a man as you."

46. When Cyrus heard that, he bade her send word to her husband; and she did so. And when Abradatas read the cipher message sent by his wife and was informed how matters stood otherwise, he joyfully proceeded with about a thousand horse to join Cyrus. When he came up to the Persian sentries, he sent to Cyrus to let him know who it was; and Cyrus gave orders to take him at once to his wife.

47. And when Abradatas and his wife saw each other they embraced each other with joy, as was natural, considering they had not expected ever to meet again. Thereafter Panthea told of Cyrus's piety and self-restraint and of his compassion for her.

"Tell me, Panthea," said Abradatas when he heard this, "what can I do to pay the debt of gratitude that you and I owe to Cyrus?"

"What else, pray," said Panthea, "than to try to be to him what he has been to you?"

48. Later Abradatas went to Cyrus. When he saw him he took his right hand in his and said: "In return for the kindnesses you have done us, Cyrus, I do not know what more to say than that I offer..."
Εμαντόν δίδωμι καὶ θεράποντα καὶ σύμμαχον·
καὶ ὅσα ἄν ὀρῶ σε σπουδάζοντα, συνεργὸς πειρά-
σομαι γίγνεσθαι ὡς ἄν δύνωμαι κράτιστος.

49. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔπευ, 'Εγὼ δὲ δέχομαι καὶ
νῦν μὲν σε ἀφίημι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν·
αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεῖσθε σε σκηνοῦν σ่วน τοῖς
σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις.

50. Ἐκ τούτου ὀρὸν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας σπουδάζοντα τοῦ Κύρου περὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς τεθωρακισμένους ἵππους τε καὶ ἱππέας, ἑπεράτω συντελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἐκατὸν ἄρματα ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ὁμοία ἐκεῖνοι.¹ 
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁς ἡγησόμενος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος 
παρεσκευάζετο. 51. συνεξεύζετο δὲ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ 
ἄρμα τετράρρυμον τε καὶ ἵππους ὀκτώ. [ἡ δὲ 
Πάνθεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτῆς χρημάτων 
χρυσοῦν τε αὐτῷ θώρακα ἐποιήσατο καὶ χρυσοῦν 
κράνος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περιβραχίονα.]² τοὺς 
δὲ ἵππους τοῦ ἄρματος χαλκοῖς πᾶσι προβλή-
μασί κατεσκευάσατο.

52. Ἀβραδάτας μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε. Κύρος δὲ
индив τὸ τετράρρυμον αὐτοῦ ἄρμα κατενόησεν
ὅτι οἶδαν τε εἰς καὶ ὀκτάρρυμον ποιήσασθαι,
ὡςτε ὀκτὼ ζεύγεαι βοῶν ἄγειν τῶν μηχανῶν
tὸ κατωτάτω³ οἶκημα· ἤν δὲ τούτῳ τριώρυγον⁴

1 ἐκεῖνος Hug, Gemoll; ἐκεῖνος MSS., most Edd. (for τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι.
2 ἤ δὲ ... περιβραχίονα MSS., omitted by Bornemann and Edd., as an obvious interpolation from VI. iv. 2.
3 κατωτάτω Buttmann, Edd.; κατωτάτω τοῦ MSS.; omitted by Herwerden, Marchant.
4 τριώρυγον Dindorf, Edd.; τριωρυγ(ις D)ον γ(α)2; τὸ τριώρυγον χΑΗ.

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myself to you to be your friend, your servant, your ally. And in whatsoever enterprise I see you engage, I shall try to co-operate with you to the very best of my ability."

49. "And I accept your offer," said Cyrus. "And now I will take leave of you and let you go to dinner with your wife. Some other time you will be expected to dine at my headquarters with your friends and mine."

50. After this, as Abradatas observed that Cyrus was busily engaged with the scythe-bearing chariots and the mailed horses and riders, he tried to contribute from his own cavalry as many as a hundred chariots like them; and he made ready to lead them in person upon his chariot. 51. He had the harnessing of his own chariot, moreover, arranged with four poles and eight horses abreast; [and his wife, Panthea, with her own money had a golden corselet made for him and a helmet and armlet of gold;] and he had the horses of his chariot equipped with armour of solid bronze.

52. Such was the work of Abradatas; and when Cyrus saw his chariot with four poles, he conceived the idea that it was possible to make one even with eight poles, so as to move with eight yoke of oxen the lowest story of his movable towers; including the wheels, this portion was about three fathoms
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μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σὺν τοῖς τροχοῖς. 53. τοιοῦτοι δὲ πύργοι σὺν τάξει ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐδόκοιν αὐτῷ μεγάλη μὲν ἐπικουρία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῶν φόλαγγι, μεγάλη δὲ βλάβη τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. ἔποιήσε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ περιδρόμων καὶ ἐπάλξεις: ἀνεβίβαζε δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἐκαστὸν ἀνδρᾶς εἰκόσιν.

54. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα συνειστήκει αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῶν πύργων, ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀγωγίου πείραν· καὶ πολὺ ῥάον ἦγε τὰ ὁκτὼ ξεῦγα τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἀνδρᾶς ἢ τὸ σκευοφυκεῖν βάρος ἐκαστον τὸ ξεύγος. σκευῶν μὲν γὰρ βάρος ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσί τάλαντα ἦν ξεῦγει· τοῦ δὲ πύργου, ὡσπερ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς τῶν ξύλων πάχος ἐχόντων, καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀπλῶν, τούτων. 1 ἐγένετο ἐλάττων ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα ἐκάστω ξεύγει τὸ ἀγώγιον.

55. Ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ εὔπορον οὕσαν τὴν ἀγωγήν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἄξων τῶν πύργων σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι, νομίζω τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ πλεονεξίαν ἀμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἶναι καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.

II

1. Ἡλθον δ’ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χρήματα ἄγουσε καὶ ἀπῆγγελλον αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδός ἐπιστεύει τοιάδε: Ἔγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἥδομαι ὅτι μοι ἐπῆγγειλας ὅν ἐδέον, καὶ βοῦλομαι σοι ξένοις εἶναι καὶ πέμπω σοι χρήματα.

1 τούτων Hutchinson, Edd.; harum turrium Philelphus; τούτοις MSS.

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high from the ground. 53. Moreover, when such towers were taken along with each division of the army, it seemed to him that they were a great help to his own phalanx and would occasion great loss to the ranks of the enemy. And on the different stories he constructed galleries also and battlements; and on each tower he stationed twenty men.

54. Now when all the appurtenances of his towers were put together, he made an experiment of their draught; and the eight yoke of oxen drew the tower with the men upon it more easily than each individual yoke could draw its usual load of baggage; for the load of baggage was about twenty-five talents to the yoke; whereas the weight of the tower, on which the timbers were as thick as those of the tragic stage, together with the twenty men and their arms amounted to less than fifteen talents to each yoke of oxen.

55. Inasmuch, therefore, as he found that the hauling of the towers was easy, he made ready to take them with the army, for he thought that seizing an advantage in time of war was at once safety and justice and happiness.

II

1. At this juncture, representatives from the Indian king arrived with money; they announced also that the Indian king sent him the following message: "I am glad, Cyrus, that you let me know what you needed. I desire to be your friend, and I

1 That is, about 1400 pounds; the Attic talent is equivalent to 552 pounds avoirdupois.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

καν ἄλλων δε, μεταμέμπου. ἔπεσταλται δὲ τοῖς
παρ’ ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς.

2. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Κελεύω τοίνυν
ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μένοντας ἐνθα κατασκευώ-
κατε φυλάττειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ξῆν ὅπως ὑμῖν
PMENTON τρεῖς δὲ μοι ἔλθόντες ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς
πολεμίους ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ περὶ συμμαχίας,
καὶ τάκει μαθόντες ὅ τι ἂν λέγωσί τε καὶ ποιῶσιν,
ὅς τάχιστα ἀπαγγείλατε ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ·
cαὶν ταῦτά μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσατε, ἔτι μᾶλλον
ὑμῖν χάριν εἰσομαι τούτον ὅ ὅτι χρήματα πάρ-
εστε ἄγοντες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν δούλως ἑοικότες
κατάσκοποι οὐδὲν ἄλλο δύνανται εἰδότες ἀπαγ-
γέλλειν ἢ ὅσα πάντες ἵσασιν οἱ δὲ οἰκεῖοι ὑμεῖς
Ἄνδρες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καταμαν-
θάνουσιν.

3. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἰνδοὶ ἥδεως ἀκούσαντες καὶ
ξενισθέντες τὸτε παρὰ Κύρῳ, συσκευασάμενοι τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποσχόμενοι ἢ μὴν μαθόν-
τες ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται πλείστα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
Ἄξει φῶς δυνατόν τάχιστα.

4. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος τά τε ἄλλα εἰς τῶν πόλεμον
παρεσκευάζετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ὡς δὴ ἀνήρ οὐδὲν
μικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν, ἐπεμέλετο δὲ οὐ μόνον
ὅν ἔδοξε τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἄλλα καὶ ἔριν ἐνέβαλλε
πρὸς ἄλληλους τοῖς φίλοις ὅπως αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι
φανοῦνται καὶ εὐπλῶτατοι καὶ ἰππικῶτατοι καὶ
ἀκοντιστικῶτατοι καὶ τοξικώτατοι καὶ φιλοπονῶ.
am sending you the money, and if you need more, send for it. Moreover, my representatives have been instructed to do whatever you ask."

2. "Well then," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "I ask some of you to remain where you have been assigned quarters and keep guard of this money and live as best pleases you, while three of you will please go to the enemy on pretence of having been sent by the king of India to make an alliance between them and him; and when you have learned how things stand there, what they are doing and proposing to do, bring word of it as soon as possible to me and to your king. And if you perform this service acceptably, I shall be even more grateful to you for that than I am for your bringing the money with which you have come. And this is service which you are eminently fitted to perform; for spies disguised as slaves can give information of nothing more in their reports than what every one knows; whereas men in your capacity often discover even what is being planned."

3. The Indians were naturally pleased to hear this, and when they had been entertained by Cyrus, they made ready and set out on the following day with the solemn promise that when they had learned as much as they could they would return from the enemy's side with all possible dispatch.

4. The rest of his preparations for war Cyrus now continued on a magnificent scale, for he was planning no mean enterprise; and he provided not only for that which his allies had agreed upon but he also inspired his friends to rivalry among themselves, in order that each complement might strive to show its men the best armed soldiers, the most skilled horsemen, the best marksmen with spear or bow, and the
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τατοί. 5. ταύτα δὲ ἑξειργάζετο ἐπὶ τὰς θῆρας ἔξαγων καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐκαστὰ· καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας δὲ σὺς ἔωρα ἐπιμελομένους τούτων ὅπως οἱ αὐτῶν κρατιστοί ἐσονται στρατιῶται, καὶ τούτους ἐπαινῶν τε παρώξυνε καὶ χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ τι δύνατο. 6. εἰ δὲ ποτε θυσίαν ποιοῖτο καὶ ἔορτην ἄγοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκα μελετῶσιν ἀνθρωποί πάντων τούτων ἄγινας ἐποίει καὶ ἄθλα τοῖς νικῶσι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐδίδου, καὶ ἦν πολλὴ εὐθυμία ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

7. Τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ σχεδὸν τι ἤδη ἀποτετελεσμένα ἦν ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι πλὴν τῶν μηχανῶν. καὶ γαρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἵππεῖς ἐκπλευ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τὰ ἀρματα τὰ δρεπανοφόρα, α ἔ τοι κατεσκευάζει, ἐκπλευ ἦδη ἤδη εἰς τὰ ἐκατόν, α τῷ Ἀβραδάτῳ ὁ Σοῦσιος ἐπεχείρησε κατασκευάζειν ὁμοια τοῖς Κύρου, καὶ ταύτα ἐκπλευ ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἐκατόν. 8. καὶ τὰ Μηδικά δὲ ἀρματα ἐπεπείκει Κύρος Κυαξάρην εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον τούτων μετασκευάζαι ἐκ τῆς Τρωικῆς καὶ Λιβυκῆς διφρείας· καὶ ἐκπλευ καὶ ταύτα ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἐκατόν. καὶ ἔπι τὰς καμήλους δὲ τεταγμένου ἦσαν ἄνδρες δύο ἐφ' ἐκάστην τοξόται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πλεῖστος στρατὸς οὗτος εἰχε τὴν γυνώμην ὡς ἤδη παντελῶς κεκρατηκώς καὶ οὐδὲν ὄντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτο διακειμένων ἦλθοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων οὖς ἐπετόμψει Κύρος ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Κροῖσος μὲν ἡγεμὼν καὶ

1 αὐτῶν Stephanus, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; αὐτῶν Dindorf (who ascribes his reading to Stephanus), Breitenbach; αὐτῶν xz; αὐτοῦ yG².

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most industrious workers. 5. And, as a means of accomplishing this, he took them out to hunt and rewarded those who were in each particular most efficient. Furthermore, those officers who, he saw, were eager to have their own soldiers most efficient he spurred on with praise and with whatever favours he could bestow. 6. And then, too, whenever he performed a sacrifice or celebrated a festival, he instituted in connection with it contests in all those events in which people train as a discipline for war, and to the victors he offered splendid prizes; and the whole camp was in the best of spirits.

7. Cyrus now had almost everything ready that he wished to have for his expedition except the engines of war. For the ranks of his Persian horse were now filled up to the number of ten thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots that he himself had had constructed had now reached the full number of one hundred, and those which Abradatas of Susa had undertaken to secure like those of Cyrus had also reached the full number of one hundred more. 8. And Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to transform the Median chariots also from the Trojan and Libyan type to this same style, and these amounted to another full hundred. For the camel corps, bowmen were detailed, two upon each camel. Thus the rank and file of the army generally cherished the feeling that the victory was already perfectly assured and that the enemy's side was as nothing.

9. While they were in this state of mind, the Indians that Cyrus had sent as spies to the enemy's camp returned with the report that Croesus had

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στρατηγὸς πάντων ἢρμένος εἶη τῶν πολεμίων, δεδογμένον δ’ εἰη πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις βασιλεύσι πάση τῇ δυνάμει ἔκαστον παρεῖναι, χρήματα δὲ εἰσφέρειν πάμπολλα, ταύτα δὲ τελείώ καὶ μισθομένους οὔς δύναιντο καὶ δωρουμένους οἴς δέοι, 10. ἣδη δὲ καὶ μεμισθωμένους εἶναι πολλοὺς μὲν Ὄρακὼν μαχαιροφόρους, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ προσπλείω, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας σὺν ἅσπισι ποδήρεσι καὶ δόρατι μεγάλοις, οἵατερ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ κοπίαν προσέτε δὲ καὶ Κυπρίων στράτευμα: παρεῖναι δ’ ἣδη Κήλικας πάντας καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυκάονας καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ Ἀραβίους καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ σὺν τῷ Βαβυλῶνος ἀρχοντι τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἰωνας δὲ καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τούς Ἔλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐποικοῦντας σὺν Κροίσῳ ἠγαγόμενος ἐπεσθαί, πεπομφέναι δὲ Κροίσον καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα περὶ συμμαχίας. 11. συλλέγοντες δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν, προιέναι δὲ μέλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς Θύμβρα, ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ὁ σύλλογος τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα βαρβάρων τῶν κάτω [Συρίας], καὶ ἀγορὰν πᾶσι παρὴγγελθαι ἐνταῦθα κομίζειν.

Σχεδὸν δὲ τούτως ταύτα ἔλεγον καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐπεμέλετο γὰρ καὶ τούτων ὁ Κύρος ὅπως ἀλύσκοντο παρ’ ὄν ἔμελλε πεύσεσθαι τι· ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ δούλους ἐοικότας κατασκόπους ὡς αὐτομόλους.

1 Συρίας MSS., Dindorf; [Συρίας] Lincke, most Edd.

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been chosen field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the enemy's hosts, that all the allied kings had decided to join him with their entire forces, to contribute vast sums of money, and to expend them in hiring what soldiers they could and in giving presents to those whom they were under obligations to reward. 10. They reported also that many Thracian swordsmen had already been hired and that Egyptians were under sail to join them, and they gave the number as one hundred and twenty thousand men armed with shields that came to their feet, with huge spears, such as they carry even to this day, and with sabres. Besides these, there was also the Cyprian army. The Cilicians were all present already, they said, as were also the contingents from both Phrygias, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Arabia, and Phoenicia; the Assyrians were there under the king of Babylon; the Ionians also and the Aeolians and almost all the Greek colonists in Asia had been compelled to join Croesus, and Croesus had even sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate an alliance. 11. This army, they said, was being mustered at the River Pactolus, but it was their intention to advance to Thymbrara, where even to-day is the rendezvous of the king's barbarians from the interior. And a general call had been issued to bring provisions to market there.

The prisoners also told practically the same story as the Indian spies; for this was another thing that Cyrus always looked out for—that prisoners should be taken, from whom he was likely to gain some intelligence. And he used also to send out spies disguised as slaves to pretend that they were deserters from him.
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12. Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ὁ στρατὸς τοῦ Κύρου, ἐν φροντίδι τε ἐγένετο, ὡσπερ εἰκός, ἰσυχαίτεροι τε ἢ ὡς εἰώθεσαν διεφοίτων, [φαίνοι τε οὐ πάνυ ἐφαίνοντο.]  

13. Ὡς δὲ ἦσθε τοῦ Κύρου φόβοι διαθέσθαι ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, συγκάλει τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ πάντας ὁπόσων ἀδυμοῦντων εὔνοει βλάβη τις γίγνεσθαι καὶ προθυμομένων ὀφέλεια. προεῖπτε δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ ἀλλος εἰ τις βούλοιτο τῶν ὀπλοφόρων προσίστασθαι ἐκουσόμενος τῶν λόγων, μὴ κωλύειν. ἔπει δὲ συνήλθον, ἐλεξε τοιάδε.

14. Ἀνδρεὶς σύμμαχοι, ἐγὼ τότεν ὑμᾶς συνεκάλεσα ἠδῶν τινας ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ ἀι ἀγγελεῖα ἠλθον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, πάνυ οὐκότας πεφοβημένοις ἀνθρώποις. δοκεῖ γάρ μου θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἰ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συλλέγονται δέδοικεν, ὅτι δὲ ἤμεις πολὺ πλείους συνειλέγεμεθα νῦν ἢ ὅτε ἐνυκώμεν ἐκένους, πολὺ δὲ ἄμεινον σὺν θεοῖς παρεσκευάσμεθα νῦν ἡ πρόσθεν, ταῦτα δὲ ὀρῶντες οὐ θαρρεῖτε.

15. Ὡς πρὸς θεῶν, ἐφη, τί δήτα ἰὰν ἐποιήσατε οἱ νῦν δεδοκότες, εἰ ἠγγελλόντο τινες τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν νῦν ὃτα ταῦτα ἀντίπαλα ἡμῖν προσίστατα, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦκούσιτε, ἐφη, ὅτι οἱ πρότερον νυκήσαντες ἡμᾶς οὐντο πάλιν ἔρχονται ἐχοντες εἰν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡ τότε νίκην ἐκτήσαντο. ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ

1 φαίνοι . . . ἐφαίνοντο MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Hartmann.
2 προσίστασθαι Stephanus, Edd.; προσίστασθαι MSS.

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12. When Cyrus's army heard this report, they were disturbed, as was natural; they went about more subdued than had been their wont, they gathered in groups, and every corner was full of people discussing the situation and asking one another's opinion.

13. When Cyrus perceived that a panic was spreading through his army, he called together the officers of the different divisions and all others whose despondency he thought might cause injury and whose enthusiasm would be a help. And he sent word to his aides-de-camp that if any one else of the armed soldiers wished to attend the meeting and listen to the speeches, they should not hinder him. And when they had come together, he addressed them as follows:

14. "Friends and allies, I have called you together because I observed that when this news came from the enemy, some of you looked as if you were frightened. Now it seems strange to me that any of you should really be afraid because the enemy are mustering; but when you see that we are mustered in much larger numbers than we had when we defeated them and that we are now, thank heaven, much better equipped than we were then—it is strange that when you see this you are not filled with courage!

15. "What in the name of heaven, pray, would you who are now afraid have done, if the situation were reversed and some one told you that these forces that we have now were coming against us? And what, if you heard, in the first place, that those who had defeated us before were coming again, their hearts full of the victory they then gained; and, in
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tότε ἐκκόψαντες τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν τὰς ἀκροβολίσεις νῦν οὗτοι ἔρχονται καὶ ἄλλοι ὁμοίοι τούτωι πολλαπλάσιοι. 16. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁσπερ οὗτοι ὀπλισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν ἐνίκων, νῦν οὗτω καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς προσέρχονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια ἀποδεδοκιμάκασι, παλτῶν δὲ ἐν ἰσχύρῳ ἔκαστος λαβὼν προσελάνει διανεύονται ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς τὴν μάχην ποιησόμενος. 17. ἔτι δὲ ἀρματα ἔρχεται, ἀ οὐχ οὗτως ἐστήξει 1 ὁσπερ πρόσθεν ἀπεστραμμένα ὁσπερ εἰς φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οὗ τε ἱπποὶ εἰσὶ κατατεθωρακισμένοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἀρμασίων, οὗ τε ἠνίχνοι ἐν πύργους ἐστάσις ξυλίνοις τὰ ὑπέρχοντα ἀπαντα συνεστεγασμένοι θώραξι καὶ κράνείς, δρέπανα τε σιδηρὰ περὶ τοῖς ἄξοις προσήρμοσται, ὡς ἔλωντες καὶ οὗτοι εὐθὺς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἐναντίων. 18. πρὸς δ' ἔτι κάμηλοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ὁν προσελώσιν, ἄν μίαν ἐκάστην ἐκατὸν ἱπποὶ οὔκ ἄν ἀνάσχοντο ὑδόντες. 17. δὲ πύργους προσ- ἱσιασιν ἐχοντες ἀφ' ὁν τοὺς μὲν ἐαυτῶν ἀρήξωσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ βάλλοντες κωλύσοι τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱσο- πέδῳ μάχεσθαι. 19. εἰ δ' ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε τις ὡμίν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡμίν, οἱ νῦν φοβούμενοι τί ἀν ἐποίησατε; ὅποτε ἀπαγγελλομένων ὡμίν ὅτι Κροίσος μὲν ἦρμηται τῶν πολεμίων στρατη- γός, ὅσ τοσοῦτο Σύρων κακίων ἐγένετο ὅσῳ Σύροι μὲν μάχῃ ἠττηθέντες ἐφυγον, Κροίσος δὲ ἰδὼν Σύρους 2 ἠττημένους ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀργῆειν τοῖς

1 ἐστήξει Elmsley, most Edi.; ἐστήτα Mss., Sauppe, Breitenbach.
2 Σύρους Hug; not in Mss. or other Eds.
the second place, that those who before made short work of the skirmishing lines of bowmen and spearmen were now coming and others like them many times their number; 16. and, in the third place, that, equipped in the same armour in which they were armed when their infantry defeated our infantry, they have cavalry now coming to meet our cavalry; that they have rejected the bow and the javelin, and that each man has adopted one heavy lance and is resolved to ride up and fight hand to hand? 17. And again, what would you have done, if you heard that chariots are coming which are not, as before, to stand still facing back as if for flight, but that the horses harnessed to the chariots are covered with mail, while the drivers stand in wooden towers and the parts of their body not defended by the towers are completely panoplied in breast-plates and helmets; and that scythes of steel have been fitted to the axles, and that it is the intention to drive these also into the ranks of the enemy? 18. Or again, if you heard that they have camels on which they will ride up to us, and a hundred horses could not endure the sight of any one of them? And again, that they are coming with towers, from which they will protect their comrades and by throwing missiles hinder us from fighting in a fair field? 19. If any one reported to you that this was the condition of things among the enemy, what would you, who are now so frightened, have done, seeing that you were terrified when the report came that Croesus had been elected commander-in-chief of the enemy—Croesus, who was a worse coward than the Syrians; for the Syrians fled because they were defeated in the battle, whereas Croesus, instead of standing by his allies, beat a hasty retreat when he saw that they
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συμμάχους φεύγων φίχετο· 20. ἐπειτα δὲ διαγ- 
γέλλεται δὴ ποι ὧτι αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ
ικανοὶ ἤγονται ὑμῖν εἶναι μάχεσθαι, ἀλλοι δὲ
μισθοῦνται, ὡς ἀμείνοι μαχουμένοι ὑπὲρ σφῶν
ἡ αὐτοὶ. εἰ μέντοι τισὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα ὅντα
δεινὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἠμέτερα φαύλα, τούτοις
ἐγὼ φημὶ χρὴναι, ὡς ἀνδρεῖς, ἀφεῖναι εἰς τοὺς
ἐναντίους· πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὄντες πλεῖω ἂν ἡμᾶς ἢ
παρόντες ὦφελοῖεν.

21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, ἀνέστη
Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὁδὲ· Ὅ Κύρε,
μὴ θαύμαζε εἰ τινὲς ἑσκυθρώπτασαν ἀκούσαντες
τῶν ἀγγελλομένων· οὐ γὰρ φοβηθέντες οὕτω
dιετέθησαν, ἀλλὰ ἀχθεοθέντες· ὥσπερ γε, ἐφη,
eἰ τινῶν βουλομένων τε καὶ οἰομένων ἡδὴ ἄρι-
στήσειν ἐξαγγελθεῖν τι ἔργον ὃ ἀνάγκη εἰὴ πρὸ
tοῦ ἄριστου ἑξεργάσασθαι, οὐδεὶς ἂν οἶμαι ἡγοθείη
ἀκούσας· οὕτω τοῖνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδὲ οἰόμενοι
πλουτήσειν, ἔπει ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ περίλοιπον
ἔργον ὃ δὲ ἑξεργάσασθαι, συνεσκυθρωπάσαμεν,
οὐ φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πεποιήσθαι ἂν ἡδὴ καὶ
tοῦτο βουλόμενοι.

22. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ Συρίας μόνον
ἀγωνιοῦμεθα, ὅποι σῖτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατά
ἐστὶ καὶ φοίνικες οἱ καρποφόροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ
Ἀυλίας, ἐνθα πολὺς μὲν ὄινος, πολλὰ δὲ σῦκα,
pολὺ δὲ ἐλαιον, θάλαττα δὲ προσκλύζει καθ' ἦν
πλεῖω ἐρχεται ἢ ὅσα τὶς ἐώρακεν ἠγαθά, ταῦτα,
were defeated? 20. And finally, you see, the report is brought that the enemy do not feel that they are strong enough to fight us by themselves, but are hiring others in the hope that these will fight for them more valiantly than they can for themselves. However, if there are any to whom the situation over there—such as it is—seems formidable, while our own condition seems contemptible, I say, men, that we ought to send them over to the enemy, for they would be much more useful to us over there than in our ranks.”

21. When Cyrus had finished his speech, Chrysantas, the Persian, arose and spoke as follows: “Do not wonder, Cyrus, that some looked disconsolate when they heard the report; for it was not from fear that they felt this, but from vexation—just as, if it should be announced, when people are ready and waiting to sit down to luncheon, that there is some work that they must do before they may eat, not one, I venture to say, would be pleased to hear it. So we also, thinking we were just on the point of getting rich, all put on a disconsolate look when we heard that there was some work left over which we must do; and it was not because we were frightened, but because we wished that this, too, were already accomplished.

22. “But our disappointment is past, seeing that we are to contend not for Syria only, where there is an abundance of grain and flocks and date-palms, but for Lydia as well; for in that land there is an abundance of wine and figs and olive oil, and its shores are washed by the sea; and over its waters more good things are brought than any one has ever seen—when we think of that,” said he, “we are no
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ἐφη, ἐννοοῦμενοι οὐκέτι ἀχθόμεθα, ἀλλὰ θαρροῦμεν ὡς μᾶλλον, ἵνα θάττων καὶ τούτων τῶν Λυδίων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωμεν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄπε τε σύμμαχοι πάντες ἰσθησάν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπήνεσαν.

23. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὁ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοι ἱέναι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς φθάσωμεν ἀφικόμενοι, ἢν δυνώμεθα, ὅπου τὰπιτήδεια αὐτοῖς συλλέγεται. ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσῳ ἀν θάττων ὅμοιοι, τοσοῦτῳ μείω μὲν τὰ παρόντα εὐρήσομεν αὐτοῖς, πλεῖον δὲ τὰ ἀπόντα. 24. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οὖν λέγω· εἰ δὲ τὰς ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ χαῖρετέρῃ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερῃ εἶναι ἢ ῥά δόν ἡμῖν, διδασκέτω.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνηγόρευον μὲν πολλοὶ ὡς χρεών εἰς ὅτι τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούς πολεμίους, ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὔδείς, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἢρχετο λόγον τοιοῦτο.

25. Ἀνδρές σύμμαχοι, αἱ μὲν γυναι καὶ τὰ σῶματα καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ὅσα δεήσει χρήσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν σὺν θεῷ παρεσκεύασται· νῦν δὲ τὰπιτήδεια δεὶ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευάζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τε ἡμῖν καὶ ὅποσοι τετράποσι χρώμεθα μὴ μείον ἢ εἰκοσισμεν ἡμέρων. ἐγὼ γὰρ λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω πλέον 2 ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρων ἐσομένην ὁδὸν, ἐν ἡ οὐδὲν εὐρήσομεν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἀνεσκεύασται γὰρ τὰ μὲν υφ’ ἡμῶν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὡσα ἐδύναντο. 26. συσκευάζεσθαι οὖν χρῆ σῖτον μὲν ἰκανόν· ἀνεν γὰρ τούτῳ οὔτε μάχεσθαι οὔτε ἐδῶν δυναίμεθα· ἀν’ οίνῳ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐκαστον ἐχειν

1 μᾶλλον Dindorf, Edd.; τάχιστα MSS.
2 πλέον Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; πλέονων F, Dindorf3, Breitenbach; πλέον ὑν DG3.

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longer vexed, but our courage rises to the highest point, with desire to come all the more quickly into the enjoyment of these good things in Lydia also."

Thus he spoke; and the allies were all pleased with his speech and applauded.

23. "And indeed, my friends," said Cyrus, "I propose that we move against them as soon as possible, in the first place that we may reach the place where their supplies are being collected, before they do, if we can; and in the second place, because the faster we march the less perfected we shall find their arrangements and the greater we shall find their deficiencies. 24. This, then, is my proposal; but if any one thinks that any other course would be safer or easier for us, let him inform us."

Many supported him, saying that it was expedient to proceed as soon as possible against the enemy, and no one opposed his plan; so Cyrus began to speak as follows:

25. "Friends and allies, our souls and bodies and the arms that we shall have to use have, with God's help, long since been made ready. And now for the march we must get together for ourselves and for the animals that we use provisions for not less than twenty days; for in reckoning it up, I find that there will be more than fifteen days' journey in which we shall find no provisions at all; for everything there has been made away with: the enemy took all that they could, and we have taken the rest. 26. Accordingly, we must put up and carry with us food enough; for without this we should be unable either to fight or to live. As for wine, each one ought to take along only enough to last till
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χρή δόσος ίκανός ἐσται ἐθίσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς ὕδρο-
ποτείν. πολλή γὰρ ἐσται τῆς ὀδοῦ ᾠνος, εἰς ἥν
οὐδ' ἀν πάνω πολὺν ὀνόμιν συσκευασμέθα, διαρ-
κέσει. 27. ὡς οὖν μὴ ἐξεπίνης ἠοινοι γενόμενου
νοσήματι περιπτώμεν, ὥδε χρή ποιεῖν· ἔπι μὲν
τῷ σῖτῳ νῦν εὕθες ἀρχώμεθα πίνειν ὕδωρ· τοῦτο
γὰρ ἦδη ποιούντες οὐ πολὺ μεταβαλοῦμεν. 28. καὶ
γὰρ ὅστις ἀλφιτοσιτεῖ, ὑδατί μεμαγμένην ἅ 
μᾶζαν ἐσθίει, καὶ ὅστις ἀρτοσιτεῖ, ὑδατί διεν-
μένου τοῦ ἄρτον, καὶ τὰ ἑφθα δὲ πάντα μεθ' ὑδατος
τοῦ πλείστου ἐσκεύασται. μετὰ δὲ τῶν σῖτου ἀν
οίνου ἐπιτίνωμεν, οὐδὲν μείων ἔχουσα ἡ ψυχὴ
ἀναπαύσεται. 29. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνου
ἀφαιρεῖν χρή, ἐὼς ἀν λάθωμεν ὕδροπόται γενό-
μενοι. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ μικρῶν παράλλαξις πᾶσαν ποιεῖ
φύσιν ὑποφέρειν τὰς μεταβολὰς. διδάσκει δὲ καὶ
ὁ θεὸς, ἀπάγων ἡμᾶς κατὰ μικρῶν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ χει-
μῶνος εἰς τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι ἵσχυρα θάλπη ἐκ τῶν
θάλπον εἰς τὸν ἵσχυρον χειμῶνα. ὅν χρή μιμο-
μένους εἰς ὅ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν προειθησεμένους ἡμᾶς
ἀφικνεῖσθαι.

30. Καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων δὲ βάρος εἰς τῇ-
πιτήδεια καταδαπανᾶτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑπτήδεια
περιτιθεύσα τούτων οὐκ ἄχρηστα ἐσται· στρωμάτων δὲ
ἐνδεικτείς μὴ δείσητε ὡς οὐχ ἤδεως καθευδήσετε·
ei d' mē, emē aitiasēte. ēsthis mēntoi στοῖ ἐστὼν
ἀφθονωτέρα παροῦσα, πολλὰ καὶ ἤγανιντι καὶ
κάμνοντι ἑπικουρεῖ.

1 μεμαγμένη Hemsterhuys, Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; μεμαγμένη MSS., Dindorf3, Breitenbach.

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we accustom ourselves to drinking water; for the
greater part of the march will be through a country
where there is no wine, and for that all the wine
we can carry will not suffice, even if we take along
a very great quantity. 27. That we may not,
therefore, fall a prey to sickness when we sud-
denly find ourselves deprived of wine, we must
take this course: let us now begin at once to drink
water at our meals, for by so doing we shall not
greatly change our manner of living. 28. For who-
ever eats barley bread always eats meal that
has been kneaded up with water, and whoever eats
wheaten bread eats of a loaf that was mixed with
water; and everything boiled is prepared with water
in very liberal quantities. So, if after the meal we
drink some wine, our soul will lack nothing and
find refreshment. 29. But later on we must also
gradually diminish the amount taken after dinner,
until unconsciously we have become teetotalers.
For gradual transition helps any nature to bear
changes. Why, God teaches us that, by leading
us gradually from winter to endure the burning
heat of summer, and from the heat of summer to
the rigours of winter; and we should imitate Him
and reach the end we would attain by accustoming
ourselves beforehand.

30. "For your heavy blankets you may substitute
an equal weight of provisions; for excess of pro-
visions will not be useless. And do not be afraid
that you will not sleep soundly for want of your
blankets; if you do not, I will take the blame.
However, if any one has a generous supply of
clothing with him, that will be of good service to him
whether he be well or ill.
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31. Ὄψα δὲ χρῆ συνεσκευάσθαι ὅσα ἦστιν ὅξεα καὶ δριμέα καὶ ἀλμυρά· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔπλο σῖτον τε ἀγει καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστου ἀρκεῖν. ὅταν δὲ ἐκβαίνωμεν εἰς ἀκέραια, ὅπου ἦδη εἰκὸς ἦμᾶς σῖτον λαμβάνειν, χειρομύλαις χρῆ αὐτόθεν παρασκευάσασθαι αἰς σιτοποιησόμεθα· τούτῳ γὰρ κοφότατον τῶν σιτοποικῶν ὀργάνων.

32. Συνεσκευάσθαι δὲ χρῆ καὶ ὃν ἀσθενοῦντες δεόνται ἀνθρώπων. τούτων γὰρ ὃ μὲν ὄγκος μικρότατος, ἢν δὲ τύχῃ τοιαύτη γένηται, μάλιστα δεήσει.

“Εχειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἰμάντας· τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ ἀνθρώπως καὶ ἵπποις ἰμάσιν ἤρτηται· δὲν κατα- τριβομέων καὶ βηγυμένων ἀνάγκη ἄργειν, ἢ ἔτι τῆς ἐχῆς περίζυγα.

“Ὅστις δὲ πεπαίδευται καὶ παλτὸν ξύσασθαι, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἅπειλης μὴ ἐπιλαθέσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ὅπως φέρεσθαι. 33. ὁ γὰρ λόγχην ἀκοῦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ψυχήν τι παρακοῦ. ἔπεσε γὰρ τῆς αἰσχύνης λόγχην ἀκονώντα κακὸν εἶναι.

“Εχειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ξύλα περίπλεωσκαὶ ἀρμασί καὶ ἀμάξως· ἢ γὰρ πολλαῖς πράξεσι πολλὰ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἀπαγορεύοντα εἶναι. ἔχειν δὲ δει καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαίοτα ὁργάνα ἐπὶ ταῦτα πάντα. 34. οὗ γὰρ παυταχοῦ χειροτέχνης παραγίγνοντας· τὸ δέ ἔφ᾽ ἠμέραν ἄρκεσον ὀλίγοι τινὲς οἳ σὺν ἰκανοὶ ποιήσαι. ἔχειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ἀμην καὶ σμινύν καθ᾽ ἀμαξαν ἐκάστην, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νωτοφόρον δὲ ἀξίην καὶ δρέπανον· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ

1 περίπλεω Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; περίπλεα MSS., Dindorf3, Breitenbach.

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31. "For meats, we must pack up and take along only such as are sharp, pungent, salty; for these not only stimulate the appetite but also afford the most lasting nourishment. And when we come out into a country that has not been plundered, where we are at once likely to find grain again, we must then have hand-mills ready made with which to prepare food, for these are the lightest of the implements used in making bread.

32. "Again, we must take with us the things that sick people need; for the weight they add is very small and, if we have a case of sickness, they will be very necessary.

"We must also have plenty of straps; for nearly (2) packs, everything that men and horses have is fastened on with straps, and when these wear out or break, everything must come to a standstill, unless one has some extra ones.

"And it will be a good thing for the man who has (3) arms, been taught how to smooth down a spear-shaft not to forget a rasp; and it will be well to bring along a file too; 33. for he that whets his spear whets his courage, in a way, at the same time; for a man must be overcome with shame to be whetting his spear and yet feel himself a coward.

"We must also have a good supply of lumber for (4) vehicles, the chariots and the wagons, for from constant use many parts necessarily become defective. We must have also the most indispensable tools for all these purposes; 34. for we shall not find mechanics everywhere, and almost any one can make what will serve for a day. Besides these, we must have a shovel and mattock for every wagon, and for each pack-animal an axe and a sickle; for these are useful to each one
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ιδία ἐκάστῳ χρήσιμα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτάκις ὅφελιμα γίγνεται.

35. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δέοντα οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὀπλοφόρων ἔξετάζετε τοὺς ύφ᾽ ύμιν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ παριέναι ὅτου ἃν τις τούτων ἐνδέηται· ἤμεῖς γὰρ τούτων ἐνδεδείξις ἐσόμεθα. ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποζύγια κελεύω ἔχειν, ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἀρχοντες ἔξετάζετε, καὶ τῶν μὴ ἔχοντα κατα-σκευάζεσθαι ἀναγκάζετε.

36. Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὕτι οἱ τῶν ὀδοποιῶν ἀρχοντες ἔχετε μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένους παρ᾽ ἕμου τοὺς ἀποδεδοκιμασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν σφενδουρητῶν τούτων δὲ χρῆ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ξυλοκόπον ἀναγκάζει στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν σμίκρυν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σφενδουρητῶν ἁμὴν τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατ᾽ ἱλας πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἢν τι δέχῃ ὀδοποίας, εὐθὺς ἐνέργει ήτε, καὶ ἔγω ἢν τι δέσμαι, ὅπως εἰδὼθ ὅθεν δὲι λαβόντα τούτους χρῆσθαι.

37. Ἀξὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ ἠλικίᾳ σὺν τοῖς ὀργανοῖς χαλκέας τε καὶ τέκτονας καὶ σκυτοτόμους, ὅπως ἢν τι δέχῃ καὶ τοιοῦτον τεχνῶν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, μηδὲν ἐξείπηται. οὐτοὶ δὲ ὀπλοφόρου μὲν τάξεως ἀπολελύσονται, ἃ δὲ ἐπίστανται, τῷ βουλομένῳ μισθῷ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔσονται.

38. Ἡν δὲ τις καὶ ἐμπορος βούληται ἐπεσθαι πωλεῖν τι βουλόμενος, τῶν μὲν προειρημένων 168
individually and often serviceable for the common good as well.

35. "As to what is needed for the commissariat, you officers of the armed soldiers must make inquiry of the men under you, for we must not overlook anything of this sort that any one may need; for it is we that shall feel the want of it, if it is lacking. In reference to what I order for the pack-animals, you officers of the baggage-train must inquire into the matter, and if any man is not properly provided, require him to procure what is lacking.

36. "You superintendents of the engineering corps have here from me a list of the spearmen, the archers, and the slingers, whose names have been stricken from the roster. You must require those of them who were spearmen to carry on the march a woodcutter's axe, those who were bowmen a mattock, and those who were slingers a shovel. With these tools they are to march in squads ahead of the wagons, so that, in case there is any need of road-building, you may get to work without delay, and so that, if I require their services, I may know where to find them when the time comes.

37. "And finally I shall take along those of an age for military service who are smiths and carpenters and cobblers, in order that, if anything is wanted in the army in the line of their trades also, we may not suffer for lack of it. And they shall be relieved of assignments to duty under arms, but they shall occupy the position assigned to them and there ply their trades for pay at the order of whoever wishes their services.

38. "And any merchant who wishes to accompany us, seeking a market for his wares, may do so; but if
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ǯερόν τάπτιτήδεια ἔχειν ἢν τι πωλῶν ἀλήσκηται, πάντων στερήσεται· ἐπειδὰν ὁ ἄλται παρέδοσιν αἱ ἧµεραι, πωλήσει ὁπως ἀν βούληται. ὡστις δὲ ἀν τῶν ἐμπόρων πλεῖστην ἀγορὰν παρέχων φανηται, οὕτως καὶ παρὰ τῶν συµµάχων καὶ παρ’ ἐµοὶ δῶρων καὶ τιµής τεύξεται. 39. εἰ δὲ τις χρηµάτων προσδείησην νοµίζει εἰς ἐµπολήν, γνωστήρας ἕµοι προσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐγγυητάς ἡ µήν πορεύεσθαι 1 σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, λαµβανέτω ὃν ἧµεῖς ἔχοµεν.

Ἐγὼ µὲν δὴ ταῦτα προαιροµένω· εἰ δὲ τίς τι καὶ ἄλλο δέον ἐνορα, πρὸς ἐµὲ σηµαίνετω.

40. καὶ ὑµεῖς µὲν ἀπίοντες συµκενάζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ θύσοµαι ἐπὶ τῇ ὅρµῇ· ὅταν δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς ἔχῃ, σηµαίνοµεν. παρείναι δὲ χρη ἀπαντᾷ τὰ προειρηµένα ἔχοντας εἰς τὴν τεταγµένην χώραν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεµόνας ἑαυτῶν. 41. ὑµεῖς δὲ οἱ ἡγεµόνες τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστὸς τάξιν εὐτρεπτισµένοι πρὸς ἐµὲ πάντας συµβάλλετε, ἵνα τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐκαστοι χώρας καταµάθητε.

III

1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ µὲν συνεσκευάζοντο, δὲ Κύρος ἑθύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν, ὁρµᾶτο σὺν τῷ στρατεύµατι καὶ τῇ

1 πορεύεσθαι Stephanus, Marchant, Gemoll; πορεύεσθαι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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he is caught trying to sell anything within the number of days for which the troops are ordered to furnish their own provisions, he shall have all his goods confiscated. But when those days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And the man who seems to offer the largest stock of goods shall receive rewards and preferment both from the allies and from myself. 39. And if any merchant thinks he needs more money for the purchase of supplies, let him bring me vouchers for his respectability and identity, and sureties as a pledge that he is really going with the army, and he shall receive a certain amount from the fund we have.

"These are the directions I have to give in advance. If any one thinks of anything else that we need, let him inform me of it.

40. "Now do you go and make ready, and I will sacrifice for a blessing upon our start; and when the omens from the gods are favourable, we shall give the signal, and all must come equipped with what has been prescribed and join their own commanders at the place appointed. 41. And all of you officers, when you have made ready each his own division, come to me that you may acquaint yourselves with your several positions."

III

1. When they heard this they began to make ready for the march, and Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice; and when the omens of the sacrifice were favourable, he set out with the army. On the first day he left the
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μὲν πρώτη ἡμέρα ἔξεστρατοπεδεύσατο ὡς δυνατὸν ἐγγύτατα, ὅπως εἰ τίς τι ἐπιλελεσμένος εἰη, μετέλθησι, καὶ εἰ τίς τι ἐνδεόμενος γνοή, τοῦτο ἐπιπαρασκευάσατο.

2. Κυαξάρης μὲν οὖν τῶν Μῆδων ἔχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέμενεν, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ οἶκοι ἔρημα εἰη. ὦ δὲ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, τοὺς ἵππες μὲν πρῶτον ἔχων, καὶ πρὸ τούτων διερευνητὰς καὶ σκοποὺς ἴς ἀναβιβαζόν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσθεν εὐσκοπῶτατα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτος ἤγα τὰ σκευοφόρα, ὅπου μὲν πεδινὸν εἰη, πολλοὺς ὀρμαθός ποιοῦμενος τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων ὀπισθεῖς δὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφεσπομένη, εἰ τὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπολείποιτο, οἱ προστυγχάνοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμέλειον ὡς μὴ κω- λύσιντο πορεύεσθαι. 3. ὅπου δὲ στενοτέρα εἰη ἡ ὁδὸς, διὰ μέσου ποιοῦμενοι τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὀπλοφόροι· καὶ εἰ τὶ ἐμποδίζοι, οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα γνωρίσανθοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεμέλειον. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ αἱ τάξεις παρ' ἑαυταῖς ἔχουσαι τὰ σκευοφόρα· ἐπετέτακτο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς σκευοφόροις κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστοις τάξειν ἰέναι, εἰ μὴ τὶ ἄναγκαιον ἀποκολυόν. 4. καὶ σημείων δὲ ἔχων ὁ τοῦ ταξιάρχου σκευοφόρος ἔγειτο γνωστὸν τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτῶν τάξεωι ὡς ἀβρόοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπεμέλειον τὸ ἰσχύρὸς ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὡς μὴ ὑπολείποιτο. καὶ οὔτω ποιοῦντο οὔτε πιθεῖν ἐδεὶ ἀλλήλους ἀμα τε παρόντα ἀπαντά καὶ σαώ-

1 ἐκάστου Hertlein, most Edd.; ἐκαστοῦ D, Dindorf; ἐκάστου xxF.
position he had occupied and encamped again as near as convenient to it. This he did, in order that, in case any one had forgotten anything, he might go back after it; and if any one discovered that he needed anything, he might still procure it.

2. Cyaxares, however, remained behind with one third of the Medes, so as not to leave the home country unprotected, while Cyrus, with the cavalry at the head of the line, marched as rapidly as possible; but he never failed to send patrols ahead, and scouts up to the heights commanding the widest view before them. After these he arranged the baggage train, and where the country was flat he arranged many lines of wagons and pack-animals abreast; the phalanx followed next, and if any part of the baggage train lagged behind, such of the officers as happened to be at hand took care that they and their men should not be retarded in their advance. 3. But when the road was narrower, the soldiers put the baggage in between their lines and marched on either side of it; and if they met with any hindrance, those of the soldiers who were near the place took the matter in hand. For the most part, the companies marched with their own baggage next to them; for the baggage captains had orders to go along with their own respective companies unless something unavoidable should prevent it. 4. And the baggage man of each captain went ahead bearing an ensign that was known to the men of his own company. They were thus enabled to march close together, and they were extremely careful, each of his own property, that nothing should be left behind. As they maintained this order, it was never necessary for them to look for one another, and at the same time everything was kept close at
τερα ἣν καὶ θάττων τὰ δέοντα εἰχον οἱ στρατιώται.

5. Ὡς δὲ οἱ προϊόντες σκοποὶ ἐδοξαν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὀρᾶν ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνοντας καὶ χιλιόν καὶ ξύλα, καὶ υποξύγια δὲ ἔωρων ἐτερα τοιαύτα ἄγουτα, τὰ δὲ καὶ νεκρόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόσω αὐτόρωντες ἑδόκων καταμανθάνειν μετεωριζόμενον ἢ καπνὸν ἢ κοινορτόν, ἐκ τούτων πάντων σχεδὸν ἐγίγνωσκόν ὅτι εἴη ποιν πλησίον τὸ στρατεύμα τῶν πολεμίων. 6. εὖθυς οὖν πέμπει τινὰ ὁ σκόπαρχος ἀγγελοῦντα ταῦτα τῷ Κύρφῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε μένοντας ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς σκοπαῖς οὐ τί ἄν ἄεὶ καὶ ἄν ὅρωσιν ἔξαγγελλειν· τάξιν δ᾽ ἐπεμψε ἵππεων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐκέλευσε πειραθῆναι συλλαβεῖν τινὰς τῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οἱ σαφεῖστεροι μάθοιεν τὸ ὅν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχθέντες τούτῳ ἐπραττοῦν.

7. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα αὐτοῦ κατεχόμεν, ὡς παρασκευάσαντο φέροντα χρήμα πρὶν πάνυ ὅμοι εἰναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἄριστῶν παρηγούσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ μελότας ἐν ταῖς τάξεις τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖν. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσε καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τους ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν καὶ οὕτως μὲν συνήθεσαν. 9. οἱ δὲ καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον συλλαβοῦντες ἀνθρώπους ἡγαγοῦν· οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες ἀνερωτόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἔλεγον

1 σκόπαρχος Dindorf, Edd.; σκοπάρχης MSS.
hand and in greater safety, and the soldiers always obtained more promptly anything that was wanted.

5. Now the scouts who went forward thought they saw men getting fodder and fuel on the plain; and they also saw beasts of burden, some loaded with other supplies of that sort and others grazing. Then, as they looked further on into the distance, they thought that they detected smoke or a cloud of dust rising up. From all these evidences they pretty well recognised that the army of the enemy was somewhere in the neighbourhood. 6. Accordingly, the officer in command of the scouts at once sent a man to report the news to Cyrus; and when he heard it he ordered them to remain at their look-out place and send him reports from time to time of whatever they saw that was new. Moreover, he sent forward a company of cavalry with orders to try to capture some of the men moving up and down the plain, in order that he might learn more definitely the real state of affairs. Accordingly, those who received these orders proceeded to execute them.

7. He himself halted the rest of the army there, so that they might make what preparations he considered necessary before they were in too close quarters. And he gave the word to take luncheon first and then to remain at their posts and be on the watch for orders. 8. So, when they had eaten, he summoned together the commanders of the cavalry, the infantry, and the chariot corps, and also the officers in charge of the engines, of the baggage train, and of the wagons, and they came. 9. And those who made the raid into the plain had captured some people and now brought them in; and the prisoners, when cross-questioned by Cyrus, said that
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"ότι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἶν, προεληφθότες ἐπὶ χιλόν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξύλα, παρελθόντες τὰς προφυλακότις. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ σπάνια πάντ' εἶναι. 10. καὶ ὁ Κύρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας, Πόσον δὲ, ἐφη, ἀπεστίων ἐνθέντε ὁ στράτευμα;

"Οι δ' ἔλεγον, Ὄως δύο παρασάγγας.

"Επὶ τούτου ἢ σφητ τὸ Κύρος, Ἡμῶν δ', ἐφη, λόγος τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦς;

"Ναὶ μᾶ Δέ, ἔφασαν, καὶ πολὺς ὦς ἐγγὺς ἦδη εἰητε1 προσώποισ.

"Τί οὖν; ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ἢ καὶ ἔχαιρον ἀκούοντες ἴντας; τοῦτο δὲ ἐπῆρετο τῶν παρόντων ἔνεκα.

"Οὐ μᾶ Δέ, εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλα ἤνιώτο.

11. Νῦν δ', ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τί ποιοῦσιν;

"Εκτάττονται, ἔφασαν καὶ ἔχθεσ δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἤμεραν ταῦτα τοῦτ' ἐπραττοῦν.

"Ο δὲ τάττων, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, τίς ἐστίν;

"Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, Αὐτὸς ὁ Κροῖςος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἐλλην τις ἀνήρ, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τῆς Μήδος' ὁ τὸς μέντοι ἐλεγεῖτο φυγαῖ εἶναι παρ' ὑμῶν.

"Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἡλλην, ὁ Ζεὺς μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτοῦ ὦς ἐγώ βουλομαι.

12. 'Εκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς παρόντας ὡς λέξιον τι ἀνήγετο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρῆκ τὸ ἄλλος αὐτὸ τοῦ σκοπάρχου, λέγων ὦτι ἱππεῶν τάξις μεγάλη ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ προφαίνοντο καὶ ἤμεῖς μὲν, ἐφη, εἰκά-

1 εἰητε Dindorf3, Hug, Breitenbach; εἰητε Dindorf4, Marchant, Gemoll; ἢτε MSS.

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they were from the camp and had come out after fodder, passing out beyond their advanced guards, while others had gone after fuel; for by reason of the vast numbers of their army, everything was scarce.

10. On hearing this, Cyrus asked: "How far from here is your army?"

"About two parasangs," they replied.

"Was there any talk about us over there?" Cyrus then asked.

"Yes, by Zeus," they answered, "a great deal, and to the effect that you were already close upon us in your advance."

"Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "were they glad when they heard we were coming?" This question he asked for the benefit of the bystanders.

"No, by Zeus," they answered; "they were not glad in the least, but were rather very much troubled."

11. "And what are they doing now?" asked Cyrus.

"They are being marshalled in battle array," they answered; "and yesterday and the day before they were doing the same."

"And the marshal," said Cyrus, "who is he?"

"Croesus himself," they replied, "and with him a Greek and some one else—a Mede; the latter, however, was said to be a deserter from your side."

"Grant, O Zeus almighty," said Cyrus, "that it be mine to get hold of him, as I desire!"

12. Then he ordered the prisoners to be led away, and turned to the bystanders as if to say something. But at that moment another messenger came from the captain of the scouts with word that a large body of cavalry was within sight on the plain. "And we presume," he added, "that they are coming with the
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ζομεν ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τόδε τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἄλλοι ώς τριάκοντα ἵππεις συχνὸν προσελάυνουσι, καὶ μέντοι, ἐφη, κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, ἵσως βουλό-μενοι λαβεῖν, ἢν δύνωνται, τὴν σκοπὴν ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐσμὲν μία δεκαῖ οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς σκοπῆς.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντων ἱππέων ἐλάσαντας ὑπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ἀδή-
λους τοῖς πολέμωις ἀτρέμιαν ἔχειν. "Οταν δ’, ἐφη, ἢ δεκαὶ ἢ ἡμετέρα λείπη τὴν σκοπῆν, ἐξ
αναστάντες ἐπίθεσον τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τῆν
σκοπῆν. ὡς δὲ ὑμᾶς μὴ λυπώσοι οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς
μεγάλης τάξεως, ἀντέξει οὖν, ἐφη, ὁ Τστάστα, τὴν χλιδοστὶν τῶν ἱππέων λαβὼν καὶ ἐπεφάνθη έναντίος τῇ τῶν πολέμων τάξει. διότι δὲ
μηδαμῇ εἰς ἀφανές, ἀλλὰ ὅπως αἱ σκοπαὶ σοὶ δια-
μένωσιν ἐπιμεληθεῖς πάρθη. ἢν δ’ ἀρὰ ἀνατεινα-
tές τινες τάς δεξιὰς προσελαύνωσιν ὑμῖν, δέχεσθε
φιλίως τοὺς ἄνδρας.

14. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τστάστας ἀπιὼν ὁπλίζετο· οἱ
δ’ ὑπηρετά τῇ ἡλαυνόν εὐθὺς ώς ἐκέλευσεν. ἀπαντὰ
δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ ἐντὸς τῶν σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς
θεράπουσιν ὁ πεμφθεὶς πάλαι κατάσκοπος, ὁ
φύλαξ τῆς Σουσίδος γυναικός. 15. ὁ μὲν οὖν
Κύρος ὡς ἠκουσεν, ἀναπτήνθησα εἰκὴ τῆς ἔδρας
ὑπῆρτα τε αὐτῶ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
ώστερ εἰκός μηδεν εἰδόται, ἐκεπεληγμένοι ἦσαν

1 προσελαύνουσι Stephanus, Edd.; προσελέαυνοι MSS.
2 διώξεις Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; διώξεις Dindorf; διώξεις
MSS., Breitenbach.
3 εἰδότας Schliack, Marchant, Gemoll; εἰδότες MSS., Hug,
Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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intention of reconnoitring the army here. And we have good reasons for the suspicion, for at a considerable distance in advance of this company about thirty other horsemen are riding forward; as a matter of fact, they are riding in the direction of our party, aiming perhaps, if possible, to get possession of our look-out point; and we who are holding this particular point are only ten in number."

13. So Cyrus ordered a detachment of the horsemen who formed his body-guard to ride up to the foot of the place of look-out and to remain quiet there out of sight of the enemy. "But," he added, "when our ten leave the look-out place, rush up and attack the enemy as they come up it. But that the horsemen of the large battalion may not bring you to grief, do you, Hystaspas," said he to that officer, "take your regiment of cavalry, go out against them, and show yourself over against the enemy's battalion. But do not by any means allow yourself to pursue into places that you do not know, but when you have made sure that the look-out stations remain in your possession, come back. And if any ride toward you, holding up their right hands, receive them as friends."

14. Accordingly, Hystaspas went away and donned his armour; the men from Cyrus's body-guard rode off at once, as he had ordered. And just within the picket line there met them, with his attendants, the man who had been sent some time since as a spy, the guardian of the lady of Susa. 15. So when Cyrus heard this, he sprang up from his seat, went to meet him, and welcomed him cordially; and the rest, knowing nothing of the facts, were naturally
tφ πράγματι, ἔως Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἀνδρές φίλοι, ἢκει ἡμῖν ἄνηρ ἀριστος. νῦν γὰρ ἦδη πάντας ἀνθρώπους δεῖ εἰδέναι τὰ τούτων ἔργα. οὗτος οὔτε αἰσχροῦ ἴτηθείς οὐδενὸς ὧχετο οὕτ' ἐμὲ φοβηθείς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεμφθεὶς ὅπως ἡμῖν μαθὼν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων σαφῶς τὰ ὄντα ἔξαγ-γείλειεν. 16. ἀ μὲν οὖν ἔγω σοι ὑπεσχόμην, ὃ Ἀράστα, μέμνημαι τε καὶ ἀπόδοσο σὺν τούτωι πᾶσι. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπαντας, ὃ ἀνδρει, τούτων τιμᾶν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρα. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκινδύνευεσε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπέ-έσχεν, ἦ ἐβαρύνετο.

17. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ πάντες ἰσπάζοντο τῶν Ἀράσταν καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο. εἰπόντος δὲ Κύρου ὅτι τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἶπ ἄλις, Ἔ δὲ καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι, ταῦτ, ἐφε, διηγοῦ, ὃ Ἀράστα· καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μηδὲ μείου τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. κρείττον γὰρ μείζω οἰηθέντασ μείονα ἰδεῖν ἦ μείω ἀκούσαντας ἵσχυρότερα εὐρίσκειν.

18. Καὶ μὴν, ἐφε ο Ἀράστας, ὃς ἀν ἀσφαλέ-στατά γε εἰδένην ὅποσον τὸ στράτευμα ἐστίν ἐποίουν· συνεξέτατεν γὰρ πάρων αὐτός.1

Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἐφε ο Κύρος, οὐ τὸ πλήθος μόνον οἰσθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δῆ, ἐφε ο Ἀράστας, καὶ ὃς διανοοῦνται τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἀλλ' ὀμοίως, ἐφε ο Κύρος, τὸ πλήθος ἡμῖν πρῶ-τὸν εἰπὲ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ.

1 autós Cobet, most Edd.; autóis xz, Dindorf; autóous y.
astonished at his actions until Cyrus said: "My friends, here has come a man most loyal; for now all the world must know at once what he has done. He went away not because his disgrace was too great for him to bear, nor because he feared my displeasure, but because I sent him to discover for us the exact condition of the enemy and to report to us the true state of affairs. 16. And now, Araspas, I have not forgotten what I promised you, and I will fulfil it, and all these men shall help me; for it is only right, my friends, that you also should all honour him as a valiant man. For, for our general good, he has risked his life and borne the stigma that was put upon him."

17. Then all embraced Araspas and gave him a hearty welcome. But Cyrus, remarking that there had been enough of that, added, "Tell us, Araspas, what it is of the first importance for us to know; and do not detract anything from the truth nor underrate the real strength of the enemy. For it is better for us to think it greater and find it less than to hear that it is less and find it really more formidable."

18. "Aye," said Araspas, "but I did take steps to get the most accurate information about the size of their army; for I was present in person and helped to draw it up in battle order."

"And so," said Cyrus, "you are acquainted not only with their numbers but also with their order of battle."

"Yes, by Zeus," answered Araspas, "I am; and I know also how they are planning to conduct the battle."

"Good," said Cyrus; "still, tell us first, in round numbers, how many of them there are."
19. 'Εκείνοι τοίνυν, ἔφη, πάντες τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπέχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα στάδια: πάνυ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, ἐμέλησεν ὡστε εἰδέναι ὅποσον κατείχον χωρίον.

20. Οἱ δ' Αἰγυπτίοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πῶς εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι; ὅτι εἴπας, Πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

Τούτους δὲ οἱ μυρίαρχοι ἐταττόν εἰς ἑκατὸν πανταχῷ τὴν μυριοστὰν ἐκάστην τούτων γαρ σφίνει καὶ οἰκοὶ νόμον ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τάξεων. καὶ ὁ Κροίσος μέντοι μάλα ἥκων συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς οὕτω τάττεσθαι. ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὅτι πλείονον ὑπερφαλαγγήσαι τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος.

Πρὸς τί δή, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τούτο ἐπιθυμῶν;

'Ως ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ περιττῷ κυκλωσόμενοι καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔπειν, ':size=50'Ἀλλ' οὕτω 2 ἀν εἰδεῖν εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι κυκλώθειν. 21. ἀλλ' ἃ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ καίρὸς μαθεῖν, ἀκηκόαμεν ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ, ὁ ἄνδρες, οὕτω ποιεῖν νῦν μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἐνθέντε ἀπέλθητε, ἐπισκέψασθε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰππῶν καὶ τὰ ὕμων αὐτῶν ὀπλαὶ πολλάκις γὰρ μικροὶ ἐνδείᾳ καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἰππὸς καὶ ἀρμα ἁχρείων γίγνεται αὐριον δὲ πρῶ, ἐως ἂν ἐγὼ θύωμαι, πρῶτον μὲν χρῆ ἀριστηθῆσαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἰπποὺς, ὅπως οἱ

1 ἐπέχουσιν Leonclav, Edd.; ἐπέχουσιν D; οὗτοι δ' ἀμφὶ- χουσιν xAHV; οὗτοι δ' ἐπέχουσιν G; ἐχουσιν F.

2 οὗτοι Brodaeus, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οὗτοι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
19. “Well,” he replied, “with the exception of the Egyptians, they are all drawn up thirty deep, both foot and horse, and their front extends about forty stadia; for I took especial pains to find out how much space they covered.”

20. “And how are the Egyptians drawn up?” asked Cyrus; “for you said ‘with the exception of the Egyptians.’”

“The brigadier-generals drew them up—each one ten thousand men, a hundred square; for this, they said, was their manner of arranging their order of battle at home. And Croesus consented to their being so drawn up, but very reluctantly, for he wished to outflank your army as much as possible.”

“And what is his object in doing that, pray?” asked Cyrus.

“In order, by Zeus,” he replied, “to surround you with the part that extends beyond your line.”

“Well,” said Cyrus, “they may have an opportunity to find out whether the surrounders may not be surrounded. 21. Now we have heard from you what it is of the first importance for us to learn. And you, my men, must carry out the following programme: when you leave me, look at once to your own accoutrement and that of your horses; for often, for want of a trifle, man or horse or chariot becomes useless. And early to-morrow morning, during the time that I shall be sacrificing, first you must all breakfast, both men and horses, so that we may not

1 The stadium is 600 feet; the ancient soldier was normally allowed 3 feet. That makes a front of 200 men per stadium, 8,000 for the entire front. That means, as they stood 30 deep, 240,000 in the army, and with the Egyptians 360,000.
τι ἀν πράττειν ἀεὶ καιρὸς ἡ μη τούτου ἡμῖν ἔνδει.

'Επείτα δὲ σύ, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, . . . ὁ τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἔχε ὀσπερ καὶ ἔχετε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυρίαρ-χοι ἤπερ νῦν ἔχετε· ὁμοὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος οὗτος οὐδεις ἄρματι καιρὸς ἵππους μεταξευγύναι· παραγγείλατε δὲ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις καὶ λοχαγοῖς ἐπὶ φάλαγγος καθίστασθαι εἰς δύο ἔχοντας ἐκαστον τῶν λόχων. [ὁ δὲ λόχως ἦν ἐκαστος εἰκοσὶ τέτταρες.]

22. Καὶ τις εἶπε τῶν μυριάρχων, Καὶ δοκούμεν σοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρης, ᾐκανώς ἐξείν εἰς τοσοῦτοις τεταγμένοι πρὸς οὕτω βαθείαν φάλαγγα;

Καὶ οἱ Κύρως εἶπεν, Αἱ δὲ βαθύτεραι φάλαγγες ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῦσας τοῖς ὀπλαῖς τῶν ἐναντίων τί σοι, ἐφη, δοκούσιν ή τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτειν ή τοὺς συμμάχους ὀφελεῖν; 23. ἔγω μὲν γὰρ, ἐφη, τοὺς εἰς ἐκατόν τούτους ὀπλίτας εἰς μυρίους ἄν μᾶλλον βουλοίμην τετάχθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν ἐλαχίστοις μαχοίμεθα. ἐξ ὅσου μέντοι ἐγὼ τὴν φάλαγγα βαθύτεροι οἴομαι ὅλην ἐνεργὴν καὶ σύμμαχον ποι-ήσειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν. 24. ἀκοντιστὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς θρακοκόρους τάξη, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀκοντισταῖς τοὺς τοξότας. τοῦτοις γὰρ προστατάς τί ἀν τις τάττοι, οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι μηδείμαι μάχην ἄν ὑπομεῖναι ἐκ χειρός; προβεβλημένοι δὲ τοὺς

1 Ἀρσάμα, . . . , Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll (the missing words would be something like τὸ άριστερόν, σὺ δέ, ὁ Χρυσάντα); Ἀράστα ΜSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 καὶ ἔχετε Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ ἔχεις xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κατέχεις y.
3 ὁ δὲ . . . τέτταρες MSS., Edd.; seems an obvious gloss.
4 τί ἂν τίς Marchant; τοί ἂν τίς z; πῶς ἂν τίς cod. Med., 184
fail in anything that it may be of importance for us to do in any exigency.

"And then do you, Arsamas," said he, . . . "and you [Chrysantas] take charge of the right wing, as you always have done, and the rest of you brigadier-generals take the posts you now have. When the race is on, it is not the time for any chariot to change horses. So instruct your captains and lieutenants to form a line with each separate platoon two deep."

[Now each platoon contained twenty-four men.]

22. "And do you think, Cyrus," said one of the generals, "that drawn up with lines so shallow we shall be a match for so deep a phalanx?"

"When phalanxes are too deep to reach the enemy with weapons," answered Cyrus, "how do you think they can either hurt their enemy or help their friends? 23. For my part, I would rather have these hoplites who are arranged in columns a hundred deep drawn up ten thousand deep; for in that case we should have very few to fight against. According to the depth that I shall give my line of battle, I think I shall bring the entire line into action and make it everywhere mutually helpful. 24. I shall bring up the spearmen immediately behind the heavy-armed troops, and the bowmen immediately behind the spearmen; for why should any one put in the front ranks those who themselves acknowledge that they could never withstand the shock of battle in a hand-to-hand encounter? But with the heavy-

Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; &v τις xyV; τις &v Stephanus, Hug.
θωρακοφόρους μενοῦσι τε, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκοντίζουντες, 
οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες, ὑπὲρ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων 
λυμανοῦνται τοὺς πολεμίους. δὴ τί δὲν κακοὐργὴ 
τις τοὺς ἐναυτίσῃ, δὴλον ὅτι παντὶ τούτῳ 
τοὺς συμμάχους κοινόξει. 25. τελευταῖοι μέντοι 
στήσω τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι καλομένους. ὡσπερ γὰρ 
οἰκίας οὕτε ἀνέν λιθολογήματος ὄχυρον ὦτε 
ἀνεῖν τῶν στέγην ποιούντων οὐδέν ὄφελος, οὕτως 
οὐδὲ φάλαγγος οὕτε ἀνεῖν τῶν πρῶτων οὕτε ἀνεῖν 
tῶν τελευταίων, εἰ μὴ ἄγαθοι ἔσονται, ὄφελος 
οὐδέν.

26. Ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς τ’, ἔφη, ός παραγγέλλω τάτ-
tεσθε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν πελταστῶν ἀρχοντες ἐπὶ 
τούτοις ὁσαύτως τοὺς λόχους καθίστατε, καὶ 
ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πελτασταῖς 
ὁσαύτως.

27. Σὺ δέ, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχεῖς, τελευταῖοι 
ἔχων τοὺς ἄνδρας παράγγελλε τοῖς σαυτοῦ 
ἐφορᾶν τε ἐκάστῳ τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν 
tὸ δέον ποιοῦσιν ἐπικελεύειν, τοῖς δὲ μαλακο-
μένους ἀπειλεῖν ἰσχυρῶς· ἥν δέ τις στρέφηται 
προδιδόναι θέλων, θανάτῳ ξημοῦν. ἔργον γὰρ 
ἐστι τοῖς μὲν πρωτοστάταις θαρρύνειν τοὺς ἐπο-
μένους καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ· ύμᾶς δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ 
πᾶσι τεταγμένους πλεῖον φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς 
κακοῖς τού ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

28. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα ποιεῖτε. σὺ δέ, ὃ 
Εὐφράτα, ὃς ἀρχεῖς τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς, οὕτω 
ποιεῖ ὅπως τὰ ξεύγη τὰ τοὺς πύργους ἅγιοντα.
armed troops as a shield in front of them, they will stand their ground; and the one division with their spears, the other with their arrows will rain destruction upon the enemy, over the heads of all the lines in front. And whatever harm any one does to the enemy, in all this he obviously lightens the task of his comrades. 25. Behind all the rest I shall station the so-called rear-guard of veteran reserves. For just as a house, without a strong foundation or without the things that make a roof, is good for nothing, so likewise a phalanx is good for nothing, unless both front and rear are composed of valiant men.

26. "Do you, therefore, take your positions as I direct, and you also, the officers of the light-armed troops, bring up your platoons immediately behind them, and you, the officers of the archery, fall in, in the same way, directly behind the light-armed troops.

27. "Now you, the commander of the rear-guard, as you are behind all the rest with your men, issue orders to your own division that each man watch those immediately in front of him, encourage those who are doing their duty, threaten violently those who lag behind, and punish with death any one who turns his back with traitorous intent. For it is the duty of the men in the front ranks with word and deed to encourage those who follow them, while it is your business, who occupy the rear, to inspire the cowardly with greater fear than the enemy does.

28. "That is what you have to attend to. Now you, Euphratas, who are commander of the division in charge of the engines, manage to have the teams that draw the towers follow as close as possible behind

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ἐξεταί ὡς ἑγγύτατα τῆς φάλαγγος. 29. σὺ δ', ὡ Δασύχε, δς ἄρχεσ τῶν σκευοφόρων, ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἀγε πάντα τὸν τοιούτον στρατόν οἱ δὲ ύπηρέται σου ἱσχυρός κολαξόντων τοὺς προϊόντας τοῦ καρυοῦ ἡ λειτουρμένους.

30. Σὺ δὲ, ὡ Καρδούχε, δς ἄρχεις τῶν ἀρμαμαξών αὐ ἀγοιρο τὰς γυναικας, κατάστησον αὐτάς τελευταίας ἐπὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. ἐπόμενα γὰρ ταύτα πάντα καὶ πλήθους δόξαν παρέξει καὶ ἐνεδρεύων ἤμων ἐξουσία ἐσται, καὶ τῶς πολεμίους, 1 ἢν κυκλούσθαι πειρόνται, μείῳ τὴν πειρβάλην ἀναγκάσει ποιεῖσθαι ὅσω δ' ἂν μείζων χωρίον πειρβάλλωνται, τοσούτῳ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶς ἀσθενεστέρους γίγνεσθαι.

31. Καὶ υμεῖς μὲν οὗτῳ ποιεῖτε σὺ δὲ, ὡ Ἀρτάοζη καὶ Ἀρταγέρσα [τὴν] 2 χιλιοστῶν ἐκάτερος τῶν σὺν υμῶν πεζών ἐπὶ τοῦτοις ἔχετε. 32. καὶ σὺ, ὡ Φαρυνχε καὶ Ἀσιαδάτα, τὴν τῶν ἵππεων χιλιοστῶν ἡ ἐκάτερος ἄρχει υμῶν μὴ συγκατατάττετε εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἀλλ' ὁπισθὲν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἔξοπλισθητε καθ' υμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπείτα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἠκέτε σὺν τοῖς ἀλλοις ἡγεμόνων. οὗτο δὲ δεῖ υμᾶς παρεσκευάσθαι ὃς πρῶτοις δεῖσον ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

33. Καὶ σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καμήλοις ἀνδρῶν, ὁπισθὲν τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ἐκτάττον' ποίει δ' ὦ τι ἀν σοι παραγγέλλῃ Ἀρταγέρσας.

34. 'Τιμεῖς δ' οἱ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἡγεμόνες διακληρωσάμενοι, ὁ μὲν λαχῶν υμῶν πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τὰ μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ ἐκατόν ἐχων ἄρματα

1 τοῖς πολεμίους Schneider, Edd.; τοῖς πολεμίους MSS.

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the phalanx. 29. And you, Daüchus, who have command of the baggage-train, bring up all your division of the army next after the towers, and let your adjutants punish severely those who advance or fall behind further than is expedient.

30. “And you, Carduchus, who have charge of the carriages which convey the women, bring them up in the rear next after the baggage-train. For, if all this follows, it will give an impression of numbers and will afford us an opportunity for an ambuscade; and if the enemy try to surround us, they will have to make a wider circuit; and the greater the circuit they have to make, the weaker they must necessarily make their line.

31. “That is your course to pursue. But do you, Artaozus and Artagerses, have each of you a regiment of your infantry behind the carriages. 32. And you, Pharnuchus and Asiadatas, keep each of you the regiment of cavalry under your command out of the main line and take your stand by yourselves behind the carriages, and then come to me with the rest of the officers. You must be just as fully ready, though in the rear, as if you were to be the first to have to join battle.

33. “And you, the commander of the men on camels, take your position also behind the women’s carriages and do whatever Artagerses commands you.

34. “And finally, do you officers of the chariot forces cast lots, and let the one to whose lot it falls bring up his hundred chariots in front of the main
καταστησάτω· αἱ δ' ἔτεραι ἐκατοστύες τῶν ἀρμάτων, ἢ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξίου πλευρὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς στοιχοῦσα ἐπέσθω τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ κέρως, ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον.

35. Κύρος μὲν οὖτω διέταττεν.
'Αβραδάτας δὲ ὁ Σούσων βασίλευς εἶπεν, 'Εγὼ σοι, Κύρε, ἐθελούσιος υφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος τάξιν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ τί σοι ἄλλο δοκεῖ.

36. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπήρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρμασι Πέρσας, 'Ἡ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐφη, ταῦτα συγχωρεῖτε; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐ καλὸν εἰδί ταῦτα υφίστασι, διεκλήρωσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔλαχεν ὁ 'Αβραδάτας ὑπερ υφίστατο, καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

37. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπίστευτες καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες ὃν προείπον ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο καὶ φυλακᾶς καταστησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

IV

1. Τῇ δ' ύστεραίᾳ πρὸς Κύρος μὲν ἔθυνε, ὃ δ' ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀριστήσας καὶ σπουδὰς ποιησάμενος ἐξωπλίζετο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς χιτῶσι, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ καλοῖς θώραξι καὶ κράνεσιν ὀπλιζόν δὲ καὶ ἱπποὺς προμέτωπιδοὺς καὶ προστερνιδίους καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηρίδοις, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασι ὄντας παραπλευρίδοις· ὡστε ἠστραπτε μὲν χαλκῷ, ἦνθει δὲ φωικίσα πάσα ἡ στρατιά.

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line; of the other two hundred, one shall take its place in line upon the right flank of the army, the other on the left, and follow the phalanx each in single file."

35. Thus did Cyrus plan his order of battle.

But Abradatas, the king of Susa, said: "I will gladly volunteer to hold for you the post immediately in front of the enemy's phalanx, Cyrus, unless you have some better plan."

36. And Cyrus admired his spirit and clasped his hand, and turning to the Persians in command of the other chariots he asked: "Do you consent to this?" But they answered that it was inconsistent with their idea of honour to yield the place to him; accordingly, he had them cast lots; and Abradatas was assigned by lot to the place for which he had volunteered, and took his place over against the Egyptians.

37. This done, they went away, and when they had attended to the details of all that I have mentioned, they went to dinner; and then they stationed their pickets and went to bed.

IV

1. Early on the following day Cyrus was sacrificing, and the rest of the army, after breakfasting and pouring libations, proceeded to array themselves with many fine tunics and corselets and helms. And they armed their horses also with frontlets and breast-plates; the saddle-horses also they armed with thigh-pieces and the chariot teams with side-armour. And so the whole army flashed with bronze and was resplendent in purple.
2. Καὶ τῷ Ἀβραδάτῳ δὲ τὸ τετράρρυμον ἅρμα καὶ ὅππων ὀκτὼ παγκάλως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἔπει δ’ ἐμελλὲ τὸν λινὸν ἑώρακα, δι’ ἑπιχώριος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδύσθαι, προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἡ Πάνθεια χρυσοῦν\(^1\) καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος καὶ περιβραχιόνα καὶ ψέλια πλατέα περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυρῶν ποδήρη στολιδώτων τὰ κάτω καὶ λόφου ὕακινθινοβαφῆ. ταύτα δ’ ἐποιήσατο λάθρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκμετρησάμενη τὰ ἐκείνου ὅπλα. 3. ὥ δὲ ἱδὼν ἑθαύμασέ τε καὶ ἐπήρετο τὴν Πάνθειαν, Οὐ δήπορον, ὃ γύναι, συγκόψασα τὸν σαυτῆς κόσμον τὰ ὅπλα μοι ἐποίησον;

Μὰ Δί, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, ὅγκουν τὸν γε πλείστου ἀξίων ὑπὸ γὰρ ἐμοιγέ, ἣν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανῆς οἴς ἄσπερ ἐμοῖ δοκεῖς εἶναι, μέγιστος κόσμος ἐσεί. 

Ταύτα δὲ λέγουσα ἀμα ἐνέδυε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λαυθάνει τευ ἐπειράτο, ἐλείβει το. δὲ αὐτή τα δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρειών.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὅπο ἀξιοθέατος ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ὕπλισθη τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις, ἐφώνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἀτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχοῦσης· λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ὕφη

5. ἡ Πάνθεια ἀποχωρήσας κελεύσασα τοὺς παρόντας πάντας ἐλέξειν, Ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν, ὁ Ἀβραδάτα, εἰ τις καὶ ἰλλη πώποτε γυνὴ τὸν εαυτῆς ἀνδρα μεῖζον τῆς εαυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐτίμησεν, οἰμαὶ σε γιγνώσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ μία τούτων εἰμί. τί οὖν ἐμὲ δεῖ καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστον λέγειν; τὰ γὰρ ἔργα οἶμαι σοι πιθανω-

\(^1\) χρυσοῦν supplied by Meyer, Edd.; not in MSS.
2. And Abradatas's chariot with its four poles and eight horses was adorned most handsomely; and when he came to put on his linen corselet, such as they used in his country, Panthea brought him one of gold, also a helmet, arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists—all of gold—and a purple tunic that hung down in folds to his feet, and a helmet-plume of hyacinth dye. All these she had had made without her husband's knowledge, taking the measure for them from his armour. 3. And when he saw them he was astonished and turning to Panthea, he asked: "Tell me, wife, you did not break your own jewels to pieces, did you, to have this armour made for me?"

"No, by Zeus," answered Panthea, "at any rate, not my most precious jewel; for you, if you appear to others as you seem to me, shall be my noblest jewel."

With these words, she began to put the armour on him, and though she tried to conceal them, the tears stole down her cheeks.

4. And when Abradatas was armed in his panoply he looked most handsome and noble, for he had been favoured by nature and, even unadorned, was well worth looking at; and taking the reins from his groom he was now making ready to mount his chariot.

5. But at this moment Panthea bade all who stood near to retire and then she said: "Abradatas, if ever any woman loved her husband more than her own life, I think you know that I, too, am such a one. Why, then, should I tell of these things one by one? For I think that my conduct has given you better proof of
τερα παρεσχήσθαι τῶν νῦν ἀν¹ λεχθέντων λόγων. 6. ὅμως δὲ οὕτως ἔχουσα πρὸς σὲ ὀσπέρ σὺ οἶσθα, ἐπομνύω σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ βούλεσθαι ἂν μετὰ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου κοινῆ γὴν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ξῆν μετ' αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένην οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ σὲ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἐμαυτῇν ἡξίωκα. 7. καὶ Κύροι δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ δοκῶ ἦμᾶς χάριν ὀφείλειν, ὅτι με αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην καὶ ἔξαιρεθείσαν ἑαυτῷ οὕτε μὲ ὡς δούλην ἡξίωσε κεκτήσθαι οὔτε ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐν ἀτίμῳ ὅνόματι, διεφύλαξε δὲ σοι ὀσπέρ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα λαβὼν. 8. πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτε Ἀράσπας ἀπέστη αὐτὸν ὁ ἐμὲ φυλάττων, ὑπεσχόμην αὐτῷ, εἰ με εάσειε πρὸς σὲ πέμψαι, ἤξειν αὐτῷ σὲ πολὺ Ἀράσπου ἀνδρα καὶ πιστότερον καὶ ἁμείνονα.

9. Ἡ μὲν ταύτα εἴπεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀγασθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θυγῶν αὐτῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπηύξατο, Ἀλλ', ὁ Ζεὺς μέγιστε, δός μοι φανήναι ἄξιον μὲν Πανθείας ἀνδρί, ἄξιον δὲ Κύρου φίλον τοῦ ἦμᾶς τιμήσαντος.

Ταύτ' εἰπὼν κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἀρματείου δίφρον ἀνέβαινεν ἕπι τὸ ἅρμα. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντοις αὐτοῦ κατέκλεισε τὸν δίφρον ὁ υφηνίοχος, οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πάνθεια πῶς ἄν ἐτί ἄλλως ἀστράσαι αὐτόν, κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον καὶ τῷ μὲν προῆλθη ἑδη τὸ ἅρμα, ἡ δὲ λατοῦσα αὐτοῦ συνεφείπετο, ἐως ἑπιστραφεῖς καὶ Ίδῶν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἶπε, Θάρρει, Πάνθεια, καὶ χαίρε καὶ ἀπιθί ἑδη.

¹ an supplied by Cobet, Hertlein, Gemoll; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant, Hug.

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it than any words I now might say. 6. Still, with the affection that you know I have for you, I swear to you by my love for you and yours for me that, of a truth, I would far rather go down into the earth with you, if you approve yourself a gallant soldier, than live disgraced with one disgraced: so worthy of the noblest lot have I deemed both you and myself. 7. And to Cyrus I think we owe a very large debt of gratitude, because, when I was his prisoner and allotted to him, he did not choose to keep me either as his slave or as a freewoman under a dishonourable name, but took me and kept me for you as one would a brother’s wife. 8. And then, too, when Araspas, who had been charged with my keeping, deserted him, I promised him that if he would let me send to you, a far better and truer friend than Araspas would come to him, in you.”

9. Thus she spoke; and Abradatas, touched by her words, laid his hand upon her head and lifting up his eyes toward heaven prayed, saying: “Grant me, I pray, almighty Zeus, that I may show myself a husband worthy of Panthea and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has shown us honour.”

As he said this, he mounted his car by the doors in the chariot-box. 10. And when he had entered and the groom closed the box, Panthea, not knowing how else she could now kiss him good-bye, touched her lips to the chariot-box. And then at once his chariot rolled away, but she followed after, unknown to him, until Abradatas turned round and saw her and said: “Have a brave heart, Panthea, and farewell! And now go back.”
11. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ οἱ θεράπαι
ναι λαβοῦσαι ἀπῆγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἄρμαμάξαν
καὶ κατακλύναντες κατακάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δὲ
ἀνθρώποι, καλοῦ ὦντος τοῦ θεάματος τοῦ τε
Ἀβραδάτου καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐδύ
ναντο θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν πρὶν ἡ Πάνθεια ἀπῆλθεν.
12. Ὡς δὲ ἐκεκαλλιερήκει μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἡ δὲ
στρατιὰ παρετέτακτο αὐτῷ ὄσπερ παρῆγγειλε,
κατέχων σκοπᾶς ἄλλας πρὸ ἄλλων συνεκάλεσε
τοὺς ἡγεμόνιας καὶ ἐλεξέν ὅδε. 13. Ἀνδρες φίλοι
καὶ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν ἰερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἡμῖν φαίνουσιν
οἰάπερ ὅτε τὴν πρὸσθεν νίκην ἔδοσαν· ἡμᾶς δὲ
ἐγὼ βούλομαι ἀναμνήσαι δὴν μοι δοκεῖν μεμνη
μένοι πολὺ ἀν εὐθυμότεροι εἰς τὸν ἁγῶνα ἱέναι.
14. ἡσκῆκατε μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πολὺ
μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων, συντέταφθε δὲ καὶ συν-
τέταχθε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλείω ἢδη χρόνων ἢ οἱ
πολέμιοι καὶ συννεκηκῆκατε μετ’ ἀλλήλων τῶν δὲ
πολεμίων οἱ πολλοὶ συνήτῃταν μεθ’ αὐτῶν. οἱ
δὲ ἀμάχητοι ἐκατέρων οἱ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἱσασιν
ὅτι προδότας τοὺς παραστάτας ἔχουσιν, ύμεῖς δὲ
οἱ μὲθ’ ἡμῶν ἵστε ὅτι μετ’ ἐθελόντων τοὺς συμ-
μάχους ἀρήγειν μάχεσθε. 15. εἰκὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν
πιστεύοντας ἀλλήλους ὄμων ὃν μάχεσθαι μένοντας,
tοὺς δὲ ἀπιστοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθαι πῶς
ἀν ἔκαστοι τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο.

¹ δμόνως Dindorf, most Edd.; δμονῶς MSS., Sauppe, Hertlein.
11. Then the eunuchs and maid-servants took her and conducted her to her carriage, where they bade her recline, and hid her completely from view with the hood of the carriage. And the people, beautiful as was the sight of Abradatas and his chariot, had no eyes for him, until Panthea was gone.

12. Now when Cyrus found the omens from his sacrifice favourable, and when his army was arranged as he had instructed, he had posts of observation occupied, one in advance of another, and then called his generals together and addressed them as follows:

13. “Friends and allies, the gods have sent us omens from the sacrifice just like those we had when they gave the former victory into our hands. So I wish to remind you of some things which, if you will remember them, I think will make you go into battle with much stouter hearts. 14. On the one hand, you have received much better training in the arts of war than the enemy, you have lived together and drilled together in the same place for a much longer time now than they, and together you have won a victory; most of the enemy, on the other hand, have together suffered defeat. Some on both sides, however, were not in the battle; among these our enemies know that they have traitors by their sides, while you who are with us know that you are doing battle in company with those who are glad to stand by their comrades. 15. And it is a matter of course that those who trust one another will stand their ground and fight with one heart and mind, and that those who distrust each other will necessarily be scheming, each how he may get out of the way as quickly as possible.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

16. ἢμεν δὴ, ὃ άνδρες, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀρματα μὲν έχοντες ὅπλισμένα πρὸς ἄσπλα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἱππεάς καὶ ὁπτοὺς ὅπλισμένους πρὸς ἄσπλοις, ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. 17. πεζοὶς δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοις οἷς καὶ πρόσθεν μαχεῖσθε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὁμοίως μὲν ὅπλισμένοι εἰσίν, ὁμοίως δὲ τεταγμένοι τάς τε γὰρ ἀστίδας μείζους ἔχουσιν ἢ ὡς ποιεῖν τι καὶ ὀράν, τεταγμένοι τε εἰς ἐκατὸν δῆλον ὅτι κωλύ- σουσιν ἀλλήλους μάχεσθαι πλὴν πάνω ὀδύγων. 18. εὶ δὲ ὠθοῦντες ἐξώσειν πιστεύουσιν, ἵπποις αὐτοὺς πρῶτον δεῖσει αὐτόχειν καὶ σιδήρῳ ὑφ' ἵππων ἰσχυριζόμενω, ὃν δὲ τις αὐτῶν καὶ ἱπ- μείη, πῶς ἀμα δυνήσεται ἵππομαχεῖν τε καὶ φαλαγγομαχεῖν καὶ πύργομαχεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἡμῖν μὲν ἑπαρχήσομεν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παίοντες ἀμηχανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ποιήσουσιν.

19. Εἰ δὲ τινὸς ἦτο ἐνδείχθης δοκείτε, πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγετε· σὺν γὰρ θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσομεν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις εἰπεῖν τι βούλεται, λεξάτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσευχάμενοι οἷς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς ἱτε ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις. 20. καὶ ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν ὑπομιμησκέτω τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω τις τοῖς ἀρχο- μένοις ἑαυτῶν ἄξιον ἀρχής, ἄφοβον δεικνύς καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ λόγους.
16. "Therefore, my men, let us go against the enemy, to fight in a hand-to-hand encounter, with our chariots armed, against theirs unarmed; and our horses and riders in like manner armed, against theirs unarmed. 17. The infantry that you will fight against, you have fought before—all but the Egyptians; and they are armed and drawn up alike badly; for with those big shields which they have they cannot do anything—or see anything; and drawn up a hundred deep, it is clear that they will hinder one another from fighting—all except a few. 18. But if they believe that by rushing they will rush us off the field, they will first have to sustain the charge of horses and of steel driven upon them by the force of horses; and if any of them should hold his ground, how will he be able to fight at the same time against cavalry and phalanxes and towers? And that he will have to do, for those upon our towers will come to our aid and raining their missiles upon the enemy will drive them to distraction rather than to fighting.

19. "Still, if you think we need anything more, tell me; for with the help of the gods, we shall lack for nothing. So, if any one wishes to make any remarks, let him speak. If not, do you go to the place of sacrifice and pray to the gods to whom we have sacrificed and then go back to your posts. 20. And each one of you remind his own men of what I have called to your attention, and let each man prove to those whom he commands that he is himself worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, in his countenance, and in his words."
BOOK VII

THE GREAT BATTLE

THE FALL OF SARDIS AND BABYLON
1. Οἱ μὲν δὲ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπῆσαν πρὸς τὰς τάξεις· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτοῦ προσήνεγκαν οἱ θεράποντες ἐμφαγείν καὶ πιεῖν ἐτὶ οὖσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερά. ὃ δὲ Κύρος ὠσπέρ εἶχεν ἑστηκὼς ἀπαρξάμενος ἱρίστα καὶ μετεδίδον ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ· καὶ σπείρας καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔπιε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ οὖτως ἐποίον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτησάμενοι Δία πατρὸν ἤγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἄνεβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον καὶ τους ἀμφὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευεν. 2. ὁπλισμένοι δὲ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κύρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ ὀπλοῖς, χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, λόφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῷ κρανείῳ ἐν ἑκαστῷ· οἱ δὲ ἱπποὶ προμετωπίδοι καὶ προστερνίδοις καὶ παραμηριδίοις χαλκοῖς· τὰ δ’ αὐτὰ ταῦτα παραμηρίδια ἦν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ· τοσοῦτον μόνον διέφερε τὰ Κύρου ὄπλα ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐκέχρισε τῷ χρυσοειδεῖ χρῶματι, τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὄπλα ὠσπέρ κατοπτρον ἐξέλαμπεν.

1 παραμηριδίοις Weiske, Edd.; παραπλευριδίοις ΥG²; not in xzV.
BOOK VII

I

1. So when they had prayed to the gods they went back to their posts; and while Cyrus and his staff were still engaged with the sacrifice, their attendants brought them meat and drink. And Cyrus remained standing just as he was and first offered to the gods a part and then began his breakfast, and kept giving a share of it also from time to time to any one who most needed it. And when he had poured a libation and prayed, he drank; and the rest, his staff-officers, followed his example. After that, he prayed to ancestral Zeus to be their guide and helper and then mounted his horse and bade his staff do the same. 2. Now all Cyrus's staff were pannied in armour the same as his: purple tunics, bronze corselets, bronze helmets with white plumes, and sabres; and each had a single spear with a shaft of cornel wood. Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze; these served to protect the thighs of the rider as well. The arms of Cyrus differed from those of the rest in this only, that while the rest were overlaid with the ordinary gold colour, Cyrus's arms flashed like a mirror.

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3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη καὶ ἐστὶν ἀποβλέπων ἦπερ ἐμελλεῖ πορεύεσθαι, βροντὴ δεξιὰ ἐφθέγξατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἕψιμενε, οἶκοι τῆς Ζεῦ μέγιστε. καὶ ὀρμάτω ἐν μὲν ἕξι ἔχων Χρυσάνταν τὸν ὕππαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἵππας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρσάμαν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς. 4. παρηγγύησε δὲ παρορᾶν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἐν ἰσφ. ἔπεσθαι· ἢν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. καὶ νῦν δ’ ἔτι τούτῳ τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεί διαμένει.

Πρὶν δὲ ὅραν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τρὶς ἀνέπαυσε τὸ στράτευμα. 5. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προεληφθένσαν ὡς εἶκοσι στάδιοι, ἡρχοντο ἡδη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἀντιπροσιὼν καθορὰν. ὡς δ’ ἐν τῷ καταφανεῖ πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ πολέμιοι πολὺ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες, στήσαντες τὴν αὐτῶν φάλαγγα, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως κυκλούσθαι, ἐπέκαμπτον εἰς κύκλωσιν, ὥσπερ γάμμα ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν ἓαυτῶν τὰξιν ποιῆσαντες, ὡς πάντοθεν ἄμα μάχωντο. 6. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὅραν ταῦτα οὐδέν τι μὰλλον ἁφίστατο, ἀλλ’ ὥσαυτος ἦγεῖτο.

Κατανοοῦν δὲ ὅσ πρόσω τῶν καμπήρα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐποιήσαντο περὶ δυν κάμπτοντες ἀνέτεινον

1 ἐν μὲν Dindorf, Edd.; μὲν ἐν MSS.
2 καθορὰν Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; παρορὰν MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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3. Then, when he had mounted his horse and sat looking off in the direction he was to take, there was a clap of thunder on the right. "Almighty Zeus, we will follow thee," he cried, and started, with Chrysantas, the master of the horse, and the cavalry on the right, and on the left Arsamas and the infantry. 4. And he gave orders to keep an eye upon his ensign and advance in even step. Now his ensign was a golden eagle with outspread wings mounted upon a long shaft. And this continues even unto this day as the ensign of the Persian king.

Before they came in sight of the enemy, he halted the army as many as three times. 5. But when they had advanced about twenty stadia, then they began to get sight of the enemy's army coming on to meet them. And when they were all in sight of one another and the enemy became aware that they greatly outflanked the Persians on both sides, Croesus halted his centre—for otherwise it is impossible to execute a surrounding manoeuvre—and began to wheel the wings around to encompass the Persians, thus making his own lines on either flank in form like a gamma,\(^1\) so as to close in and attack on all three sides at once. 6. But Cyrus, although he saw this movement, did not any the more recede but led on just as before.

"Do you observe, Chrysantas, where the wings are drawing off to form their angle with the centre?" he asked, as he noticed at what a distance from the centre column on both sides they made their turning point, and how far they were pushing

\(^1\) Thus: \(\Gamma \Gamma\).
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τὰ κέρατα, Ἐυνοεῖς, ἐφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐνθα τὴν ἐπικαμπτὴν ποιοῦνται;

Πάνυ γε, ἐφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, καὶ θαυμάζω γε- 
πολὺ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀποσπᾶν τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ 
τῆς ἐαυτῶν φάλαγγος.

Ναι μὰ Δι', ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ ἀπὸ γε τῆς 
ἡμετέρας.

7. Τί δὴ τούτο; 
Δῆλον ὅτι φοβούμενοι μὴ ἢν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν γέ-

νηται τὰ κέρατα τῆς φάλαγγος ἔτι πρὸσω οὔσης, 
ἐπιθώμεθα αὐτοῖς.

Ἡπείτ', ἐφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, πῶς δυνήσονται 
ὡφελεῖν οἱ ἐτεροι τους ἐτέρους οὐτω πολὺ ἀπέ-

χουντες ἀλλήλων;

Ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ἐφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅτι ἡνίκα ἄν γέ-

νηται τὰ κέρατα ἀναβαίνοντα κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν 
πλαγίων τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατεύματος, στραφέντες 
ὡς εἰς φάλαγγα ἀμα πάντοθεν ἡμῖν προσίαιν, 
ὡς ἀμα πάντοθεν μαχούμενοι.

8. Οὔκοιν, ἐφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, εὖ σοι δοκοῦσι 
βουλεύσεσθαι;

Πρὸς γε ἃ ὅρωσι πρὸς δὲ ἃ οὐχ ὅρωσιν ἔτι 
κάκιον η ἐι κατὰ κέρας προσήσαν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, 
ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρσάμα, ἤγου τῷ πεζῷ ἥρεμα ὄσπερ 
ἐμὲ ὅρας· καὶ σὺ, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐν ἱφί τούτῳ τὸ 
ἰππικὸν ἐχὼν συμπαρέπτου. ἐγὼ δὲ ἄπειμι ἐκεῖσε 
ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ἀρχεσθαι τῆς 
μάχης· ἀμα δὲ παρὼν ἔπισκεψομαι ἐκαστα πῶς ἡμῖν 
ἐχει. 9. ἑπειδὰν δ' ἐκεῖ γένωμαι, ὅταν ἡδὴ ὁμοῦ 
προσίαντες ἀλλήλοις ζηγνώμεθα, παίανα ἐξάρξω, 
ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπείγεσθε. ἡνίκα δ' ἄν ἡμεῖς ἐγχειρῶμεν.
forward their wings in executing their flanking movement.

"Indeed I do," answered Chrysantas, "and I am surprised, too; for it strikes me that they are drawing their wings a long way off from their centre."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "and from ours, too."

7. "What, pray, is the reason for that?"

"Evidently because they are afraid their wings will get too close to us while their centre is still far away and that we shall thus close with them."

"Then," said Chrysantas, "how will the one division be able to support the other, when they are so far apart?"

"Well," answered Cyrus, "it is obvious that just as soon as the wings now advancing in column get directly opposite the flanks of our army, they will face about so as to form front and then advance upon us from all three sides simultaneously; for it is their intention to close in on us on all sides at once."

8. "Well," said Chrysantas, "do you then think their plan a good one?"

"Yes; to meet what they see. But in the face of what they do not see, it is even worse than if they were coming on in column. But do you, Arsamas," said he, "lead on your infantry slowly, just as you see me moving; and you, Chrysantas, follow along with the cavalry in an even line with him; meanwhile I shall go to the point where it seems to me most advantageous to open the battle; and at the same time, as I pass along, I will take observations and see how everything is with our side. 9. But when I reach the spot, and as soon as in our advance we are near enough together, I will begin the pean, and then do you press on. And the moment we come to close
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tοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθήσεσθε μέν, οὐ γὰρ ὦμια ὅλγος θόρυβος ἐστιν, ὁμοίηται δὲ τηνικάῦτα Ἀβραδάτας ἢ ὁ σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰρήσεται ὅμας δὲ χρῆ ἐπεσεθαι ἐχομένους ὅτι μᾶλιστα τῶν ἄρματων. οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσούμεθα. παρέσομαι δὲ κάγῳ ἢ ἄν δύνωμαι τάχιστα διόκων τοὺς ἀνδράς, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι.

10. Ταῦτ' εἴπτων καὶ σύνθημα παρεγγύησας Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἐπορεύετο. μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν ἄρματων καὶ τῶν θωρακοφόρων διαπορευόμενος ὁπότε προσβλέψειε τινας τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεις, τότε μὲν εἶπεν ἂν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἢδυ ἤμων τὰ πρόσωπα θεάσασθαι. τοτε δ' αὕ τό ἄλλως ἄν ἔλεξεν, Ἀρα, ἐννοεῖτε, ἄνδρες, ὅτι ο' νῦν ἄγων ἐστιν οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς τῆμερον νίκης, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἣν νεικηκατέ καὶ περὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας; 11. ἐν ἄλλους δ' ἄν παρίων ἑίπε τοῦ ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὐδέν ποτε ἐτὶ θεοὺς αἰτιατέον ἐσται παραδεδώκασι γὰρ ἤμων πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθαι. ἄλλ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμεθα. 12. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὕ τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἄν καλλίονα ἔρανον ἄλληλοις παρακαλεσαμέν ἢ εἰς τόνδε; νῦν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολλὰ κάγαθα ἄλληλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. 13. κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὕ, Ἐπίστασθε μέν,
quarters with the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will be no little noise, I presume; and at the same moment Abradatas will charge with his chariots upon the enemy's lines—for so he will be instructed to do—and you must follow him, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots. For in this way we shall best throw the enemy into confusion and then fall upon them. And I also shall be there as soon as I can, please God, to join in the pursuit."

10. When he had spoken these words, he passed along the lines the watchword, ΖΕΥΣ ΟΥΡ ΣΑΒΙΟΥΡ ΑΝΔ ΓΙΟΥΙΔΕ, and rode on. And as he passed between the lines of chariots and heavy-armed infantry and bestowed a glance upon some of those in the lines, he would say: "What a pleasure it is, my friends, to look into your faces." And then again in the presence of others he would say: "I trust you remember, men, that in the present battle not only is to-day's victory at stake, but also the first victory you won and all our future success." 11. Before still others, as he passed along, he would remark: "For all time to come, my men, we shall never have any more fault to find with the gods; for they have given us the opportunity of winning many blessings. So let us prove ourselves valiant men."

12. Passing still others he said: "To what fairer common feast^1 I could we ever invite each other, my men, than to this one? For now by showing ourselves brave men we, may each contribute many good things for our mutual benefit." 13. Passing others he would say: "I suppose

^1 A "common feast," ἐπαρός, was a feast where all the participants contributed an equal share — a pic-nic. The ἐπαρός might also be a society or club in which all the members contributed equally to some public cause.
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οἶμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν ἄθλα πρόκειται τοῖς
υικῶσι μὲν διώκειν, παῖειν, κατακαίνειν, ἀγαθὰ
έχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἐλευθέροις εἶναι, ἄρχειν τοῖς
de κακοῖς ἥλουν ὅτι τάναντία τούτων. ὅστις οὖν
αὐτὸν φίλει, μετὰ ἐμοῦ μαχέοντα ἐγὼ γὰρ
κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ αἰσχρὸν ἐκὼν εἶναι προσήχομαι.
14. ὅποτε δὲ ἀγένοιτο κατὰ τινὰς τῶν πρόσθεν
συμμαχεσαμένων, εἰπεν ἂν, Πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ
ἀνδρες, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐπίστασθε γὰρ οἴαν τε οἱ
ἀγαθοὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἥμεραν ἄγουσι καὶ οἶαν οἱ
κακοὶ.

15. Ὡς δὲ παριδὼν κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο,
ἐστιν. καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας παραδοὺς τῷ υφηνόχῳ
tὰς ἠμᾶς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ. προσέδραμον δὲ καὶ
ἁλλοὶ τῶν πλησίων τεταγμένων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ
ἀρματηλατῶν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐν τοῖς παραγεγενη-
μένοις ἔλεξεν, ὁ μὲν θεός, ὁ Ἀβραδάτα, ὥσπερ
ὑ ἤξιος, συνηζίωσε σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοί πρωτο-
στάτας εἶναι τῶν συμμάχων σὺ δὲ τούτο
μέμνησο, ὅταν δὲ ἐς ἡ δῆ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅτι Πέρσαι
οἳ τε θεασόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἔσονται καὶ οἱ ἐφόμενοι
ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔσοντες ἔρήμους ὑμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

16. Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἰπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν καθ᾽
ὡς ἔμουγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Κύρε, καλῶς ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ τὰ
πλάγια λυπεῖ με, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κέρατα
ἰσχυρὰ ὅρω ἀνατείνεμαν καὶ ἄρματα καὶ παν-
τοδαπὴ στρατιὰ. ἡμέτερον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοῖς
ἀντιτετακται ἡ ἄρματα. ὥστ᾽ ἐγὼγ', ἐφη, εἰ μὴ
ἐλαχὸν τήνε τήν τάξιν, ἡσυχνόμην ἄν ἐνθάδε ὄνο
ούτω πολύ μοι δοκῶ ἐν ἄσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι.

17. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπεν, Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τὰ παρὰ σοὶ
καλῶς ἔχει, θάρρει ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνων. ἐγὼ γὰρ σοὶ σὺν

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that you understand, men, that pursuing, dealing
blows and death, plunder, fame, freedom, power—all
these are now held up as prizes for the victors; the
cowardly, of course, have the reverse of all this. Who-
ever, therefore, cares for himself, let him fight with
me; for I will never bring myself to do anything base
or cowardly, if I can help it.” 14. But whenever he
came past any of those who had fought under him
before, he would say: “What need to say anything
to you, my men? For you know how the brave
celebrate a day in battle, and how cowards.”

15. And as he passed along and came to Abradatas,
he stopped; and Abradatas, handing the reins to his
groom, came toward him, and others also of those
whose positions were near, both foot and chariot-
drivers, ran up. And then to the company gathered
about him Cyrus said: “Abradatas, God has approved
your request that you and your men should take the
front ranks among the allies. So now remember this,
when presently it becomes necessary for you to enter
the conflict, that Persians will not only be your
witnesses but will also follow you and will not let
you go into the conflict unsupported.”

16. “Well,” answered Abradatas, “to me at least
our part of the army seems to be all right; but I am
anxious for the flanks; for I see the enemy's wings
stretching out strong with chariots and troops of
every description, while in the centre there is nothing
opposed to our side except chariots; and so if I had
not obtained this position by lot, I should, for my
part, be ashamed of being here, so much the safest
position do I think I occupy.”

17. “Well,” said Cyrus, “if your part is all right,
never fear for the others; for with the help of the
θεοῖς ἔρημα τῶν πολεμίων τὰ πλάγια ταῦτα ἀποδείξει, καὶ σὺ μὴ πρῶτον ἐμβάλλε τοῖς ἑναντίοις, διαμαρτύρομαι, πρὶν ἂν φεύγοντας τούτους ὠφ νῦν φοβεῖ θεᾶσθαι τοιαῦτα δ’ ἐμεγαληχορέει, μελλούσης τῆς μάχης γίνεσθαι. ἄλλως δ’ οὐ μᾶλα μεγαληχοροῖς ἦν "Οταν μέντοι ἢδες τούτους φεύγοντας, ἐμὲ τε ἢδη παρεῖναι νόμισε καὶ ὅρμα εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ σὺ γὰρ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἑναντίοις κακίστοις ἄν χρῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ σαυτοῦ ἀρίστοις.

18. Ἀλλ’ ἔως ἔτι σοι σχολὴ, ὡς Ἀβραδάτα, πάντως παρελάσας παρὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ ἄρματα παρακάλει τοὺς σὺν σοι εἰς τὴν ἐμβολὴν, τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνων, τοῖς δ’ ἐπίσιν ἐπικουροὶ. ὅπως δὲ κράτιστοι φανείσθε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅρμαις, φιλονικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλε· καὶ γάρ, εὖ ἵδοι, ἢν τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάντες ἐρούσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετής.

Ο μὲν δὴ Ἀβραδάτας ἀνάβας παρῆλαυνε καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐποίει.

19. Ο δ’ αὖ Κῦρος παριῶν ός ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸ εὐνοῦμο, ἔνθα ὁ Τστάσσασ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων ἡμῖν τῶν Περσῶν ἑπέκου, ὑμομᾶσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ὁ Ἡμᾶσσα, νῦν ὅρας ἔργον τῆς σης ταχυεργίας: νῦν γὰρ ἢ φθάσωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους κατακανόνεσθε, σῶθεσθε ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖται.

20. Καὶ ὁ Τστάσσασ ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἑναντιάς ἡμῶν μελήσει, τοὺς δ’ ἐκ πλαγίων σὺ ἄλλοις προσταξοῦν, ὅπως μηδ’ οὕτω σχολάζωσι.

Καὶ ο Κῦρος εἴπεν, Ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ γε τούτους ἐγὼ αὐτὸς παρέρχομαι ἀλλ’, ὁ Τστάσσασ, τόδε μέ-
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gods I will clear those flanks of enemies for you. And do not you hurl yourself upon the opposing ranks, I adjure you, until you see in flight those whom you now fear.” Cyrus indulged in such boastful speech only on the eve of battle; at other times he was never boastful at all; and he went on: “But when you see them in flight, then be sure that I am already at hand, and charge upon those fellows; for at that moment you will find your opponents most cowardly and your own men valiant.

18. “But now, Abradatas, while you have time, by all means ride along your line of chariots and exhort your men to the charge, cheering them by your own looks and buoying them up with hopes. Furthermore, inspire them with a spirit of rivalry that you and your division may prove yourselves the best of the charioteers. And that will be worth while; for be assured that if we are successful to-day, all men in future will say that nothing is more profitable than valour.”

Abradatas accordingly mounted and drove along and did as Cyrus had suggested.

19. And as Cyrus passed along again, he came to the left wing, where Hystaspas was with half the Persian cavalry; he called to him and said: “Now, Hystaspas, you see some use for your speed; for now, if we can kill the enemy before they kill us, not one of us will perish.”

20. “Well,” said Hystaspas laughing, “we will take care of those opposite us; assign those on the flank to another division, so that they also may have something to do.”

“Why,” said Cyrus, “I am going on to them myself. But remember this, Hystaspas, no matter to which of

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μνησο, ὅταν ἤμων ὁ θεὸς νίκην διδῶ, ἢν τί ποιεῖ
πολέμοιον, πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον ἀεὶ συμβάλ-
λωμεν.

21. Ταῦτ’ εἶπὼν προῆι. ἔπει δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλευ-
ρὸν παριῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν
tαὐτῆς ἀρμάτων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔλεξεν, Ἡγὼ δὲ
ἔρχομαι ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσων, ἀλλ’ ὅποταν αἰσθησθε
ἡμᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένους κατ’ ἀκρον, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς
πειρᾶσθε ἃμα διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν· πολὺ
γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ἐσεσθε ἐξω γενόμενοι ἢ
ἔνδον ἀπολαμβανόμενοι.

22. Ἐπει δὲ αὐτῷ παριῶν ἐγένετο ὁπισθεν
tῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν, Ἀρταγέρσων μὲν καὶ Φαρνουχοῦν ἐκε-
λεύσεν ἐξιπτωσά τὴν τὸν πεξῶν χιλιοστῶν καὶ
τὴν τῶν ἔπειρων μένειν αὐτοῦ. Ἐσπειδάν δ’, ἐφη,
αισθάνησθε ἐμοῦ ἐπιτιθεμένου τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν
κέρας, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς καθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε·
μαχεῖσθε δ’, ἐφη, πρὸς κέρας, ὡσπερ 1 ἀσθενέ-
στατον στράτευμα γίγνεται, φάλαγγα δ’ ἔχοντες,
ὡσπερ δὲ ἰσχυρότατοι εἴητε. καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν, ὡς
ὀράτε, τῶν πολεμίων ἔπειρες οἱ ἔσχατοι· πάντως
dὲ πρόετε πρὸς αὐτούς τὴν τῶν καμήλων τάξιν,
καὶ εὖ ἵστε ὅτι καὶ πρὶν μάχεσθαι γελοῖονς τοὺς
πολεμίους θεάσεσθε.

23. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κύρος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ
tὸ δεξίον παρῆι· ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίζει ἢ ἦν
ἐγγύτερον εἰς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φάλαγγα σὺν
ἡ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἢ τὰ ἀνατεινόμενα κέρατα, ἢρε
τοὺς κέρας σημεῖων μηκετί ἄνω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ’
aὐτοῦ ἐν χώρα στραφήναι. ὡς δ’ ἔστησαν ἀντία

1 ὡσπερ MSS., most Edd.; Castalio’s suggestion ὡσπερ is
adopted by Marchant, Gemoll.
us God gives the victory first, if afterwards anything is left of any part of the enemy, let us all engage any force that still continues the fight."

21. Thus he spoke and passed on. And as he went along the flank, he came to the general in command of the chariots there and to him he said: "Yes, I am coming to help you; but when you see us charging on the extremity of the enemy's wing, then do you try at the same time to break through their lines; for you will be in a much secure position if you get clear through than if you are enclosed within their lines."

22. And as he passed on again and came behind the women's carriages, he ordered Artagerses and Pharnuchus with their respective regiments of infantry and cavalry to stay there. "But," said he, "when you see me charging against those opposite our right wing, do you also attack those opposite you. And you will be in a phalanx—the formation in which you would be strongest—and take the enemy on their flank, the position in which an army is weakest. And, as you see, their cavalry stands furthest out; so by all means send against them the brigade of camels, and be assured that even before the battle begins you will see the enemy in a ridiculous plight."

23. When Cyrus had completed his round of the troops, he passed on to the right wing. And Croesus, thinking that the centre, which he commanded in person, was already nearer to the enemy than the wings that were spreading out beyond, gave a signal to his wings not to go out any further but to halt and face about. And when they had halted, and stood
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πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου στράτευμα ὁρῶντες, ἐσῆμηνεν αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους. 24. καὶ οὕτω δὴ προσήσαν τρεῖς φάλαγγες ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα, ἢ μὲν μία κατὰ πρόσωπον, τὸ δὲ δύο, ἢ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον· ὥστε πολὺν φόβον παρεῖναι πάση τῇ Κύρου στρατιᾷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθὸν ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν περιείχετο ὅπω τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἱππεύσι καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ πελτοφόροις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἄρματι πλῆν ἔξοψεσθεν. 25. δὲ ὅμως δὲ ὡς ὁ Κύρος ἔπει[2] παρήγγειλεν, ἐστράφησαν πάντες ἀντι-πρόσωποι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ ἤν μὲν πολλὴ παν-ταχόθεν συγῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὅκνεϊν· ἤνικα δὲ ἐδοξη τῷ Κύρῳ καιρὸς εἶναι, ἐξήρχε παιᾶνα, συνε-πήκεσε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατός. 26. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑυναλίῳ τῇ ἀμα ἐπηλάλαξαν καὶ ἔξανισταται ὁ Κύρος, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων λάβον πλαγίους τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμότις αὐτοῖς τὴν ταχί-στην συνεμίγγυς· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ συντεταγμένοι ταχὺ ἐφείποντο, καὶ περιεπτύσσοντο ἐνθὲν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥστε πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτειν· φάλαγγι γὰρ κατὰ κέρας προσέβαλλεν· ὥστε ταχὺ ἵσχυρὰ φυγή ἐγένετο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

1 ὡς Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ MSS., earlier Edd.
2 ἔπει MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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facing Cyrus’s army, Croesus gave them the signal to advance against the foe. 24. And so the three phalanxes advanced upon the army of Cyrus, one from in front, the other two against his wings, one from the right, the other from the left; in consequence, great fear came upon all his army. For just like a little tile set inside a large one,¹ Cyrus’s army was encompassed by the enemy on every side, except the rear, with horsemen and hoplites, with targeteers and bowmen and chariots. 25. Still, when Cyrus gave the command, they all turned and faced the enemy. And deep silence reigned on every hand because of their apprehension as to what was coming. Then, when it seemed to Cyrus to be just the right time, he began the paean and all the army joined in the chant. 26. After it was finished, together they raised the battle-shout to Enyalius, and in that instant Cyrus dashed forward; and at once he hurled his cavalry upon the enemy’s flank and in a moment he was engaged with them hand to hand. With a rapid movement the infantry followed him in good order and began to envelop the enemy on this side and on that, so that he had them at a great disadvantage; for he clashed with a phalanx against their flank; and as a result, the enemy soon were in headlong flight.

¹ The point of Xenophon’s simile is clear, when we recall the marble tiling of the temple roofs of his time; the situation was like this:
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27. Ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἐργῷ ὄντα τῶν Κῦρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα, προελς τὰς καμήλους ὅπερ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτᾶς ἐκ πάνυ πολλοὶ οὐκ ἔδέχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκφρονεῖς γιγνόμενοι ἐφευγοῦν, οἱ δ' ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ πάσχουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῷ ὑπὸ καμήλων. 28. ο δὲ Ἀρταγέρσης συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ ταραττομένους ἐπέκειτο καὶ τὰ ἁρμάτα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἁμα ἐνέβαλλε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ ἁρμάτα φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐσομένων ἀπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτοις φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἡλίκοντο.

29. Καὶ ο Ἀβραδάτας δὲ οὐκέτι ἐμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἀναβόησας, Ἀνδρες φίλοι, ἐπεσθε, ἐνίει οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν ὑπτων, ἀλλ' ἵσχυρός εξαιμάττων τῷ κέντρῳ συνεξώρμησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἁρματηλάται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἁρμάτα ἐφευγεν αὐτοὺς εὔθυς, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς παραβάτας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπολύσατο.

30. Ο δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀντικρὴ διάττων1 εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀγνατών φάλαγγα ἐμβάλλειν συνεισέβαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τεταγμένοι. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλλοθε δήλων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἵσχυροτέρα φάλαγξ ἢ όσεῖν ἐκ φίλων συμμάχων ἡθροισμένη ἢ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔταϊροι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοτρά-

1 διάττων F, Hug, Marchant Gemoll; δ' αὐτῶν xzDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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27. As soon as Artàgerses saw Cyrus in action, he delivered his attack on the enemy’s left, putting forward the camels, as Cyrus had directed. But while the camels were still a great way off, the horses gave way before them; some took fright and ran away, others began to rear, while others plunged into one another; for such is the usual effect that camels produce upon horses. 28. And Artagerses, with his men in order, fell upon them in their confusion; and at the same moment the chariots also charged on both the right and the left. And many in their flight from the chariots were slain by the cavalry following up their attack upon the flank, and many also trying to escape from the cavalry were caught by the chariots.

29. And Abradatas also lost no more time, but shouting, “Now, friends, follow me,” he swept forward, showing no mercy to his horses but drawing blood from them in streams with every stroke of the lash. And the rest of the chariot-drivers also rushed forward with him. And the opposing chariots at once broke into flight before them; some, as they fled, took up their dismounted fighting men, others left theirs behind.

30. But Abradatas plunged directly through them and hurled himself upon the Egyptian phalanx; and the nearest of those who were arrayed with him also joined in the charge. Now, it has been demonstrated on many other occasions that there is no stronger phalanx than that which is composed of comrades that are close friends; and it was shown to be true on this occasion. For it was only the personal friends and mess-mates of Abradatas who pressed home the

1 Compare III. iii. 60; VI. i. 27.
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πεζοὶ συνεισέβαλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἰνίοχοι ὡς εἶδον ὑπομένοντας πολλῷ στίφει τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἐξέκλιναν κατὰ τὰ φεύγοντα ἄρματα καὶ τούτως ἐφείποντο. 31. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀβραδάτας ἤ μὲν ἐνέβαλλον, ἄτε ὁ δυναμένων διαχάσασθαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ τὸ ménei τοὺς ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὄρθους τῇ ῥύμη τῇ τῶν Ἰππῶν παλοντες ἀνέτρεπον, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατηλώνυ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπόλα καὶ Ἰπποῖς καὶ τροχοῖς. 1 ὅτιν δὲ ἔπιλάβοιτο τὰ δρέπανα, πάντα αὐτὰ διεκόπτετο καὶ ὑπλα καὶ σώματα.

32. Ἔν δὲ τῷ ἀδιηγήτῳ τούτῳ ταράχῳ ὑπὸ τῶν παντοδαπῶν σωφρεμάτων ἐξαλλομένων τῶν τροχῶν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν συνεισβαλόντων, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι γενόμενοι κατεκόπτουσαν καὶ ἀπέθανον.

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι συνεπιστόμενοι, ἤ μὲν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἐνέβαλε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ ἐπεισπεσόντες τεταραγμένους ἐφόνευον, ἤ δὲ ἀπαθεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πολλοὶ δὲ οὕτω ἦσαν, ἔχωροι ἐναύτοι τοῖς Πέρσαις. 33. ἐνθὰ δὴ δεινὴ μάχη ἦν καὶ δοράτων καὶ ἅρπων καὶ μαχαιρῶν ἐπελεινέκτον μέντοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πληθεὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπλοῖς. τὰ τε γαρ δόρατα ἑσχυρὰ καὶ μακρὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αἱ τε ἀσπίδες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν γέρρων καὶ στεγάζουσι τὰ σώματα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι συνεργάζονται πρὸς τοῖς ὁμοίως οὕτως. συγκλεί-

1 Ἰπποῖς καὶ τροχοῖς Camerarius, Edd.; Ἰπποῖς καὶ τροχοῖς MSS.

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charge with him, while the rest of the charioteers, when they saw that the Egyptians with their dense throng withstood them, turned aside after the fleeing chariots and pursued them. 31. But in the place where Abradatas and his companions charged, the Egyptians could not make an opening for them because the men on either side of them stood firm; consequently, those of the enemy who stood upright were struck in the furious charge of the horses and overthrown, and those who fell were crushed to pieces by the horses and the wheels, they and their arms; and whatever was caught in the scythes—everything, arms and men, was horribly mangled.

32. As in this indescribable confusion the wheels bounded over the heaps of every sort, Abradatas and others of those who went with him into the charge were thrown to the ground, and there, though they proved themselves men of valour, they were cut down and slain.

Then the Persians, following up the attack at the point where Abradatas and his men had made their charge, made havoc of the enemy in their confusion; but where the Egyptians were still unharmed—and there were many such—they advanced to oppose the Persians. 33. Here, then, was a dreadful conflict with spears and lances and swords. The Egyptians, however, had the advantage both in numbers and in weapons; for the spears that they use even unto this day are long and powerful, and their shields cover their bodies much more effectually than corselets and targets, and as they rest against the shoulder they are a help in shoving. So, locking their shields to-
σαντες ουν τας ἀστίδας ἐχώρουν καὶ ἐώθουν.
34. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ἀτε ἐν ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ γέρρα ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχαίζοντο παῖοντες καὶ παιόμενοι, ἐως ὑπὸ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. ἔπει μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον, ἑπάλοντο αὖθις οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον φεύγειν οὔτε τοὺς τοξότας οὔτε τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς, ἀλλ' ἀνατεθαμένοι τὰς μαχαίρας ἦνάγκαζον καὶ το-ξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. 35. ἦν δὲ πολὺς μὲν ἀνδρῶν φόνος, πολὺς δὲ κτύπως ὀπλῶν καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν, πολλὴ δὲ βοή τῶν μὲν ἀνακα-λούντων ἀλλήλους, τῶν δὲ παρακελευομένων, τῶν δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων.
36. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κύρος διόκων τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν παραγίγνεται. ὡς δ' εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐσωμένους, ἤλησε τῇ καὶ γνώς ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἀν θάττου σχοίν τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προδόου ή ἐς τὸ ὀπίσθεν περιελάσειν αὐτῶν, παραγγείλας ἔπεσθαί τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ περιήλαυν εἰς τὸ ὀπίσθεν καὶ εἰσπέσοντες παῖονσιν ἀφορώντας καὶ πολλὸν κατακαίνουσιν. 37. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο, ἐβόων τε ὅτι ὀπίσθεν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐστρέφοντο ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμά- χοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς, πεπτωκος δὲ τις ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρῳ ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παῖει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τῆς μαχαίρα τῶν ἵππων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἰππὸς τὴν ἑνήγειρε σφαδάξων ἀποσείεται τὸν

1 el Philephus, Edd.; not in MSS.
2 ἀφορώντας MSS., Hug, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Marchant; ἀπορούντας Madvig, Gemoll (in their distress).
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gether, they advanced and shoved. 34. And because the Persians had to hold out their little shields clutched in their hands, they were unable to hold the line, but were forced back foot by foot, giving and taking blows, until they came up under cover of the moving towers. When they reached that point, the Egyptians in turn received a volley from the towers; and the forces in the extreme rear would not allow any retreat on the part of either archers or lancers, but with drawn swords they compelled them to shoot and hurl. 35. Then there was a dreadful carnage, an awful din of arms and missiles of every sort, and a great tumult of men, as they called to one another for aid, or exhorted one another, or invoked the gods.

36. At this juncture Cyrus came up in pursuit of the part that had been opposed to him; and when he saw that the Persians had been forced from their position, he was grieved; but as he realized that he could in no way check the enemy's progress more quickly than by marching around behind them, he ordered his men to follow him and rode around to the rear. There he fell upon the enemy as they faced the other way and smote them and slew many of them. 37. And when the Egyptians became aware of their position they shouted out that the enemy was in their rear, and amidst the blows they faced about. And then they fought promiscuously both foot and horse; and a certain man, who had fallen under Cyrus's horse and was under the animal's heels, struck the horse in the belly with his sword. And the horse thus wounded plunged convulsively and threw Cyrus
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Κύρον. 38. ἐνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἂν τις ὁσοὶ αξιόν εἰη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀνεβοῆσαν τε πάντες καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, ἐώθουν, ἐωθύντο, ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο. καταπηδήσας δὲ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ὑπηρετῶν ἀναβάλλει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἱππῶν. 39. ὡς δὲ ἀνέβη ὁ Κύρος, κατεῖδε πάντοθεν ἦδη παιομένους τοὺς Ἁγνυπτίους· καὶ γὰρ 'Τστά-σπας ἦδη παρῆν σὺν τοῖς Περσῶν ἱππεύσι καὶ Χρυσάντας. ἄλλα τούτους ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκέτι εἰα εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Ἁγνυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐκέλευεν.

'Ωσδ' ἐγένετο περιέλαυνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἐδοξέων αὐτῷ ἀναβήναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι εἰ τῇ καὶ ἄλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο. 40. ἔπει δὲ ἀνέβη, κατεῖδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδίον ἱππῶν, ἀνθρώπων, ἀρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατοῦντων, κρατουμένων· μένον δ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐδύνατο καταδεῖν πλὴν τὸ τῶν Ἁγνυπτίων· οὕτω δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἦποροῦντο, πάντοθεν κύκλον πολιομένου, ὡστε ὀρᾶσθαι τὰ ὀπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσις ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἔποιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἔπασχον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

41. Ἄγασθεὶς δὲ ὁ Κύρος αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκείρων ὅτι ἁγαθὸν ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀπώλευτο, ἀνεχόρισε πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἔτι εἰα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κήρυκα ἑρωτῶν

1 ἀνεχόρισε Edd.; ἀνεχόρησε MSS.
off. 38. Then one might have realized how much it is worth to an officer to be loved by his men; for they all at once cried out and leaping forward they fought, shoved and were shoved, gave and received blows. And one of his aides-de-camp leaped down from his own horse and helped him mount upon it; 39. and when Cyrus had mounted he saw that the Egyptians were now assailed on every side; for Hystaspas also and Chrysantas had now come up with the Persian cavalry. But he did not permit them yet to charge into the Egyptian phalanx, but bade them shoot and hurl from a distance.

And when, as he rode round, he came to the engines, he decided to ascend one of the towers and take a view to see if anywhere any part of the enemy's forces were making a stand to fight. 40. And when he had ascended the tower, he looked down upon the field full of horses and men and chariots, some fleeing, some pursuing, some victorious, others vanquished; but nowhere could he discover any division that was still standing its ground, except that of the Egyptians; and they, inasmuch as they found themselves in a desperate condition, formed in a complete circle and crouched behind their shields, so that only their weapons were visible; but they were no longer accomplishing anything, but were suffering very heavy loss.

41. And Cyrus, filled with admiration for their conduct and moved to pity for them that men as brave as they were should be slain, drew off all those who were fighting around the ring and allowed no one to fight any more. Then he sent a herald to them to ask whether they all wished to die for
τότερα βούλονται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτούς ἢ σωθήναι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
dοκοῦντες εἶναι.

Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, Πῶς δὲ ἂν ἡμεῖς σωθεῖμεν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
dοκοῦντες εἶναι;

42. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν, "Οτι ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς
dρόμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι ἐθέ-
λοντας.

'Αλλὰ τοῦτεύθεν, ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί
cαλὸν ἂν ποιοῦντες σωθεῖμεν;

Καὶ ὁ Κύρος αὖ πρὸς τούτο εἶπεν, [Εἰ τῶν τε
συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείτε] ¹ Τά
te ὅπλα παραδόντες φίλοι τε γενόμενοι τοῖς αἱροῦ-
μένοις ύμᾶς σῶσαι, ἔξον ἀπολέσαι.

43. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπήροντο, Ἡν δὲ γενώ-
μεθά σοι φίλοι, τί ἡμῖν ἀξιώσεις χρήσθαι;

'Απεκρίνατο ὁ Κύρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὔ πάσχειν.

'Επηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα ἐνεργεύσαν;

Πρὸς τούτο εἶπεν ὁ Κύρος, Μισθὸν μὲν ύμῖν
dοίην ἂν πλείονα ἡ νῦν ἑλαμβάνετε ὅσον ἂν χρόνον
πόλεμος ἢ εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης τῷ βουλομένῳ
ὑμῶν μένειν παρ’ ἐμοὶ χῶραν τε δῷσω καὶ πόλεις
καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ οἰκέτας.

44. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν
eπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελείν σφίσιν ἐδε-
ήθησαν· τοῦτο γὰρ μόνῳ γιγνώσκεσθαι ἔφασαν·
tὰ δ’ ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἔδοσαν πίστιν καὶ
ἔλαβον.

¹ Εἰ ... σωθείτε MSS., earlier Edd.; bracketed by Hug,
Marchant, Gemoll [If you could save your lives without be-
traying any of your friends].

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those who had treacherously deserted them or to save their lives and at the same time be accounted brave men.

"How could we save our lives," they answered, "and at the same time be accounted brave men?"

42. "You can," Cyrus replied, "because we are witnesses that you are the only ones who stood your ground and were willing to fight."

"Well," answered the Egyptians, "granting that, what can we do consistently with honour to save our lives?"

"You could surrender your arms," Cyrus answered again, "and become friends of those who choose to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you."

43. "And if we become your friends," they asked on hearing that, "how will you see fit to deal with us?"

"I will do you favours and expect favours from you," answered Cyrus.

"What sort of favours?" asked the Egyptians in turn.

"As long as the war continues," Cyrus made answer to this, "I would give you larger pay than you were now receiving; and when peace is made, to those of you who care to stay with me I will give lands and cities and wives and servants."

44. On hearing this, the Egyptians begged to be excused from taking part in any campaign against Croesus, for with him alone, they said, they were acquainted; all other stipulations they accepted, and gave and received pledges of good faith.
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45. ᾧ τοι Ἀιγύπτιοι τε οἱ καταμείναντες τότε ἑτὶ καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμένουσι, Ἀκρός τε πόλεως αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἀνω, αὖ ἑτὶ καὶ νῦν πόλεως Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Δάρισαν δὲ καὶ Ἐκλησίαν παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον θαλάττης, ὡς ἑτὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσι.

Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι ὁ Κύρος ἠδη σκοταιδὸς ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

46. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμῶν Αἰγύπτιοι μόνοι ἡδοκίμησαν, τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἱππικῶν κράτιστον ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι· ὡστ' ἑτὶ καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ ὁπλισίς ἢ τότε Κύρος τοῖς ἱππεύσι κατεσκέυασεν.

47. Ἡδοκίμησε δὲ ἱσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανη-φόρα ἄρματα· ὡστε καὶ τούτο ἑτὶ καὶ νῦν διαμένει τὸ πολεμιστήριον τῷ ἀεὶ βασιλεύοντι.

48. Αἱ μέντοι κάμηλοι ἐφόβουν μόνον τοὺς ἱππους, οὐ μέντοι κατέκαινον γε οἱ ἑτ' αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς,1 οὐδ' αὐτοὶ γε ἀπέθυμησαν ὑπὸ ἱππεύσων οὔδεὶς γὰρ ἱππος ἔπελαζε. 49. καὶ χρήσιμοι μὲν ἔδοκει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὔδεὶς ἐθέλει καλὸς κάγαθος κάμηλον ὡστ' ἐποχεῖσθαι, οὔτε μελέταν ὡς πολεμήσων ἀπὸ τούτων. οὔτω δὴ ἀπολαβοῦσαι πάλιν τὸ ἑαυτῶν σχῆμα ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις διάγονοι.

1 ἱππεῖς MSS., most Edd.; ἱππεὰς Gemoll.
45. And the Egyptians who then stayed in the country have continued loyal subjects to the king even unto this day; and Cyrus gave them cities, some in the interior, which even to this day are called Egyptian cities, and besides these Larissa and Cyllene near Cyme on the coast; and their descendants dwell there even unto this day.

When he had accomplished this, it was already dark; and Cyrus led back his forces and encamped in Thymbrara.

46. The Egyptians were the only ones of all the enemy that distinguished themselves in the battle, while of those under Cyrus the Persian cavalry seemed to be the most efficient. And therefore the equipment which Cyrus had then provided for his cavalry continues in use even to our own times.

47. The scythe-bearing chariots also won extraordinary distinction, so that this military device also has been retained even to our day by each successive king.

48. The camels, however, did nothing more than frighten the horses; their riders could neither kill any one nor be killed by any of the enemy's cavalry, for not a horse would come near them.

49. What they did do seemed useful enough; but be that as it may, no gentleman is willing to keep a camel for riding or to practise for fighting in war upon one. And so they have again taken their proper position and do service among the pack-animals.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

II

1. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄμφι τὸν Κῦρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακάς καταστησάμενοι, ὡσπερ ἔδει, ἐκοιμήθησαν. Κροῖσος μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἐφευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι τὰ δ’ ἄλλα φῦλα ὅποι ἐδύνατο προσωτάτω ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἑποίκου ὅδοι ἐκαστὸς ἀπεχώρει.

2. 'Επειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεως ἤγε Κῦρος. ὀς δ’ ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσι, τὰς τε μηχανὰς ἀνίστη ὡς προσβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ τείχος καὶ κλίμακας παρεσκευάζετο. 3. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀποτομῶτα ἀποκύννα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν ἐρύματος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀναβιβάζει Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Πέρσας. ἤγησατο δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνήρ Πέρσης δούλος γεγενημένος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ πόλει τινὸς φρουρῶν καὶ καταμεμάθηκὼς κατάβασιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀνάβασιν τὴν αὐτῆς.

4. 'Ως δ’ ἐγένετο τούτο δῆλον ὅτι εἰχεῖ τὸ ἄκρα, πάντες δὴ ἐφευγοῦν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὅποι ἐδύνατο ἐκαστὸς τῆς πόλεως. Κῦρος δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσῆ χεὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδένα κινεῖσθαι. 5. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος κατακλεισάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Κῦρον ἐβοᾷ· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν Κροῖσου φῦλακας κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαγαγόν πρὸς τὴν ἐχομένην ἄκραν ὡς εἰδε τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας φυλάττοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὡσπερ ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὑπλα ἔρημα, κατεδεδραμήκεσαν γὰρ ἀρτασόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν

1 ὅποι ξἰΕ, most Edd.; δηὴ C.
1. When Cyrus and his men had finished dinner and stationed guards, as was necessary, they went to rest. As for Croesus and his army, they fled straight towards Sardis, while the other contingents got away, each man as far as he could under cover of the night on his way toward home.

2. When daylight came, Cyrus led his army straight on against Sardis. And as soon as he came up to the walls of the city, he set up his engines as if intending to assault it and made ready his scaling ladders. 3. But though he did this, in the course of the following night he sent some Chaldaeans and Persians to climb up by what was considered the most precipitous side of the Sardian citadel. The way was shown them by a Persian who had been the slave of one of the guards of the acropolis and had discovered a way down to the river and up again by the same route.

4. When it became known that the citadel was taken, all the Lydians immediately fled from the walls to whatever part of the city they could. And Cyrus at daybreak entered the city and gave orders that not a man of his should stir from his post. 5. But Croesus shut himself up in his palace and called for Cyrus. Cyrus, however, left behind a guard to watch Croesus, while he himself drew off his army to the citadel now in his possession; for he saw that the Persians were holding guard over it, as it was their duty to do, but that the quarters of the Chaldaeans were deserted, for they had run down into
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οἴκιῶν, εὐθὺς συνεκάλεσεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς τάχιστα. 6. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, ἀνασχοίμην πλεονεκτοῦντας ὅρων τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. καὶ εἴ μέν, ἔφη, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι παρεσκευαζόμην ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὶ συνστρατευόμενοι πάσι Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοὺς ποιῆσαι: νῦν δ', ἔφη, μὴ θαυμᾶζετε ἢν τις καὶ ἀπιόυσιν ὑμῖν κρείττον ἐντύχῃ.

7. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐδεισάν τε καὶ ἤκέτευν παύσασθαι ὀργιζόμενον καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀποδώσειν ἔφασαν. ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιτο. 'Ἀλλ' εἴ με, ἔφη, βούλεσθε παύσασθαι ἀχθόμενον, ἀπόδοτε πάντα ὁσα ἔλαβες τοῖς διαφυλάξασι τὴν ἀκραν. ἢ γὰρ αἰσθωματοι οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ὅτι πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ εὐτακτοὶ γενόμενοι, πάντα μοι καλῶς ἔξει.

8. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Χαλδαῖοι οὔτως ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύρος· καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ πειθόμενοι πολλά καὶ παντοῖα χρήματα. ὁ δὲ Κύρος καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς ἑαυτοὶ, ὅπου ἔδοκεν ἐπιτηδείωτος εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς παρῆγγειλε καὶ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

9. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἀγαγείν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ¹ τὸν Κροίσον. ὁ δὲ Κροίσος ως εἰδε τὸν Κύρον, Χαίρε, ὃ δέσποτα, ἔφη: τούτῳ γὰρ η τύχῃ καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δίδωσι σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύειν.

10. Καὶ σὺ γε, ἔφη, ὃ Κροίσε, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρω-

¹ αὐτῷ F, Edd.; αὐτῷ xzDV.
the city to get plunder from the houses. He at once called their officers together and told them to leave his army with all speed. 6. "For," said he, "I could not endure to see men who are guilty of insubordination better off than others. And let me tell you," he added, "that I was getting ready to make you Chaldaeans who have been helping in my campaigns objects of envy in the eyes of all other Chaldaeans; but, as it is, you need not be surprised if some one who is your superior in strength should fall in with you, even as you go away."

7. When they heard this, the Chaldaeans were afraid; they besought him to lay aside his wrath and promised to give up their plunder. But he said he did not want it. "But," said he, "if you wish me to forget my displeasure, surrender all that you have taken to those who have not relaxed their guard of the citadel. For if the rest of the soldiers find out that those who have been obedient to orders are better off than the rest, everything will be as I wish."

8. The Chaldaeans, accordingly, did as Cyrus bade; and the obedient received a large amount of spoil of every description. And Cyrus encamped his men in that part of the city where he deemed it most convenient, ordering them to stay in their quarters and take luncheon there.

9. When he had attended to this, he ordered Croesus to be brought before him. And when Croesus saw Cyrus, he said: "I salute you, my sovereign lord; for fortune grants that henceforth you should bear this title and I address you by it."

10. "And I you, Croesus; for we are both men.
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τοί γε ἐσμὲν ἀμφότεροι. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κροίσε, ἀρ’ ἄν τί μοι ἐθελήσαις συμβουλέυσαι;

Καὶ βουλομένη γ’ ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, ἀγαθόν τί σοι εὑρεῖν τοῦτο γὰρ ἄν οἴμαι ἀγαθὸν κάμοι γενέσθαι.

11. Ἀκούσον τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Κροίσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πεπονηκότας καὶ πολλὰ κεκυνδυνευκότας καὶ νῦν νομίζοντας πόλων ἐχειν τὴν πλουσιωτάτην ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ μετὰ Βαβυλώνα, ἄξιον ὡφεληθήναι τοὺς στρατιώτας. γυνώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ μή τινα καρπὸν λήψονται τῶν πόλων, οὐ δυνήσομαι αὐτοῖς πολὺν χρόνον πειθομένους ἐχειν. διαρπάσαι μὲν οὐν αὐτοῖς ἐφείναι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βούλομαι· τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν νομίζω ἄν διαφθαρήναι, ἐν τε τῇ ἀρπαγῇ εὐ οἶδ’ ὅτι οἱ πονηρότατοι πλεονεκτήσειαν ἄν.

12. Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὦ Κροίσος ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλ’ ἐμέ, ἔφη, ἔασον λέξαι πρὸς οὕς ἄν ἐγὼ Λυδῶν ἔλθω 1 οτι διαπέπραγμαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ποιήσαι ἀρπαγῆν μηδὲ ἔάσαι ἀφανισθήναι παιδας καὶ γυναικας· ὑπεσχόμην δὲ σοι ἀντί τοῦτων ἢ μὴν παρ’ ἑκόντων Λυδῶν ἔσεσθαι πάν ὦ τι καλῶν καγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν Σάρδεσιν. 13. ἂν γὰρ ταύτα ἄκουσωσιν, οἶδ’ ὅτι ἔξιν σοι πάν ὦ τι ἑστὶν ἐνθάδε καλῶν κτήμα ἄνδρι καὶ γυναικι καὶ ὁμοίως εἰς νέωτα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πάλιν σοι πλήρης ἢ πόλις ἔσται· ἂν δὲ διαρπάσῃς, καὶ αἱ τέχναι σοι, ὅσ τηγάς φασὶ τῶν καλῶν εἶναι, διεφθαρμέναι ἔσονται. 14. ἔξιν τοῦτος δὲ σοι ἱδόντι ταύτα ἔθοντα ἐτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς βουλεύσι.
But, Croesus,” he added, “would you be willing to give me a bit of advice?”

“Aye, Cyrus,” said he; “I wish I could find something of practical value to say to you. For that, I think, would prove good for me as well.”

11. “Listen, then, Croesus,” said he. “I observe that my soldiers have gone through many toils and dangers and now are thinking that they are in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon; and I think that they deserve some reward. For I know that if they do not reap some fruit of their labours, I shall not be able to keep them in obedience very long. Now, I do not wish to abandon the city to them to plunder; for I believe that then the city would be destroyed, and I am sure that in the pillaging the worst men would get the largest share.”

12. “Well,” said Croesus on hearing these words, “permit me to say to any Lydians that I meet that I have secured from you the promise not to permit any pillaging nor to allow the women and children to be carried off, and that I, in return for that, have given you my solemn promise that you should get from the Lydians of their own free will everything there is of beauty or value in Sardis. 13. For when they hear this, I am sure that whatever fair possession man or woman has will come to you; and next year you will again find the city just as full of wealth as it is now; whereas, if you pillage it completely, you will find even the industrial arts utterly ruined; and they say that these are the fountain of wealth. 14. But when you have seen what is brought in, you will still have the privilege of deciding about
σασθαι. πρώτον δ’, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμοῦς θησαυροὺς πέμπτε καὶ παραλαμβανόντων oi σοι φύλακες παρὰ τῶν ἐμὸν φυλάκων.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαντὰ οὕτω συνήνεσε ποιεῖν ὁ Κύρος ὥσπερ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κροίσος.

15. Τάδε δὲ μοι πάντως, ἔφη, ὁ Κροίσε, λέξον πῶς σοι ἀποβέβηκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφῶν χρηστηρίου; σοι γὰρ δὴ λέγεται πάνυ γε τεθεραπευόσθαι ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ σε πάντα ἑκείνῳ πειθομενον πράττεων.

16. Ἐβουλόμην ἂν, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρε, οὕτως ἐχειν νῦν δὲ πάντα τάναντια εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πράττων προσηνέχθων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

Πῶς δὲ; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος· δίδασκε· πάνυ γὰρ παράδοξα λέγεις.

17. "Οτι πρώτον μὲν, ἔφη, ἀμελήσας ἐρωτάν τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τι ἐδεόμην, ἀπεπειρόμην αὐτοῦ εἰ δύνατο ἀληθεύειν. τοῦτο δ’, ἔφη, μὴ ὁτι θεὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καλοί κἀγαθοί, ἐπειδὰν γνῶσιν ἀπιστούμενοι, οὐ φιλούσι τούς ἀπιστοῦντας.

18. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔγνω καὶ μᾶλ’ ἄτοπα ἐμοῦ ποιούντος, καὶ πρὸς Δελφῶν ἀπέχοντος, οὕτω δὴ πέμπτω περὶ παῖδων. 19. ὁ δὲ μοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδ’ ἀπεκρίνατο· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν πέμπων ἀναθηματα χρυσά, πολλὰ δ’ ἀργυρά, πάμπολλα δὲ θύσιν ἐξιλασάμενον ποτὲ αὐτοῦ, ως ἔδόκουν, τότε δὴ μοι ἀποκρίνεται ἐρωτῶντι τί ἂν μοι ποιήσαντι παῖδες γένοιτο· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐσοίντο. 20. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐλεύσατο,
plundering the city. And first of all," he went on," send to my treasuries and let your guards obtain from my guards what is there."

All this, accordingly, Cyrus agreed to have done as Croesus suggested.

15. "But pray tell me, Croesus," he resumed, "what has come of your responses from the oracle at Delphi? For it is said that Apollo has received much service from you and that everything that you do is done in obedience to him."

16. "I would it were so, Cyrus," he answered. "But as it is, I have from the very beginning behaved toward Apollo in a way contrary to all that he has advised."

"How so?" asked Cyrus; "please explain; for your statement sounds very strange."

17. "At first," he answered, "instead of asking the god for the particular favour I needed, I proceeded to put him to the test to see if he could tell the truth. And when even men, if they are gentlemen—to say nothing of a god—discover that they are mistrusted, they have no love for those who mistrust them. 18. However, as he knew even about the gross absurdities I was engaged in, far as I was from Delphi,¹ I then sent to him to inquire if I should have male issue. 19. And at first he did not even answer me; but when I had at last propitiated him, as I thought, by sending many offerings of gold and many of silver and by sacrificing very many victims, then he did answer my question as to what I should do to have sons; and he said that I should have them. 20. And I had; for not even in this did he speak falsely; but those

¹ See Index, s.v. Croesus, note.
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γενόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνησαν. ο μὲν γὰρ κωφὸς ὄν διετέλει, ο δὲ ἀριστός γενόμενος ἐν ἀκρῇ τοῦ βίου ἀπώλετο. πιεζόμενος δὲ ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παῖδας συμφοράς πάλιν πέμπτο καὶ ἐπερωτῶ τὸν θεόν τι ἄν ποιῶν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον εὐδαιμονέσσιετα διατελέσαιμι. ο δὲ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο.

Σαυτόν γιγνώσκων εὐδαιμόνων, Κροῖσε, περάσεις.

21. ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας τὴν μαντείαν ἥσθην· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ τὸ ῥάστον μοι αὐτὸν προστάξαντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διδόναι. ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ γιγνώσκειν τοὺς μὲν οἴνον τ' εἶναι τοὺς δ' οὐ· έαυτόν δὲ δεστις ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἐνόμιζον ἄνθρωπον εἶδεναι.

22. Καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ χρόνον, ἐως μὲν εἰχον ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ παῖδος θάνατον ταῖς τύχαις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεπείσθην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἔφ' ὑμᾶς στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς πάντα κίνδυνον ἠλθον· ἐσώθην μὲντοι οὐδὲν κακὸν λαβὼν. οὐκ αἰτιώμαι δὲ οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεόν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνων ἐμαυτόν μὴ ἴκανον ὑμῖν μάχεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀπήλθον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοί.

23. Νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπὸ τε πλοῦτον τοῦ παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεμένων μου προστάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δόρων δι' ἐδίδοσάν μοι καὶ ὑπ' ἄνθρωπων, ο' με κολακεύουτες ἔλεησαν ὡς εἰ ἐγὼ ἐθέλομι άρχειν, πάντες ἄν ἐμοὶ πείθοντο καὶ μέγιστος ἀν εἴην ἄνθρωπων,

1 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δόρων . . . ἄνθρωπων bracketed by Gemoll.
that were born to me have been no joy to me. For the one has continued dumb until now, and the other, the better of the two, was killed in the flower of his youth. Then, overwhelmed by the afflictions I suffered in connection with my sons, I sent again and inquired of the god what I should do to pass the rest of my life most happily; and he answered me:

'Knowing thyself, O Croesus—thus shalt thou live and be happy.'

21. And when I heard this response, I was glad; for I thought that it was the easiest task in the world that he was laying upon me as the condition to happiness. For in the case of others, it is possible to know some; and some, one cannot know; but I thought that everybody knows who and what he himself is.

22. "For the succeeding years, as long as I lived at peace, I had no complaint to make of my fortunes after the death of my son. But when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to take the field against you, I fell into every sort of danger. However, I was saved without having suffered any harm. Here again I have no fault to find with the god. For when I recognized that I was not your match in battle, with his help I got off in safety, both I and my men.

23. "And lately again, spoiled by the wealth I had and by those who were begging me to become their leader, by the gifts they gave me and by the people who flattered me, saying that if I would consent to take command they would all obey me and I should be the greatest of men—puffed up by

1 There is a reference to the famous inscription on the temple at Delphi—ὑψωτοὺς.
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΗ

υπὸ τοιοῦτον δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος, ὡς εἴλοντό
με πάντες οἱ κύκλῳ βασιλείας προστάτην τοῦ πο-
λέμου, ὑπεδεξάμην τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὡς ἱκανὸς δὲν
μέγιστος γενέσθαι, ἀγνοῶν ἀρα ἐμαυτόν, 24. ὅτι
σοὶ ἀντιπολεμεῖν ἱκανὸς ἰμὴν εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν
ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ βασιλέως περι-
κότι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἕκ παιδὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντι· τῶν δὲ
ἐμῶν προγόνων ἀκοῦω τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα
ἀμα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενέσθαι. ταῦτ'
οὖν ἀγνοήσας δικαίως, ἐφη, ἔχω τὴν δίκην.

25. Ἀλλὰ νὺν δὴ, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρη, γυνώσκω μὲν
ἐμαυτόν· σὺ δ', ἔφη, ἔτι δοκεῖς ἀληθεύειν τὸν
Ἀπόλλων ὡς εὐδαίμων ἔσομαι γυνώσκως ἐμαυτόν;
σὲ δὲ ἐρωτῶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἄριστ' ἃν μοι δοκεῖς
εἰκάσαι τούτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι· καὶ γὰρ δύνασαι
ποιῆσαι.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Βουλήν μοι δὲς περὶ
toῦτοι, ὁ Κροῖσσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ σου ἐννοῶ τὴν πρό-
σθεν εὐδαιμονίᾳ οἰκτείρω τὲ σὲ καὶ ἀποδίδωμι
ἡδὴ γυναῖκα τὲ ἔχεω ἡν ἐίχες καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας,
ἀκοῦω γὰρ σοι εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς
θεράπωτας καὶ τράπεζαν σὺν οἴλοπερ ἐξήτει·
μάχας δὲ σοι καὶ πολέμους ἀφαιρῶ.

27. Μᾶ Δία μηδὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κροῖσσος, σὺ
ἐμοὶ ἔτι βουλεύου ἀποκρίνασθαι περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
εὐδαιμονίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦδη σοι λέγω, ἢν ταῦτα μοι
ποιήσης ὁ λέγεις, ὅτι ἢ ἄλλοι τε μακαριωτάτην

1 ἔξητε Edd.; ἔζωτε xzDV; ἔζωτε Φ.

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such words, when all the princes round about chose me to be their leader in the war, I accepted the command, deeming myself fit to be the greatest; but, as it seems, I did not know myself. 24. For I thought I was capable of carrying on war against you; but I was no match for you; for you are in the first place a scion of the gods and in the second place the descendant of an unbroken line of kings, and finally you have been practising virtue from your childhood on, while the first of my ancestors to wear a crown, I am told, was at the same time king and freedman. Therefore, as I was thus without knowledge, I have my just deserts.

25. "But, Cyrus," said he, "I know myself now. But do you think Apollo's declaration still holds true, that if I know myself I shall be happy? I ask you this for the reason that under the present circumstances it seems to me you can judge best; for you are also in a position to fulfil it."

26. "You must give me time to consider this, Cyrus," Cyrus replied; "for when I think of your happiness hitherto, I am sorry for you, and I now restore to you your wife, whom you once had, your daughters (for I understand you have daughters), your friends, your servants, and the table that you and yours used to enjoy. But wars and battles I must forbid you."

27. "In the name of Zeus," said Croesus, "pray do not trouble yourself further to answer me in regard to my happiness; for I assure you even now that if you do for me what you say you will, I, too, shall have and enjoy that life which others have always

1 Gyges, the shepherd king of Lydia.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βιοτήν καὶ ἔγω συνεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς, ταύτην καὶ ἔγω γὰρ νῦν ἔχων διάξω.

28. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπε, Τίς δὴ ὁ ἔχων ταύτην τὴν μακριάν βιοτήν;

Ἡ ἐμῇ γυνῇ, εἶπεν, ὁ Κῦρε ἐκείνη γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἄγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἱσον μετείχε, φροντίδων δὲ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ πολέμου καὶ μάχης οὐ μετήν αὐτῆ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς ἐμὲ κατασκευάζειν ὦστερ ἔγω ἢν ἐφίλουν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, ὡστε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα μοι δοκῶ χαριστήρια ὁφειλῆςιν.

29. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κύρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἦγε δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποι καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύοιτο, εἶτε ἄρα καὶ χρήσιμον τι νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἶτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως ἡγούμενος.

III

1. Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία καλέσας ὁ Κύρος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ὁπόσα παραδοθῇ Κροίσος χρήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεοῖς ἔξελεν ὅποι ἀν ὁ μάγοι ἔξηγότα, ἐπειτα τάλλα χρήματα παραδεχομένους ἐν ξυγάστρωστροῖς στήσαντας ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν ἐπισκευάζει καὶ διαλαχόντας τὰς ἀμάξας κομίζειν ὅποισις ἀν αὐτοὶ 242
considered most blissful; and I have agreed with them.”

28. “And who is it,” asked Cyrus, “that enjoys such a life of bliss?”

“My wife, Cyrus,” said he. “For she always shared equally with me my wealth and the luxuries and all the good cheer that it brought, but she had no share in the anxieties of securing it nor in war or battle. So, then, you seem to be putting me in the same position as I did her whom I loved more than all the world, so that I feel that I shall owe Apollo new thank-offerings.”

29. At hearing these words Cyrus wondered at his good spirits, and after that he always used to take Croesus with him wherever he went, whether, as may well have been, because he thought Croesus was of some service to him, or whether he considered that this was the safer course.

III

1. Such was their interview, and then they went to rest. And on the following day Cyrus summoned his friends and the general officers of his army. He appointed some of them to take charge of the treasures and others he ordered first to select from the valuables that Croesus delivered such a portion for the gods as the magi should designate; the rest they should then take into their own charge and put in chests, and these they should pack upon the wagons; they should then divide the wagons by lot and convey them whithersoever they themselves might go; then, when the time came, the treasure
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πορεύωνται, ἵνα ὅπου καρδὸς εἰή διαλαμβάνοιεν ἐκαστοῦ τὰ ἄξια. 2. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

"Ὁ δὲ Κύρος καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὑπηρετῶν, Ἔιπατέ μοι, ἐφη, ἐώρακε τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάταν; θαυμάζω γάρ, ἐφη, ὅτι πρόσθεν θαμίζων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς υνὶς οὐδαμοῦ φαίνει.

3. Τῶν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο ὁτι Ὡ δέσποτα, οὐ ζήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν ἐμ-βαλῶν τὸ ἄρμα εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πλὴν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐξέκλιναν, ός φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στύφος εἶδον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. 4. καὶ νῦν γε ἐφη, λέγεται αὐτὸι ἡ γυνὴ ἄνελομενή τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἐνθέμενη εἰς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἐν ἣπερ αὐτὴ ὥχεῖτο, προσκεκομικέναι αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Πακτώλον ποταμὸν. 5. καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνοῦχους καὶ τοὺς θεράτοντας αὐτοῦ ὀρύττειν φασίν ἕπτε λόφου τινὸς θήκην τῷ τελευτησάντω· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ὡς καθήται χαμαί κεκο-σμηκυία ὁς εἰχὲ τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἕπτε τοῖς ἑσύσι.

6. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας δ' Κύρος ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρὸν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππὸν λαβὼν χιλίους ἱππεὰς ἠλαυνεν ἕπτε τὸ πάθος. 7. Γαθά-ταν δὲ καὶ Γοβρύαν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τι δύναστο λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα ἄνδρι φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι μεταδιώκειν· καὶ ὅστις εἰκὲ τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἱπποὺς εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἀμα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἠλαύνειν ὅπου1 ἃν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὡντα, ως ἐπισφαγείη τῷ Ἀβραδάτα.

1 ἃπον Priscian, Hug, Gemoll; ἃπον xG, Dindorf, Breiten- bach, Marchant; ἃπον γAHV.

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should be divided, and each man should receive his share according to his deserts. 2. The officers, accordingly, proceeded to follow his instructions.

And when he had called to him certain of his aides who were present, Cyrus said: “Tell me, has any one of you seen Abradatas? For I wonder why, in view of the fact that he used often to come to us, he is now nowhere to be seen.”

3. “Sire,” answered one of the aides, “he is no longer alive, but he fell in the battle as he hurled his chariot against the ranks of the Egyptians, while the rest, they say, all but himself and his companions, turned aside when they saw the dense host of the Egyptians. 4. And even now his wife, I am told, has taken up his body for burial, placed it in the carriage in which she herself used to ride, and brought it to some place here by the River Pactolus. 5. And his eunuchs and servants, so they say, are digging a grave upon a certain hill for his dead body. But his wife, they say, has decked her husband with what she possessed and now sits upon the ground, holding his head in her lap.”

6. Upon hearing this, Cyrus smote his thigh, mounted his horse at once, and rode with a regiment of cavalry to the scene of sorrow. 7. He left orders for Gadatas and Gobryas to follow him with the most beautiful ornaments they could get for the man, who had fallen beloved and brave. And he ordered those who had in charge the herds that were taken with the army to bring both cattle and horses and many sheep besides to the place where they should hear that he was, that he might sacrifice them in honour of Abradatas.
8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαλον καθημένην καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἐδάκρυσε τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ εἴπε, Φεῦ, ὦ ἀγαθή καὶ πιστὴ ψυχή, οὐχεὶ δὴ ἀπολείπων ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἀμα ἐδεξιοῦτο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ χείρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκοπτο γὰρ κοπίδι υπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. 9. ὦ δὲ ἰδὼν πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠλπίσε· καὶ ἦ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύματο καὶ δεξαμένη δὴ παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησε τε τὴν χείρα καὶ πάλιν ὡς οἶδον τ' ἦν προσήμοσε, καὶ εἴπε, Καὶ τάλλα τοι, ὦ Κύρε, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ σε ὅραν; καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οἶδ' ὅτι δὲ ἐμὲ οὖν ἦκιστα ἐπαθεν, ἵσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Κύρε, οὐδὲν ἦττον. ἐγὼ τὸ γὰρ ἡ μῶρα πολλὰ διεκελεύομην αὐτῷ οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὅπως σοι φίλος ἄξιος γεννήσοιτο. αὐτὸς τε οἶδ' ὅτι οὗτος ὦ τοῦτο ἐνενόει ὅ τι πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἂν σοι ποιήσῃς χαρίσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμεμπτῶς τετελεύτηκεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἡ παρακελευσμένη ἵσωσα παρακάθημαι.

11. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος χρόνον μὲν τινα σιωπῆ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐφθεύγατο, Ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν δὴ, ὦ γύναι, ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· νικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα τοῖς ἔπικοςμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ· παρῆν δὲ ὁ Γαβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες· ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲ τάλλα ἀτίμος ἐσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνήμα πολλοὶ χάσουσιν ἄξιος ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῷ ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ.

12. Ἐν δὲ, ἔφη, οὖκ ἐρήμος ἔσει, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ

1 γενήσοιτο F, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; λόγον φανερὰ xzV, Zonaras, Dindorf, Breitenbach (show himself a friend worth mentioning).
8. And when he saw the lady sitting upon the ground and the corpse lying there, he wept over his loss and said: “Alas, O’ brave and faithful soul, hast thou then gone and left us?” And with the words he clasped his hand, and the dead man’s hand came away in his grasp; for the wrist had been severed by a sabre in the hands of an Egyptian. 9. And Cyrus was still more deeply moved at seeing this; and the wife wept aloud; but taking the hand from Cyrus, she kissed it and fitted it on again as best she could and said: 10. “The rest of his limbs also you will find in the same condition, Cyrus; but why should you see it? And I am in no small degree to blame that he has suffered so, and you, Cyrus, perhaps not less than I. For it was I that, in my folly, urged him to do his best to show himself a worthy friend to you; and as for him, I know that he never had a thought of what might happen to him, but only of what he could do to please you. And so,” she said, “he has indeed died a blameless death, while I who urged him to sit here alive!”

11. For some time Cyrus wept in silence and then he said aloud: “Well, lady, he indeed has met the fairest of ends, for he has died in the very hour of victory; but do you accept these gifts from me”—for Gobryas and Gadatas had come with many beautiful ornaments—“and deck him with them. And then, let me assure you that in other ways also he shall not want for honours, but many hands shall rear to him a monument worthy of us, and sacrifice shall be made over it, such as will befit a man so valiant.

12. “And you,” he continued, “shall not be left
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σε καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐνεκα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τάλλα τιμήσω καὶ συστήσω ὅστις ἀποκομμεῖ σε ὅποι ἀν αὐτή ἐθέλησ· μόνον, ἐφη, δῆλωσον πρὸς ἐμὲ πρὸς ὄντινα χρήζεις κομισθήματι.

13. Καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ θάρρει, ἐφη, ὡς Κῦρε, οὐ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς ὄντινα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι.

14. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ἀπήει, κατοικτείρων τὴν τέ γυναῖκα οἶου ἄνδρος στέροιτο καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἶαν γυναῖκα καταλυτῶν οὐκετ' ὑψιτο. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνοῦχους ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστῆναι, ἔως ἂν, ἐφη, τῶν' ἐγὼ ὅδυρωμαι ὡς βούλομαι· τῇ δὲ τροφῷ εἶπεν παραμένειν, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτή, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἰματίῳ. ἦ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦπιν, καὶ χαλε- παίνουσαν ἐώρα, ἐκάθητο κλαίουσα. ἦ δὲ ἀκινάκην πάλαι παρεσκευασμένον σπασμένη σφάττει ἔαν- την καὶ ἐπιθείς ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἄνδρος τὴν ἔαντής κεφαλῆς ἀπέθυμισκεν.

᾿Η δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκά- λυπτεν ἄμφω ὀσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστειλεν.

15. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὃς ἦσθετο τὸ ἔργον τῆς γυ- ναικὸς, ἐκπλαγεῖς ἤτει, εἰ τι δύνατο βοηθῆσαι. οἰ δὲ εὐνοῦχοι ἠδὼντες τὸ γεγενημένον, τρεῖς ὄντες σπασάμενοι κάκεινοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποσφάτ- τονται οὕτεν ἐταξίζον αὐτοὺς ἑστηκότες.

1 ἦπιν Dindorf, Edd.; ἦνε xzDV; ἦνει F.

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friendless, but on account of your goodness and all your worth, I shall show you all honour; and besides, I will commend to you some one to escort you to the place where you yourself desire to go. Only let me know to whom you wish to be conducted."  
13. "Ah, Cyrus," Panthea answered, "do not fear; I shall never hide from you who it is to whom I wish to go."

14. When he had said this, Cyrus went away, his heart full of pity for the woman, as he thought what a husband she had lost, and for the man, that he must leave such a wife and never see her more. The lady then desired the eunuchs to retire, "until," she said, "I have bewailed my husband here, as I desire." But her nurse she told to stay with her, and she charged her to cover her and her husband, when she, too, was dead, with the same cloak. The nurse, however, pleaded earnestly with her not to do so; but when her prayers proved of no avail and she saw her mistress becoming angered, she sat down and burst into tears. Panthea then drew out a dagger, with which she had provided herself long before, and plunged it into her heart, and laying her head upon her husband's bosom she breathed her last.

Then the nurse wailed aloud and covered them both, even as Panthea had directed.

15. When Cyrus heard what the woman had done, he was filled with dismay and hastened to the place to see if he could bring any help. And when the eunuchs, three in number, beheld what had occurred, they also, standing in the spot where she had ordered them to stand, drew their daggers and drove them into their own breasts.
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[Καὶ νῦν τὸ μνῆμα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῶν εὐνούχων κεκόψθαι λέγεται: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἁνω στήλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, Σύρια γράμματα, κατὼ δὲ εἶναι τρεῖς λέγουσι στήλας καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ξηπτοτχαν.]

16. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος ὡς ἐπλησίασε τῷ πάθει ἀγα- σθείς τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ κατολοφυράμενος ἀπῆκε· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἢ εἰκὸς ἐπεμελήθη ὡς τἄχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμέγθες ἐχώσθη, ὡς φασιν.

IV

1. Ἕκ δὲ τούτου στασιάζοντες οἱ Κάρες καὶ πολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἄλληλους, ἀτε τὰς οἰκίσεις ἔχοντες ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις, ἐκάτεροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο τῶν Κύρων. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος αὐτὸς μὲν μένων ἐν Σάρδεσι μηχανᾶς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κριούς, ὡς τῶν μὴ πειθομένων ἐρείψων τὰ τείχη, Ἀδούσιον δὲ ἄνδρα Πέρσην καὶ τάλλα οὕκ ἀφρονα οὐδ᾽ ἀπόλεμον, καὶ πάνυ δὴ εὐχαριν, πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν στρατεύμα δοῦσι καὶ Κιλκές δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι πάνυ προθύμως αὐτῷ συνεστάτευσαν.

2. δὲν ἔνεκα οὐδ᾽ ἐπεμψε πώποτε Πέρσην σατράπην ὀυτε Κιλκῶν οὐτε Κυπρίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἥρκουν αὐτῷ ἀεὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι βασιλεύνουτες· δασμὸν μέντοι ἐλάμβανε καὶ στρατιὰς ὁπότε δέοιτο ἐπῆγγελλεν αὐτοῖς.

¹ καὶ νῦν ... ξηπτοτχαν MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, omitted or bracketed by Edd.

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[And now even to this day, it is said, the monument of the eunuchs is still standing; and they say that the names of the husband and wife are inscribed in Assyrian letters upon the slab above; and below, it is said, are three slabs with the inscription THE MACE-BEARERS.]

16. And when Cyrus drew near to the place of sorrow he marvelled at the woman; and having made lament over her, he went his way. He also took care that they should find all due honours, and the monument reared over them was, as they say, exceeding great.

IV

1. Then the Carians fell into strife and civil war with one another; they were intrenched in strongholds, and both sides called upon Cyrus for assistance. So while Cyrus himself stayed in Sardis to make siege-engines and battering rams to demolish the walls of such as should refuse to submit, he entrusted an army to Adusius, a Persian who was not lacking in judgment generally and not unskilled in war, and who was besides a very courteous gentleman, and sent him into Caria; and the Cilicians and Cyprians also joined most heartily in this expedition. 2. Because of their enthusiastic allegiance he never sent a Persian satrap to govern either the Cilicians or the Cyprians, but was always satisfied with their native princes. Tribute, however, he did receive from them, and whenever he needed forces he made a requisition upon them for troops.

1 Staff-bearers—apparently court officials, bearing a "staff" of office; mentioned again viii. i. 38; viii. iii. 15; Anab. i. vi. 11.
3. 'Ό δὲ Ἄδούσιος ἁγὼν τὸ στρατεύμα ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἠλθε, καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφότερων τῶν Καρών παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτοιμοι οὗτες δέχεσθαι εἰς τὰ τείχη ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀντιστασίαζόντων· ὁ δὲ Ἄδούσιος πρὸς ἀμφότεροις ταῦτα ἐποίειν δικαίωτερά τε ἐφιλέγειν τούτους ὀποτέροις διαλέγειν, λαθεῖν τε ἐφιλέγειν τοὺς ἐναντίους φίλους σφᾶς γενομένους, ὡς δὴ οὕτως ἀν μᾶλλον ἐπιπεσοῦν ἀπαρασκευοῦν τοὺς ἐναντίους. πιστὰ δ' ἦσθιο γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κάρας ὤμοι τάλαλος τε δέχεσθαι ¹ εἰς τὰ τείχη σφᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ Περσῶν' αὐτὸς δὲ ὡμόσαι θέλειν ἀδόλως εἰσίναι εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. 4. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀμφότεροις λάθρᾳ ἐκατέρων νῦκτα συνέθετο τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσῆλθασε τε ² εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ παρέλαβε τὰ ἐρύμματα ἀμφότερων. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ημέρᾳ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸ μέσον σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκάλεσεν ἐκατέρων τοὺς ἑπικαίρους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἄλλθιν ἠχοῦσιν ἐκεῖ, νομίζοντες ἐξηπατήσθαι ἀμφότεροι. 5. ὁ μέντοι 'Αδούσιος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἀνδρεὶς, ὡμόσαι ἀδόλως εἰσίνειν εἰς τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄπολο ὀποτέροις ὑμῖν, νομίζω ἐπὶ κακῷ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ Ἀρδαράν ήμιν δὲ εἰρήνην ὑμῖν ποιήσω καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμφότεροις τῆς γῆς, νομίζω ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρεῖναι. νῦν οὖν χρῆ

¹ δέχεσθαι Dindorf, Madvig, Edd.; δέχασθαι MSS.  
² ἐσῆλθε τε Hug (ἱσῆλθε Leonclav; ἐσῆλθε τε Cobet), Marchant, Gemoll; ἐσῆλθατο Ζ, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ἐσῆλθατο χ; ἐσῆλθεν υ. 

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3. Adusius now set out for Caria at the head of his army; and there came to him representatives from both parties of the Carians, ready to receive him into their walls to the injury of the rival faction. But Adusius treated both sides alike: with whichever party he conferred, he said they were more in the right, but they must not let their opponents know that he and they had become friends, alleging that he would thus be more likely to fall upon those opponents unprepared. Moreover, he demanded from the Carians pledges of good faith and made them swear to receive him without treachery within their walls to the advantage of Cyrus and the Persians, and he himself consented to give his oath that he would without treachery enter their walls for the advantage of those who admitted him. 4. And when he had done this, he made appointments with both parties for the same night—each party without the other’s knowledge—and on that night he marched inside the walls and took possession of the strongholds of both. At day-break he took his stand with his army between the two and summoned the leaders of the two factions. And when they saw one another they were indignant, for they both thought they had been duped. 5. Adusius, however, addressed them as follows:

“Gentlemen, I gave you my oath that I would without treachery enter your walls for the advantage of those who admitted me. If, therefore, I destroy either party of you, I think that I have come in to the injury of the Carians; whereas, if I can secure peace for you and security for all to till the fields, I think I am here for your advantage. Now, therefore,
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ἀπὸ τήσε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιμέλησαν ταῖς ἀλλήλοις φιλικῶς, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὴν γῆν ἄδεως, διδόναι τε τέκνα καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ἄδικεῖν τις ἐπιχειρῆ, τοὺτοις Κύρος τε καὶ ἡμεῖς πολέμιοι ἐσόμεθα.

6. Ἐκ τούτου πύλαι μὲν ἀνεφγεμέναι ἦσαν τῶν τεῖχῶν, μεσταὶ δὲ αἱ ὁδοὶ πορευμένων παρ' ἀλλήλους, μεστοὶ δὲ οἱ χώροι ἐργαζομένων ἐορτάς δὲ κοινῆ ἤγον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν.

7. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκον παρὰ Κύρου ἐρωτήτωτες εἰ τι στρατιὰς προσδέοιτο ἡ μηχανιμάτων ὁ δὲ Ἁδούσιος ἀπεκρίμνατο δι᾽ ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἔξει ἀλλοσε χρῆσθαι στρατιάς καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα λέγων ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, φρουροὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀκραῖς καταλυσάν. οἱ δὲ Καρές ἰκέτευον μένειν αὐτῶν ἐπειδὲ δὲ οὐκ ἦθελε, προσέπημψαν πρὸς Κύρον δεόμενοι πέμψαι Ἁδούσιον σφίσι σατράπην.

8. Ο δὲ Κύρος ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεστάλκει Τστάσπαν στράτευμα ἀγοντα ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν περὶ Ελλησ-ποντον ἐπειδὲ δ’ ἦκεν ὁ Ἁδούσιος, μετάγειν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἦπερ ὁ Τστάσπας προφίχετο, ὡς μᾶλλον πεῖθοι πῳ Ῥστάσπα, ἀκούσαντες ἀλλο στρατεύμα προσίων.

9. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἐλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ οἰκοῦντες πολλά δωρὰ δόντες διεστράζαντο ἀστεὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ τεῖχθα βαρβάρους μὴ δέχεσθαι, δασμὸν δὲ ἀποφέρειν καὶ στρατεύειν ὅποι Κύρος ἐπαγγέλλοι. ¹

¹ ἀποφέρειν Zonaras, Edd.; ἔποφέρειν MSS.
from this day you must live together like friends, till your lands without fear of one another, and intermarry your children one party with the other; and if any one in defiance of these regulations attempts to make trouble, Cyrus, and we with him, will be that man's enemies."

6. After that, the gates of the city were opened, the streets filled up with people passing to and fro, and the farms with labourers; they celebrated their festivals together, and peace and joy reigned everywhere.

7. At this juncture messengers came to him from Cyrus to ask if he needed any more troops or engines; but Adusius answered that even the army he had with him was at the disposal of Cyrus to employ elsewhere. "And with those words he started to lead back his army, leaving only garrisons upon the citadels. But the Carians pleaded with him to stay; and when he refused, they sent to Cyrus to petition him to send Adusius to be their satrap.

8. Cyrus had meanwhile sent off Hystaspas in command of an expedition against the Phrygia that lies along the Hellespont. So when Adusius returned, he directed him to march on in the direction Hystaspas had taken, that they might submit to Hystaspas more readily when they heard that another army was on the way.

9. Now the Greeks who dwelt by the sea gave many gifts and secured an agreement to the effect that while they should not receive the barbarians within their walls, they would yet pay tribute and serve under him in the field wherever Cyrus should direct.

1 "Barbarians," from the Greek point of view; that is, Persians.
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10. ὁ δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλεύς παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς καθέξων τὰ ἑρυμνὰ καὶ οὐ πεισόμενος καὶ παρῆγγελλεν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίσταντο αυτοῦ οἱ ὕπαρχοι καὶ ἔρημος ἐγύνετο, τελευτῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθεν Ὁστάσπα ἐπὶ τῇ Κύρου δίκη. καὶ ὁ Ὁστάσπας καταλήκτῳ ἐν ταῖς ἀκαίρες ἱσχύρας Περσῶν φρουράς ἀπήγαγεν τῶν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν πολλούς ἑπτάς καὶ πελταστάς.

11. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπέστελλεν Ἀδονίαφεν συμμίξαντα πρὸς Ὁστάσπα τοὺς μὲν ἐλομένους Φρυγῶν τὰ σφέτερα σὺ τοῖς ὑπολοι ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμήσαντας πολεμεῖν τοῦτων ἀφελομένους τοὺς ὑπονόμενοι καὶ τὰ ὀπλα σφενδόνας ἐχοντας πάντας κελεύειν ἐπεσθαί. 12. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

Κύρος δὲ ὠρμᾶτο ἐκ Σάρδεων, φρουρὰς μὲν πεζῆν καταλυτῶν πολλῆν ἐν Σάρδεσι, Κροίσον δὲ ἅχων, ἄγων δὲ πολλὰς ἀμαξάς πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων. ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κροίσος γεγραμμένα ἅχων ἀκριβῶς ὡσα ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἦν τῇ ἀμάξῃ καὶ διόν τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ γράμματα εἰπε, Ταύτ', ἐφη, ἅχων, ὁ Κύρος, εἰσει τὸν τέ σοι ὅρθως ἀποδιδόντα δ ἄγει καὶ τὸν μή.

13. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔλεξεν, Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ἐκὼς ποιεῖς, ὁ Κροίσε, προνοοῦν ἐμοίγε μέντοι ἄξονει τὰ χρήματα οἴπερ καὶ ἅχων αὐτὰ ἄξιοι εἰςώςτε ἦν τι καὶ κλέψομαι, τῶν ἑαυτῶν κλέψονται.

Καὶ ἀμα ταῦτα λέγων ἐδώκε τὰ γράμματα τοῖς

1 ποιεῖς xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐπολείς zVe, Dindorf, Sauppe, Breitenbach; ἐπολησας Zonaras.

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10. But the king of Phrygia made preparations to keep possession of his forts and not to submit, and he gave orders to that effect. When, however, his subordinate officers deserted and he was left alone, he finally surrendered to Hystaspas on condition that Cyrus should be his judge and arbiter. And Hystaspas, leaving strong garrisons of Persians upon the citadels, went back with his own army reinforced with many Phrygian horsemen and peltasts.

11. Besides, Cyrus had given Adusius instructions to join Hystaspas and bring with them armed those Phrygians who had voluntarily taken their side, but to take their horses and arms away from those who had shown fight, and to make all such follow, armed with nothing but slings. 12. Accordingly, they were thus engaged in executing these orders.

But Cyrus, leaving behind a large garrison of foot-soldiers, started from Sardis in company with Croesus; and he took with him many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort. And Croesus also had come with an accurate inventory of what was in each wagon; and as he handed the lists to Cyrus he said: “From this, Cyrus, you may know who renders to you in full that of which he has charge and who does not.”

13. “Aye, Croesus,” answered Cyrus; “you do well to take this precaution. As far as I am concerned, however, those shall have charge of the valuables who also deserve to own them; so that if they embezzle anything, they will be embezzling from what is their own.”

With these words, he gave the inventories to his
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φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσίν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων οἳ τε σῶα ἕντοις ἀποδίδοιεν οἳ τε μὴ.

14. Ἡγε δὲ καὶ Λυδών οὗς μὲν ἔωρα καλλωπιζόμενους καὶ ὀπλοὺς καὶ ἔπποις καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν ὁ τι φοντὸ αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι, τούτους μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς οὗς δὲ ἔωρα ἀχαρίτως ἐπομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἔπποις αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Πέρσαις τοῖς πρῶτοις συστρατευομένους, τὰ δὲ ὀπλα κατέκαυσεν σφενδόνας δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡμάγκασεν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι. 15. καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀστικοὺς τῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομένων σφενδονάν ἡμάγκαζε μελετῶν, νομίζων τούτο τὸ ὀπλόν δολικώτατον εἶναι σὺν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει μάλα ἐστιν ἑνθα ἱσχυρῶς ὥφελοσθαι σφενδονήται παρόντες; αὐτὸ δὲ καθ’ αὐτοὺς οὐδ’ ἄν οἱ πάντες σφενδονήται μενειαν πάνυ ὀλίγους ὀμόσε ἴοντας σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἀγχεμάχους.

16. Προὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος κατεστρέψατο μὲν Φρύγας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Καππαδόκας, ὑποχειρίους δ’ ἐποιήσατο Ἀραβίους. ἐξώπλισε δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων Περσῶν μὲν ἔππεας οὐ μεῖων τετρακισμύριοις, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔπποις τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ

1 σῶα ΜΣ., Breitenbach, Marchant, Gemoll; σά Dindorf, Hug.
2 ἐξώπλισε χυΓ², Hug, Marchant; ἐξάπλησε ζΓ¹V, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hertlein, Gemoll (he filled up the number).

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friends and officers, that they might be able to tell who of the overseers delivered everything safe and who of them failed.

14. He took with him also such of the Lydians as he saw taking a pride in the fine appearance of their arms and horses and chariots and trying to do everything that they thought would please him; these he permitted to retain their arms. But if he saw any following with bad grace, he turned their horses over to those Persians who had been the first to engage in his service; he had their arms burned, and these men, too, he required to follow with nothing but slings. 15. And of those who had been made subjects he required all who were unarmed to practise with the sling, for he considered this weapon to be the one most fitting for a slave. For in conjunction with other forces there are occasions when the presence of slingers is of very effective assistance, but by themselves alone not all the slingers in the world could stand against a very few men who came into a hand-to-hand encounter with them with weapons suited for close combat.

16. On the way to Babylon he subdued Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia and reduced the Arabians to submission. From all these he secured armour for not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen, and many horses taken from the prisoners he dis-

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πάσι τοῖς συμμάχοις διέδωκε· καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο παμπόλλους μὲν ἱππέας ἔχων, παμπόλλους δὲ τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, σφενδονήτας δὲ ἀναριθμήτους.

V

1. ἔπει δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἦν ὁ Κύρος, περιέστησε μὲν πάν τὸ στρατεύμα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς περιήλαυνε τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἐπικαιρίοις τῶν συμμάχων. 2. ἔπει δὲ κατεθεάσατο τὰ τείχη, ἀπάγειν παρεκεκαλοῦσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· ἐξελθὼν δὲ τις αὐτόμολος εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιτίθεσθαι μέλλονεν αὐτῷ, ὅποτε ἀπάγοι τὸ στρατεύμα· καταθεωμένοις γάρ, ἐφε, αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενῆς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ φάλαγξ· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν ἦν οὖτως ἔχειν· περὶ γὰρ πολὺ τείχος κυκλομένοις ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔπʼ ὀλίγων τὸ βάθος γενέσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα.

3. Ἀκούσας ὁ πόλιος ταύτα, στὰς κατὰ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιῶν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ παρηγγείλειν ἀπὸ τῷ ἄκρου ἐκατέρωθην τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸ ἐστηκὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐως γένοιτο ἐκατέρωθην τὸ ἄκρον κατʼ αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον. 4. οὖτως οὖν ποιοῦντων οἱ τε μένουντες

1 κυκλομένοις Bornemann, recent Edd.; κυκλομένους MSS., earlier Edd.
2 ὀλίγων Hertlein, Edd.; ὀλίγων MSS.

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tributed among all the divisions of his allies. And thus he arrived before Babylon with a great host of cavalry, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers that was beyond number.

V

1. When Cyrus appeared before Babylon he stationed his whole force about the city and then rode around it himself in company with his friends and the staff-officers of the allies; 2. but when he had taken a survey of the walls, he prepared to draw off his army from the city. But a deserter came out and told him that they were going to attack him as soon as he began to draw his army off. “For,” the man went on, “your lines looked weak to those who observed them from the walls.” And it was no wonder that they appeared so; for, encompassing walls of such extent, the lines necessarily had but little depth.

3. On hearing this, therefore, Cyrus took his place with his body-guard in the centre of his army and gave orders that the hoplites should fold back the phalanx from the extremity of either wing and move toward each other behind the main body, which had been halted, until each of the extreme wings should meet in a line with him, that is, in the centre. 4. By

1 See Index, s.v. Babylon, note.
2 See Appendix I.
εύθυς θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγύγνυντο ἐπὶ διπλασίων τὸ βάθος γυνόμενοι, οί τ’ ἀπίόντες ὁσαύτως θαρραλεώτεροι· εὔθυς γὰρ οἱ μένοντες ἀντ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγύγνυντο. ἔπει δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκατέρωθεν συνήψαν τὰ ἀκρα, ἐστησάν ισχυρότεροι γεγενημένοι, οἳ τε ἀπεληλυθότες διὰ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν, οἳ τ’ ἐμπροσθεν διὰ τοὺς ὁπίσθεν προσγεγενημένους. 5. ἀναπτυχθείσης δ’ οὕτω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρίστους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς κακίστους τετάχθαι· ἢ δ’ οὕτως ἔχουσα τάξις καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐδόκει εὐ παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μῆν φεύγειν. καὶ οἱ ἰπτεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ γυμνῆτες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κερατῶν ἄει ἐγγύτερον ἐγύγνυτο τοῦ ἀρχοντός τοσοῦτο ὅσῳ ἡ φάλαγξ βραχυτέρα ἐγύγνυτο ἀναδιπλουμένη. 6. ἔπει δὲ οὕτω συνεσπειράθησαν, ἀπῆσαν, ἐως μὲν ἐξικνεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἔπει δὲ ἐξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὅλιγα βήματα προϊόντες μετεβάλλοντο ἐπ’ ἀσπίδα καὶ ἱσταντο πρὸς τὸ τείχος βλέποντες· ὅσῳ δὲ προσωτέρω ἐγύγνυντο, τόσῳ δὲ μανότερον μετεβάλλοντο. ἔπει δ’ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐδόκουν εἶναι, συνείρον ἀπιόντες, ἐστ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο.

1 ἀντ’ supplied by Hertlein, Edd.; not in MSS.
2 μετεβάλλοντο χυV, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll; μετεβάλλοντο z, Hug, Marchant.

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this manœuvre the men that remained standing in their places were at once given more courage, for the depth of the line was thus doubled; and those who had fallen back were likewise rendered more courageous, for thus those troops which had been kept standing had now come to face the enemy, and not they. But when, as they marched in from both sides, the ends came together, they stood thus mutually strengthened—those who had shifted their position were supported by those in front of them, those in front by the men behind them. 5. And when the phalanx was thus folded back, the front ranks and the rear were of necessity composed of the most valiant men and the poorest were drawn up between them. And this arrangement of the lines seemed well adapted both for fighting and for keeping the men from flight; and the cavalry and the light-armed troops upon the wings were in each case brought as much nearer to the commander as the phalanx was shorter when doubled. 6. And when they had thus closed up, they retired backward as long as they were within range of the missiles from the wall; but when they were out of range, they would face about and go forward at first only a few steps and wheel to the left and stand facing the wall; and the further off they got, the less often did they thus wheel around; and when they seemed to be out of all danger, they marched off without stopping until they arrived at their tents.
7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κύρος τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους καὶ ἔλεξεν, Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, τεθεάμεθα μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως μὲν ἂν τις τείχῃ οὕτως ἵσχυρα καὶ ὑψηλὰ προσμαχόμενος ἔλοι ὡκ ἐνορῴαν μοι δοκῶ. ὅσῳ δὲ πλείους ἀνθρωποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσίν, ἐπείπερ οὗ μάχονται ἐξιόντες, τοσοῦτο καὶ ὣς ἄκητον λιμῷ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι ἀλώναι. εἰ μὴ τιν’ οὖν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔχετε λέγειν, τούτῳ πολιορκητέους φημὶ ἐστὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

8. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν, Ὁ δὲ ποταμός, ἔφη, οὔτος οὐ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως βεὶ πλάτος ἤχων πλείον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ βάθος γ' ὡς οὔδ' ἂν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἑτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἑστηκός τοῦ ύδατος ὑπερέχουσιν· ὅστε τῷ ποταμῷ ἔτι ἵσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ πόλις ἢ τοῖς τείχεσι.

9. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος, Ταύτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὁ Χρυσάντα, ἐὼμεν ὅσα κρείττοι ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως· διαμετρησαμένους δὲ χρῆ ὡς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος ἐκάστους ἢμῶν ὀρύττειν τάφρου ὡς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην, ὅπως οὕτω ἐλαχίστων ἢμῖν τῶν φυλάκων δέη.

10. Οὔτω δὴ κύκλῳ διαμετρήσας περὶ τὸ τείχος, ἀπολιπῶν δὲ ὅσον τύρσεσι μεγάλαις ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 ἐκάστοις Madvig, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἐκάστοι xzFV, Dindorf; ἐκάστον D.

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7. When they had encamped, Cyrus called together his staff-officers and said: "Friends and allies, we have viewed the city on every side. But I am sure I cannot see how any one could take by storm walls so massive and so high; but the more men there are in the city, the sooner they can, I think, be brought by famine to capitulate, seeing that they will not come out and fight. Therefore, unless you have some other method to suggest, I propose that we use this method of laying siege to those gentlemen."

8. "But," said Chrysantas, "does not this river flow through the midst of the city? And it is more than two stadia in width."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Gobryas, "and its depth is such that two men, one standing on the other's shoulders, would not reach the surface of the water, so that the city is better defended by the river than by its walls."

9. "Chrysantas," Cyrus answered, "let us not trouble ourselves with that which is beyond our powers; but we must apportion the work among ourselves as quickly as possible, to each contingent its proper share, and dig a ditch as wide and as deep as possible, so that we may require only as many men on guard as are absolutely indispensable."

10. Accordingly, he took measurements in a circle round about the city, leaving just enough room by the river for the erection of large towers, and began
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ποταμοῦ, ὁρυττεν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τοῦ τείχους τάφρον ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνέβαλλον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς. 11. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πῦργους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ὁκοδομεὶ, φοινίξις θεμελιώσας οὐ μείων ἡ πλευριαῖος—εἰς γὰρ καὶ μείζονες ἡ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μῆκος πεφυκότες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φοινίκες ὑπὸ βάρους ἄνω κυρτοῦνται, ὡσπερ ὤνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι. 12. τούτως δ’ ὑπετίθει τούτων ἕνεκα [ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἐοῖκοι πολυρκήσειν παρασκευαζομένοι], ὡς εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι οἱ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν τάφρον, μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πῦργους. ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς πῦργους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολάδος γῆς, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστα φυλακτήρια εἴη.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτ’ ἔποιον· οἱ δ’ ἐν τῷ τείχει κατεγέλων τῆς πολυρκίας, ὡς ἔχοντες τάπιτηδεὶα πλέον ἢ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν.

‘Ακούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κύρος ὅτοι στράτευμα κατενεμεῖ μόδεκα μέρη, ὡς μῆνα τοῦ ἑναιτοῦ ἐκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάξον. 14. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀκούσαντες ταύτα πολὺ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον κατεγέλων, ἐννοοῦμενοι εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἀράβιοι καὶ Καππαδόκαι φυλάξοιες, ὅσι σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντας εὑμενεστέρους εἶναι ἡ Πέρσαις.

15. Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἣδη ὀρφυρυγμέναι ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐπειδὴ ἔορτὴν τοιαύτην ἐν τῇ Βαβυλώνῃ ἠκούσεν εἶναι, ἐν ἡ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ἄλθην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεσκότασε, λαβὼν πολλοὺς

1 ὅπως . . . παρασκευαζομένῳ MSS.; bracketed by Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; Dindorf brackets τούτους . . . πῦργους.
on either side of the city to dig an immense trench; and the earth from it they threw up on their own side of the ditch. 11. First of all, he began to build towers by the river, laying his foundations with the trunks of date-palms not less than a hundred feet long—and they grow even taller than that. And they were good material for this purpose, for it is a well known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of pack-asses. 12. These he used as "mud-sills," in order that, even if the river should break into his trench above, it might not carry his towers away. And he erected many other towers besides upon the breast-works of earth, so that he might have as many watch-towers as possible.

13. Thus, then, his men were employed, while the enemy upon the walls laughed his siege-works to scorn, in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than twenty years.

Upon hearing of this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts as if intending each part to be responsible for sentry duty during one month of each year; 14. but the Babylonians, in their turn, when they heard of that, laughed much more scornfully still, at the thought of Phrygians and Lydians and Arabians and Cappadocians keeping guard against them, for they considered all these to be more friendly to them than to the Persians.

15. At last the ditches were completed. Then, the river is turned when he heard that a certain festival had come round in Babylon, during which all Babylon was accustomed to drink and revel all night long, Cyrus took a large number of men, just as soon as it was dark, and
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άνθρώπους ἀνεστώμωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν. 16. ὡς δὲ τούτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὦδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἐχώρει ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ, ἢ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τού ποταμοῦ ὁδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο.

17. Ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὕτως ἐποροσύνετο, παρηγγύησεν ὁ Κύρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχοις καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χιλιοστὴν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ οὐρὰν τούτων ἐπεσθαι ἦπερ πρόσθεν τεταγμένους. 18. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρήσαν ὁ δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ἔχρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας, ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἰς, ἑνταῦθα δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἔλεξε τοιάδει:

20. "Αὐτὰς ἐφη, φίλοι, ὃ μὲν ποταμὸς ἢ μὴν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὅδοι. ἦμεις δὲ θαρροῦντες εἰσίωμεν μηδὲν φοβοῦμεν εἰςω, ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι οὕτω ἢ τὸ νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἀκείνω εἰςων οὐς ἦμεις καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ ἑγγορότας ἀπάντας καὶ νήφοντας καὶ ἔξωπλησμένους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐμικώμει. 21. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἢμεν εἰς φολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεύδουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν μεθύουσι, πάντες δὲ ἀσύντακτοι εἰςων. ὅταν δὲ αἰσθωνται ἡμᾶς ἐνδον ὅντας, πολὺ ἢτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἀχρεοί ἔσουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι.

22. Εἰ δὲ τούτο ἐννοεῖται, δὴ λέγεται φοβερὸν εἰναι τοῖς εἰς πόλιν εἰσιώσι, μὴ ἔπι τὰ τέγη ἀναβάντες βάλλωσιν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, 268
opened up the heads of the trenches at the river. 16. As soon as that was done, the water flowed down through the ditches in the night, and the bed of the river, where it traversed the city, became passable for men.

17. When the problem of the river was thus solved, Cyrus gave orders to his Persian colonels, infantry and cavalry, to marshal their regiments two abreast and come to him, and the rest, the allies, to follow in their rear, drawn up as before. 18. They came, according to orders, and he bade his aides, both foot and horse, get into the dry channel of the river and see if it was possible to march in the bed of the river. 19. And when they brought back word that it was, he called together the generals of both infantry and cavalry and spoke as follows:

20. "My friends," said he, "the river has made way for us and given us an entrance into the city. Let us, therefore, enter in with dauntless hearts, fearing nothing and remembering that those against whom we are now to march are the same men that we have repeatedly defeated, and that, too, when they were all drawn up in battle line with their allies at their side, and when they were all wide awake and sober and fully armed; 21. whereas now we are going to fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and none of them in battle array. And when they find out that we are inside the walls, in their panic fright they will be much more helpless still than they are now.

22. "But if any one is apprehensive of that which is said to be a source of terror to those invading a city—namely, that the people may go up
τούτο μάλιστα θαρρείτε· ἢν γὰρ ἀναβίωσί τινες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχομεν σύμμαχον θεδὶ "Ηφαιστον. εὐφλεκτα δὲ· τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτῶν, φοίνικος μὲν αἱ θυραὶ πεποιημέναι, ἀσφάλτῳ δὲ ὑπεκκαῷμαι κεχριμέναι. 1 23. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐ τολλῆν δάδα ἐχο- μεν, ἢ ταχὺ πολὺ πῦρ τέξεται, πολλῆν δὲ πίεται καὶ στυπτεῖς, ἢ ταχὺ παρακαλεῖ πολλῆν φλόγα· ὥστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἢ φεύγειν ταχὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκίων ἢ ταχὺ κατακεκαύθαι.

24. Ἀλλ’ ἀγετε λαμβάνετε τὰ ὅπλα· ἡγίσομαι δὲ ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ὑμεῖς δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδοὺς· ἵστε γὰρ· ὅταν δ’ ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχύτητα ἀγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία.

25. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὔδὲν ἂν εἰς θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἄκλειστοι αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἰεν ὡς ἐν κόμῳ· δειπνεῖ 2 γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα τῇ δὲ τῇ νυκτί. φυλακὴ μὲντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐντευξόμεθα· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ τε- ταγμένη.

Οὐκ δὲν μέλλειν 3 δέοι, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀλλ’ ἰέναι, ἵνα ἀπαρασκευόντος ὃς μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη, ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀπαντῶντων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθυμησκον παιόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐφευγον πάλιν εἰςωρ, ὁι δὲ ἐβόων· οἱ δ’ ἄμφι τὸν Γωβρύαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς, ὡς κωμασταλ

1 κεχριμέναι Cobet, most Edd.; κεχρισμέναι MSS., Breitenbach.
2 ὡς . . . δειπνεῖ Hug; ὡς . . . δοκεῖ xxV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; κωμοδοκεῖ y; κωμάζει Stephanus, Marchant, Gemoll.
3 ἀν μέλλειν Muret, Edd.; ἀμελεῖν z; ἀν ἀμελεῖν xy.
on the house-tops and hurl down missiles right and
left, you need not be in the least afraid of that; for
if any do go up upon their houses, we have a god on
our side, Hephaestus. And their porticoes are very
inflammable, for the doors are made of palm-wood
and covered with bituminous varnish which will burn
like tinder; 23. while we, on our side, have plenty
of pine-wood for torches, which will quickly produce
a mighty conflagration; we have also plenty of pitch
and tow, which will quickly spread the flames every-
where, so that those upon the house-tops must either
quickly leave their posts or quickly be consumed.

24. "But come, to arms! and with the help of
the gods I will lead you on. And do you, Gadatas
and Gobryas, show the streets, for you are familiar
with them. And when we get inside the walls,
lead us by the quickest route to the royal palace."

25. "Aye," answered Gobryas and his staff, "in
view of the revelry, it would not be at all surprising
if the gates leading to the palace were open, for
all the city is feasting this night. Still, we shall
find a guard before the gates, for one is always
posted there."

"We must lose no time, then," said Cyrus. "For-
ward, that we may catch the men as unprepared as
we can."

26. When these words were spoken, they advanced. Babylon falls
And of those they met on the way, some fell by
their swords, some fled back into their houses, some
shouted to them; and Gobryas and his men shouted
δόντες καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱόντες ἦ ἐδύνατο [ὡς] 1 τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένετο. 27. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γρωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάτα τεταγμένοι κεκλειμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπεισδίπτευσιν αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίους ἔχρωντο αὐτοῖς. 28. ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγένετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἰ ὁ τράγμα, εἰκάζουσι τινὲς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. 29. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον τὰς πύλας χαλώσας εἰσπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγοντες εἶσι τῇ ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ παῖσαντες ἀφιλοῦνται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἡ δὴ ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον διὰ εἰχὲν ἀκινάκην εὐρίσκουσι. 30. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάτα καὶ Γρωβρύᾳ ἐχειροῦντο· καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέθνησον, οἱ μὲν προβαλόμενος τι, ὃ δὲ φεύγων, ὃ δὲ γε καὶ ἀμμυόμενος ὃτι ἐδύνατο.

31. Ὡσ δὲ Κῦρος διέσπευσε τὰς τῶν ἱππεῶν τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὅδους καὶ προείπεν οὓς μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιεν κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κρύπτετεν τοὺς Συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους ἐνδού μένειν· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἑξώ ληφθεὶν, ὁτι θανατώσοντο.

32. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐποίουν. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γρωβρύας ἤκουν· καὶ θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον προσέκυνον, ὅτι τετιμωρημένοι ἦσαν τὸν ἀνόσιον βασιλέα, ἐπειτα δὲ Κῦρον κατεφίλουν καὶ χειρας

1 ὡς MSS.; [ὡς] Hug, Etonensis 1613, Edd.
back to them, as if they were fellow-revellers. They advanced as fast as they could and were soon at the palace. 27. And Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops found the gates leading to the palace locked, and those who had been appointed to attack the guard fell upon them as they were drinking by a blazing fire, and without waiting they dealt with them as with foes. 28. But, as a noise and tumult ensued, those within heard the uproar, and at the king's command to see what the matter was, some of them opened the gates and ran out. 29. And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand. 30. And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also, one where he had sought some shelter, another while running away, another while actually trying to defend himself with whatever he could.

31. Cyrus then sent the companies of cavalry around through the streets and gave them orders to cut down all whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Assyrian to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if any one should be caught outside, he would be put to death.

32. While they were thus occupied, Gadatas and Gobryas came up; and first of all they did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves
καὶ πόδας, πολλὰ δακρύοντες ἀμα χαρᾶ [καὶ εὐφραίνομενοι].

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ᾦσθοντο οἱ τὰς ἄκρας ἔχοντες ἑαλωκυίαν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τεθνηκότα, παραδιδόσι καὶ τὰς ἄκρας. 34. οὐκ ἔµεν Ἰύρος τὰς μὲν ἄκρας εὐθὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ φρουράρχους τε καὶ φρουροὺς εἰς ταύτας ἀνέπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ τεθνηκότας θάπτειν ἐφήκε τοῖς προσήκουσί τούς δὲ κήρυκας κηρύττειν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφέρειν πάντας τὰ ὀπλα Βαβυλωνίους· ὁποῖον δὲ ληφθήσοντο ὀπλα ἐν οἰκίαις, προῃγόρευεν ὡς πάντες οἱ ἐνδον ἀποθανοῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέφερον, οὐκ Ἰύρος ταύτα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας κατέθετο, ὡς εἰς ἐτοιμα, οἷς τί ποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι.

35. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας, ὡς δοριαλῶτον τῆς πόλεως οὐσίας ἀκροθίνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένη ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελείν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ οἰκίαις διειδίδου καὶ ἄρχεια τοῦτοι ὀυσιπὲρ κοινῶνας ἐνόμιζε τῶν καταπετραιμένων· ὀυτω δὲ διένειμεν ὀσπερ ἐδέδωκτο τὰ κράτιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ δὲ τῇς οἶοιτο μεῖον ἔχειν, διδάσκειν προσίοντας ἐκέλευε.

36. Προεῖπε δὲ Βαβυλωνίους μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δασμοὺς ἀποφέρειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τοὺς οἰς ἐκαστοὶ αὐτῶν ἐδόθησαν· Πέρσας δὲ τοὺς κοινῶνας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσοι

1 καὶ εὐφραίνομενοι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Lincke, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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upon the wicked king, and then they kissed Cyrus's hands and his feet with many tears of joy.

33. And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too.

34. And Cyrus at once took possession of the citadels and sent up to them guards and officers of the guards. As for the dead, he gave their relatives permission to bury them. He furthermore ordered the heralds to make proclamation that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword. So they delivered up their arms and Cyrus stored them in the citadels, so that they might be ready if he ever needed them for use.

35. When all this was finished, he first called the magi and requested them, inasmuch as the city had been taken by the sword, to select sanctuaries and the first fruits of the booty for the gods. Next he distributed the private houses and official residences among those whom he considered to have had a share in what had been achieved; and he made the division in the way that had been decided upon—the best to the most meritorious. And if any one thought he had less than he should, he bade him come and explain his reasons for thinking so.

36. He ordered the Babylonians, moreover, to go on tilling their lands, to pay their tribute, and to serve those to whom they had severally been assigned; and he directed the Persians who had shared in the expedition and as many of the allies as chose
μένειν ἥρωντο παρ' αὐτῷ ὡς δεσπότας ὡν ἔλαβον προηγορεύει διαλέγεσθαι.

37. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κύρος ἡδὴ κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεῖ ἤγεῖτο πρέπειν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τούτο σὺν τῇ τῶν φίλων γνώμη ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἦκιστα ἀν ἐπιφθόνως σπάνιος τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη. ὥδε ὅν ἐμηχανάτο τούτο. ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ στὰς ὅπου ἔδοξει ἐπιτήδευσιν εἶναι προσεδέχετο τὸν βουλόμενον λέγειν τι καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος ἀπέπεμπτεν. 38. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι ὡς ἐγνώσαν ὅτι προσδέχοτο, ἦκον ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλήθος· καὶ ὃθομένων περὶ τούτων προσελθεῖν μηχανή τε πολλή καὶ μάχη ἦν.

39. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ὡς ἐδύναντο διακρίναντες προσέσαν.1

1 Ὅποτε δὲ τις καὶ τῶν φίλων διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον προφανείη, προτείνων ὁ Κύρος τὴν χεῖρα προσήγετο αὐτούς καὶ οὗτος ἔλεγεν: ὁ Ανδρες φίλοι, περιμένετε, ἐως ἀν 2 τὸν ὄχλον διωσόμεθα. ἔπειτα δὲ καθ’ ἴσχυς συγγενησόμεθα. οὐ μὲν δὴ φίλοι περιέμενον, ὁ δ’ ὄχλος πλεῖων καὶ πλεῖων ἐπέρρει, ὥστ’ ἔφθασεν ἐσπέρα γενομένη πρὸς τοῖς φίλοις αὐτούς σχολάσαι [καὶ] 3 συγγενεῖσθαι. 40. οὗτο δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει, ὦ Ἱρα, ἔφη, ὁ Ανδρες, νῦν μὲν [καιρὸς] 5 διαλυθήναι αὔριον δὲ πρῳ ἔλθετε καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βουλομαι ὕμιν τι διαλεχθήναι.

1 προσεσαν Stephanus, Edd.; προσῆσαν MSS.
2 ἀν Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
3 καὶ MSS., Edd.; bracketed by Gemoll.
4 ὦ Ἱρα Cobet, most Edd.; ἦρα or ἦρα MSS., Breitenbach.
5 καιρὸς MSS.; omitted by Cobet, Edd.
to remain with him to address those who had fallen to their share as a master would his servants.

37. After this, Cyrus conceived a desire to establish himself as he thought became a king, but he decided to do it with the approval of his friends, in such a way that his public appearances should be rare and solemn and yet excite as little jealousy as possible. So he adopted the following plan: at day-break he would take his station in a place that seemed to him to be adapted to the purpose and there receive all who had any matter to bring before him, give them an answer, and send them away. 38. But when people learned that he was holding audience, they came in an unmanageable throng, and as they crowded up to get in there was no end of trickery and contention. 39. And his attendants would admit them, making the best discrimination they could.

But whenever any of his personal friends managed to push their way through the throng and catch his eye, Cyrus would stretch out his hand, draw them up to him, and say: "Just wait, friends, until we get rid of the crowd, and then we will enjoy each other's company quietly." So his friends would wait, but the throng would stream in greater and greater, so that evening would set in before he had leisure to share his friends' company. 40. So Cyrus would say: "Gentlemen, it is now time to separate; come tomorrow morning; for I, too, have something to talk over with you."
Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ φίλοι ἄσμενοι φχοντο ἀποθέοντες, δίκην δεδωκότες ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

41. Ἡ δ' ύστεραία ὁ μὲν Κύρος παρῆν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολὺ πλείον πλῆθος περιειστήκει βουλομένων προσέναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἦ οἱ φίλοι παρῆσαν. ὁ οὖν Κύρος περιστησάμενος τῶν ἔσωτοφόρων Περσῶν κύκλον μέγαν εἴπε μηδένα παριέναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων.

42. ἔπει δὲ συνήλθον οὕτως, ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος αὐτοῖς τοιάδε: "Ανδρεὶς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδέν ἂν ἔχομεν μέμψασθαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ μέχρι τούτῳ πάντα ὡς σαηχόμεθα καταπε- πραχέναι. εἰ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ἔσται τὸ μεγάλα πράττειν ὡστε μὴ οἶνον τ' εἶναι μῆτε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἔχειν μῆτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐφρανθῆναι, ἐγὼ μὲν χαῖρειν ταύτην τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κελεύω.

43. ἐνενούσατε γάρ, ἐφη, καὶ χθές δήπου οτί ἐωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀκούεως τῶν προσιόντων οὐκ ἐλήξαμεν πρόσθεν ἑσπέρας· καὶ νῦν ὅρατε τούτους ἄλλους πλείονας τῶν χθές παρόντας ὡς πράγματα ἡμῖν παρέξοντας. 44. εἰ οὖν τις τούτως ύψεξε εαυτὸν, λογίζομαι μικρὸν μὲν τι ὑμῖν μέρος ἐμοῦ μετεσό- μενον, μικρὸν δὲ τι ἐμοὶ ὑμῶν· ἐμαυτοῦ μέντοι σαφῶς οἴδ' ὅτι ὅπο οἰκοῦν μοι μετέσται.

45. Ἐτι δ', ἐφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὅρῳ γελοῖον πράγμα, ἐγὼ γὰρ δήπου ὑμῖν μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς διάκειμαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἡ τις ἡ οὐδένα

1 παρόντας yG, Edd.; παρόντων xAHV.
Upon hearing this, his friends gladly departed, running from his presence, for they had paid the penalty for ignoring all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest.

41. On the following day, Cyrus went to the same place and long before his friends came, there was a much greater crowd of people standing there desiring audience with him. So Cyrus stationed a large circle of Persian lancers about him and gave orders that no one should be admitted except his friends and the officers of the Persians and the allies. 42. And when they had come together, Cyrus addressed them as follows: "Friends and allies, we cannot possibly find any fault with the gods that all that we wished for so far has not been fulfilled. However, if great success is to have such consequences that a man is not to be able to have some leisure for himself nor time to enjoy himself with his friends, I am ready to bid farewell to that sort of happiness. 43. For yesterday, too, you saw, of course, that although we began at dawn to give audience to those who came to see us, we did not get through before evening; and now you see that these others, who are here in greater numbers than came yesterday, will give us even more trouble. 44. If, therefore, one is to sacrifice oneself to such affairs, I reckon that you will have but a small part in my society or I in yours; while in myself I know that I shall certainly have no part at all.

45. "I see also," he went on, "still another absurd feature in all this: while my affection for you is, as you know, what it naturally ought to be, of these
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οίδα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσίν ὡς, ἢν νικῶσιν ὑμᾶς ὄθοντες, πρῶτοι δὲ βουλοῦνται ὑμᾶν παρ' ἐμοῦ διαπραξόμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἥξιον τοὺς τοιούτους, εἴ τίς τι ἐμοὶ δέοιτο, θεραπεύειν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους δεομένους προσαγωγῆς.

46. Ἰσος ἄν οὖν εἴποι τις, τί δήτα οὖχ οὔτως εξ ἀρχὴς παρεσκευασμένη, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐμαυτόν. διτά ταῦτα πολέμου τοιαύτα ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτα ὡς μὴ ύστερίζειν δέον τὸν ἄρχοντα μήτε τῷ εἰδέναι ἢ δεῖ μήτε τῷ πράττειν ἄν καιρὸς ἢ τοὺς δὲ σπανίους ἢδειν στρατηγοὺς πολλὰ ἐνόμιζον δὲ δεὶ πραξθῆναι παριέναι.

47. Νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φιλοποιώτατος πόλεμος ἀναπέπαιναι, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεως τῶν ἄξιων τυγχάνειν. ως οὖν ἐμοὶ ἀπορυθεῖν τι ἄν τύχομεν ποιῶν ὡστε καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ τε ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὃν ἡμᾶς δεὶ ἐπιμέλεσθαι, συμβουλευνόμενω δὲ τις ὁρᾷ συμφωνωτάτον.

48. Κύρος μὲν οὖτως εἶπεν· ἀνίσταται δ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ συγγενής ποτε φήσας εἶναι καὶ εἶπεν, Ἡ καλῶς, ἐφη, ἐποίησας, ὁ Κύρε, ἄρξας τοῦ λόγου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔτοι νέον μὲν ὄντος σοῦ πάνω ἄρξαμενος ἐπεθύμουν φίλος γενέσθαι, ὀρῶν δὲ σε ὀϋδὲν δεομένου ἐμοὺ κατῴκουν σοι προσιέναι. 49. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτυχεῖς ποτε καὶ ἐμοὶ δεηθεῖς [προθύμως] ἐξαγγελλαὶ πρὸς Μήδους τά

1 οίδα z, Edd.; γιγνώσκω y; εἶδον X.

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who stand about here I know few or none; and yet all these have made up their minds that if they can get ahead of you in crowding in, they will obtain what they wish from me before you can. Now what I expected all such to do, if any one wanted anything from me, was to get into favour with you as my friends and ask you for an introduction.

46. "Perhaps some one may ask why I did not adopt this arrangement in the beginning instead of making myself accessible to all. It was, I answer, because I realized that the demands of war made it necessary for a commander not to be behind others in finding out what he ought to know nor in doing what it is expedient that he should do. And I thought generals who were seldom to be seen often neglected much that needed to be done.

47. "But now that this most toilsome war is really over, it seems to me that I, too, am entitled to find some relaxation of spirit. So, while I am in doubt as to what I could do to harmonize our interests and those of the others for whom we must care, let any one who sees what is to the best advantage give me a word of counsel."

48. Thus Cyrus spoke. After him Artabazus arose —the man who had once claimed to be his kinsman—and said: "I am very glad, Cyrus, that you have opened this discussion. For when you were still a lad, I was very anxious even from the first to be a friend of yours; but when I saw that I could be of no use to you, I shrank from approaching you. 49. But when you once happened to need even my IV. I. 21-24 services to publish among the Medes the concession
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παρὰ Κυαξάρου, ἐλογιζόμην, εἰ ταῦτα προθύμως σοι συνλάβομη, ὡς οἶκεῖος τε σοι ἐσοίμην καὶ ἔξεσοίτο μοι διαλέγεσθαι σοι ὁπόσον χρόνον βουλοίμην. κάκεινα μὲν δὴ ἐπράχη ὡστε σε ἐπαίνειν.

50. Μετὰ τούτο Ἰρκάνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλα πευκώσι συμμάχων. ὡστε μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἁγκάλιαις περιεφέρομεν αὐτοὺς ἁγαπῶντες. μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἐπεὶ ἐάλῳ τὸ πολέμιον στρατόπεδον, οὐκ οἷμαι σχολή σοι ἢν ἄμφ' ἐμὲ ἔχειν καὶ ἐγὼ σοι συνεγίγνωσκον. 51. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γωβρύας ἡμῖν φίλος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχαιρον καὶ αὐθίς Γαδάτας· καὶ ἤδη ἔρχον σοῦ ἢν μεταλαβεῖν ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Καδούσιοι σύμμαχοι ἐγεγένησθο, θεραπεύειν εἰκόνως ἐδει τούτους· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως σε ἐθεράπευον.

52. Ὡς δ' ἤλθομεν πάλιν ἐνθεν ὀρμήθημεν, ορῶν σε ἄμφ' ἵππους ἔχοντα, ἄμφ' ἀρματα, ἄμφι μηχανάς, ἡγούμην, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτων σχολάσαις, τότε σε καὶ ἄμφ' ἐμὲ ἔξειν σχολήν. ὡς γε μέντοι ἤλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγγελία τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώποις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνλέγεσθαι, ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι ταῦτα μέγιστα ἐιστ. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς γένοιτο, εὖ ἦδοκον εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλὴ ἐσοίτο ἀφθονία τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῆς συμμοιρίας.

53. Καὶ νῦν δὴ νευκήκαμεν τε τὴν μεγάλην μάχην καὶ Σάρδεις καὶ Κροῖσον ὑποχείριον ἔχομεν καὶ Βαβυλώνα ἦρηκαμεν καὶ πάντας 2 κατεστράμ-

1 τῆς MSS., Breitenbach; omitted by Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 πάντα x, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; πάντα z, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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obtained from Cyaxares, I reasoned that, if I gave you my earnest support in this, I then might be your intimate friend and talk with you as much as I pleased. Now that particular commission was executed in such a way as to call for your approval.

50. "After that, the Hyrcanian were the first to become our friends, and at a time, too, when we were very hungry for allies, so that in our affection for them we all but carried them around in our arms. And after that, when the enemy's camp was taken, you did not have any time to concern yourself about me, I suppose, and I did not blame you. 51. Next, Gobryas became our friend, and I was glad; and then Gadatas; and then it was hard work to get any share of your attention. When, however, both the Sacians and the Cadusians had become our allies, you must needs show them proper attention, for they also were attentive to you.

52. "When we came back to the place from which we had started, I saw you busy with horses and chariots and engines, but I thought that as soon as you had leisure from these distractions you would have some time to think of me. Still, when the terrible news came that the whole world was assembling against us, I realized that that was a matter of paramount importance; but if it should turn out successfully, then at last I thought I might be sure that the intercourse between me and you would be unstinted.

53. "And now we have won the great battle and have Sardis and Croesus in subjection; we have taken Babylon and subjugated everything; and yet
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μεθα, καὶ μὰ τῶν Μίθρην ἑγὼ τοῦ ἑκθέος, εἰ μὴ πολλοῖς διεσώκτευσα, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην σοι προσελθεῖν. ἔπει γε μέντοι ἐδεξιώσω με καὶ παρὰ σοι ἐκέλευσας μένειν, ἣδη περίβλεπτος ἦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἀσιτὸς καὶ ἀποτός διημέρευν. 54. νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν ἔσται πη ὅπως οἱ πλείστων ἀξίων γεγενεμένοι πλείστον σου μέρος μεθέξουμεν εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάλιν αὐτ ἐγὼ ἐθέλω παρὰ σοῦ ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπείναι πάντας ἀπὸ σοῦ πλὴν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλων.

55. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγέλασε μὲν ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ. Χρυσάντας δ' ἀνέστη ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὁ Κῦρε, εἰκότως ἐν τῷ φανερῷ σαυτὸν παρεῖχες, δι' ἀ τε αὐτὸς εἶπας 1 καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς σοι μάλιστα ἦν θεραπευτέον. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκα παρῆμεν τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἔδει ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὅπως ὅτι ἡδίστα συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεῖν ἡμῶν ἐθέλον έν. 56. νῦν δ' ἔπει οὐ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μόνον ἄρχεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ἀνακτᾶσθαι δύνασαι οὕς καιρὸς εἰς, ἥδη καὶ οἰκίας σε τυχεῖν ἀξίων. ἡ τί ἀπολαύσασις ἀν τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μόνος ἀμοιρος εἴης ἐστίας, οὐ οὔτε ὀσιώτερον χωρίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔτε ἡδίν οὔτε οἰκεῖοτέρον ἐστίν οὗδεν; ἐπείτα δ', ἐφι, οὐκ ἂν οἴει καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνεσθαι,

1 eîpâs Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug, Marchant; eîpes MSS., Gemoll.
2 οὐ . . . ἄλλως Hug; οὐχ οὗτῳ τρόπῳ (-οῦ DG1) μόνον ἔχεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως χῦ; οὐν τρόπῳ μόνον ἔχεις κ.τ.λ. 2; οὐχ οὗτῳ τρόπῳ μόνῳ ἔχεις V; no two editors seem to agree on the restoration of this corrupt passage.

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yesterday, by Mithras, if I had not fought my way through the crowd with my fists, I vow I could not have got near you. However, when you took me by the hand and bade me stay by you, I was the object of all envious eyes, for having spent a whole day with you—without a thing to eat or drink. 54. If, therefore, it can now be so arranged that we, who have proved ourselves most deserving, shall have the largest share of your company, well and good; if not, I am ready once again to make a proclamation in your name to the effect that all shall keep away from you, except us who have been your friends from the beginning."

55. At this Cyrus laughed as did many others. Then Chrysantas, the Persian, rose and spoke as follows: "Well, Cyrus, it was hitherto quite proper for you to make yourself approachable, for the reasons you have yourself assigned and also because we were not the ones whose favour you most needed to win; for we were with you for our own sakes. But it was imperative for you in every way to win the affections of the multitude, so that they might consent to toil and risk their lives with us as gladly as possible. 56. But now, seeing that you do not hold your power by this method alone but are in a position in still other ways to win the hearts of those whom it is of advantage for you to win, it is meet that you should now have a home. Else what enjoyment would you have of your power, if you alone were to have no hearth and home of your own? For there is no spot on earth more sacred, more sweet, or more dear than that. And finally," he said, "do you not think that we also should be ashamed to see you
ΧΕΝΟΡΦΟΝ

ei se mēn ὃρφευν ἕξω καρπεροῦντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν
οἰκίαις ἔημεν καὶ σοὺ δοκοίημεν πλεονεκτεῖν;

57. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Χρυσάντας ταῦτα ἔλεξε, συνηγό-
ρευν ἀὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτὰ 1 πολλοὶ. ἐκ τούτων δὴ
eἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σάρδεων
χρήματα ἐνταῦθι οὶ ἄγοντες ἀπέδοσαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
eἰσήλθον ὁ Κύρος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἑστίλα ἔθυσεν,
ἐπειτὰ Διὶ βασίλει καὶ εἰ τινὶ ἄλλῳ θεῷ οἱ μάγοι
ἐξηγοῦντο.

58. Ποιῆσας δὲ ταῦτα τάλλα ἤδη ἡρχετο
dιοικεῖν. ἐνυνῷ δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ πράγμα ὅτι ἐπιχει-
ροίῃ μὲν ἄρχειν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρασκενα-
ζοῖτο δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν πόλει τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἄν-

59. γνοὺς δ' ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἀνθρωποὶ εὐχειρωτότεροί
eἰσιν ἢ ἐν σῶτοις καὶ πτολείς καὶ λυτροῖς καὶ κοίτῃ
cal ὑπνῷ, ἐσκόπητι τίνας ἢ ἐν τούτοις περὶ ἑαυτῶν
πιστοτάτους ἔχοι. ἐνώμισε δὲ μὴ ἄν γενέσθαι
ποτὲ πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἄλλοι μᾶλλον φιλή-
σοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένον. 60. τοὺς μὲν
ὡν ἔχοντας παῖδας ἢ γυναικὰς συναρμοτούσας
ἡ παῖδικα ἔγνω φύσει 2 ἠγαγόασθαι ταῦτα μᾶλιστα
φιλεῖν. τοὺς δ' εἰσαύχους ὅρων πάντων τούτων
στερομένους ἠγάσατο τούτοις ἢ περὶ πλείστων
ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως δύναμτο πλουτίζειν μᾶλιστα
αὐτοὺς καὶ βοηθεῖν, εἰ τι ἁδικοῖντο, καὶ τιμᾶς

1 ταῦτα Muretus, Edd.; ταῦτα MSS.
2 φύσει MSS., Edd.; φύσει ἀν Hug.
living in discomfort, out of doors, while we ourselves lived in houses and seemed to be better off than you?"

57. When Chrysantas had finished his speech, many supported him in the same tenor. After that, Cyrus moved into the royal palace, and those who had charge of the treasures brought from Sardis delivered them there. And after he took possession, Cyrus sacrificed first to Hestia, then to sovereign Zeus, and then to any other god that the magi suggested.

58. This done, he began at once to organize the rest of his court. And as he considered his own situation, that he was undertaking to hold sway over many people, and preparing to dwell in the greatest of all famous cities, and that that city was as hostile to him as a city could be to any man—as he reflected on this, he decided that he needed a body-guard. And as he realized that men are nowhere an easier prey to violence than when at meals or at wine, in the bath, or in bed and asleep, he looked around to see who were the most faithful men that he could have around him at such times; and he held that no man was ever faithful who loved any one else better than the one who needed his protection. 60. Those, therefore, who had children or congenial wives or sweethearts, such he believed were by nature constrained to love them best. But as he observed that eunuchs were not susceptible to any such affections, he thought that they would esteem most highly those who were in the best position to make them rich and to stand by them, if ever they were wronged,
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περιάπτειν αὐτοῖς· τούτοις ἐνεργευόμενα ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἂν ἦγείτο δύνασθαι. 61. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδύχοι ὄντες οἱ εὐνοῦχοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τούτῳ δεσπότων ἑπικούρου προσδέονται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄνὴρ ὀστίς οὐκ ἂν ἄξιώσειεν εὐνοῦχον πλέον ἔχειν ἐν παντὶ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἄλλο κρείττον ἀπείροις· δεσπότης δὲ πιστὸν ὄντα οὐδὲν κωλύει προτεύειν καὶ τῶν εὐνοῦχων. 62. δ’ δὲ αὐτὸν μάλιστά τις οἰχθεὶς, ἀνάλκιδας τῶν εὐνοῦχων, γίγνεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ. ἔτεκμαιρέτο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἥρων ὅτι οἱ τὲ ὑβρισταῖ ὑποι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοὺς μὲν δάκνειν καὶ ὑβρίζειν ἀποπαύονται, τολεμικοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον γίγνονται, οἷς ταῦτα ἐκτεμνομένοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ψφίνται, τοῦ δ’ ἱσχύει καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίζονται, καὶ οἱ κύνες δὲ ὧσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποπαύονται ἐκτεμνόμενοι, φυλάττειν δὲ καὶ εἰς θήραν οὐδέν κακίους γίγνονται. 63. καὶ οὗ γε ἄνθρωποι ὡσαύτως ἡμεστεροὶ γίγνονται στερισκόμενοι ταῦτης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οὗ μέντοι ἀμελεστεροὶ γε τῶν προστατομένων, οὐδ’ ἦττόν τι ἱππικό, οὐδὲ ἦττον τι ἀκοντιστικό, οὐδὲ ἦττον φιλότιμοι. 64. κατάδηλοι δ’ ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς θήραις ὅτι ἔσωξαν τὸ φιλόνικον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοῦ δὲ πιστοὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ τῶν δεσποτῶν μάλιστα βάσανον ἐδίδοσαν· οὐδένες γὰρ πιστότερα ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν εὐνοῦχων. 65. εἰ δὲ

1 τούτοις Pantazides, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτους MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
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and to place them in offices of honour; and no one, he thought, could surpass him in bestowing favours of that kind. 61. Besides, inasmuch as eunuchs are objects of contempt to the rest of mankind, for this reason, if for no other, they need a master who will be their patron; for there is no man who would not think that he had a right to take advantage of a eunuch at every opportunity unless there were some higher power to prevent his doing so; but there is no reason why even a eunuch should not be superior to all others in fidelity to his master. 62. But he did not admit what many might very easily be inclined to suppose, that eunuchs are weaklings; and he drew this conclusion also from the case of other animals: for instance, vicious horses, when gelded, stop biting and prancing about, to be sure, but are none the less fit for service in war; and bulls, when castrated, lose somewhat of their high spirit and unruliness but are not deprived of their strength or capacity for work. And in the same way dogs, when castrated, stop running away from their masters, but are no less useful for watching or hunting. 63. And men, too, in the same way, become gentler when deprived of this desire, but not less careful of that which is entrusted to them; they are not made any less efficient horsemen, or any less skilful lancers, or less ambitious men. 64. On the contrary, they showed both in times of war and in hunting that they still preserved in their souls a spirit of rivalry; and of their fidelity they gave the best proof upon the fall of their masters, for no one ever performed acts of greater fidelity in his master's misfortunes than eunuchs do. 65. And if it is thought with some
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tι ἀρα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύος μειούσθαι δοκοῦ-
σιν, ὁ σίδηρος ἄνισοὶ τοὺς ἁσθενεῖς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὴ γυγώσκων ἀρξάμενος 
ἀπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πάντας τοὺς περὶ τὸ έαυτοῦ 
σῶμα θεραπευτήρας ἐποιήσατο εὖνούχοις.

66. Ἡγησάμενος δὲ οὐχ ἰκανὴν εἶναι τὴν φυ-
λακὴν ταύτην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δυσμενῶς 
ἐχόντων, ἐσκόπει τίνας τῶν ἄλλων ἄν πιστοτάτους 
περὶ τὸ βασίλειον φύλακας λάβοι. 67. εἰδὼς οὖν 
Pέρσας τοὺς οίκοι κακοβιωτάτους μὲν οὖν διὰ 
πενίαν, ἐπιπονότατα δὲ ζώντας διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας 
τραχύτητα καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτουργοῦς εἶναί, τούτους 
ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἀν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν παρ' έαυτῷ δί-
αιταν. 68. λαμβάνει οὖν τούτων μυρίους δορυ-
φόρους, οἱ κύκλῳ μὲν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐφύ-
λαττον περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅποτε ἐπὶ χώρας εἰῆ 
ὅποτε δὲ ἐξίοι ποι,' 1 ἔνθεν καὶ ἐνθὲν τεταγμένοι 
ἐπουρεύοντο.

69. Νομίσασα δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνως ὄλης φύλακας 
δεῖν εἶναι ἰκανοῖς, εἴτ' ἐπεδημῶν αὐτῶς τυγχάνοι 
eῖτε καὶ ἀποδημῶν, κατέστησε καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι 
φρουροὺς ἰκανοῖς· μισθῶν δὲ καὶ τούτων Βαβυ-
λωνίους ἔταξε παρέχειν, βουλόμενος αὐτῶς ὡς 
ἀμηχανωτάτους εἶναι, ὅπως ὅτι ταπεινώτατοι καὶ 
εὐκαθεκτότατοι εἶν.

70. Αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ ἡ περὶ αὐτὸν τε φυλακή καὶ ἡ 
ἐν Βαβυλώνι τότε κατασταθεῖσα καὶ νῦν ἐτί 
ούτως ἔχουσα διαμένει. σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἄν καὶ ἡ 
πᾶσα ἀρχή κατέχοιτο καὶ ἄλλη ἔτι προσφίγνοιτο,

1 τοι Schneider, most Edd.; τού MSS., Breitenbach.

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justice that they are inferior in bodily strength, yet on the field of battle steel makes the weak equal to the strong. Recognizing these facts, he selected eunuchs for every post of personal service to him, from the door-keepers up.

66. But, as he deemed this guard insufficient in view of the multitude of those who bore him ill-will, he looked around to see whom he could find among the rest who would be the most trustworthy guards about the palace. 67. Now he knew that the Persians on account of their poverty lived in the greatest privation at home and were accustomed to a life of the hardest toil, because their country was rugged and they had to work with their own hands; so he believed that they would especially welcome life with him. 68. Accordingly, he took from among them ten thousand spearmen, who kept guard about the palace day and night, whenever he was in residence; but whenever he went away anywhere, they went along drawn up in order on either side of him.

69. And since he considered that all Babylon, too, stood in need of adequate protection, whether he himself happened to be at home or abroad, he stationed there also an adequate garrison, and he arranged that the Babylonians should furnish the money for their wages, for it was his aim that this people should be as destitute of resources as possible, so that they might be as submissive and as easily restrained as possible.

70. This guard that he then established about himself and in the city of Babylon is maintained on the same footing even to this day. And as he studied how his whole empire might be held together and at
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ήγέσατο τοὺς μυσθοφόρους τούτους οὕτως τοσοῦτον βελτίωνας τῶν υπηκοόων εἶναι ὁσον ἐλάττονας·
toὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐγνώσκει συνεκτέον
eῖναι, οἴτερ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν παρέσχον,
καὶ ἐπιμελητέον ὅπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι τήν τής
ἀρετῆς ἀσκησιν. 71. ὅπως δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττειν
αὐτοῖς δοκοῖ, ἀλλὰ γνώντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα
ἀριστα εἰναι οὕτως ἐμμένοιεν τε καὶ ἐπιμελοῦντο
τής ἀρετῆς, συνέλεξε τοὺς τε ὦμοτίμους καὶ
πάντας ὅποσοι ἐπικαίριοι ἦσαν καὶ ἄξιοχρεώτατοι
αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν κοινωνοὶ εἶναι καὶ πόνων καὶ ἀγα-
θῶν. 72. ἡτεῖ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
"Ἀνδρεὶς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοὺς μὲν θεοῖς
μεγίστη χάρις ὅτι ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν τυχεῖν ὅν ἐνομί-
ζομεν ἄξιοι εἶναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἔχομεν καὶ
γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν καὶ οὕτως χρίτων ἐργα-
ζόμενοι θρέψουν ἡμᾶς ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ οἰκίας
καὶ ἐν ταύταις κατασκευᾶς. 73. καὶ μηδεῖς γε
ὕμων ἔχων ταῦτα νομισάτω ἄλλοτρια ἔχειν,
nόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀδίος ἐστίν, ὅταν
ποιμονύτων πόλεις ἄλῳ, τῶν ἐλώτων εἶναι καὶ
τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.
οὐκόν ἄδικα γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἄν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ
φιλανθρωπία ὡς ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἦν τί ἔστη ἔχειν
αὐτοῦ.

74. Τὸ μέντοι ἐκ τούδε οὕτως ἔγω γιγνώσκω
ὅτι εἰ μὲν τρεφόμεθα ἐπὶ ῥαδιορργίαν καὶ τήν
tῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡμιπάθειαν, οὐ νομίζουσι

1 οὐ MSS., Edd.; δείν Gemoll (they must be as much braver as they are fewer).
2 μὴ ἀνήσουσι Muretus, Edd.; μηνόσωσι MSS.

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the same time enlarged, he reflected that these mercenaries were not so much better men than those he had made subject as they were inferior in number; and he realized that the brave men, who with the aid of the gods had brought him victory, must be kept together and that care must be exercised that they should not abandon their practice of virtue. 71. But in order that he might not seem to be issuing orders to them, but that they also might of themselves recognize that this was the best course for them and so abide in virtue and cultivate it, he collected the peers and all who were men of influence, together with such as seemed to him most worthy sharers of his toil and its rewards; 72. and when they had come together he addressed them as follows:

"Friends and allies, thanks be above all to the gods that they have vouchsafed to us to obtain all that we thought we deserved. For now we are in possession of broad and fertile lands and of subjects to support us by tilling them; we have houses also and furniture in them. 73. And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away.

74. "As for the future, however, it is my judgment that if we turn to idleness and the luxurious self-indulgence of men of coarse natures, who count toil
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tὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν εὐδαιμονίαν,1 ταχύ ἡμᾶς φημὶ ὅλιγον ἄξιος ἢμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν στερῆσθαι. 75. οὐ γὰρ τοι τὸ ἀγαθὸς ἀν-
δρᾶς γενέσθαι τούτο ἀρκεῖ ὅστε καὶ διατελεῖν, ἢν μὴ τοις αὐτοῖς δία τέλους ἐπιμέληται ἄλλα ὡσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀμεληθεῖσαι μέονος ἀξιαί γίγνονται καὶ τὰ σώματά γε τὰ εὐ ἔχοντα, ὁπόταν τις αὐτὰ ἀνή ἐπὶ ῥαδιουργίαν, ποιήσως πάλιν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐγ-
κράτεια καὶ ἡ ἀλκή, ὁπόταν τις αὐτῶν ἀνὴ τὴν ἀσκησιν, ἐκ τούτου εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν πάλιν τρέ-
πτεται. 76. οὐκομοι δὲν ἀμελεῖν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτίκα ήδυ προϊέναι αὐτοὺς.2 μεγα μὲν γὰρ οἱμαὶ ἔργον καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν καταπράξαι, πολὺ δ’ ἐτι μεῖζον τὸ λαβόντα διασώσασθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν πολλάκις τῷ τόλμου μόνου παρασχομένῳ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκέτι τούτο ἄνευ σωφρο-
σύνης οὐδ’ ἄνευ ἐγκρατείας οὐδ’ ἄνευ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας γίγνεται.

77. Ἀ χρῆ γηγυνώσκοντας νῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄσκειν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ πρὶν τάδε τάγαθα κτῆ-
sασθαι, εὖ εἰδότας ότι ὧταν πλειστά τις ἕχῃ, τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πολέμου ἑγίγνονται, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρ’ ἀκόντων τά τε κτήματα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὡσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχη.

Τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οἶεσθαι χρῆ σὺν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀδίκως ἕχο-

1 εὐδαιμονίαν Weeklein, Marchant, Gemoll; ἡδυπάθειαν MSS., earlier Edd.
2 αὐτοὺς Edd.; αὐτοὺς MSS.
misery and living without toil happiness, we shall soon be of little account in our own eyes and shall soon lose all the blessings that we have. 75. For, to have quitted yourselves once like valiant men does not, we know, assure the perpetuity of valour, unless you devote yourselves to it to the end; but, just as skill in other arts retrogrades if neglected, and as bodies, too, that were once in good condition change and deteriorate as soon as the owners relax into idleness, so also self-control and temperance and strength will take a backward turn to vice as soon as one ceases to cultivate them. 76. Therefore, we dare not become careless nor give ourselves up to the enjoyment of the present moment; for, while I think it is a great thing to have won an empire, it is a still greater thing to preserve it after it has been won. For to win falls often to the lot of one who has shown nothing but daring; but to win and hold—that is no longer a possibility without the exercise of self-control, temperance, and unflagging care.

77. "Recognizing all this, we ought to practise virtue even more than we did before we secured these advantages, for we may be sure that the more a man has, the more people will envy him and plot against him and become his enemies, particularly if, as in our case, he draws his wealth and service from unwilling hands.

"We must, therefore, believe that the gods will be on our side; for we have not come unjustly into
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μεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλευθέντες ἐτιμωρησάμεθα. 78. τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον ἦμιν αὐτοῖς παρασκευαστέον τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βελτίωνας ὄντας τῶν ἄρχομένων ἄρχειν ἄξιοιν. θάλπους μὲν οὐν καὶ ψύχους καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ ὑπνοῦ ἀνάγκη καὶ τοὺς δούλους μετα- διδόναι: μεταδιδόντας γε μέντοι πειράσαθαι δεῖ ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον βελτίωνας αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι. 79. πολεμικῆς δ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης παντά- πασιν οὐ μεταδότεον τούτοις, οὕτως εργάτας ἡμετέρους καὶ δασμοφόρους βουλόμεθα καταστή- σασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δεῖ τούτους τοὺς ἀσκήμασι πλεονεκτεῖν, γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι ἐλευθερίας ταῦτα ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαίμονίας οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώπωι ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ ὡσπερ γε ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ὀπλὰ ἀφηρήμεθα, οὗτος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ μῆποτι ἐρή- μους ὀπλων γίγνεσθαι, εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ὀπλῶν οὐσὶ τούτοις καὶ οἰκεῖοτατά ἔστιν ἄν βούλωνται.

80. Εἰ δὲ τις τοιαύτα ἐννοεῖται, τί δῆτα ἡμῖν ὁφέλος καταπράξαι ἐπέθυμούμεν, εἰ ἔτι δεῖσει καρτερεῖν καὶ πεινῶντας καὶ δυσφῶντας καὶ πο- νοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελομένους, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ καταμαθεῖν ὅτι τοσοῦτο τάγαθα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει ὡσφ ἄν μᾶλλον προπονήσας τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔγγαρ πόνους ὅψον τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς· ἅνεν δὲ τού δεόμενου τυγχάνειν τινὸς οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦ πολυτελῶς παρα- σκευασθεὶς ἄν ὥσθ' ἑννέα πολυτελῶς.

81. Εἰ δὲ ὃν μὲν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὁ δαῖμον ἦμιν ταύτα συμπαρεσκεύακεν,

1 ἔγ V corr. Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀπὸ Dindorf, Breitenbach; εἴη y; ἀπὸı xexe.

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our possessions through plotting against others, but plotted against we have avenged ourselves. 78. But that which is next in importance after the favour of the gods we must get for ourselves—namely, we must claim the right to rule over our subjects only on the ground that we are their betters. Now the conditions of heat and cold, food and drink, toil and rest, we must share even with our slaves. But though we share with them, we must above all try to show ourselves their betters in such matters; 79. but the science and practice of war we need not share at all with those whom we wish to put in the position of workmen or tributaries to us, but we must maintain our superiority in these accomplishments, as we recognize in these the means to liberty and happiness that the gods have given to men. And just as we have taken their arms away from them, so surely must we never be without our own, for we know that the nearer to their arms men constantly are, the more completely at their command is their every wish.

80 “But if any one is revolving in his mind any such question as this—‘of what earthly use it is to us to have attained to the goal of our ambitions if we still have to endure hunger and thirst, toil and care’—he must take this lesson to heart: that good things bring the greater pleasure, in proportion to the toil one undergoes beforehand to attain them; for toil gives a relish to good things; and nothing, however sumptuously prepared, could give pleasure unless a man get it when he needs it.

81. “Now if God has helped us to obtain that which men most desire, and if any one will so order these
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ως δ' ἀν ἦδιστα ταύτα φαίνοιτο αὐτὸς τις αὐτῷ [ταύτα]¹ παρασκευάσει, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ τοσοῦτος πλεονεκτήσει τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων βίων ὡς πεινήσας τῶν ἦδιστων σίτων τεῦξεται καὶ διψήσας τῶν ἦδιστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀναπαύσεως ὡς ἦδιστον ἀναπαύσεται.

82. Ὡν ἐνεκά φήμη χρήναι νῦν ἐπιταθήναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὡς τῶν τε ἁγαθῶν ἢ ἀριστον καὶ ἦδιστον ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὡς τοῦ πάντων χαλεπτώτατον ἀπειρον γενώμεθα. οὖ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τἀγαθὰ οὐτὸς χαλεπὸν ὀσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι λυπηρὸν.

83. Ἐννοήσατε δὲ κάκεινο τίνα πρόφασιν ἐχοντες ἂν προσολμεθὰ² κακίονες ἢ πρόσθεν γενέσθαι. πότερον ὅτι ἀρχομεν ἀλλ' ὅτι δήποτε τῶν ἀρχοντῶν ἀρχομένων ποιητέρον προσήκει εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐδαιμονιστερον δοκοῦμεν νῦν ἢ πρότερον εἶναι; ἐπειτα τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φήσει τις τὴν κακίαν ἐπιπρέπειν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπεὶ κεκτήμεθα δούλους, τούτους κολάζομεν,³ ἢν ποιηροὶ ὑμεῖς; 84. καὶ τί προσήκει αὐτὸν ὄντα ποιητέρον ποιητίας ἐνεκα ἢ βλακείας ἄλλους κολάζειν;

Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τούτο ὅτι τρέφεσι μὲν παρε- σκευάσμεθα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἢμετέρων οἰκῶν φύλακας καὶ τῶν σωμάτων αἰσχρῶν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰη, εἰ δὲ ἄλλους μὲν δορυφόρους τῆς σωτηρίας οἰσόμεθα χρήναι τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὶ

¹ ταύτα MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [ταύτα] Brown, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
² προσολμεθα Schneider, most Edd.; προσιέμεθα xzV, Breitenbach; προσελή(-ώ D)μεθα y.
³ κολάζομεν D, Edd.; κολάζωμεν xzFV.
results for himself that they shall give as great pleasure as possible, such a man will have this advantage over those who are not so well supplied with the means of living: when hungry he will enjoy the most dainty food, and when thirsty he will enjoy the finest drinks, and when in need of rest he will find it most refreshing.

82. "Wherefore I maintain that we should now strain every nerve after manliness, so that we may enjoy our success in the best and most delightful manner and have no experience in that which is hardest of all. For failure to obtain good things is not so hard as the loss of them, when once obtained, is painful.

83. "And think of this also: what excuse should we offer for allowing ourselves to become less deserving than before? That we are rulers? But, you know, it is not proper for the ruler to be worse than his subjects. Or that we seem to be more fortunate than before? Will any one then maintain that vice is the proper ornament for good fortune? Or shall we plead that since we have slaves, we will punish them, if they are bad? 84. Why, what propriety is there in any one's punishing others for viciousness or indolence, when he himself is bad?

"And think also on this: we have made arrangements to keep many men to guard our homes and our lives; and how would it be otherwise than base in us to think that we have a right to enjoy security protected by other men's spears, while we ourselves
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dé ἦμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ δορυφορήσομεν; καὶ μὴν εὖ γε δεὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φυλακὴ τοιαύτη ὀ指挥部 καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν· τούτῳ γὰρ δεὶ συμπαραμαρτεῖν· τῷ δ’ ἀρετῆς ἐρήμῳ οὐδὲ ἄλλο καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδὲν προσέκει.

85. Τῷ οὖν φημὶ χρήναι ποιεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν μελέτην ποιεῖσθαι; οὐδὲν καὶνόν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐρώτημα ὀσπερ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχεῖοις οἱ ὄμοτιμοι διάγονουσιν, οὐτω καὶ ἡμᾶς φημὶ χρῆναι ἐνθάδε ὑντας τοὺς ὄμοτιμους πάνθ᾽ ὀσπερ1 κάκει ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τε ἐμὲ ὄρωντας κατανοεῖν παρόντας εἰ ἐπιμελώμενος ὃν δεὶ διάξω, ἐγὼ τε ἡμᾶς κατανοοῦν θεάσομαι, καὶ οὐς ἄν ὀρῶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τἀγαθὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας, τούτους τιμήσω. 86. καὶ τοὺς παιδας δέ, οἱ 2 ἄν ἡμῶν γίγνονται, ἐνθάδε παιδεύωμεν· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ βελτίωνες ἐσόμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοῖς παισιν ὡς βέλτιστα παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχειν, οἱ τε παῖδες οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἰ βουλόμενοι ῥαδίως πονηροὶ γένοιτο, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν μήτε ὀρῶντε μήτε ἀκουόντε, ἐν δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι δημερεύοντες.

1 πάνθ᾽ ὀσπερ Dindorf⁴, Hug; πάντα ὀσπερ Stephanus, Dindorf³, Marchant, Gemoll; πάντας ὀσπερ MSS., Breitenbach.
2 οἱ xy, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; οἱ zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach (to whomsoever of us sons may be born).

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do not take up the spear for our own defence? And yet we must be fully aware that there is no such safeguard as for a man to be good and brave himself; this guard must be ever at our side. But if a man lack virtue, neither is it fitting that aught else be well with him.

85. "What, then, do I propose that we should do, wherein practise virtue, and where apply the practice? I have nothing new to tell you, my men; but just as in Persia the peers spend their time at the government buildings, so here also we peers must practise the same things as we did there; you must be in your places and watch me to see if I continue to do what I ought, and I will watch to see the same in you, and whomsoever I see pursuing what is good and honourable, him will I honour. 86. And as for our boys, as many as shall be born to us, let us educate them here. For we ourselves shall be better, if we aim to set before the boys as good examples as we can in ourselves; and the boys could not easily turn out bad, even if they should wish to, if they neither see nor hear anything vicious but spend their days in good and noble pursuits."
BOOK VIII

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE DEATH OF CYRUS
Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνέστη δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ Χρυσάντας καὶ εἶπεν ὅδε· ᾿Αλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν δὴ, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα· ὅτι ἄρχων ἀγαθὸς οὐδὲν διαφέρει πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ· οἳ τε γὰρ πατέρες προνοοῦσι τῶν παιδῶν ὅπως μήποτε αὐτοὺς τάγαθα ἐπιλείψει, Κύρος τε μοι δοκεῖν νῦν συμβουλεύειν ἡμῖν ἀφ᾽ ὃν μάλιστ᾽ ἂν εὐδαιμονοῦντες διατελοῦμεν· δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ὡς ἔχρην δηλῶσαι, τοῦτο ἐγώ πειράσομαι τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας διδάξαι. 2. ἔννοησάτε γὰρ δὴ τίς ἂν πόλεις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἀλοίη· τίς δ᾽ ἂν φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλαχθεῖν· ποίον δὲ ἂν ἀπειθοῦντων στράτευμα νίκης τύχοι· πῶς δ᾽ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἠπτόντο ἄνθρωποι ἢ ἑπειδὰν ἄρξονται ἓνδια ἐκαστὸς περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι· τί δ᾽ ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν τελεσθείη ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρεῖττοσι· ποίαι δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οἰκήσειαν ἡ ποῖοι οἰκοὶ σωθείσαι· πῶς δ᾽ ἂν νῆς ὁποι δεῖ ύφικοιντο. 304
BOOK VIII

I

1. Such was Cyrus’s address; and after him Chrysantas rose and spoke as follows: “Well, gentlemen, I have noticed often enough before now that a good ruler is not at all different from a good father. For as fathers provide for their children so that they may never be in want of the good things of life, so Cyrus seems to me now to be giving us counsel how we may best continue in prosperity. But there is one thing that he has not stated so clearly, it seems to me, as he should have done, and that I will try to present to any who do not know about it. 2. Bethink you, then, of this: what city that is hostile could be taken or what city that is friendly could be preserved by soldiers who are insubordinate? What army of disobedient men could gain a victory? How could men be more easily defeated in battle than when they begin to think each of his own individual safety? And what possible success could be achieved by such as do not obey their superiors? What state could be administered according to its laws, or what private establishments could be maintained, and how could ships arrive at their destination?
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3. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀ νύν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν ἣ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τὸ ἀρχοντι; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἐδει παρεγνυμόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ ἐπόμενοι ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ’ ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. εἰ τούτων μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τἀγαθά, οὔτως εὗ ἵστε ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἷς τὸ διασώζειν ἃ δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἔστι.

4. Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἡμῶν ἦρχον μὲν οὖν ἡμῶν, ἦρχοντο δὲ νῦν δὲ κατεσκεύασθε οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὅστε ἄρχοντε οἱ μὲν πλείονοι, οἱ δὲ μειόνοι. ὥσπερ τοῖς αὐτοὶ ἄξιώσετε ἄρχειν τῶν υφ’ ύμιν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ πειθόμεθα οἷς ἦν ἡμᾶς καθήκη. τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρειν δεῖ τῶν δούλων ὅσον οἱ μὲν δούλοι ἀκοντεῖς τοῖς δεισδοταῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἡμᾶς δ’, εἴπερ ἄξιούμεν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἐκόντας δὲ ποιεῖν ὃ πλεῖστον ἄξιον φαίνεται εἶναι. εὐρήσετε δ’, ἐφη, καὶ ἐνθα ἀνεν μοναρχίας πόλεις οἰκεῖται, τὴν μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐθέλουσαν πείθεσθαι ταύτην ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπακούειν. ¹

5. Παρώμεν τε οὖν, ὥσπερ Κύρος κελεύει, ἐπὶ τὸ πόλεμον ἀσκῶμεν τὴν ἄλλον καταπράξειν αὐτοῦς χρήσθαι Κύρος δ’ τι ἄν δεη. καὶ τὸ τοῦτο γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι χρή ὅτι οὐ μὴ δυνάσθεται Κύρος

¹ ὑπακούειν MSS., most Edd.; ἀκούειν Cobet, Hug.

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3. "And as for us, how have we secured the good things we now have, except by obedience to our commander? For by that course we always quickly reached our required destination, whether by day or by night, and following our commander in close array we were invincible, and we left half done none of the tasks committed to us. If, therefore, obedience to one's commander is, as it seems, the first essential to achieving success, then you may be sure that this same course is the first essential to ensuring its permanence.

4. "Heretofore, you know, many of us had no command but were under command; but now all of you here are so situated that you have command, some of larger, some of smaller divisions. Therefore, as you yourselves will expect to exercise authority over those under your command, so let us also give our obedience to those whom it is our duty to obey. And we must distinguish ourselves from slaves in this way, that, whereas slaves serve their masters against their wills, we, if indeed we claim to be free, must do of our own free will all that seems to be of the first importance. And you will find that among states, even when the government is not a monarchy, that state which most readily obeys its officers is least likely to be compelled to submit to its enemies.

5. "Let us, therefore, present ourselves before our ruler's headquarters yonder, as Cyrus bids; let us devote ourselves to those pursuits by which we shall best be able to hold fast to that which we ought, and let us offer ourselves for whatever service Cyrus may need us for. And this trust will not be abused, for we may be sure that Cyrus will never be able to
εὑρείν ὃ τι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ χρῆσται, ἡμῖν δε οὕ, ἐπείπερ τὰ γε αὐτὰ ἡμῖν συμφέρει καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Χρυσάντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνεργοῦσι καὶ ἐδοξέ τοὺς ἐντίμους ἀεὶ παρείναι ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἄν βούληται, ἦσος ἀφείη Κύρος. ὡς δὲ τότε ἐδοξέν, οὐτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἄσιαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖς ὄντες, θεραπεύονσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. 7. ἦς δὲ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδηλωται Κύρος καταστησάμενος εἰς τὸ διαφυλάττειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχὴν, ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου βασιλεῖς νόμιμα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι ποιοῦντες. 8. οὕτω δ’ ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα ὠσπερ καὶ τάλλα· ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐπιστάτης βελτίων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φαυλότερον.

Ἔφοιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Κύρου οἱ ἐντιμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὅπποι καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, συνδόξαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν συγκαταστρεφόμενων τὴν ἀρχὴν.

9. Κύρος δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τάλλα καθίστη ἄλλοις ἐπιμελητάς, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτῆρες καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτῆρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν διάταν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιμεληταὶ· καὶ ὅπποι δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμελητάς καθίστη οὐς ἐνόμιζε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα βέλτιστον ἄν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι.
find anything in which he can employ us for his own advantage and not equally for ours; for we have common interests and we have common enemies.”

6. When Chrysantas had finished this address, many others also both of the Persians and the allies rose to support him. They passed a resolution that the nobles should always be in attendance at court and be in readiness for whatever service Cyrus wished until he should dismiss them. And as they then resolved, so even unto this day those who are the subjects of the great king in Asia continue to do—they are constantly in attendance at the court of their princes. 7. And the institutions which Cyrus inaugurated as a means of securing the kingdom permanently to himself and the Persians, as has been set forth in the foregoing narrative, these the succeeding kings have preserved unchanged even to this day. 8. And it is the same with these as with everything else: whenever the officer in charge is better, the administration of the institutions is purer; but when he is worse, the administration is more corrupt.

Accordingly, the nobles came to Cyrus’s court with their horses and their spears, for so it had been decreed by the best of those who with him had made the conquest of the kingdom.

9. Cyrus next appointed officers to have charge of the various departments; for example, tax-collectors, paymasters, boards of public works, keepers of his estates, and stewards of his commissary department. He appointed also as superintendents of his horses and hounds those who he thought would keep these creatures in a condition most efficient for his use.
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10. Οὐς δὲ συμφῶλακας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οἵ φήτο χρήναι ἔχειν, τούτους ὅπως ὅσι βέλτιστοι ἔσωντο οὐκέτι τοῦτο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀλλοις προσέτατεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἑνόμιζε τοῦτο ἔργον εἶναι. ἦδει γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ τι μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ παραστάτας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ληπτέον εἰη, σὺν οἴσπερ οἱ μέγιστοι κλίνοντι καὶ ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἑγίνοντες ἐκ τούτων καταστάτεον εἶναι. 11. εἰ δὲ δέοι καὶ στρατηγῶν που ἀνεύ αὐτοῦ, ἦδει ὅτι ἐκ τούτων πεμπτέον εἰη καὶ πόλεων δὲ καὶ ὅλων ἑθνῶν φύλαξι καὶ σατράπαις ἦδει ὅτι τούτων τισὶν εἰη ἄρηστεον καὶ πρέσβεις γε τούτων τινὰς πεμπτέον, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μέγιστοις ἥγειτο εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀνεύ πολέμου τυγχάνειν ὧν δέοιτο.

12. Μή δ' οὗτων μὲν οὖν οἶων δὲί δ' ὅν αἱ μέγισται καὶ πλείσται πράξεις ἔμελλον εἶναι, κακῶς ἥγειτο τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔξειν. εἰ δ' οὕτως εἰεν οἶως δέοι, πάντα ἑνόμιζε καλῶς ἔσεσθαι. ἐνέδυ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γυνοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἑνόμιζε δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτῷ ἁσκήσεις εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ φήτο οἷον τε εἶναι μὴ αὐτῶν τινα ἀντα οἶνον δεὶ ἀλλοις παρορμαῖν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα.

13. Ὅς δὲ ταῦτα διενοήθη, ἥγησατο σχολής 310
10. But he did not in the same way leave to others the precaution of seeing that those whom he thought he ought to have as his associates in establishing the permanence of his success should be the ablest men available, but he considered that this responsibility was his own. For he knew that if ever there should be occasion for fighting, he would then have to select from their number men to stand beside and behind him, men in whose company also he would have to meet the greatest dangers; from their number likewise he knew that he would have to appoint his captains both of foot and of horse. 11. Besides, if generals should be needed where he himself could not be, he knew that they would have to be commissioned from among that same number. And he knew that he must employ some of these to be governors and satraps of cities or of whole nations, and that he must send others on embassies—an office which he considered of the very first importance for obtaining without war whatever he might want.

12. If, therefore, those by whom the most numerous and most important affairs of state were to be transacted were not what they ought to be, he thought that his government would be a failure. But if they were all that they ought to be, he believed that everything would succeed. In this conviction, therefore, he took upon himself this charge; and he determined that the same practice of virtue should be his as well. For he thought that it was not possible for him to incite others to good and noble deeds, if he were not himself such as he ought to be.

13. When he had arrived at this conclusion, he
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πρώτον δειν, εἰ μέλλοι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προσόδων ἀμέλειν ὑχ
οἶνον τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, προνοῶν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ
teleiv ἀνάγκη ἐσοιτο εἰς μεγάλην ἀρχήν· τὸ δ'
aυ πολλῶν κτημάτων ὄντων ἀμφὶ ταῦτα αὐτὸν
ἀεὶ ἔχειν ἦδει ὅτι ἀσχολίαν παρέξου τῆς τῶν ὄλων
σωτηρίας ἐπιμελείσθαι.  

14. Οὕτω δὴ σκοπῶν, οπως ἂν τὰ τε οἰκονομικά
kalῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἡ σχολὴ γένοιτο, κατεύθυνσέ πως
tῆν στρατιωτικήν σύνταξιν. ὡς γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ
dekαδάρχων μὲν δεκαδέων ἐπιμέλεονται, λοχαγοὶ δὲ
dekαδάρχων, χειλάρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, μυρίαρχοι δὲ
χειλάρχων, καὶ οὕτως οὔδεις ἀτημέλητος ἁγγεῖται,
οὐδ' ἢν πάνυ πολλαὶ μυρίαδες ἀνθρώπων ὄσι, καὶ
ὅταν ὁ στρατηγὸς βούληται χρήσασθαι τῇ
στρατιᾷ, ἀρκεῖ ἢν τοὺς μυρίάρχους παραγγείλῃ.
15. ὅσπερ οὖν ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κύρος συν-
εκεφαλαίωσατο τὰς οἰκονομικὰς πράξεις· ὡστε
καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐγένετο ὀλύγως διαλεγομένω μηδὲν
τῶν οἰκείων ἀτημέλητος ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου
ἡδη σχολὴν ἤγε πλεῖον ἢ ἄλλος μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ
μιᾶς νεώς ἐπιμελέσμενος.

Οὕτω δὴ καταστησάμενος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξε καὶ
toὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτη τῇ καταστάσει χρήσθαι.

16. Τὴν μὲν δὴ σχολὴν οὕτω κατεσκευάσατο
αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἥρχετο δ' ἐπιστατεῖν

1 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι MSS., most Edd.; ἐπιμέλεσθαι Hug.
thought, first of all, that he needed leisure if he were to be able to confine his attention to affairs of paramount importance. He decided, then, that it was out of the question for him to neglect the revenues, for he foresaw that there would necessarily be enormous expenses connected with a vast empire; and on the other hand, he knew that for him to be constantly engaged in giving his personal attention to his manifold possessions would leave him with no time to care for the welfare of the whole realm.

14. As he thus pondered how the business of administration might be successfully conducted and how he still might have the desired leisure, he somehow happened to think of his military organization: in general, the sergeants care for the ten men under them, the lieutenants for the sergeants, the colonels for the lieutenants, the generals for the colonels, and thus no one is uncared for, even though there be many brigades; and when the commander-in-chief wishes to do anything with his army, it is sufficient for him to issue his commands only to his brigadier-generals. 15. On this same model, then, Cyrus centralized the administrative functions also. And so it was possible for him, by communicating with only a few officers, to have no part of his administration uncared for. In this way he now enjoyed more leisure than one who has care of a single household or a single ship.

When he had thus organized his own functions in the government, he instructed those about him to follow the same plan of organization.

16. In this way, then, he secured leisure for himself and for his ministers; and then he began to
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tου εἶναι οἴους δεὶ τοὺς κοινῶνας. πρῶτον μὲν ὁπόσοι ὄντες ἰκανοὶ ἄλλων ἐργαζομένων τρέφεσθαι μὴ παρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, τούτους ἐπεξήγετε, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν παρόντας οὐκ ἂν ἔθελεν οὕτε κακὸν οὕτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν πράττειν καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ’ ἄρχοντι εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὁρφώντ’ ἂν ὁ τι πράττοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων οὐ δὲ μὴ παρεῖν, τούτοις ἤγειτο ἢ ἀκρατείᾳ τινὶ ἢ ἀδικίᾳ ἢ ἀμελείᾳ ἀπείναι.

17. Τούτο οὖν πρῶτον διηγησόμεθα ὡς προσηγνάγακαζι τοὺς τοιοῦτους παρείναι. τῶν γὰρ παρ’ ἐαυτῷ μάλιστα φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἂν τινα λαβεῖν τὰ τοῦ μη φοιτῶντος, φάσκοντα λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐαυτοῦ. ἔπει οὐν τούτο γένοιτο, ἦκον ἂν εὑρθῆς οἱ στερόμενοι ὡς ἡδικημένοι. 18. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πολὺν μὲν χρόνον οὐκ ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπακούειν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσειν αὐτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεβαλλετο τὴν διαδικασίαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν ἤγειτο προσεβίζειν αὐτοῖς θεραπεύειν, ἦττον δὲ ἔχθρως ἢ εἰ αὐτὸς κολάζων ἡμάγαζαζε παρεῖναι.

19. Εἰς μὲν τρόπος διδασκαλίας ἢν αὐτῷ οὖν τοῦ παρείναι. ἄλλος δὲ τὸ τὰ ράστα καὶ κερδαλεῶτατα τοῖς παροῦσι προστάττειν ἄλλος δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ποτε τοῖς ἀποῦσι νέμειν. 20. ὁ δὲ δὴ
take measures that his associates in power should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, if any of those who were able to live by the labours of others failed to attend at court, he made inquiry after them; for he thought that those who came would not be willing to do anything dishonourable or immoral, partly because they were in the presence of their sovereign and partly also because they knew that, whatever they did, they would be under the eyes of the best men there; whereas, in the case of those who did not, come he believed that they absented themselves because they were guilty of some form of intemperance or injustice or neglect of duty.

17. We will describe first, therefore, the manner in which he obliged all such to come; he would direct some one of the best friends he had at court to seize some of the property of the man who did not present himself and to declare that he was taking only what was his own. So, whenever this happened, those who lost their effects would come to him to complain that they had been wronged. 18. Cyrus, however, would not be at leisure for a long time to give such men a hearing, and when he did give them a hearing he would postpone the trial for a long time. By so doing he thought he would accustom them to pay their court and that he would thus excite less ill-feeling than he would if he compelled them to come by imposing penalties.

19. That was one of his methods of training them to attend. Another was to give those who did attend the easiest and the most profitable employment; and another was never to distribute any favours among those who failed to attend. 20. But the
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μέγιστος τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, εἰ τούτων μηδέν
tis ὑπακούοι, ἀφελόμενος ἀν τούτον ἀ ἔχοι ἄλλῳ
eδίδου δὴ ἵνα φέτῳ [δύνασθαι] 1 ἂν ἐν τῷ δέοντι
παρεῖναι καὶ οὕτως ἐγγύνητο ἄυτῷ φίλος χρῆ-
σιμος ἀντὶ ἀχρήστου. ἔπικετεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ νῦν
βασιλεὺς, ἦν τις ἀπὴ οἷς παρεῖναι καθήκει.

21. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ μὴ παροῦσιν οὕτως προσεφέρετο
tous δὲ παρέχονται ἕαυτος ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν
ἐπὶ τᾶ καλὰ κάγαθα ἐπαίρειν, ἐπείπερ ἄρχων ἦν
ἀυτῶν, εἰ αὐτὸς ἕαυτον ἐπιδεικνύειν πειράτο τοῖς
ἀρχομένοις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ
ἀρετῇ. 22. αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἑδόκει καὶ διὰ
tous γραφομένους νόμον βελτίων γνωμομένους
ἀνθρώπους: τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα
νόμον ἀνθρώπως ἐνόμισεν, ὦτι καὶ τάπτειν ἰκανὸς
ἐστι καὶ ὅραν τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ κολάζειν.

23. Οὕτω δὲ γνωρίσκων πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ
tous θεοὺς μᾶλλον ἐκποιοῦντα ἐπεδείκνυν ἕαυτον
ev tòu τῶν χρόνων, ἐπεὶ εὐδαιμονεστεροὶ ἦν.
kai toûtpo katastáthasan oi mágoi . . . 2
ὕμνειν τε ἂei ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ
θύειν ἀν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἷς οἱ mágoi θεοῖς
eiποιεῖν. 24. οὕτω δὴ tòto katastathénta
ἐτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῷ ἂεὶ δυντὶ βασιλεῖι.
taut' οὕτω πρῶτον εἰμιμουντο αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
Πέρσαι, νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδαιμονεστεροί
ἐσεσθαι, ἦν θεραπεύσῳ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡσπερ ὁ

1 δύνασθαι MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [δύνασθαι] Nitsche,
Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.
2 Lacuna discovered by Hug, adopted by Marchant, Gemoll
(ἐκ τούτου δὲ αὐτὸς ἤρχετο—and in consequence of this he
himself began).
surest way of compulsion was this: if a man paid no attention to any of these three methods, he would take away all that he had and give it to some one else who he thought would present himself when he was wanted; and thus he would get a useful friend in exchange for a useless one. And the king to-day likewise makes inquiries if any one absents himself whose duty it is to be present.

21. Thus, then, he dealt with those who failed to attend at court. But in those who did present themselves he believed that he could in no way more effectively inspire a desire for the beautiful and the good than by endeavouring, as their sovereign, to set before his subjects a perfect model of virtue in his own person. 22. For he thought he perceived that men are made better through even the written law, while the good ruler he regarded as a law with eyes for men, because he is able not only to give commandments but also to see the transgressor and punish him.

23. In this conviction, he showed himself in the first place more devout in his worship of the gods, now that he was more fortunate; and then for the first time the college of magi was instituted... and he never failed to sing hymns to the gods at daybreak and to sacrifice daily to whatsoever deities the magi directed. 24. Thus the institutions established by him at that time have continued in force with each successive king even to this day. In this respect, therefore, the rest of the Persians also imitated him from the first; for they believed that they would be more sure of good fortune if they revered the gods just as he did who was their...
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ευδαμονεστατός τε ὄν καὶ ἄρχων· καὶ Κύρῳ
δ' ἂν ἡγοῦντο ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἀρέσκειν. 25. ὁ
dὲ Κύρος τὴν τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ
ἐαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνομίζε, λογιζόμενος ὡσπερ οἱ
πλεῖν αἱρούμενοι μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μᾶλλον ἡ
μετὰ τῶν ἥσεβηκέναι τι δοκοῦντον. πρὸς δὲ
tούτοις ἔλογίζετο ὡς εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεο-
σεβεῖς εἶεν, ἦττον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔθελεν περὶ τε
ἀλλήλους ἀνόσιον τι ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν,
εὐεργέτης νομίζων εἶναι τῶν κοινῶνων. 26. ἐμ-
φανίζων δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο
μηδένα μήτε φίλον ἀδικεῖν μήτε σύμμαχον, ἀλλὰ
tὸ δίκαιον ἴσχυρῶς ὅρφων, μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
φέτ' ἂν τῶν μὲν ἀἰσχρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι,
διὰ τοῦ δίκαιου δ' ἔθελεν πορεύεσθαι. 27. καὶ
αἷδοὺς δ' ἂν ἤγειτο μᾶλλον πάντας ἐμπιμπλάναι,
eἰ αὐτὸς φανερὸς εἴη πάντας οὕτως αἰδούμενος
ὡς μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἂν μήτε ποιήσαι μηδὲν αἰσχρόν.
28. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ τούτῳ οὕτως ἔχειν ἐκ τούτῳ
μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗς ὁ φοβοῦνται,
μᾶλλον τοὺς αἰδομείνους αἰδοῦνται τῶν ἀναιδῶν
οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ γυναῖκας δὲ ὅσα ἂν αἰδομένας
αἰσθάνωνται, ἀνταίδεισθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν
ὁρῶντες.

29. Τὸ δ' αὐτ' πείθεσθαι οὕτω μάλιστ' ἂν φητο
ἔμμονον εἶναι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ τοὺς ἀπρο-
φασίστος πειθομένους φανερὸς εἴη μᾶλλον τιμῶν
τῶν τὰς μεγίστας ἀρετὰς καὶ ἐπιπονωτάτας δο-
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sovereign and the most fortunate of all; and they thought also that in doing this they would please Cyrus. 25. And Cyrus considered that the piety of his friends was a good thing for him, too; for he reasoned as they do who prefer, when embarking on a voyage, to set sail with pious companions rather than with those who are believed to have committed some impiety. And besides, he reasoned that if all his associates were god-fearing men, they would be less inclined to commit crime against one another or against himself, for he considered himself their benefactor; 26. and if he made it plain how important he held it to be to wrong no one of his friends or allies, and if he always paid scrupulous regard to what was upright, others also, he thought, would be more likely to abstain from improper gains and to endeavour to make their way by upright methods. 27. And he thought that he should be more likely to inspire in all respect for others, if he himself were seen to show such respect for all as not to say or do anything improper. 28. And that this would be the result he concluded from the following observation: people have more respect for those who have such respect for others than they have for those who have not; they show it toward even those whom they do not fear—to say nothing of what they would show toward their kings; and women also whom they see showing respect for others they are more inclined to look upon in turn with respect.

29. And again, obedience he thought would be most deeply impressed upon his attendants, if he showed that he honoured those who unhesitatingly obeyed more than those who thought they exhibited
κούντων παρέχεσθαι. γιγνώσκων δ’ οὕτω καὶ ποιῶν διετέλει.

30. Καὶ σωφροσύνην δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνύον μᾶλλον ἐποίη καὶ ταύτῃ πάντας ἀσκεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ ὅρωσιν, φ’ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν, τούτον σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω μᾶλλον ο’ γε ἀσθενέστεροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ποιοῦντες φανεροὶ εἶναι. 31. [διήρει δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην τῇ δε, ὡς τοὺς μὲν αἰδουμένους τὰ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ αἰσχρὰ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ σωφρονοῦντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί.] 32. καὶ ἐγκράτειαν δὲ οὕτω μᾶλιστ’ ἀν φέτο ἄσκεισθαι, εἰ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύοι ἔαυτὸν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν παραντικά ἡδονῶν ἐλκόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ προπονεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρῶτον σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσύνων.

33. Τοιγαροῦν τοιοῦτος ὅπως ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολλὰ μὲν τῶν χειρόνων εὐταξίαν, ὑπεικόντων τοῖς ἀμείνοις, πολλὰ δ’ αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐπέγνως δ’ ἄν ἐκεῖ οὐδένα οὔτε ὁργίζομεν κραυγῇ οὔτε χαίροντα ὑβριστικῷ γέλωτε, ἀλλὰ ἴδων ἄν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσω τῷ ὅντι εἰς κάλλος ξῆν.

34. Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ ὀρῶντες ἐπὶ θύραις δυνῆν. τῆς πολεμικῆς δ’ ἐνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ θήρᾳν ἐξῆγεν οὐσπερ ἀσκεῖν ταῦτα ὅτεο χρήσαι, ταύτῃ ἡγούμενος καὶ οἷς ἀρίστην

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 διήρει . . . ἀφανεί MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; bracketed by Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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the greatest and most elaborate virtues. And thus he continued throughout to judge and to act.

30. And by making his own self-control an example, he disposed all to practise that virtue more diligently. For when the weaker members of society see that one who is in a position where he may indulge himself to excess is still under self-control, they naturally strive all the more not to be found guilty of any excessive indulgence. 31. [Moreover, he distinguished between considerateness and self-control in this way: the considerate are those who avoid what is offensive when seen; the self-controlled avoid that which is offensive, even when unseen.] 32. And he thought that temperance could be best inculcated, if he showed that he himself was never carried away from the pursuit of the good by any pleasures of the moment, but that he was willing to labour first for the attainment of refined pleasures.

33. To sum up, then, by setting such an example Cyrus secured at court great correctness of conduct on the part of his subordinates, who gave precedence to their superiors; and thus he also secured from them a great degree of respect and politeness toward one another. And among them you would never have detected any one raising his voice in anger or giving vent to his delight in boisterous laughter; but on seeing them you would have judged that they were in truth making a noble life their aim.

34. Such was what they did and such what they witnessed day by day at court. With a view to training in the arts of war, Cyrus used to take out hunting those who he thought ought to have such practice, for he held that this was altogether the best


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άσκησιν πολεμικῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἵππικής δὲ ἀληθεστάτην. 35. καὶ γὰρ ἐπόχους ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις αὕτη μάλιστα ἀποδείκνυσι διὰ τὸ θερίος φεύγουσιν ἐφέπεσθαί, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐνεργοὺς αὕτη μάλιστα ἀπεργάζεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαμβάνειν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. 36. καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ πόνους καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ λιμὸν καὶ δίφος δύνασθαι φέρειν ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα προσεῖθῑς τοὺς κοινῶνας. καὶ νῦν ὃ ἐτὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ βασιλέα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες διατελοῦσιν.

37. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὄφει προσήκειν οὕδενι ἀρχῆς ὑστις μὴ βελτίων εἰὴ τῶν ἀρχόμενων καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις πᾶσι δῆλον, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἀσκῶν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πολὺ μάλιστα αὐτὸς ἐξεπόνει καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς[1] μελέτας. 38. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θῆραν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐξῆγεν, ὅποτε μὴ μένειν ἀνάγκη τῆς εἰς αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὅποτε ἀνάγκη εἰς, οἱ κοὶ ἑθήρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς παραδείσους θηρία τρεφόμενα· καὶ οὐτ' αὐτὸς ποτὲ πρὶν ἴδρωσαι δεῖπνον ἴρειτο οὔτε ἵππους ἀγυμνάστοις σύντον ἐνέβαλλε· συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταύτην τὴν θῆραν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν σκηντούχους. 39. τουγαροῦν πολὺ μὲν αὐτὸς διέφερεν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις, πολὺ δὲ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνων, διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ μελέτην. παράδειγμα μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρεῖχετο.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν οὐστίνας μάλιστα

1 τὰς MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach; [τὰς] Dindorf, Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll.

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training in military science and also the truest in horsemanship. 35. For it is the exercise best adapted to give riders a firm seat in all sorts of places, because they have to pursue the animals wherever they may run; and it is also the best exercise to make them active on horseback because of their rivalry and eagerness to get the game. 36. By this same exercise, too, he was best able to accustom his associates to temperance and the endurance of hardship, to heat and cold, to hunger and thirst. And even to this day the king and the rest that make up his retinue continue to engage in the same sport.

37. From all that has been said, therefore, it is evident that he believed that no one had any right to rule who was not better than his subjects; and it is evident, too, that in thus drilling those about him he himself got his own best training both in temperance and in the arts and pursuits of war. 38. For he not only used to take the others out hunting, whenever there was no need of his staying at home, but even when there was some need of his staying at home, he would himself hunt the animals that were kept in the parks. And he never dined without first having got himself into a sweat, nor would he have any food given to his horses without their having first been duly exercised; and to these hunts he would invite also the mace-bearers in attendance upon him. 39. The result of all this constant training was that he and his associates greatly excelled in all manly exercises. Such an example did he furnish by his own personal conduct.

And besides this, he used to reward with gifts and
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όρφη τὰ καλὰ διώκοντας, τούτοις καὶ δῶροις καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἔδραίς καὶ πάσας τιμαῖς ἐγέραρεν ὡστε πολλὴν πάσης φιλοτιμίαν ἐνέβαλλεν ὅπως ἔκαστος ὅτι ἀριστος φανῆσοιτο Κύρφ.

40. Καταμαθείν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκούμεν ὃς ὦ τοῦτο μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρήναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτίωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοντεύειν φέτο χρήναι αὐτοὺς. στολὴν τε γοῦν εἴλετο τὴν Μηδίκην αὐτὸς τε φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς κοινώνας ταύτην ἔπεισεν ἐνδύσθαι αὐτὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἔδοκει εἰ τίς τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεεῖς ἔχοι, καὶ καλλιστοὺς καὶ μεγίστους ἐπίδεικνυναι τοὺς φορούντας.

41. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν ὅις μάλιστα λαθείν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθέμενοι τι, ὡστε δοκεῖν μείζονς εἶναι ἢ εἰσί. καὶ ὑποχρίεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς προσίετο, ὡς εὐσφαλμότεροι φαίνοντο ἢ εἰσί, καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι, ὡς εὐχρωτέροι ὀρφύτο ή πεφύκασιν.

42. Ἔμελετησε δὲ καὶ ὃς μὴ πτύσυντες μηδὲ ἀπομυττόμενοι φάνεροι εἶν, μηδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι ἐπὶ θέαν μηδενός, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα φέτο φέρειν τι εἰσ τὸ δυσκαταφρονητότερος φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

43. Οδ̅ς μὲν δὴ ἄρχειν φέτο χρήναι, δι’ ἑαυτοῦ οὔτω κατεσκεύασε καὶ μελέτη καὶ τῷ σεμνῶς προεστάναι αὐτῶν οὔς ὅ αὐ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν, τούτοις οὔτε μελετάν τῶν ἐλευθερίων

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positions of authority and seats of honour and all sorts of preferment others whom he saw devoting themselves most eagerly to the attainment of excellence; and thus he inspired in all an earnest ambition, each striving to appear as deserving as he could in the eyes of Cyrus.

40. We think, furthermore, that we have observed in Cyrus that he held the opinion that a ruler ought to excel his subjects not only in point of being actually better than they, but that he ought also to cast a sort of spell upon them. At any rate, he chose to wear the Median dress himself and persuaded his associates also to adopt it; for he thought that if any one had any personal defect, that dress would help to conceal it, and that it made the wearer look very tall and very handsome. 41. For they have shoes of such a form that without being detected the wearer can easily put something into the soles so as to make him look taller than he is. He encouraged also the fashion of pencilling the eyes, that they might seem more lustrous than they are, and of using cosmetics to make the complexion look better than nature made it.

42. He trained his associates also not to spit or to wipe the nose in public, and not to turn round to look at anything, as being men who wondered at nothing. All this he thought contributed, in some measure, to their appearing to their subjects men who could not lightly be despised.

43. Those, therefore, who he thought ought to be in authority he thus prepared in his own school by careful training as well as by the respect which he commanded as their leader; those, on the other hand, whom he was training to be servants he did
πόνων ουδένα παρόρμα σύθ' ὑπλα κεκτήσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπεμέλετο δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἁστικοὶ μήτε ἄποτοι ποτε ἐσοιντο ἐλευθερίων ἑνεκα μελετημάτων. 44. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε ἐλαύνοιεν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἰππεύσων εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σῶτον εἰς θήραν τούτοις ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενὶ καὶ ὅποτε πορεία εἰς, ἤγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὦδατα ὀσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια. καὶ ὅποτε δὲ ὀρα εἰς ἀρίστων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἔστε ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὡς μὴ βουλιμάδεν ὅστε καὶ ὦδει αὐτὸν ὀσπερ οἱ ἀριστοὶ πατέρα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν [ὅπως ἀναμφιλόγως ἂεὶ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖν].

45. Τῇ μὲν δὴ ὡλῃ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ οὗτῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκεύαζεν. ἔαυτῷ δὲ δὴ μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν καταστραφέντων κίνδυνος εἰς παθεῖν τι ἵσχυρός ἔθαρρεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάλκιδας ἦγειτό εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσυντάκτους ὄντας ἑώρα, καὶ πρὸς τούτων οὖς ἐπλησίαζε τούτων οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ὅπτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας. 46. οὐς δὲ κρατίστους τε ἦγειτο καὶ ὠπλισμένους καὶ ἀθρόους ὄντας ἑώρα—καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἤδει ἰππέων ἡγεμόνας ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πεζῶν πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φρουήματα ἑχοντας ἡσθάνετο ὡς ἰκανοὺς ὄντας ἀρχεῖν· καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὦδει μᾶλιστα

1 ὅπως . . . διατελοῖν MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Cobet, Hug.

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not encourage to practise any of the exercises of freemen; neither did he allow them to own weapons; but he took care that they should not suffer any deprivation in food or drink on account of the exercises in which they served the freemen. 44. And he managed it in this way: whenever they were to drive the animals down into the plains for the horsemen, he allowed those of the lower classes, but none of the freemen, to take food with them on the hunt; and whenever there was an expedition to make, he would lead the serving men to water, just as he did the beasts of burden. And again, when it was time for luncheon, he would wait for them until they could get something to eat, so that they should not get so ravenously hungry. And so this class also called him "father," just as the nobles did, for he provided for them well [so that they might spend all their lives as slaves, without a protest].

45. Thus he secured for the whole Persian empire the necessary stability; and as for himself, he was perfectly confident that there was no danger of his suffering aught at the hands of those whom he had subdued. And the ground of his confidence was this—that he believed them to be powerless and he saw that they were unorganized; and besides that, not one of them came near him either by night or by day. 46. But there were some whom he considered very powerful and whom he saw well armed and well organized; and some of them, he knew, had cavalry under their command, others infantry; and he was aware that many of them had the assurance to think that they were competent to rule; and these not only came in very close touch with his guards but
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ἐπιλησίαζον, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ τούτων πολλοὶ πολλάκις συνεμίγωνσαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ὧν τι καὶ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς—ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτῶν μάλιστα παθεῖν τι κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους.

47. Σκοπῶν οὖν ὅπως ἃν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀκίνδυνα γένοιτο, τὸ μὲν περιελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὑπάλα καὶ ἀπολέσθαι ἀπεδόκιμας, καὶ ἄδικον ἡγοῦμενος καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης νομίζων· τὸ δ’ αὐ μὴ προσίσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἡγήσατο πολέμου. 48. ἐν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἔγνω καὶ κρατίστου εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἕαντον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κάλλιστον, εἰ δύνατο ποιῆσαι τοὺς κρατίστους ἕαντο μᾶλλον φίλους ἢ ἄλληλοις. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἢμῖν ἐλθεῖν, τούτῳ πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

II

1. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ διὰ πάντως ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἐνεφάνιζεν, ἡγοῦμενος, ὥσπερ οὐ ράδιον ἐστὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς μισεῖν δοκοῦντας οὐδ’ εὐνοεῖν τοῖς κακοῖς, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὡς φιλοῦσι καὶ εὐνοοῦσιν, οἷκ ἂν δύνασθαι μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλεῖσθαι ἡγομένων.

2. Ἐως μὲν οὖν χρῆμασιν ἄδυνατότερος ἦν εὔεργετεῖν, τῷ τε προνοεῖν τῶν συνόντων καὶ τῷ
many of them came frequently in contact with Cyrus himself, and this was unavoidable if he was to make any use of them—this, then, was the quarter from which there was the greatest danger that something might happen to him in any one of many ways.

47. So, as he cast about in his mind how to remove any danger that might arise from them also, he rejected the thought of disarming them and making them incapable of war; for he decided that that would be unjust, and besides he thought that this would be destruction to his empire. On the other hand, he believed that to refuse to admit them to his presence or to show that he mistrusted them would lead at once to hostilities. 48. But better than any of these ways, he recognized that there was one course that would be at once the most honourable and the most conducive to his own personal security, and that was, if possible, to make those powerful nobles better friends to himself than to one another. We shall, therefore, attempt to explain the method that he seems to have taken to gain their friendship.

II

1. In the first place, then, he showed at all times as great kindness of heart as he could; for he believed that just as it is not easy to love those who seem to hate us, or to cherish good-will toward those who bear us ill-will, in the same way those who are known to love and to cherish good-will could not be hated by those who believe themselves loved.

2. During the time, therefore, when he was not yet quite able to do favours through gifts of money,
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προπονεῖν καὶ τῷ συνηδόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὶς φανερὸς εἶναι, συναχθόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς κακοὶς, τούτων ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν φίλαιν θηρεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ὡστε χρήσασιν ἐνεργεῖτειν, δοκεῖ ἢμῖν γνῶναι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ενεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ἐπιχαριτώτερον ἢ σῖτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. 3. τούτῳ δ’ οὗτῳ νομίζας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν συνέταξαν ὅπως οἷς αὐτὸς σιτοῖτο σῖτοις, τούτως ὄμοια ἂεὶ παρατίθεντο αὐτῷ ἰκανὰ παμπόλλοις ἀνθρώποις· ὅσα δὲ παρατεθείη, ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν οἷς αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδειται χρήσατο, διεδίδοι οἷς ἡ βούλιοι τῶν φίλων μνήμην ἐνδεικνυόμεθα ἢ φιλοφροσύνην. διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τούτως οὐσ ἀγασθείη ἢ ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν θεραπείαις ἢ ἐν αἰσθησίισι πράξεωι, ἐνορμαινόμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἂν λανθάνοιεν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι.

4. Ἔτιμα δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὅποτε τινὰ ἐπαινέσειε· καὶ τὸν πάντα δὲ σίτων τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν ἐπετίθετο, οἴμομενος ὡσπερ καὶ τοῖς θυσίας ἐμποιεῖτο τινὰ καὶ τοῦτο εὔνοιαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τίνα βούλιοι τῶν φίλων ὧπο πολλῶν, καὶ τούτως ἐπεμπεν ἀπὸ τραπέζης· καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἔτι οἰς ἃν ὀρθῶς πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τραπέζης, τούτως πάντες μᾶλλον θεραπεύουσι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι καὶ ικανοὺς δια-
he tried to win the love of those about him by taking forethought for them and labouring for them and showing that he rejoiced with them in their good fortune and sympathized with them in their mishaps; and after he found himself in a position to do favours with money, he seems to us to have recognized from the start that there is no kindness which men can show one another, with the same amount of expenditure, more acceptable than sharing meat and drink with them. 3. In this belief, he first of all arranged that there should be placed upon his own table a quantity of food, like that of which he himself regularly partook, sufficient for a very large number of people; and all of that which was served to him, except what he and his companions at table consumed, he distributed among those of his friends to whom he wished to send remembrances or good wishes. And he used to send such presents around to those also whose services on garrison duty or in attendance upon him or in any other way met with his approval; in this way he let them see that he did not fail to observe their wish to please him.

4. He used also to honour with presents from his table any one of his servants whom he took occasion to commend; and he had all of his servants' food served from his own table, for he thought that this would implant in them a certain amount of good-will, just as it does in dogs. And if he wished to have any one of his friends courted by the multitude, to such a one he would send presents from his table. And that device proved effective; for even to this day everybody pays more diligent court to those to whom they see things sent from the royal table; for they think that such persons must be in high favour.
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πράττειν, ἢν τι δέωνται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἕνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεπομπομένα παρὰ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὤντι καὶ ἰδοὺν πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης. 5. καὶ τούτῳ μέντοι οὐτῶς ἔχειν οὐδὲν τι θαυμαστόν ὀσπερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφέροντωσ εἰς ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἥξειργασμέναι εἰςι, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλείας αὐτῶν πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπεπόνηται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν κλίνην, θύραν, ἄρτον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις ὁ οὗτος οὐτὸς καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἢν καὶ οὗτος ἰκανοὺς αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἑργοδόται λαμβάνῃ· ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἀνθρώπων πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δείωσαι ἄρκει καὶ μία ἐκάστῳ τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι πολλάκις δὲ οὖδ' ὅλη μία· ἀλλ' ὕποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεῖα, ὁ δὲ γυναικεία· ἔστι δὲ ἐνθα καὶ ὕποδήματα οὗ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιών ἀλλὰ συντεθεῖσας ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τῶν ἐν ἀραγαντάρῳ διατρίβοντα ἑργῶν τούτων καὶ ἀρίστα δὴ ἥναγκασθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

6. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τούτῳ πέπουθε καὶ τὰ ἀμφί τὴν διάταν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώνυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὑψα ἄλλοτε ἀλ-

1 δὴ ἥναγκασθαί Hertlein, Sauppe, Hug, Marchant; διηναγκάσθαι xzV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; διεναγκάσθαι y; δύνασθαι Gemoll.
and in a position to secure for them anything they may want. Moreover, it is not for these reasons only that that which is sent by the king gives delight, but the food that is sent from the king's board really is much superior in the gratification also that it gives. 5. That this, however, should be so is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in that same way the food at the king's palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes chairs and doors and plows and tables, and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find employment enough to support him. And it is, of course, impossible for a man of many trades to be proficient in all of them. In large cities, on the other hand, inasmuch as many people have demands to make upon each branch of industry, one trade alone, and very often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, and another for women; and there are places even where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that he who devotes himself to a very highly specialized line of work is bound to do it in the best possible manner.

6. Exactly the same thing holds true also in reference to the kitchen: in any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish
λοίᾳ ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη οἴμαι τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἐκαστὸν προχώρη, οὕτως ἔχειν ὅπου δὲ ἴκανον ἔργον ἐνὶ ἔσειν κρέα, ἀλλὰ ὅπταν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἰχθύν ἔσειν, ἀλλὰ ὅπταν, ἀλλὰ ἄρτους ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τούτους παντοδαποὺς, ἀλλ' ἄρκει ἐάν ἐν εἰδοκιμοῦν παρέχῃ, ἀνάγκη οἴμαι καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολύ διαφερόντως ἐξειργάσθαι ἐκαστὸν.

7. Τῇ μὲν δὴ τῶν σίτων θεραπείᾳ τοιαύτα ποιῶν πολὺ ὑπερεβάλλετο πάντας· ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις πᾶσι θεραπεύων πολὺ ἐκράτει, τούτο νῦν διηγήσομαι· πολὺ γὰρ διενεγκός ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείστας προσόδους λαμβάνειν πολὺ ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκε τῷ πλείστας ἀνθρώπων δωρεὶσθαι. κατήρξε μὲν οὖν τούτου Κῦρος, διαμένει δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεύσιν ἡ πολυδωρία. 8. τίνι μὲν γὰρ φίλοι πλουσιώτεροι ὅπτες φανερὸν ἢ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ; τίς δὲ κοσμῶν κάλλιον φαίνεται στολαῖς τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ βασιλεύς; τίνως δὲ δόρα γυγνώσκεται ὡσπερ ἐνα τῶν βασιλέως, θέλω καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἱπποῖς χρυσάλινοι; οὖ γὰρ δὴ ἔξεστιν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ἔχειν ὃ ἂν μὴ βασιλεὺς δῷ. 9. τίς δ' ἄλλος λέγεται δώρων μεγέθει ποιεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρων καὶ ἀντὶ παίδων; τίς δ' ἄλλος ἐδυνάσθη ἐχθροὺς ἀπέχοντας πολλῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς Περσῶν βασιλεύς; τίς δ' ἄλλος καταστρεψάμενος ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ

1 αὐτῶν Edd.; αὕτων MSS.
and now another, he must necessarily have things go as they may; but where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them, for one man to boil fish and another to bake them, for another to make bread and not every sort at that, but where it suffices if he makes one kind that has a high reputation—everything that is prepared in such a kitchen will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence.

7. Accordingly, Cyrus far surpassed all others in the art of making much of his friends by gifts of food. And how he far surpassed in every other way of courting favour, I will now explain. Though he far exceeded all other men in the amount of the revenues he received, yet he excelled still more in the quantity of presents he made. It was Cyrus, therefore, who began the practice of lavish giving, and among the kings it continues even to this day. 8. For who has richer friends to show than the Persian king? Who is there that is known to adorn his friends with more beautiful robes than does the king? Whose gifts are so readily recognized as some of those which the king gives, such as bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold-studded bridles? For, as everybody knows, no one over there is allowed to have such things except those to whom the king has given them. 9. And of whom else is it said that by the munificence of his gifts he makes himself preferred above even brothers and parents and children? Who else was ever in a position like the Persian king to punish enemies who were distant a journey of many months? And who, besides
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tῶν ἀρχομένων πατήρ καλούμενος ἀπέθανεν ἦ
Κῦρος; τούτο δὲ τούνομα δήλου ὅτι εὐεργετοῦντός
ἔστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφαιρουμένου. 10. κατεμάθομεν
dὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺς
καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖς ὄτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἔκτησατο ἢ
τῷ διωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς γὰρ ἀπαγγεῖ-
λαντας ὁσα καιρὸς αὐτῷ εἰη πεπύσθαι μεγάλως
εὐεργετῶν πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὁτα-
κουστεῖν καὶ διοπτεύειν τι ἀν ἀγγειάλαντες ὑφε-
λήσειαν βασιλέα. 11. ἐκ τούτου δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ
ἔνομισθήσαν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ὄτα.
eὶ δὲ τις οὐέται ἐνα ἀἵρετον εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν
βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ὅρθως οὔέται ὀλίγα γὰρ εἰς γ’ ἀν
идοι καὶ εἴς ἀκούσεις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁσπερ
ἀμελεῖν ἂν παρηγγελμένον ἔιη, εἰ ἐνι τούτῳ
προστεταγμένον εἰη: πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτι νινα γιγνώ-
ακοιν ὀφθαλμὸν ὄντα, τούτον ἂν εἰδείειν ὅτι
φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ. ἀλλ’ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ
τοῦ φάσκοντος ἀκοῦσαί τι ἡ ἰδεῖν ἄξιον ἐπιμε-
λείας παντὸς βασιλεῖς ἀκούει. 12. οὕτω δὴ
πολλὰ μὲν βασιλέως ὄτα, πολλοὶ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ
νομίζονται καὶ φοβοῦνται πανταχοῦ λέγειν τὰ
μὴ σύμφορα βασιλεῖ, ὁσπερ αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦστος,
καὶ ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ σύμφορα, ὁσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος.
οὕκον ὅπως μησθῆναι ἀν τις ἐτόλμησε πρὸς
τινα περὶ Κῦρου φλαύρον τι, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν
ὀφθαλμόις πᾶσι καὶ ὅσι βασιλεῖς τοῖς ἀεὶ
παροῦσιν οὕτως ἐκαστος διέκειτο. τὸ δὲ οὕτω

1' παρηγγελμένον Weckherlin, Dindorf⁴, Hug, Marchant,
Gemoll; παραγγελ(λ)̓μένον MSS., Dindorf⁵, Breitenbach.

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Cyrus, ever gained an empire by conquest and even to his death was called "father" by the people he had subdued? For that name obviously belongs to a benefactor rather than to a despoiler. 10. Moreover, we have discovered that he acquired the so-called "king’s eyes" and "king’s ears" in no other way than by bestowing presents and honours; for by rewarding liberally those who reported to him whatever it was to his interest to hear, he prompted many men to make it their business to use their eyes and ears to spy out what they could report to the king to his advantage. 11. As a natural result of this, many "eyes" and many "ears" were ascribed to the king. But if any one thinks that the king selected one man to be his "eye," he is wrong; for one only would see and one would hear but little; and it would have amounted to ordering all the rest to pay no attention, if one only had been appointed to see and hear. Besides, if people knew that a certain man was the "eye," they would know that they must beware of him. But such is not the case; for the king listens to anybody who may claim to have heard or seen anything worthy of attention. 12. And thus the saying comes about, "The king has many ears and many eyes"; and people are everywhere afraid to say anything to the discredit of the king, just as if he himself were listening; or to do anything to harm him, just as if he were present. Not only, therefore, would no one have ventured to say anything derogatory of Cyrus to any one else, but every one conducted himself at all times just as if those who were within hearing were so many eyes and ears of the king. I do not know what better
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diakheísthai toûs ἀνθρώπους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τι ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι μεγάλα ἦθελεν ἀντὶ μικρῶν εὐεργετεῖν.

13. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ μεγέθει δῶρων ὑπερβάλλειν πλουσιώτατον ὄντα οὔ θαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν φίλων βασιλεύοντα περιγγενέσθαι, τούτῳ ἄξιολογότερον. ἐκεῖνος τούτων λέγεται κατάδηλος εἶναι μηδὲν ἂν οὕτως αἰσχυνθεῖς ἠττώμενος ὃς φίλων θεραπείᾳ· 14. καὶ λόγος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπομηνυόμενεται ὡς λέγοι παραπλήσια ἔργα εἶναι νομέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ· τόν τε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι ἐφη εὐδαιμονὰ τὰ κτήμα ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἢ δὴ προβάτων εὐδαιμονία, τόν τε βασιλέα ὡσαύτως εὐδαιμονίας πόλεως καὶ ἂνθρώπους ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν, εἰπερ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν γνώμην, τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πάντων ἄνθρωπων θεραπείας περιγγενέσθαι. 15. καλὸν δὲ ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τούτο λέγεται Κύρος ἐπιδείξαι Κροίσφ, ὅτε ἐνοπλῆτει αὐτόν ὡς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι πένης ἑσοῦτο, ἔξω αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦς πλείστους ἐνί γε ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οίκῳ καταθέσθαι.

Καὶ τὸν Κύρον λέγεται ἐρέσθαι, Καὶ πόσα δὴν ἢδη οἶει μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ ὧτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἶμι;

16. Καὶ τὸν Κροίσφν εἰπείν πολύν τινα ἄριθμόν. Καὶ τὸν Κύρον πρὸς ταῦτα, Ἀγε δὴ, φάναι, ὡ
reason any one could assign for this attitude toward him on the part of people generally than that it was his policy to do large favours in return for small ones.

13. That he, the richest man of all, should excel in the munificence of his presents is not surprising; but for him, the king, to exceed all others in thoughtful attention to his friends and in care for them, that is more remarkable; and it is said to have been no secret that there was nothing wherein he would have been so much ashamed of being outdone as in attention to his friends. 14. People quote a remark of his to the effect that the duties of a good shepherd and of a good king were very much alike; a good shepherd ought, while deriving benefit from his flocks, to make them happy (so far as sheep can be said to have happiness), and in the same way a king ought to make his people and his cities happy, if he would derive benefits from them. Seeing that he held this theory, it is not at all surprising that he was ambitious to surpass all other men in attention to his friends.

15. And, among other proofs, Cyrus is said to have given Croesus one splendid practical demonstration of the correctness of this theory, when the latter warned him that by giving so much away he would make himself poor, whereas he was in a position to lay up in his house more treasures of gold than any other man.

"And how much gold, pray," Cyrus is said to have asked, "do you think I should have by this time, if I had been amassing it, as you propose, ever since I have been in power?"

16. Croesus named some large sum.

"Well, then, Croesus," said Cyrus in reply, "send
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Κροίσε, σύμπεμψον ἄνδρα σὺν Τστάσπα τούτφι 1 ὅτω σὺ πιστεύεις μάλιστα. σὺ δὲ, ὃ Τστάσπα, ἐφη, περιελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσίου πρὸς πρᾶξιν τινα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι προσδέομαι· καὶ κέλευε αὐτοῖς ὅπόσα ἄν ἐκαστὸς δύνατο πορίσαι μοι χρήματα γράψαντας καὶ καταστημηναμένους δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Κροίσου θεράποντι φέρειν.

17. Ταῦτα δὲ ὄσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος ἔδιδον τῷ Τστάσπα φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ Τστάσπαν ὡς φίλον αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι.

Ἐστει δὲ περιήλθε καὶ ἤγεγκεν ὁ Κροίσου θεράπων τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, ὃ δὲ Τστάσπας εἶπεν, ὃ Κύρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡδὴ χρή ὡς πλοῦσιω χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρειμι δῶρα διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα.

18. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἔλθ μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὖν ἡδὴ θησαυρὸς ἡμῖν, ὁ Κροίσε· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καταθεῖ καὶ λόγισαι πόσα ἐστῖν ἐτοιμα χρήματα, ἢν τι δέωμαι χρῆσθαι.

Δέγεται δὴ λογιζόμενος ὁ Κροίσος πολλαπλάσια εὑρεῖν ἢ ἐφη Κύρῳ ἄν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἡδῆ, εἰ συνέλεγεν. 19. ἔστει δὲ τοῦτο φανερον ἐγένετο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κύρος, Ὁρᾶς, φάναι, ὁ Κροίσε, ὥς εἰσι καὶ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις μὲ παρ' ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαι τε δι' αὐτῶν καὶ μυσείσθαι, καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἐφιστάντα μισθοφόρους τοῦ-

1 τούτῳ Hertlein, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; τούτῳ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
along with Hystaspas here a man in whom you have most confidence. And you, Hystaspas,” said he to him, “go the round of my friends and tell them that I need money for a certain enterprise; for, in truth, I do need more. And bid them write down the amount they could each let me have, and affix their seals to each subscription, and give it to Croesus’s messenger to deliver here.”

17. And when he had written down what he had said, he sealed the letter and gave it to Hystaspas to carry to his friends. And he included in it also a request that they all receive Hystaspas as his friend.

And when he had made the round and Croesus’s messenger had brought in the subscriptions, Hystaspas said: “King Cyrus, you should treat me also henceforth as a rich man; for, thanks to your letter, I have come back with a great number of presents.”

18. “Even in this man, Croesus,” said Cyrus, “we have one treasure-house already. But as for the rest of my friends, look over the list, and add up the amounts, and see how much money is ready for me, if I need any for my use.”

Then Croesus is said to have added it up and to have found that there was many times as much subscribed as he had told Cyrus he should have in his treasury by this time, if he had been amassing it. 19. And when this became apparent, Cyrus is said to have remarked: “Do you observe, Croesus, that I, too, have my treasures? But you are proposing to me to get them together and hoard them in my palace, to put hired watchmen in charge of everything and to trust to them, and on account of those hoards to be envied and hated. I, on the
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tois πιστεύεων ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φίλους πλουσίους ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ φύλακας ἁμα ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁγαθῶν πιστοτέρους εἶναι ἢ εἰ φρονοῦς μιθοφόρους ἐπεστησάμην. 20. καὶ ἄλλο δὲ σοι ἔρωτι ἐγὼ γάρ, δὲ Κροίσε, δὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ δόντες εἰς τὰς ψυχάς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησαν ὁμοίως πένητας πάντας, τούτου μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς δύναμαι περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰμι ἀπλυστὸς καὶ γὰρ ὅσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι χρημάτων. 21. τῇ δὲ γε μέντοι διαφέρειν μοι δοκῶ τῶν πλείστων ὧτι οἱ μὲν ἑπείδαν τῶν ἄρκουντων περιττά κτήσωνται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κατορύττουσι, τὰ δὲ καταστήσουσι, τὰ δὲ ἅριμοσύνετες καὶ μετρούντες καὶ ἀστάντες καὶ διαψυχοῦσαι καὶ φυλάττοντες πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ ὥμως ἐνδοὺ ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα οὔτε ἐσθίουσι πλεῖον ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, διαρρηγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, οὖτ' ἀμφιέννυται πλεῖον ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, ἀποστυγεῖεν γὰρ ἂν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα ἔχουσιν. 22. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπηρετῶ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ὅρεγομαι ἄει πλειόνων ἑπεἰδάν δὲ κτήσωμαι, ἄν ἴδω¹ περιττά δοῦτα τῶν ἐμοι ἄρκουντων, τούτους τὰς τ' ἐνδείκας τῶν φίλων ἔξακομαί² καὶ πιλοτίζων καὶ ἐνεργοῦσιν ἀνθρώπους εὐνοιαν ἐξ αὐτῶν κτῶμαι καὶ φίλων, καὶ ἐκ τούτων καρποῦμαι ἀσφαλεία καὶ εὔκλειαν ἀν οὔτε καταστήτεται οὔτε ὑπερπληροῦντα λυμαίνεται, ἀλλὰ ἢ εὔκλεια ὁσφ ἃν πλεῖον ἢ, τοσοῦτοι καὶ μείζων καὶ καλλίων καὶ κοινοτέρα φέρειν

¹ ἴδω XV, Edd.; εἰδὼν ὑς (know).
² ἔξακομαι F, Edd.; ἔξαρκομαι χζ (I come to the relief of); ἔξασκομαι D.
other hand, believe that if I make my friends rich I shall have treasures in them and at the same time more trusty watchers both of my person and of our common fortunes than any hired guards I could put in charge. 20. And one more thing I must tell you: even I cannot eradicate from myself that passion for wealth which the gods have put into the human soul and by which they have made us all poor alike, but I, too, am as insatiate of wealth as other people are. 21. However, I think I am different from most people, in that others, when they have acquired more than a sufficiency, bury some of their treasure and allow some to decay, and some they weary themselves with counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching; and though they have so much at home, they never eat more than they can hold, for they would burst if they did, and they never wear more than they can carry, for they would be suffocated if they did; they only find their superfluous treasure a burden. 22. But I follow the leading of the gods and am always grasping after more. But when I have obtained what I see is more than enough for my needs, I use it to satisfy the wants of my friends; and by enriching men and doing them kindnesses I win with my superfluous wealth their friendship and loyalty, and from that I reap as my reward security and good fame—possessions that never decay or do injury from overloading the recipient; but the more one has of good fame, the greater and more attractive and lighter to
γίνεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὴν κουφοτέρους παρέχεται.
23. "Οπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδῆς, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐγὼ οὖ τοὺς πλείστα ἔχοντας καὶ φυλάττοντας πλείστα εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγούμαι· οἱ γὰρ τὰ τείχη φυλάττοντες οὔτως ἂν εὐδαιμονεστάτους εὑήσαν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι φυλάττον-σιν· ἀλλ' ἃς ἂν κτᾶσθαι τε πλείστα δύνηται σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ χρήσθαι δὲ πλείστοις σὺν τῷ καλῷ, τούτον ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονεστάτον νομίζω [καὶ τὰ χρήματα].

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ φανερὸς ἢν ὁσπερ ² ἔλεγε καὶ πράττων.
24. Πρὸς δὲ τούτους κατανοήσας τοὺς πολλούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἂν μὲν υγιαίνοντες διατέλωσι, παρασκευάζονται ὅπως ἔξουσι τἀπιτίθεονται καὶ κατατίθεονται τὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν υγιαίνοντων διατασσόντας ὅπως δὲ ἂν ἀνθελθοῦσιν τὰ σύμφορα παρέσται, τούτου ὃς εἰ πάνω ἐπιμελομένους ἕως ἐδοξεῖν οὐν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπονῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τούς τε ἱατροὺς ³ τοὺς ἀρίστους συνεκομίσατο πρὸς αὐτῶν τῷ τελείῳ έθέλειν καὶ ὅποσα ἡ ὄργανα χρήσιμα ἔφη τις ἂν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἡ φάρμακα ἢ σίτα ἢ τοτά, οὐδὲν τοῦτων ὃ τοι ὑπὲρ παρα- σκευάζοντας ἐθησαύριζε παρ' αὐτῷ. 25. καὶ ὅποτε δὲ τις ἀσθενήσεις τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαίρως, ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεῖχε πάντα ὄτον ἐδει. καὶ τοῖς

¹ καὶ τὰ χρήματα MSS.; bracketed by Schneider, Weiske, Edd.
² ὁσπερ Hertlein, Edd.; καὶ MSS.
³ καὶ τοὺς τε ἱατροὺς Hug; καὶ ἱατροὺς τε γ., Marchant, Gemoll; τοὺς τε ἱατροὺς xxV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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bear it becomes, and often, too, it makes those who bear it lighter of heart.

23. "And let me tell you, Croesus," he continued, "I do not consider those the happiest who have the most and keep guard of the most; for if that were so, those would be the happiest who keep guard on the city walls, for they keep guard of everything in the city. But the one who can honestly acquire the most and use the most to noble ends, him I count most happy."

And it was evident that he practised what he preached.

24. Besides this, he had observed that most people in days of health and strength make preparations that they may have the necessaries of life, and they lay up for themselves what will serve to supply the wants of healthy people; but he saw that they made no provision at all for such things as would be serviceable in case of sickness. He resolved, therefore, to work out these problems, and to that end he spared no expense to collect about him the very best physicians and surgeons and all the instruments and drugs and articles of food and drink that any one of them said would be useful—there were none of these things that he did not procure and keep in store at his palace. 25. And whenever any one fell sick—in whose recovery he was interested, he would visit him and provide for him whatever was needed. And he was grateful to the physicians
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ιατροὶς δὲ χάριν ἤδει, ὅποτε τις ἱάσαιτό τινα τῶν παρ’ ἐκείνου λαμβάνων.

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐμη-χανᾶτο πρὸς τὸ πρωτεύειν παρ’ ὦς ἐβούλετο ἐαυτὸν φιλεῖσθαι.

*Ων δὲ προηγόρευε τε ἄγωνας καὶ άθλα προντίζει, φιλονικίας ἐμποιεῖν βουλόμενος περὶ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἔργων, ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ ἔπαινον παρεῖχεν ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο ὅπως ἀσκοῦτο ἢ ἀρετή: τοῖς μέντοι ἀρίστοις οἱ ἄγωνες οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονικίας ἐνεβαλλον.

27. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὦσπερ νόμον κατεστήσατο ὁ Κύρος, ὡς διακρίσεως δέοιτο εἰτε δίκη εἰτε ἀγωνίσματι, τοὺς δεομένους διακρίσεως συντρέχειν τοῖς κριταῖς. δήλον οὖν ὅτι ἐστοχάζοντο μὲν οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τι ἀμφότεροι τῶν κρατίστων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα φίλων κριτῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ νικῶν τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν ἐφθόνιε, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐαυτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμίσει: ὁ δ’ αὐ νικῶν τῷ δικαίῳ προσεποιεῖτο νικῶν, ὡστε χάριν ὑδευκὶ ἤγειτο ὀφείλειν.

28. Καὶ οἱ πρωτεύειν δὲ βουλόμενοι φιλίᾳ παρὰ Κύρῳ, ὦσπερ ἄλλοι ἐν πόλεσι, καὶ οὕτω ἐπι-φθόνοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰχον, ὡσθ’ ὦι πλείους ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλοντο ὁ ἐτερος τὸν ἐτερον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνέπραξαν ἀν τι ἀλλήλοις ἄγαθον.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεδήλωται ὡς ἐμηχανᾶτο τοὺς κρατίστους αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πάντας φιλεῖν ἢ ἀλλή-λους.

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also, whenever any of them took any of his medical stores and with them effected a cure.

26. These and many other such arts he employed in order to hold the first place in the affections of those by whom he wished to be beloved.

And the games, in which Cyrus used to announce contests and to offer prizes from a desire to inspire in his people a spirit of emulation in what was beautiful and good—these games also brought him praise, because his aim was to secure practice in excellence. But these contests also stirred up contentions and jealousies among the nobles.

27. Besides this, Cyrus had made a regulation that was practically a law, that, in any matter that required adjudication, whether it was a civil action or a contest for a prize, those who asked for such adjudication must concur in the choice of judges. It was, therefore, a matter of course that each of the contestants aimed to secure the most influential men as judges and such as were most friendly to himself. The one who did not win was always jealous of those who did, and disliked those of the judges who did not vote in his favour; on the other hand, the one who did win claimed that he had won by virtue of the justice of his cause, and so he thought he owed no thanks to anybody.

28. And those also who wished to hold the first place in the affections of Cyrus were jealous of one another, just like other people (even in republics), so that in most cases the one would have wished to get the other out of the way sooner than to join with him in any work to their mutual interest.

Thus it has been shown how he contrived that the most influential citizens should love him more than they did each other.
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III

1. Νῦν δὲ ἦδη διηγησόμεθα ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐξῆλάσε τόν Κῦρον ἐκ τῶν Βασιλείων καὶ γὰρ οὐτὸς τῆς ἐξελάσεως ἡ σεμνότης ἦμιν δοκεὶ μία τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι τῶν μεμηχανμένων τῆν ἀρχὴν μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς ἐξελάσεως εἰσκαλέσας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας Πέρσων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς Μηδικὰς στολὰς· καὶ τότε πρῶτον Πέρσαι Μηδικὴν στολὴν ἐνέδυσαν· διαδοῦσ τε ἅμα τάδε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐλάσσα βοῦλοιτο εἰς τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξηρημένα καὶ θύσαι μετ’ ἐκείνων. 2. Πάρεστε οὖν, ἕφη, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας κοσμηθέντες τὰς στολὰς ταύτας πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλῃ, καὶ καθιστάσθε ὡς ἄν ὑμῖν Φεραύλας ὁ Πέρσης ἐξαγγέλη παρ’ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπειδὰν, ἕφη, ἐγὼ ἡγῶμαι, ἐπεσθε ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ χώρᾳ. ἦν δ’ ἀρα τῶι δοκῇ ὑμῶν ἄλλη κάλλιον εἶναι ἡ ὡς ἂν νῦν ἐλαύνωμεν, ἐπειδὰν πάλιν ἔλθωμεν, διδασκέτω μεν’ ὅτι γὰρ ἄν κάλλιστον καὶ ἀριστόν ὑμῖν 1 δοκῇ εἶναι, ταύτη ἐκκατα στήσασθαι.

3. Ἐσπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις διέδωκε τὰς καλλίστας στολὰς, ἐξέφερε δὴ καὶ ἀλλὰς Μηδικὰς στολὰς, παμπόλλας γὰρ παρεσκευάζατο, οὗδὲν φειδόμενος οὔτε πορφυρίδων οὔτε ὀρφυίων οὔτε φοινικίδων οὔτε καρυκίων ἰματίων· νείμας δὲ τούτον τὸ μέρος ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἥγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς τούτοις κοσμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, ὥσπερ, ἕφη, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν κοσμώ."
III

1. Next we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth in state from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect. Accordingly, before he started out, he called to him those of the Persians and of the allies who held office, and distributed Median robes among them (and this was the first time that the Persians put on the Median robe); and as he distributed them he said that he wished to proceed in state to the sanctuaries that had been selected for the gods, and to offer sacrifice there with his friends. 2. "Come, therefore, to court before sunrise, dressed in these robes," said he, "and form in line as Phraules, the Persian, shall direct in my name; and when I lead the way, follow me in the order assigned to you. But if any one of you thinks that some other way would be better than that in which we shall now proceed, let him inform me as soon as we return, for everything must be arranged as you think best and most becoming."

3. And when he had distributed among the noblest the most beautiful garments, he brought out other Median robes, for he had had a great many made, with no stint of purple or sable or red or scarlet or crimson cloaks. He apportioned to each one of his officers his proper share of them, and he bade them adorn their friends with them, "just as I," said he, "have been adorning you."
4. Καί τις τῶν παρόντων ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, Σὺ δὲ, ὃ Κύρε, ἐφη, πότε κοσμήσει;

Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὡν γὰρ νῦν, ἐφη, δοκῶ ύμῶν αὐτὸς κοσμεῖσθαι ύμᾶς κοσμῶν; ἀμέλει, ἐφη, ἦν δύναμαι ύμᾶς τοὺς φίλους εὐ ποιεῖν, ὅποιαν ἄν ἔχων στολὴν τυγχάνω, ἐν ταύτῃ καλὸς φανοῦμαι.

5. Οὔτω δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς φίλους ἐκόσμουν ταῖς στολαῖς.

Ὁ δὲ Κύρος νομίζων Φεραῦλαν τὸν ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ συνετῶν εἶναι καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ εὔτακτον καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ ύπκ ἀμελή, ὃς ποτε καὶ περί τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν συνείπε, τούτον δὴ καλέσας συνεβουλεύετο αὐτῷ πῶς ἀν τοῖς μὲν εὔνοις κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν ποιοῖτο τὴν ἐξέλασιν, τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέσι φοβερώτατα. 6. ἔπει δὲ σκοπούντων αὐτοῖν ταῦτα συνέδοξεν, εκέλευσε τὸν Φεραῦλαν ἐπιμεληθήναι ὅπως ἀν οὔτω γένηται αὕριον ἡ ἐξέλασις ὡσπερ ἐδοξε καλῶς ἔχειν. Εἰρήκα δὲ, ἐφη, ἐγὼ πάντας πείθεσθαί σοι περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐξέλασι τάξεως ὅπως δὲ ἀν ἰδιον παραγγέλλοντός σοι ἀκούσῃ, φέρε λαβῶν, ἐφη, χιτῶνας μὲν τουτοῦτο τοῖς τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγεμόνι, κασᾶς 1 δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφίππιος τοῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμόνι, δός δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἄλλους τούσδε χιτῶνας.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐφερε λαβῶν 7. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἔπει

1 κασᾶς Brodaeus, Edd.; καλέσας MSS.
4. "And you, Cyrus," asked one of those present, "when will you adorn yourself?"

"Why, do I not seem to you to be adorned myself when I adorn you?" he answered. "Be sure that if I can treat you, my friends, properly, I shall look well, no matter what sort of dress I happen to have on."

5. So they went away, sent for their friends, and adorned them with the robes.

Now Cyrus believed Pheraulas, that man of the common people, to be intelligent, to have an eye for beauty and order, and to be not indisposed to please him; (this was the same Pheraulas who had once supported his proposal that each man should be honoured in accordance with his merit;) so he called him in and with him planned how to arrange the procession in a manner that should prove most splendid in the eyes of his loyal friends and most intimidating to those who were disaffected. 6. And when after careful study they agreed on the arrangement, he bade Pheraulas see that the procession take place on the morrow exactly as they had decided was best. "And I have issued orders," said he, "that everybody shall obey you in regard to the ordering of the procession; but, in order that they may the more readily follow your directions, take these tunics here and give them to the officers of the lancers, and these cavalry mantles here to the commanders of the horse; and give the officers of the chariot forces also these other tunics."

So he took them and carried them away. 7. And when the officers one after another saw him, they
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ίδοιεν αὐτόν, ἔλεγον, Μέγας δὴ σύγε, ὁ Φεραύλα, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἡμῖν προστάξεις ἀν δέη ποιεῖν.

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐ μόνον γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συσκευοφορήσω· νῦν γοῦν φέρω τῶδε δύο κασὰ, τὸν μὲν σοί, τὸν δὲ ἄλλῳ· σὺ μέντοι τούτων λαβὲ ὁπότερον βούλει.

8. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν λαμβάνων τὸν κασᾶν τοῦ μὲν φθόνου ἐπελέληστο, εὐθὺς δὲ συνεβουλεύσει αὐτῷ ὁπότερον λαμβάνων· ὁ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ἂν ὁπότερος βελτίων εἰς καὶ εἱπὼν, Ἡν μου κατηγορήσης ὅτι αἱρεῖ σοι ἐδωκα, εἰς αὐθις ὅταν διακονὼ, ἑτέρῳ χρήσει μοι διακόας, ὁ μὲν δὴ Φεραύλας οὕτω διαδόης ἤ ἔταχθη εὐθὺς ἐπεμέλετο τῶν εἰς τὴν ἔξελασιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἔκαστα ἔξοι.

9. Ἡνίκαι δ' ἡ ὑστεραία ἴκα, καθαρὰ μὲν ἢν πάντα πρὸ ἡμέρας, στοῖχοι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὦσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἤστανται ἢ ἃν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἐλαύνειν· ὃν ἐντὸς οὐδὲν ἐστιν εἰσινεὶ τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων μαστιγοφόροι δὲ καθέστασιν οἱ ἔπαινοι, εἰ τὶς ἐνοχλήσι.

"Εστασαν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δομυφόρων εἰς τετρακισχίλιοι ἐμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τέταρτας, δισχίλιοι δ' ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν πυλῶν. 10. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς
would say: "You must be a great man, Pheraulas, seeing that you are to command even us what we must do."

"No, by Zeus," Pheraulas would answer; "not only not that, so it seems, but I am even to be one of the porters; at any rate, I am now carrying these two mantles here, the one for you, the other for some one else. You, however, shall have your choice."

8. With that, of course, the man who was receiving the mantle would at once forget about his jealousy and presently be asking his advice which one to choose. And he would give his advice as to which one was better and say: "If you betray that I have given you your choice, you will find me a different sort of servant the next time I come to serve." And when Pheraulas had distributed everything as he had been instructed to do, he at once began to arrange for the procession that it might be as splendid as possible in every detail.

9. When the next day dawned, everything was in order before sunrise; rows of soldiers stood on this side of the street and on that, just as even to this day the Persians stand, where the king is to pass; and within these lines no one may enter except those who hold positions of honour. And policemen with whips in their hands were stationed there, who struck any one who tried to crowd in.

First in order, in front of the gates stood about four thousand lancers, four deep, and two thousand on either side the gates. 10. And all the cavalrymen had alighted and stood there beside their horses, and they all had their hands thrust through
χειρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὡσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρωσιν, ὅταν ὅρα βασιλεύς. ἔστασαν δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐκ δεξιᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς τῆς ὀδοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἀρμάτα ὡσαύτως τὰ ἡμίσεια ἐκατέρωθεν.

11. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀνεπετάνυντο αἳ τοῦ βασιλείου πύλαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἡγοῦτο τῷ Διῷ ταῦρου πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο· πολὺ γὰρ οἶονται Πέρσαι χρήναι τοὺς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον τεχνώντας χρήσθαι ἢ περὶ τᾶλλα. 12. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοῦς ἵπποι ἡγοῦντο θύμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ· μετὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐξήγησαν ἀρμα λευκόν χρυσόζυγον ἐστεμένων Δίως ἱερῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἡλίον ἀρμα λευκόν, καὶ τούτῳ ἐστεμένων ὡσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν· μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἄλλο τρίτον ἀρμα ἐξήγησαν, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὃπεσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἀνδρὲς εἴποντο φέροντες.

13. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἦδη αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν προσφαίρετο ὁ Κύρος ἐφ’ ἀρματος ὀρθὴν ἔχον τήν τιάραν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυρῶν μεσόλευκον, ἄλλω δ’ οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἀναξιρίδας ὑσινοβαφεῖς, καὶ κάνων ὀλοπόρφυρον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρᾳ· καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον ἔχον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι. 14. τὰς δὲ χειρὰς ἔξω τῶν χειρίδων

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the sleeves of their doublets, just as they do even to this day when the king sees them. The Persians stood on the right side of the street, the others, the allies, on the left, and the chariots were arranged in the same way, half on either side.

11. Then, when the palace gates were thrown open, there were led out at the head of the procession four abreast some exceptionally handsome bulls for Zeus and for the other gods as the magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought much more scrupulously to be guided by those whose profession is with things divine than they are by those in other professions. 12. Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, for the Sun, a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying fire on a great altar.

13. Next after these Cyrus himself upon a chariot appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same mark of distinction, and they retain it even now. 14. His hands he kept outside his sleeves. 1 With

1 The Persians were obliged, in the presence of the king, to thrust their hands inside the sleeves of their doublets in token of their submission to royalty: moreover, with the hands thus withdrawn, no act of violence was possible. Cyrus, the Younger, is said to have had two of his kinsmen executed for their failure to observe this regulation. (Hellenica II. i. 8.)
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εἴχε. παρωχείτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἦν ὁχὸς μέγας μὲν, μεῖων δ' ἐκείνου εἶτε καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἶτε καὶ ὀπωσοῦν μείζον δ' ἐφάνη πολὺ Κῦρος.

'Ιδώντες δὲ πάντες προσεκύνησαν, εἶτε καὶ ἄρξαι τινὲς κεκελευσμένοι εἶτε καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῷ δόξαι μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν φανῆναι τὸν Κῦρον. πρόσθεν δὲ Περσῶν οὐδεὶς Κῦρον προσεκύνει.

15. Ἑπεὶ δὲ προῆι τὸ τοῦ Κῦρον ἄρμα, προηγούντο μὲν οἱ τετρακισχίλιοι δορυφόροι, παρείποντο δὲ οἱ δισχίλιοι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος· ἐφείποντο δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτούχοι ἐφ' ἱππῶν κεκοσμημένοι σὺν τοῖς παλτοῖς ἅμφη τοὺς τριακοσίους. 16. οἱ δ' αὖ τῷ Κῦρῳ τρεφόμενοι ἱπποί παρήγοντο χρυσοχάλινοι, ῥαβδώτως ἰματίοις καταπεπταμένοι, ἅμφη τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους δισχίλιοι ἐξοστόφοροι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἱππεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι μύριοι, εἰς ἐκατόν πανταχῇ τεταγμένοι· ἤγείτο δ' αὐτῶν Χρυσάντας.

17. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως μύριοι ἄλλοι Περσῶν ἱππεῖς τεταγμένοι ὀσαύτως, ἤγείτο δ' αὐτῶν 'Τστάσπας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ἄλλοι μύριοι ὀσαύτως, ἤγείτο δ' αὐτῶν Δατάμας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως ἰσοσύντων ἄλλοι, ἤγείτο δ' αὐτῶν Γαδάτας. 18. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Μήδοι ἱππεῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Ἀρμένιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτως 'Τρκάνιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτως Καδούσιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως Σάκαι· μετὰ δὲ τούς ἱππεῖς ἄρματα ἐπὶ τεττάρων τεταγμένα, ἤγείτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάτας Πέρσης.

1 τοσοῦτοι Hertlein, Hug; not in MSS. or most Edd.
him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller.

And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before.

15. Then, when Cyrus's chariot had come forth, the four thousand lancers took the lead, and the two thousand fell in line on either side of his chariot; and his mace-bearers, about three hundred in number, followed next in gala attire, mounted, and equipped with their customary javelins. 16. Next came Cyrus's private stud of horses, about two hundred in all, led along with gold-mounted bridles and covered over with embroidered housings. Behind these came two thousand spearmen, and after them the original ten thousand Persian cavalry, drawn up in a square with a hundred on each side; and Chrysantas was in command of them. 17. Behind them came ten thousand other Persian horsemen arranged in the same way with Hystaspas in command, and after them ten thousand more in the same formation with Datamas as their commander; following them, as many more with Gadatas in command. 18. And then followed in succession the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, and Sacians; and behind the cavalry came the chariots ranged four abreast, and Artabatas, a Persian, had command of them.
19. Πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάμπολλοι ἀνθρώποι παρείποντο ἔξω τῶν σημείων, δεόμενοι Κύρου ἄλλος ἅλλης πράξεως. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς αὐτούς τῶν σκηπτούχων τινάς, οὗ παρείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἁρματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἕνεκα τοῦ διαγγέλλειν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τίς τι αὐτοῦ δεότο, διδάσκειν τῶν ἱππάρχων τινὰ ὃ τι τις βούλιοτο, ἐκείνους δὲ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρειν, οἷς μὲν δὴ ἀπίστους εὐθὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἱππεὰς ἐπορεύσωτο καὶ ἐβουλεύσωτο τίνι ἐκαστός προσέκινησεν.

20. Ὅ δὲ Κύρος οὗς ἐβουλεύτη ἡμίλωσα θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τούτους πέμπσων τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἕκαλε καθ᾽ ἕνα ἐκαστὸν καὶ ἐλεγεῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως. 'Ἡν τις ὑμᾶς διδάσκῃ τι τούτων τῶν παρεπομένων, ὃς μὲν ἀν μηδὲν δοκῇ ύμῖν λέγειν, μὴ προσέχετε αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν ὃς δ᾽ ἀν δικαίως δεῖσθαι δοκῇ, εἰςαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα κοινὴ βουλεύσουμεν διαπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ καλέσαντες, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντες ὑπήκοουν, συναύξοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Κύρῳ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι σφόδρα πείθοντο. Δαῖφέρνης δὲ τίς ἦν σολοικότερος ἀνθρώπως τῷ τρόπῳ, ὃς γέτο, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ ὑπακούοι, ἐλευθερώτερος ἄν φαίνεσθαι. 22. αἰσθόμενοι οὖν ὁ Κύρος τοῦτο, πρὶν προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαλειχῆσαι αὐτῷ, ὑποπέμψας τινὰ τῶν σκηπτούχων εἰπεῖν

1 αὐτὸν Edd.; αὐτὸν MSS.
19. And as he proceeded, a great throng of people followed outside the lines with petitions to present to Cyrus, one about one matter, another about another. So he sent to them some of his mace-bearers, who followed, three on either side of his chariot, for the express purpose of carrying messages for him; and he bade them say that if any one wanted anything of him, he should make his wish known to some one of his cavalry officers and they, he said, would inform him. So the people at once fell back and made their way along the lines of cavalry, each considering what officer he should approach.

20. From time to time Cyrus would send some one to call to him one by one those of his friends whom he wished to have most courted by the people, and would say to them: "If any one of the people following the procession tries to bring anything to your attention, if you do not think he has anything worth while to say, pay no attention to him; but if any one seems to you to ask what is fair, come and tell me, so that we may consult together and grant the petition."

21. And whenever he sent such summons, the men would ride up at full speed to answer it, thereby magnifying the majesty of Cyrus's authority and at the same time showing their eagerness to obey. There was but one exception: a certain Daïphernes, a fellow rather boorish in his manners, thought that he would show more independence if he did not obey at once. 22. Cyrus noticed this; and so, before Daïphernes came and talked with him, he sent one of his mace-bearers privately to say that he had no
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ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι. οὐδὲν ἦτο δέοιτο· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐκάλει. 23. ὡς δ’ ὁ ὑστερον κλήθεις αὐτοῦ πρότερος αὐτῷ προσήλασεν, ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἵππον αὐτῷ ἔδωκε τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῶν σκηπτοῦχων τινὰ συναπαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος ἐητιμὸν τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ πλείονες ἐκ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἔθερά
πευνον ἀνθρώπων.

24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὰ τεμένη, ἔθυναν τῷ Δίῳ καὶ ὅλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ταύρους· ὑπείται τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ ὅλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ἵππους· ὑπείται Γῆ σφάξαντες ὡς ἐξηγησαντο οἱ μάγοι ἐποίησαν ὑπείται δὲ ἢρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι. 25. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου ἔδειξε τέρμα ως ἐπὶ πέντε σταδίων χωρίων, καὶ εἶπε κατὰ φύλα ἄνα κράτος ἐνταῦθα ἀφείναι τοὺς ἵππους. σὺν μὲν οὐν τοῖς Πέρσαις αὐτὸς ἰλασε καὶ ἐνίκα πολὺ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ ἰππικῆς. Μήδων δὲ Ἀρταβάζους ἐνίκα. Κύρος γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον ἐδεδώκεν. Σύρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάντων ὑπείται γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον ἐδεδώκεν. Σακακων δὲ ἢδιοτὴς ἤνηρ ἀπελπισεν ἄρα τῷ ἵππῳ τούς ἀλλους ἤππους ἔγγυς τῷ ἦμισε τοῦ δρόμου. 26. ἐνθα δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κύρος ἐρέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον εἰ δέξατ' ἀν βασιλεύαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰπποῦ.

Τὸν δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι οὐτὶ Βασιλεύαν μὲν οὐκ

1 δτοι Dindorf, most Edd.; δτοι yz, Breitenbach; δη x.
2 τῶν ἀποστάντων Madvig, recent Edd.; ὁ ἰππικῆς xzV, Dindorf, τῶν πάντων y.

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more need of him; and he did not send for him again.
23. But when a man who was summoned later than
Daiphernes rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus
gave him one of the horses that were being led in
the procession and gave orders to one of the mace-
bearers to have it led away for him wherever he
should direct. And to those who saw it it seemed
to be a mark of great honour, and as a consequence
of that event many more people paid court to that
man.

24. So, when they came to the sanctuaries, they
performed the sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust
of the bulls; then they gave the horses to the flames
in honour of the Sun; next they did sacrifice to the
Earth, as the magi directed, and lastly to the tutelary
heroes of Syria. 25. And after that, as the locality
seemed adapted to the purpose, he pointed out a
good about five stadia distant and commanded the
riders, nation by nation, to put their horses at full
speed toward it. Accordingly, he himself rode with
the Persians and came in far ahead of the rest, for he
had given especial attention to horsemanship. Among
the Medes, Artabazus won the race, for the horse
he had was a gift from Cyrus; among the Assyrians
who had revolted to him, Gadatas secured the first
place; among the Armenians, Tigranes; and among
the Hyrcanians, the son of the master of the horse;
but among the Sacians a certain private soldier with
his horse actually outdistanced the rest by nearly
half the course. 26. Thereupon Cyrus is said to have
asked the young man if he would take a kingdom
for his horse.

"No," answered he; "I would not take a king-
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ἀν δεξαίμην, χάριν δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καταθέσθαι δεξαίμην ἂν.

27. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν ἔγὼ δείξαι σοι ἐθέλω ἐνθα κἂν μῦνον βάλης, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις ἄνδρος ἀγαθοῦ.

Πάντως τούτων, ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, δείξον μοι ὡς βαλῶ γε ταύτη τῇ βώλῳ, ἔφη ἀνελόμενος.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος δείκνυσιν, αὐτῷ ὡς ὅπως ἦσαν πλείστοι τῶν φίλων ὁ δὲ καταμύνων ἤσει τῇ βώλῳ καὶ παρελαύνοντος Φεραῦλα τυγχάνειν ἐτυχεῖ γὰρ ὁ Φεραῦλας παραγγέλλων τι τακτὸς παρὰ τοῦ Κῦρου. βληθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲ μεταστρέφη, ἀλλ’ φύετο ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἐτάχθη.

29. Ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ Σάκας ἑρωτᾷ τίνος ἐτυχεῖν.

Ὅμως τὸν Δί’, ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων.

Ἀλλ’ οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε ἄποντων.

Ναὶ μὰ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σύγε ἐκείνου τοῦ παρὰ τὰ ἀρματα ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντος τὸν Ἱππον.

Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐδὲ μεταστρέφεται;

30. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, Μαυνόμενος γὰρ τὸν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν.

Ἀκούσας ὁ νεανίσκος χειτὸ σκεψόμενος τὸς εἴη καὶ εὐρίσκει τὸν Φεραῦλαν γῆς τοι κατάπλεων τὸ γένειον καὶ αἶματος ἔρρυθ᾿ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ρυνὸς βληθέντι. ἔπει δὲ προσῆλθεν, ἦρετο αὐτὸν εἰ βληθείπ.

1 ἔρρυθ᾿ zDGH, most Edd.; ἔρρυθ᾿ x, Gemoll (was still flowing); ἔρρυθ᾽ F.
CYPRAEDIA, VIII. iii. 26-30

don for him, but I would take the chance of laying
up a store of gratitude with a brave man."

27. "Aye," said Cyrus, "and I will show you
where you could not fail to hit a brave man, even if
you throw with your eyes shut."

"All right, then," said the Sacian; "show me;
and I will throw this clod here." And with that he
picked one up.

28. And Cyrus pointed out to him the place where
most of his friends were. And the other, shutting
his eyes, let fly with the clod and hit Phraulas as
he was, riding by; for Phraulas happened to be
carrying some message under orders from Cyrus.
But though he was hit, he did not so much as turn
around but went on to attend to his commission.

29. The Sacian opened his eyes and asked whom
he had hit.

"None of those here, by Zeus," said Cyrus.

"Well, surely it was not one of those who are not
here," said the youth.

"Yes, by Zeus," said Cyrus, "it was; you hit that
man who is riding so fast along the line of chariots
yonder."

"And why does he not even turn around?" said
the youth.

30. "Because he is crazy, I should think," answered
Cyrus.

On hearing this, the young man went to find
out who it was. And he found Phraulas with his
chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had
flowed from his nose where he had been struck;
and when he came up to him he asked him if he had
been hit.
31. ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ὁς ὀρᾶς.
Δίδωμι τοῖνυν σοι, ἐφη, τούτον τὸν ἵππον.
Ὡς ὅ ἐπηρέατο, Ἀντί τοῦ;
Ἐκ τούτου δὴ διήγειτο ὁ Σάκας τὸ πράγμα,
καὶ τέλος εἶπε, Καὶ οἴμαι γε οὐχ ἡμαρτηκέναι
ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ.
32. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ πλουσιωτέρῳ μὲν ἂν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνεις, ἢ ἐμοὶ ἔδίδους· νῦν δὲ κἀγὼ δέξομαι. ἔπευχομαι δὲ, ἐφη, τοῖς θεοῖς,
οὔπερ μὲ ἐποίησαν βληθῆναι ὑπὸ σοῦ, δοῦναί
μοι ποιῆσαι μὴ μεταμέλειν σοι τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς.
καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἐφη, ἀπέλα, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
ἵππον· αὕτις δὲ ἑγὼ παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ.
Οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω διηλλάξαντο.
Καθουσίων δὲ ἐνίκα Ῥαθίνης.
33. Ἀφίει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἁρμάτα καθ’ ἐκαστον
tοῖς δὲ νυκώσι πᾶσιν ἔδίδου βοῦς τε, ὅπως ἂν
θύσαντες ἐστιόντο, καὶ ἐκπώματα. τὸν μὲν οὖν
βοῦν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ νυκτήριον. τῶν δὲ
ἐκπωμάτων τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Φεραύλα ἔδωκεν, ὅτι
καλῶς ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου ἠλασιν
dιατάξαι.
34. Οὕτω δὴ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεῖσα
ἡ βασιλέως ἠλασις οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει, πλὴν τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεστικ., ὅταν μὴ θύη.
Ὡς δὲ ταύτα τέλος εἶχεν, ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν
eἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν, οἷς μὲν ἐδόθησαν
οἰκίας, κατ' οἰκίας, οἷς δὲ μὴ, ἐν τάξει.

1 oútw δὴ . . . διαμένει Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; oútw δὴ ἡ (ἡ not in y) τότε ὑπὸ K. k. ἠλασις (ἡ ἔ. y) oútw ὑτὶ κ. n. διαμένει ἡ βασιλεως ἠλασις x½y (but oútw . . . ἠλασις is not in G; ἡ βασιλεως ἠλασις is not in D).
31. "As you see," he answered. "Well then," said the other, "I will make you a present of this horse."
"What for?" asked Pheraulas.
Then the Sacian related the circumstances and finally said: "And in my opinion, at least, I have not failed to hit a brave man."
32. "But you would give him to a richer man than I, if you were wise," answered Pheraulas. "Still, even as it is, I will accept him. And I pray the gods, who have caused me to receive your blow, to grant me to see that you never regret your gift to me. And now," said he, "mount my horse and ride away; I will join you presently."
Thus they made the exchange.
Of the Cadusians, Rhathines was the winner.
33. The chariots also he allowed to race by divisions; to all the winners he gave cups and cattle, so that they might sacrifice and have a banquet. He himself, then, took the ox as his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas because he thought that that officer, as grand marshal, had managed the procession from the palace admirably.
34. The procession of the king, therefore, as thus instituted by Cyrus, continues even so unto this day, except that the victims are omitted when the king does not offer sacrifice.
When it was all over, they went back to the city to their lodgings—those to whom houses had been given, to their homes; those who had none, to their company's quarters.
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35. Καλέσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας τὸν Σάκαν τὸν δόντα τὸν ἵππουν ἐξένυσε, καὶ τᾶλλα τε παρεῖχεν ἑκπλεω, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἐκπώματα αὐτῷ ἄ ἐλαβε παρὰ Κύρου ἐμπυμπλάς προύπινε καὶ ἐδωρείτο.

36. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας ὁ ρωπή πολλὴν μὲν καὶ καλὴν στρωμνὴν, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ καλὴν κατασκευὴν, καὶ οἰκέτας δὲ πολλοὺς, Εἰπὲ μοι, ἕφη, ὁ Φεραύλα, ἦ καὶ οἰκοὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἃσθα.

37. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ἔπε, Ποίων πλουσίων; τῶν μὲν οὖν σαφῶς ἀποχειροβιῶτων. ἐμὲ γὰρ τοι ὁ παθήρ τῆς μὲν τῶν παιδῶν παιδείαν γλύσχρως αὐτὸς ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τρέφων ἐπαί- δευεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιων ἐγενόμυ, οὐ δυνάμενος τρέφειν ἄργον, εἰς ἄγρον ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκέλευεν ἐργάζεσθαι. 38. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἀντέτρεφον ἐκεῖνον, ἔως ἔξη, αὐτὸς σκάπτων καὶ σπείρων καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρὸν γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαίωτατον· ὁ τι γὰρ λάβοι σπέρμα, καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπεδίδου αὐτῷ τε καὶ τόκου οὐδὲν τι πολύν. ἦδη δὲ ποτὲ ὑπὸ γενναίοτητος καὶ διπλά- σια ἀπεδώκεν δὲν ἔλαβεν. οἷκοι μὲν οὖν ἔγνωμ ὡς ὑγείη ὑγίων· νῦν δὲ ταύτα πάντα ἃ ὀρᾶς Κύρος μοι ἐδωκε.

39. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας εἶπεν, Ὡ μακάριε σὺ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκ πένητος πλουσίως

1 ἀποχειροβιῶτων zED, most Edd.; ἀποχειροβιῶτων CF, Hug.

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35. Phæraulus invited to his house the Sacian also, who had given him his horse, and entertained his new friend there and made bountiful provision for him in every way; and when they had dined, he filled up the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to his health, and then gave him the cups.

36. And when the Sacian saw the many beautiful coverlets, the many beautiful pieces of furniture, and the large number of servants, he said: "Pray tell me, Phæraulus, were you a rich man at home, too?"

37. "Rich, indeed!" answered Phæraulus; "nay rather, as everybody knows, one of those who lived by the labour of their hands. To be sure, my father, who supported us by hard labour and close economy on his own part, managed to give me the education of the boys; but when I became a young man, he could not support me in idleness, and so he took me off to the farm and put me to work. 38. And there, as long as he lived, I, in turn, supported him by digging and planting a very little plot of ground. It was really not such a very bad plot of ground, but, on the contrary, the most honest; for all the seed that it received it returned fairly and honestly, and yet with no very great amount of interest. And sometimes, in a fit of generosity, it would even return to me twice as much as it received. Thus, then, I used to live at home; but now everything that you see has been given to me by Cyrus."

39. "What a happy fellow you must be," said the Sacian, "for every reason, but particularly because from being poor you have become rich. For you
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γεγένησαι: πολὺ γὰρ οἷμαι σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦδιον πλουτεῖν ὅτι πεινήσας χρημάτων ἐπλούτησας.1

40. Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Ἡ γὰρ οὗτος, ὁ Σάκα, ὑπολαμβάνεις ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν τοσοῦτῳ ἦδιον ἕως ὅσῳ πλεῖον κέκτημαι; ὡς οὖν οἶσθα, ἐφή, ὅτι ἐσθίω μὲν καὶ πίνω καὶ καθεύδω οὖν ὅτιοις νῦν ἦδιοι ἦ τοίτε ὅτε πένης ἦν. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα πολλά ἐστι, τοσοῦτον κερδαίνω, πλεῖον μὲν φυλάττειν δεῖ, πλεῖον δὲ ἄλλοις διανέμειν, πλειώνων δὲ ἐπιμελήμενον πράγματα ἔχειν. 41. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οἰκέται σίτον αἰτοῦσιν, πολλοὶ δὲ πιεῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἱμάτια: οἱ δὲ ἰατρῶν δέονται· ἢ κει δὲ τις ἢ τῶν προβάτων λελυκωμένα φέρων ἢ τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνισμένα ἢ νόσον φάσκων ἐμπεπτωτέναι· τοῖς κτήνεσιν· ὅστε μοι δοκῶ, ἐφή ὁ Φεραύλας, νῦν διὰ τὸ πολλα ἔχειν πλεῖον λυπεῖσθαι ἢ πρόσθεν διὰ τὸ ὅλιγα ἔχειν.

42. Καὶ ὁ Σάκας, Ἀλλὰ ναί μὰ Δί', ἐφή, ὅταν σῶα 2 ἦ, πολλὰ ὅρῶν πολλαπλάσια ἐμὸν εὐφραίνει.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν, Οὔτοι, ὁ Σάκα, οὗτος ἦδυ ἐστι τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ὡς ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. γνώσει δ' ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πλουτούντων οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζεται ύφ' ἠδονῆς ἀγρυπνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀποβάλλοντων τι ὦψει οὐδένα δυνάμενον καθεῦδειν ὑπὸ λύπης.

43. Μὰ Δί', ἐφή ὁ Σάκας, οὐδὲ γε τῶν λαμβανόντων τι νυστάζοντα οὐδένα ἂν ἴδοις ύφ' ἠδονῆς.

1 ἐπλούτησα Hertlein, recent Edd.; πεπλούτηκας MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 σῶα MSS., Marchant, Gemoll; σά Dindorf, Hug.

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must enjoy your riches much more, I think, for the very reason that it was only after being hungry for wealth that you became rich."

40. "Why, do you actually suppose, my Sacian friend," answered Phereulas, "that the more I own, the more happily I live? You are not aware," he went on, "that it gives me not one whit more pleasure to eat and drink and sleep now than it did when I was poor. My only gain from having so much is that I am obliged to take care of more, distribute more to others, and have the trouble of looking after more than I used to have. 41. For now many domestics look to me for food, many for drink, and many for clothes, while some need doctors; and one comes to me with a tale about sheep attacked by wolves, or of oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or to say that some disease has broken out among the cattle. And so it looks to me," said Phereulas, "as if I had more trouble now through possessing much than I used to have from possessing little."

42. "But still, by Zeus," said the Sacian, "when everything is going well, you must at the sight of so many blessings be many times as happy as I."

"The pleasure that the possession of wealth gives, my good Sacian," said Phereulas, "is not nearly so great as the pain that is caused by its loss. And you shall be convinced that what I say is true: for not one of those who are rich is made sleepless for joy, but of those who lose anything you will not see one who is able to sleep for grief."

43. "Not so, by Zeus," said the Sacian; "but of those who get anything not one could you see who gets a wink of sleep for very joy."
44. Ἀλθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις· εἰ γάρ τοι τὸ ἔχειν οὕτως ὁσπέρ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἤδυ ἦν, πολὺ ἄν διέφερον εὐδαιμονία οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. καὶ ἀνάγκη δὲ τοῖς ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλά καὶ δαπανῶν καὶ εἰς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς φίλους καὶ εἰς ξένους· ὡστε ὦν ἵσχυρὸς χρήμα-σιν ἦδεται, εὔ ἵσθι τούτον καὶ δαπανῶντα ἵσχυρὸς ἀνιάσθαι.

45. Ναι ἤ, εἶπεν ὁ Σάκας· ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔγω τούτων εἰμί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τούτο νομίζω τὸ πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανῶν.

46. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Φεραῖλας, οὐχὶ σύ γε αὐτίκα μάλα εὐδαίμων ἐγένον καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαιμονα ἐποίησας; λαβὼν γάρ, ἔφη, ταύτα πάντα κέκτησο, καὶ χρῶ ὅπως βούλει αὐτοῖς· ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἦ ὁσπέρ ξένου τρέφε, καὶ ἔτι εὐτελέστερον ἦ ξένου· ἀρκεσεὶ γάρ μοι ὃ τί ἂν καὶ σὺ ἔχῃς τούτων μετέχειν.

47. Παλκεις, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας.

Καὶ ὁ Φεραῖλας ὁμόσας εἰπεν ἡ μὴν σπουδὴ λέγειν. καὶ ἀλλὰ γε σοι, ὦ Σάκα, προσδιαπράξο-μαι παρὰ Κύρου, μήτε θύρας τὰς Κύρου θερα-πεύειν μήτε στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πλουτῶν οἴκοι μένε· ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτα ποιήσω καὶ ύπέρ σοῦ καὶ ύπέρ ἐμοῦ καὶ εάν τι ἄγαθον προσλαμβάνω διὰ τὴν Κύρου θεραπείαν· ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας τινός, οὐσώ πρὸς σέ, ἵνα ἔτι πλειώνοιν ἄρχης· μόνον, ἔφη, ἐμὲ ἀπόλυσον ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ἢν γάρ ἔγω

1 Ναὶ added by Hertlein, recent Edd.; not in MSS., earlier Edd.
44. "True," said the other; "for, you see, if having were as pleasant as getting, the rich would be incomparably happier than the poor. But, you see, my good Sacian, it is also a matter of course that he who has much should also spend much both in the service of the gods and for his friends and for the strangers within his gates. Let me assure you, therefore, that any one who takes inordinate pleasure in the possession of money is also inordinately distressed at having to part with it."

45. "Aye, by Zeus," answered the Sacian; "but I am not one of that sort; my idea of happiness is both to have much and also to spend much."

46. "In the name of the gods, then," said Phraulias, "please make yourself happy at once and make me happy, too! Take all this and own it and use it as you wish. And as for me, you need do no more than keep me as a guest—aye, even more sparingly than a guest, for I shall be content to share whatever you have."

47. "You are joking," said the Sacian. But Phraulias assured him with an oath that he was really in earnest in what he proposed. "And I will get you other favours besides from Cyrus, my Sacian—exemption from attending at court and from serving in the field; you may just stay at home with your wealth. I will attend to those other duties for you as well as for myself; and if I secure anything more of value either through my attendance upon Cyrus or from some campaign, I will bring it to you, so that you may have still more wealth at your command. Only deliver me from this care. For if you
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σχολήν ἄγω ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐμοὶ τέ σε οἶμαι πολλὰ καὶ Κύρῳ χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι.

48. Τούτων οὖτω ῥηθέντων ταῦτα συνέθεντο καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο εὐδαίμονιν γεγενήθαι, ὅτι πολλῶν ἤρχε χρημάτων· ὃ δ᾽ ἀυ ἐνόμιζε μακαριώτατος εἶναι, ὅτι ἐπίτροπον ἔξοι, σχολήν παρέχοντα 1 πράττειν ὦ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἦδυ ἦ.

49. Ἡν δὲ τοῦ Φεραύλα ὁ τρόπος φιλέταιρός τε καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐδὲν ἢδυ αὐτῷ οὖτως ἐδόκει εἶναι οὐδ᾽ ὄφελμον ὡς ἄνθρωπος. καὶ γὰρ βέλτιστον πάντων τῶν ξύλων ἡγεῖτο ἄνθρωπον εἶναι καὶ εὐχαριστότατον, ὅτι ἑώρα τοὺς τε ἐπαινοῦμενος ὑπὸ τινός ἀντεπαινοῦντας τούτους προθύμως τοὺς τε χαριζομένους πειραμένους ἀντι-χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὐς γνώιεν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτως ἀντενυοῦντας, καὶ οὐς εἰδεῖεν φιλούντας ἀυτούς, τούτους μισείν οὐ δυναμένους, καὶ γονέας δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντιθεραπεύειν πάντων τῶν ξύλων ἐθέλοντας καὶ ξώντας καὶ τελευτήσαντας· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα πάντα ξύλα καὶ ἀχαριστότερα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρα ἀνθρώπων ἐγύγυγσκεν εἶναι. 50. οὖτω δὴ ὅ τε Φεραύλας ὑπερήφανος ὅτι ἔξεσκετο αὐτῷ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐπιμελείας ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, ὅ τε Σάκας ὅτι ἔμελλε πολλὰ ἔχων πολλοῖς χρήσεσθαι. ἐφίλει δὲ ὃ μὲν Σάκας τοῦ Φεραύλαν, ὅτι προσέφερε τι ἀεὶ· ὃ δὲ τοῦ Σάκαν, ὅτι παραλαμβάνειν πάντα

1 παρέχοντα xzV, Edd.; παρέξοντα y.
will relieve me of its burden, I think you will do a
great service also to Cyrus as well as to myself."

48. When they had thus talked things over to-
gether, they came to an agreement according to this
last suggestion and proceeded to act upon it. And
the one thought that he had been made a happy man
because he had command of great riches, while the
other considered himself most blessed because he
was to have a steward who would give him leisure to
do only whatever was pleasant to him.

49. Now, Phraulias was naturally a "good fellow,"
and nothing seemed to him so pleasant or so useful
as to serve other people. For he held man to be
the best and most grateful of all creatures, since he
saw that when people are praised by any one they
are very glad to praise him in turn; and when any
one does them a favour, they try to do him one in
return; when they recognize that any one is kindly
disposed toward them they return his good-will; and
when they know that any one loves them they cannot
dislike him; and he noticed especially that they strive
more earnestly than any other creature to return the
loving care of parents both during their parents' life-
time and after their death; whereas all other crea-
tures, he knew, were both more thankless and more
unfeeling than man. 50. And so Phraulias was
greatly delighted to think that he could be rid of
the care of all his worldly goods and devote himself
to his friends; and the Sacian, on his part, was
delighted to think that he was to have much and
enjoy much. And the Sacian loved Phraulias
because he was always bringing him something
more; and Phraulias loved the Sacian because he
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ἠθέλε καὶ ἀεὶ πλειόνων ἐπιμελόμενος οὐδὲν μᾶλ-
λον αὐτῷ ἄσχολίαν παρεῖχε.
Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διήγον.

IV

1. Θύσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύρος νικητήρια ἔστιον
ἐκάλεσε τῶν φίλων οἱ μάλιστ' αὐτῶν αὖξειν τε
βουλόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦσαν καὶ τιμῶνες εὐνοικώ-
tata. συνεκάλεσε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν
Μῆδον καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ τὸν
Τρκάνιον ἵππαρχον καὶ Γωβρύαν. 2. Γαδάτας
δὲ τῶν σκηπτοῦχων ἤρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἦ ἐκείνος
dιεκόσμησεν ἡ πᾶσα ἕνδον δίαιτα καθειστήκειν
καὶ ὅποτε μὲν συνδειπνοῖεν τίνες, οὐδὲ ἐκάθιζε
Γαδάτας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμέλετο ὅποτε δὲ αὐτοὶ εἶν,
καὶ συνεδείπνει ἤδειο γὰρ αὐτῷ συνών ἀντὶ δὲ
τούτων πολλῶς καὶ μεγάλους ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ
Κύρου, διὰ δὲ Κύρον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων.

3. Ὅς δὲ ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντίμουν,
οὔχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἐκαστὸν ἐκάθιζεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως
μᾶλιστα ἐτίμα, παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν χείρα, ὡς
ἐνεπιβουλευτοτέρας ταύτης οὕσης ἢ τῆς δεξιᾶς, τὸν
δὲ δεύτερον παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πάλιν
παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον παρὰ τή
δεξιὰν καὶ ἡ πλείων ὁσιν, ὡσαυτώς. 4. σα-
φηνίζεσθαι δὲ ὃς ἐκαστὸν ἐτίμα διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόκει

1 διὰ Dindorf, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS.,
other Edd.

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was willing to take charge of everything; and though the Sacian had continually more in his charge, none the more did he trouble Pheraulas about it.

Thus these two continued to live.

IV

1. When Cyrus had sacrificed and was celebrating his victory with a banquet, he invited in those of his friends who showed that they were most desirous of magnifying his rule and of honouring him most loyally. He invited with them Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, Gobryas, and the commander of the Hyrcanian horse. 2. Now Gadatas was the chief of the mace-bearers, and the whole household was managed as he directed. Whenever guests dined with Cyrus, Gadatas did not even take his seat, but attended upon them. But when they were by themselves, he would dine with Cyrus, for Cyrus enjoyed his company. And in return for his services he received many valuable presents from Cyrus himself and, through Cyrus's influence, from others also.

3. So when invited guests came to dinner, he did not assign them their seats at random, but he seated on Cyrus’s left the one for whom he had the highest regard, for the left side was more readily exposed to treacherous designs than the right; and the one who was second in esteem he seated on his right, the third again on the left, the fourth on the right, and so on, if there were more. 4. For he thought it a good plan to show publicly how much regard he had
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αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν οὐνται ἀνθρώπου
τὸν κρατιστεύοντα μήτε κηρυχθήσεθαι μήτε
ἀθλα λήψεθαι, δῆλοι εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ φιλονίκως
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες· ὅπου δὲ μάλιστα πλεο-
νεκτῶν ὁ κράτιστος φαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα προθυμό-
τατα φανεροί εἰσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάντες.

5. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ οὕτως ἐσαφήνιζε μὲν τοὺς
κρατιστεύοντας παρ' ἑαυτῷ, εὐθὺς ἀρξάμενος
ἐξ ἐδρας καὶ παραστάσεως. οὐ μέντοι ἀθά-
νατον τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἐδραν κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ
νόμιμον ἐποίησατο καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἑργοῖς προ-
βήναι εἰς τὴν τιμωτέραν ἐδραν, καὶ εἰ τις ῥαδι-
ουργοῖ, ἀναχωρῆσαι εἰς τὴν ἀτιμοτέραν. τὸν
δὲ πρωτεύοντα ἐν ἐδρα ἱσχύνετο μὴ οὐ πλεῖστα
καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ
ταύτα δὲ ἔπι Κῦρον γενόμενα οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν
dιαμένουν αἰσθανόμεθα.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἐδόκει τῷ Γωβρύᾳ τὸ
μὲν πολλὰ ἔκαστα εἶναι οὐδὲν τι θαυμαστὸν παρ'
ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι· τὸ δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω
μεγάλα πράττοντα, εἰ τι ἢδον δόξει καθεῖν, μηδὲν
τούτων καταδαπανάν, ἀλλ' ἑργοὺς ἐχεῖν
δεόμενον1 τούτου κοινωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας;2 πολ-
λάκης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων ἔστιν οἷς ἐώρα
πέμπτοντα ταύτα αὐτῶν οἷς ἡσθεῖς τύχοι. 7. ὡστε
ἐπεὶ ἐδειπνήκεσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ3 πολλὰ
ὄντα διεππόμφηι ὁ Κῦρος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης,

1 δεόμενον ZV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; τὸν δεόμενον y,
Cobet; αὐτὸν δεόμενον Richards, Gemoll; τῶν ἐδομένων x;
αὐτὸν ἐδόμενον (when he was about to eat) Marchant.
2 τοὺς παρόντας MSS., most Edd.; [τοὺς π.] Cobet, Hug.
3 λοιπὰ added by Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS.,
other Edd.

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for each one, because where people feel that the one who merits most will neither have his praise proclaimed nor receive a prize, there is no emulation among them; but where the most deserving is seen to receive the most preferment, there all are seen to contend most eagerly for the first place.

5. Accordingly, Cyrus thus made public recognition of those who stood first in his esteem, beginning even with the places they took when sitting or standing in his company. He did not, however, assign the appointed place permanently, but he made it a rule that by noble deeds any one might advance to a more honoured seat, and that if any one should conduct himself ill he should go back to one less honoured. And Cyrus felt it a discredit to himself, if the one who sat in the seat of highest honour was not also seen to receive the greatest number of good things at his hands. And we observe, furthermore, that this custom introduced in the time of Cyrus continues in force even to our own times.

6. Now, when they were at dinner, it struck Cyrus’s generosity not at all surprising that there was a great abundance of everything upon the table of a man who ruled over wide domains; but what did excite his wonder was that Cyrus, who enjoyed so great good fortune, should never consume by himself any delicacy that he might receive, but took pains to ask his guests to share it, and that he often saw him send even to some of his friends who were not there something that he happened to like very much himself. 7. And so when the dinner was over and Cyrus had sent around to others all that was left from the meal—and there was a great deal left—Gobryas
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εἰπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας, Ἄλλης ἐγώ, ὁ Κῦρης, πρόσθεν μὲν ἡγουμένη τούτῳ σε πλείστον διαφέρειν ἀνθρώποις τῷ στρατηγικῶτατον εἶναιν ὡς δὲ θεοῦς ὅμως ἡ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πλέον σε διαφέρειν φιλανθρωπία ἡ στρατηγία.

8. Νῦ Δι', ἐφη ὁ Κῦρης καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι τὰ ἔργα πολὺ ἢδιον φιλανθρωπίας ἡ στρατηγία.

Πῶς δῆ; ἐφη ὁ Γωβρύας.

"Ὅτι, ἐφη, τὰ μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώπους δεῖ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ εὐ.

9. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπει ὑπέτινον, ἤρετο ὁ 'Τστάσσας τὸν Κῦρην, Ἄρ' ἀν, ἐφη, ὁ Κῦρη, ἀχθεσθείης μοι, εἰ σε ἐρόημην ὁ βούλομαι σου πυθέσθαι;

'Αλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἐφη, τοῦναντίον τούτον ἀχθοίμην ἀν σοι, εἰ αἰσθοίμην σιωπῶντα ὁ βούλοι ἐρέσθαι.

Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἐφη, ἢδη πῶποτε καλέσαντος σου οὐκ ἠλθὼν;

Εὐφήμει, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρης.

'Αλλ᾽ ὑπακούων σχολῆ ὑπήκουσα;

Οὐδὲ τούτο.

Προσταχθὲν δὲ τι ἢδη σοι οὐκ ἐπραξά; Οὐκ αἰτιώμαι, ἐφη.

"Ὁ δὲ πράττομι, ἔστιν ὃ τι πῶποτε οὐ προθύμως ἢ οὐχ ἡδομένως πράττοντά με κατέγνως; Τούτο δὴ πάντων ἥκιστα, ἐφη ὁ Κῦρης.
could not help remarking: "Well, Cyrus, I used to think that you surpassed all other men in that you were the greatest general; and now, I swear by the gods, you seem actually to excel even more in kindness than in generalship."

8. "Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "and what is more, I assure you that I take much more pleasure in showing forth my deeds of kindness than ever I did in my deeds of generalship."

"How so?" asked Gobryas.

"Because," said he, "in the one field, one must necessarily do harm to men; in the other, only good."

9. Later, when they were drinking after their meal, Hystaspas asked: "Pray, Cyrus, would you be displeased with me, if I were to ask you something that I wish to know from you?"

"Why, no; by the gods, no," he answered; "on the contrary, I should be displeased with you if I found that you refrained from asking something that you wished to ask."

"Tell me, then," said the other, "did I ever fail to come when you sent for me?"

"Hush!"¹ said Cyrus.

"Or, obeying, did I ever obey reluctantly?"

"No; nor that."

"Or did I ever fail to do your bidding in anything?"

"I make no such accusation," answered Cyrus.

"And is there anything I did that you found me doing otherwise than eagerly or cheerfully?"

"That, least of all," answered Cyrus.

¹ The Greek says: "Speak words of good omen"—i.e., preserve suspicious silence.
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10. Τίνος μὴν ἐνεκα, ἐφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὡς Κῦρε, Χρυσάνταν ἐγραψας ὡστε εἰς τὴν τιμωτέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἴδρυθῆναι;
   ᾿Η λέγω; ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος.
   Πάντως, ἐφη ὁ Ῥστάσπας.
   Καὶ σὺ αὖ οὖν ἀχθέσει ¹ μοι ἀκούων τάληθή;
11. Ῥσθήσομαι μὲν οὖν, ἐφη, ἢν εἰδῶ ὅτι οὖκ ἰδικοῦμαι.
   Χρυσάντας τούνων, ἐφη, οὖτοσι πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κλήσων ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελεύομενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸς γνοῖ άμεινον εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἤμιν τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὅποτε δὲ εἰπεῖν τι δέοι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ᾧ μὲν ἐμὲ φέτο πρέπειν λέγειν ἐμοὶ συνεβούλευν· ᾧ δὲ ἐμὲ αἰσθοῖτο βουλόμενον μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς συμμάχους, αὐτὸν δὲ με αἰσχυνόμενον περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν, ταῦτα οὖτος λέγων ὡς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο· ὡστ' ἐν γε τούτοις τί κωλύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ κρείττονα εἶναι; καὶ ἐαυτῷ μὲν ἀεὶ φησί πάντα τὰ παρόντα ἀρκεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀεὶ φανερὸς ἐστὶ σκοπῶν τὶ ἀν προσγενόμενον ὠνήσειν, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐμοῖς καλοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀγάλλεται καὶ ἴδεται.
12. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ῥστάσπας εἶπε, Νή τὴν Ῥαν, ὁ Κῦρε, ἰδομαί γε ταῦτα σε ἐρωτήσας.
   Τί μάλιστα; ἐφη ὁ Κῦρος.

¹ ἀχθέσει most Edd.; ἀχθεσθήσῃ(-ει F) MSS., Breitenbach.

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10. “Then why, in heaven's name, Cyrus," he said, "did you put Chrysantas down for a more honourable place than mine?"

"Am I really to tell you?" asked Cyrus.

"By all means," answered Hystaspas.

"And you, on your part, will not be angry with me when you hear the truth?"

11. “Nay rather," said he, “I shall be more than glad, if I find that I am not being slighted.”

"Well then," said Cyrus, "in the first place, Chrysantas here did not wait to be sent for, but presented himself for our service even before he was called; and in the second place, he has always done not only what was ordered but all that he himself saw was better for us to have done. Again, whenever it was necessary to send some communication to the allies, he would give me advice as to what he thought proper for me to say; and whenever he saw that I wished the allies to know about something, but that I felt some hesitation in saying anything about myself, he would always make it known to them, giving it as his own opinion. And so, in these matters at least, what reason is there why he should not be of more use to me even than I am myself? And finally, he always insists that what he has is enough for him, while he is manifestly always on the lookout for some new acquisition that would be of advantage to me, and takes much more pleasure and joy in my good fortune than I do myself.”

12. “By Hera," said Hystaspas in reply, “I am glad at any rate that I asked you this question, Cyrus.”

"Why so, pray?" asked Cyrus.
"Οτι κἀγὼ πειράσομαι ταύτα ποιεῖν ἐν μόνοι, ἔφη, ἀγνωώ, πῶς ἂν εἶχην δήλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἁγαθοῖς, πότερον κροτεῖν δεὶ τῇ χείρῃ ἢ γελάν ἢ τί ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαξος εἶπεν, ὁ Ὀρχείσθαι δεὶ τὸ Περσικόν.

"Επὶ τούτοις μὲν δή γέλως ἐγένετο. 13. Προ-ιόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γαβρύαν ἐπήρετο, Ἐμπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Γαβρύα, νῦν ἂν δοκεῖς ἢδιον τῶντες τῷ τὴν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ δι᾽ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν συνεγένευον;

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γαβρύας, κἀγὼ τάληθη λέγω;

Νὴ Δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς ψεύδοισι γε οὐδεμία ἐρώτησις δεῖται.

Εὔ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἵσθι ὅτι νῦν ἂν πολὺ ἢδιον.

"Η καὶ ἔχοις ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴπειν διότι;

Δέγα δή.

"Οτι τότε μὲν ἐφῶρον τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς κιν-δύνους εὐθύμως αὐτοῦς φέροντας, νῦν δὲ ὅρῳ αὐτοῦς τάγαθὰ σωφρόνως φέροντας. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ὁ Κῦρε, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι εὐρείων ἄνδρα τάγαθὰ καλῶς φέροντα ἢ τὰ κακά: τὰ μὲν γὰρ

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"Because I too shall try to do as he does," said he. "Only I am not sure about one thing—I do not know how I could show that I rejoice at your good fortune. Am I to clap my hands or laugh or what must I do?"

"You must dance the Persian dance,"¹ suggested Artabazus.

At this, of course, there was a laugh. 13. But, as the banquet proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: "Tell me, Gobryas," said he, "would you be more ready to consent now to give your daughter to one of my friends here than you were when first you joined us?"

"Well," answered Gobryas, "shall I also tell the truth?"

"Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "surely no question calls for a falsehood."

"Well, then," he replied, "I should consent much more readily now, I assure you."

"And would you mind telling us why?" asked Cyrus.

"Certainly not."

"Tell us, then."

14. "Because, while at that time I saw them bear toils and dangers with cheerfulness, now I see them bear their good fortune with self-control. And to me, Cyrus, it seems harder to find a man who can bear good fortune well than one who can bear misfortune well; for it is the former that engenders

¹ What the "Persian dance" was is not known; hence we miss the whole point of the joke. Obviously, however, it was a dance with many gesticulations. At all events, Artabazus introduces his jest about the dance only to cut short the maudlin talk of Hystaspas.
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ύβριν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τὰ δὲ σωφροσύνην τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖ.

15. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἴκουσας, ὡς Ἱστάσσα, Γωβρύου τὸ ῥῆμα;

Ναὶ μὰ Δὲ, ἔφη· καὶ ἐὰν πολλὰ τοιαύτα γε λέγη, πολὺ μαλλόν με τῆς θυγατρὸς μυστήρα λήψεται ἢ ἐὰν ἐκπώματα πολλὰ μοι ἐπιδεικνύῃ.

16. Ἡ μῆν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύς, πολλὰ γέ μοι ἑστὶ τοιαύτα συγγεγραμμένα, ὃν ἐγὼ σοι σοὶ φθονήσω, ἂν τὴν θυγατέρα μου γυναῖκα λαμβάνῃ· τὰ δὲ ἐκπώματα, ἔφη, ἐπειδή οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαί μοι φαίνει, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρυσάντα τοῦτοι· ¹ ἔσω, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἐδραν σου υψηρπασε.

17. Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὡς Ἱστάσσα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ παρόντες, ἦν ἐμοί λέγησε, ὅταν τις υμῶν γαμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, γνώσεσθε ὅποιος τις κάνω συνεργός υμῖν ἔσωμαι.

18. Καὶ ὁ Γωβρύς εἶπεν, Ἡν δὲ τις ἐκδοῦναι βούληται θυγατέρα, πρὸς τίνα δὲ οἱ λέγειν;

Prostit ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, καὶ τούτο· πάνυ γάρ, ἔφη, δεινὸς εἰμι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

Πολλαν; ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας.

19. Τὸ γνώναι ὅποιος δὲ γάμος ἐκάστῳ συν-

αρμόσειε.

Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Λέγε δὴ πρὸς τῶν

θεῶν πολλά τινὰ μοι γυναῖκα οἶει συναρμόσειν

κάλλιστα.

20. Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, μικράν· μικρὸς γάρ καὶ

αὐτὸς εἶ· εἰ δὲ μεγάλην γαμεῖς, ἥν ποτὲ βούλη

¹ τοῦτοι Hertlein, later Edd.; τοῦτο MSS., earlier Edd.
arrogance in most men; it is the latter that inspires in all men self-control."

15. "Hystaspas, did you hear that saying of Gobryas?" asked Cyrus. "Yes, by Zeus," he answered; "and if he has many such things to say, he will find me a suitor for his daughter's hand much sooner than he would if he should exhibit to me a great number of goblets."

16. "I promise you," said Gobryas, "that I have a great number of such saws written down, and I will not begrudge them to you, if you get my daughter to be your wife. But as to the goblets," said he, "inasmuch as you do not seem to appreciate them, I rather think I shall give them to Chrysantas here, since he also has usurped your place at table."

17. "And what is more, Hystaspas—yes, and you others here," said Cyrus, "if you will let me know whenever any one of you is proposing to marry, you will discover what manner of assistant I, too, shall be to you."

18. "And if any one has a daughter to give in marriage," said Gobryas, "to whom is he to apply?"

"To me," said Cyrus; "for I am exceedingly skilled in that art."

"What art?" asked Chrysantas.

19. "In knowing what sort of match would suit each one of you."

"Tell me, then, for heaven's sake," said Chrysantas, "what sort of wife you think would suit me best."

20. "In the first place," said he, "she must be small; for you are small yourself; and if you marry a tall woman and wish to kiss her when she is
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αὐτὴν ὁρθὴν φιλῆσαι, προσάλλεσθαί σε δεήσει ὁσπερ τὰ κυνάρια.
Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, ὁρθῶς προνοεῖς· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ’ ὁπωσιοῦν ἀλτικὸς εἰμι.
21. Ἐπειτα δ’, ἔφη, σιμή ἂν σοι ἱσχυρὸς συμφέροι.
Πρὸς τί δὴ αὐ τούτο;
"Οτι, ἔφη, σὺ γρυπὸς εἰ· πρὸς ὅσα τὴν σιμότητα σάφ’ ἰσθι ὅτι ἡ γρυπότητα ἀριστ’ ἂν προσαρμόσειε.
Δέγεις σὺ, ἔφη, ὡς καὶ τῷ εὖ δεδειπτηκότι ὁσπερ καὶ ἐγώ νῦν ἀδειπνος ἂν συναιμόττοι.¹
נחל μὰ Δἰ’, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν γρυπὴ ἡ γαστὴρ γίγνεται, τῶν δὲ ἀδειπνων σιμή.
22. Καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη, Ψυχρὸ δ’ ἂν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, βασιλεῖ ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ποιά τις συνοίσει;
Ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ ὁ τε Κύρος ἐξεγέλασε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅμοιοι.
23. Γελώντων δὲ ἀμα εἶπεν ὁ Ὁστάσπας, Πολύ γ’, ἔφη, μάλιστα τοῦτον σε, ὁ Κύρε, ζηλῶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.
Τίνος; ἔφη ὁ Κύρος.
"Οτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ὅν γέλωτα παρέχειν.
Καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἶπεν, Ἐπειτα οὐκ ἂν πρίαιο γε παμπόλλου ὢστε σοὶ ταῦτ’ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ

¹ συναιμόττοι Dindorf, most Edd.; συναμόζοι χυ, Sauppe; συναιμόσοι ε.
standing up straight, you will have to jump for it, like a puppy."

"You are quite right in that provision for me," said he; "and I should never get my kiss, for I am no jumper at all."

21. "And in the next place," Cyrus went on, "a snub-nosed woman would suit you admirably."

"Why so?"

"Because," was the answer, "your own nose is so hooked; and hookedness, I assure you, would be the very proper mate for snubbiness."

"Do you mean to say also," said the other, "that a supperless wife would suit one who has had a good dinner, like me now?"

"Aye, by Zeus," answered Cyrus; "for the stomach of one who has eaten heartily bows out, but that of one who has not eaten bows in."

22. "Then, in heaven's name," said Chrysantas, "could you tell us what sort of wife would suit a frigid king?" ¹

At this, of course, Cyrus burst out laughing, as did also all the rest.

23. "I envy you for that, Cyrus," said Hystaspas while they were still laughing, "more than for anything else in your kingdom."

"Envy me for what?" asked Cyrus.

"Why, that, frigid as you are, you can still make us laugh."

"Well," said Cyrus, "and would you not give a great deal to have made these jokes and to have

¹ On the principle of opposites just described, the man who is ψυχρός ("frigid," "cold-blooded") should have a wife who is θερμή. In § 23 ψυχρός is used in another sense—"frigid" or "dull" in his humour.
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ἀπαγγελθήναι παρ' ὑ εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὅτι ἀστείος εἴ;

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκώπτετο.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τιγράνη μὲν ἐξήνεψε γυναικεῖον κόσμον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῇ γυναικὶ δοῦναι, ότι ἄνδρεώς συνεστρατεύετο τῷ ἄνδρι, Ἄρταβαζ' δὲ χρυσόν ἐκπώμα, τῷ δ' Ἀρκανῷ ἵππον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔδωρήσατο. Σοὶ δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύα, δῶσω ἄνδρα τῇ θυγατρὶ.

25. Οὐκοῦν ἐμὲ, ἔφη ὁ Τστάσπας, δῶσεις, ἵνα καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα λάβω.

'Ἡ καὶ ἔστι σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, οὐσία ἄξια τῶν τῆς παιδός;

Νὴ Δῆ, ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων. Καὶ ποῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἔστι σοι αὕτη ἡ οὐσία;

'Ενταῦθα, ἔφη, ὅπουπερ καὶ σὺ κἀθησαι φίλος ὅπως ἐμοὶ.

'Αρκεῖ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιάν, Δίδου, ἔφη, ὁ Κύρης· δέχομαι γὰρ.

26. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ 'Τστάσπου δεξιάν ἔδωκε τῷ Γωβρύᾳ, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔδωκε δῶρα τῷ 'Τστάσπα, ὅπως τῇ παιδὶ πέμψει. Χρυσάνταν δ' ἐφίλησε προσαγαγόμενος.

27. Καὶ ὁ Ἄρταβαζ' ἔστε, Μὰ Δί', ἔφη,
them reported to the lady with whom you wish to have the reputation of being a witty fellow?"

Thus, then, these pleasantries were exchanged.

24. After this he brought out some articles of feminine adornment for Tigranes and bade him give them to his wife, because she had so bravely accompanied her husband throughout the campaigns; to Artabazus he gave a golden goblet and to the Hyrcanian a horse and many other beautiful presents.

"And you, Gobryas," he said, "I will present with a husband for your daughter."

25. "You will please present him with me, then, will you not," said Hystaspas, "that so I may get the collection of proverbs?"

"Ah, but have you property enough to match the girl's fortune?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered, "and several times over."

"And where is this property of yours?" asked Cyrus.

"Right there," said he, "in your chair; for you are a friend of mine."

"I am satisfied," said Gobryas; and at once stretching out his right hand he added: "Give him to me, Cyrus; I will accept him."

26. And Cyrus took Hystaspas by the right hand and placed it in the hand of Gobryas, and he received it. And then Cyrus gave Hystaspas many splendid gifts to send to the young lady. But Chrysantas he drew to himself and kissed him.

27. "By Zeus, Cyrus," cried Artabazus, "the cup
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ῶ Κὺρε, οὖν ὁμοίου γε χρυσοῦ ἐμοῖ τε τὸ ἐκπωμα
dέδωκας καὶ Χρυσάντα τὸ δῶρον.
'Αλλὰ καί σοί, ἔφη, δόσσω.
'Επήρετο ἔκεϊνος, Πότε;
Εἷς τριακοστόν, ἔφη, ἔτος.
'Ὡς ἀναμενούντος, ἔφη,1 καὶ οὖν ἀποθανομένου
οὗτω παρασκευάζον.
Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἔξαν-
ισταμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ
συμπρότειψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.
28. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραιᾷ τοὺς ἔθελοντίους συμ-
μάχους γενομένους ἀπέπεμπεν οὐκαδὲ ἐκάστους,
πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐβούλουσαν παρ' αὐτῷ:
tούτως δὲ χώραν καὶ οἰκους ἔδωκε, καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ
ἐχούσιν οἱ τῶν καταμεινάντων τότε ἀπόγονοι:
πλείστοι δὲ εἰσὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Τρκανίων· τοῖς δ' ἀποιοῦσι
δωρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ ἀμέμπτους ποιη-
σάμενοι καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπε-
pέμψατο.
29. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ διέδωκε καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἐαυτὸν
στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκ Σάρδεων ἔλαβε·
kαὶ τοῖς μὲν μυριάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν
ὑπηρέταις ἔξαιρετα ἐδίδου πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστῳ,
tὰ δὲ ἄλλα διένειμε· καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐκάστῳ δοὺς
τῶν μυριάρχων ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν ὥσπερ
αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις διένειμεν. 30. ἐδίδοσαν δὲ τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα χρήματα ἄρχοντας τοὺς ὕφ' ἐαυτῷ δοκιμάζον τὰ
de τελευταῖα οἱ ἑξάδαρχοι
toûs ὑφ' ἐαυτοῖς ἰδιώτας δοκιμάζαστες πρὸς τὴν

1 ἔφη yz, Edd.; ἐτι x (I shall still be waiting).
2 ἄρχον MSS., Edd.; ἐκάστος ἄρχον Gemoll.

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which you have given me is not of the same gold as
the present you have given Chrysantas!"
"Well," said he, "I will give you the same gift."
"When?" asked the other.
"Thirty years from now," was the answer.
"I shall wait for it, then," said he, "and not die
before I get it; so be getting ready."

And thus that banquet came to an end. And as
they rose to depart, Cyrus also rose and escorted
them to the doors.

28. On the following day he dismissed to their
several homes all those who had volunteered to be
his allies, except such as wished to settle near him.
To those who stayed he gave houses and lands which
even to this day are in the possession of their
descendants; these, moreover, were mostly Medes
and Hyrcanians. And to those who went home he
gave many presents and sent both officers and
privates well contented on their way.

29. Next he divided also among his own soldiers
the spoil that he had obtained at Sardis. To the
generals and to his own aides-de-camp he gave the
choicest portions—to each, according to his merit—
and then distributed the rest; and in assigning to the
generals their proper portions he left it to their dis-
cretion to distribute it as he had distributed to them.
30. And they apportioned all the rest, each officer
examining into the merits of his subordinate officers;
and what was left to the last, the corporals, inquiring
into the merits of the private soldiers under their
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άξιαν ἐκάστῳ ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰλή-
фεσαν τὸ δίκαιον μέρος.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰλήφεσαν τὰ τότε δοθέντα, οἱ μὲν
τινες ἠλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοιάδε· Ἡπού αὐτῶς
γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὅπου γε καὶ ἥμων ἐκάστῳ τοσαῦτα
dέδωκεν.

Οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἠλεγον, Ποία πολλὰ ἔχει;
οὔχ οὐ Κύρος τρόπος τοιῶτος ὅσος χρηματίζεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ διδοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κτώμενος ἢδεία.

32. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ οὐ Κύρος τούτους τοὺς λόγους
καὶ τὰς δόξας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέλεξε τοὺς
φίλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἀπαντας καὶ
ἐλέξειν ὡδε· Ἡ άνδρες φίλοι, ἑώρακα μὲν ἡδη
ἀνθρώπους ὃι βούλονται δοκεῖν πλεῖον κεκτήσθαι
ἡ ἤχουσιν, ἐλευθεριώτεροι ἄν οἰόμενοι οὕτω φαί-
νεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ἐφη, οὕτω τοῦμπαλιν οὖν
βούλονται ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ δοκοῦντα
ἔχειν μὴ κατ’ ἄξιαν τῆς οὐσίας φαίνεσθαι ὑφε-
λούντα τοὺς φίλους ἄνελευθερίαν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ
περιάπτειν.

33. Εἰσὶ δ’ αὕ, ἐφη, οἱ λεληθέναι βούλονται
όσα ἄν ἤχουσι· πονηροὶ οὖν καὶ οὕτω τοῖς φίλοις
ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν εἰναι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ
ὀντα πολλάκις δεόμενοι οὕκ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ
φίλοι τοῖς ἐταῖροις, ἀλλὰ τητώνται.1

34. Ἀπλουστάτου δὲ μοι, ἐφη, δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ

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1 ηττῶνται Dindorf, Edd.; ἡττῶνται xz; ἀπατῶνται yVG².
command, gave to each according to his deserts. And so all were in receipt of their fair share.

31. And when they had received what was then given them, some spoke concerning Cyrus in this vein: "He must be keeping an abundance himself, one would think, seeing that he has given so much to each one of us."

"Abundance, indeed!" some others would say; "Cyrus is not of the sort to make money for himself; he takes more pleasure in giving than in keeping."

32. And when Cyrus heard of these remarks and opinions about himself, he called together his friends and all his staff-officers and addressed them as follows: "My friends, I have in my time seen fellows who wished to have the reputation of possessing more than they had, for they supposed that they would thus be thought fine gentlemen; but to me," said he, "it seems that such persons bring upon themselves the very reverse of what they wish. For if any man enjoy the reputation of having great wealth and do not appear to help his friends in a manner worthy of his abundance—that, it seems to me at least, fixes upon him the stigma of being a mean sort."

33. "On the other hand," he continued, "there are some who wish to keep it a secret how much they do possess. It seems to me, then, that these also are mean toward their friends. For oftentimes their friends are in need and, because they are ignorant of the truth, they say nothing to their comrades about their difficulties, and really suffer want.

34. "To me, however," he went on, "it seems

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1 Ἐλευθέριος and ἀνελευθέρα have both a double meaning: (1) of free or mean extraction, and (2) of free (liberal) or miserly character.
ΧΕΝΟΡΩΝΟΝ

τὴν δύναμιν φανερὰν ποιήσατα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ καλοκαγαθίας. καγὼ ὅν, ἔφη, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ὁσα μὲν οἰόν τ' ἑστὶν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐμοὶ ὅντων δεξια, ὅσα δὲ μὴ οἴον τε ἰδεῖν, διηγήσασθαι.

35. Ταύτα εἰπὼν τὰ μὲν ἐδείκνυν· πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κτήματα· τὰ δὲ κείμενα ὡς μὴ γραῦτα εἶναι ἰδεῖν διηγεῖτο· τέλος δὲ ἐξεῖπον ὡδε. 36. Ταύτα, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπαντᾶ δεῖ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐμὰ ἡγεῖσθαι· ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερα· ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἔφη, ταύτα ἅθροίζω οὐθ᾽ ὅπως αὐτοὶ καταδιπανήσω οὐθ᾽ ὅπως αὐτοὶ κατατρίψω· οὐ γὰρ ἄν δυναίμην· ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ἔχω τῷ τε ἀεὶ καλὸν τι υἷῶν ποιοῦντι διδόναι καὶ ὅπως, ἵν τις υἷῶν τίνος ἐνδείκται νομίζῃ, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθὼν λάβῃ ὃ ἄν ἐνδείης τυγχάνῃ ὃν.

Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δὴ οὔτωσ εἰλέχθη.

V

1. Ἦνικα δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὡς καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, συνεσκευάζετο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας πορείαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρῆγγειλεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνύμματεν ίκανὰ ἔχειν ὃν φότον δεήσεσθαι, οὔτω δὴ ἀνεξεύγυνε. 2

2. Διηγησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ταύτα ὡς πολὺς στόλος ὧν εὐτάκτως μὲν ἀνεσκευάζετο, 3 ταχὺ δὲ κατεχω-

1 ἐδείκνυ MSS.; ἐδείκνυ Hug.
2 ἀνεξεύγυνε MSS.; ἀνεξεύγυν Hug.
3 ἀνεσκευάζετο E(?F); κατεσκευάζετο καὶ τάλιν ἀνεσκευάζετο zDVC (in margin), most Edd. (unpacked and packed up again).

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the most straightforward way for a man to let the extent of his means be known and to strive in proportion to them to show himself a gentleman. And so I wish to show you all that I have, as far as it is possible for you to see, and to give you an account of it, in so far as it is impossible for you to see it."

35. With these words, he showed them many splendid possessions and gave them an account of those that were so stored away as not to be easily viewed. And in conclusion he said: 36. "All this, my friends, you must consider mine no more than your own; for I have been collecting it, not that I might spend it all myself or use it up all alone (for I could not), but that I might on every occasion be able to reward any one of you who does something meritorious, and also that, if any one of you thinks he needs something, he might come to me and get whatever he happens to want."

Such was his speech.

V

1. When it seemed to him that affairs in Babylon were sufficiently well organized for him to absent himself from the city, he began to make preparations for his journey to Persia and issued instructions to the others accordingly. And as soon as he had got together in sufficient quantity, as he believed, everything that he thought he should need, he started at once.

2. We will relate here in how orderly a manner his train packed up, large though it was, and how quickly they reached the place where they were
ρίζετο ὅποιν δεόι. ὅποιν γὰρ ἂν στρατοπεδεύηται βασιλεύς, σκηνᾶς μὲν δὴ ἔχοντες πάντες οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα στρατεύονται καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

3. Εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κύρος, πρὸς ἕως βλέπονσαν ἱστασθαι τὴν σκηνήν ἔπειτα ἔταξε πρῶτον μὲν πόσον δεῖ ἀπολιπόντας σκηνῶν τοὺς δορυφόρους τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἔπειτα σιτοποιοῦσιν καὶ χώραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν δεξιάν, ὑποποιοὶς δὲ τὴν ἀριστεράν, ὑπὸ τοὺς δὲ τὴν δεξιάν, ὑποξυνόμοις δὲ τοὺς ἀλλοις τὴν ἀριστεράν καὶ τάλλα δὲ διετέκτο ὡστε εἰδέναι ἐκαστὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ τόπῳ.

4. "Οταν δὲ ἀνασκευάζωνται, συντίθησι μὲν ἐκαστὸς σκεύης ὅσπερ τέτακται χρήσθαι, ἀνατίθενται δὲ αὐτὸ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποξύμαχα. ὥστε ἀμα μὲν πάντες ἔρχονται οἱ σκευαγωγοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἄγειν, ἀμα δὲ πάντες ἀνασκευάζονται ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐκαστος. οὔτω δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ μᾶ τε σκηνῆ καὶ πάσαις ἀναρρήσθαι.

5. Ὅσπερ οὖτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ κατασκευῆς, καὶ περὶ τοῦ πεποιηθῆσαι δὲ τάπιτηδεία πάντα ἐν καιρῷ ὁ σκευής διατέτακται ἐκαστος τὰ ποιητέας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ αὐτοὶ χρόνος ἀρκεῖ ἐνὶ τε μέρει καὶ πάσι πεποιηθῆσαι.

6. Ὅσπερ δὲ ὁ περὶ τάπιτηδεία θεράπουντες χώραν εἶχον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκαστος, οὔτω καὶ οἱ ὁπλοφόροι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει χώραν τε εἶχον τὴν τῇ ὑπλίσει ἐκαστή ἐπιτηδεύας, καὶ ἴδεσαν ταύτην ὑπολογίζοντα, καὶ ἑπὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον πάντες κατεχωρίζοντο. 7. καλὼν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἐν οἰκία ἐναὶ ἐπιτήδευμα τὴν εὐθηνή.
due. For wherever the great king encamps, all his retinue follow him to the field with their tents, whether in summer or in winter.

3. At the very beginning Cyrus made this rule, that his tent should be pitched facing the east; and then he determined, first, how far from the royal pavilion the spearmen of his guard should have their tent; next he assigned a place on the right for the bakers, on the left for the cooks, on the right for the horses, and on the left for the rest of the pack-animals. And everything else was so organized that every one knew his own place in camp—both its size and its location.

4. And when they come to pack up again, every one gets together the things that it is his business to use and others in turn pack them upon the animals, so that the baggage-men all come at the same time to the things they were appointed to transport, and all at the same time pack the things upon their several animals. Thus the amount of time needed for striking a single tent suffices for all.

5. The unpacking also is managed in this same manner; and in order to have all the necessaries ready at the right time, each one has assigned to him likewise the part that he is to do. In this way the time required for doing any one part is sufficient for getting all the provisions ready.

6. And just as the servants in charge of the provisions had each his proper place, so also his soldiers had when they encamped the places suitable to each sort of troops; they knew their places, too, and so all found them without the slightest friction.

7. For Cyrus considered orderliness to be a good thing to practise in the management of a household.
μοσύνην· οταν γάρ τίς του δέχται, δῆλον ἐστὶ
ὅπου δεῖ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν· πολὺ δὲ ἐτὶ κάλλιων ἐνόμιζεν τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν φύλων εὐθημο-
σύνην εἶναι, ὀσφὶ τε ἄξυτεροι οἱ καριῶι τῶν εἰς τὰ
πολεμικὰ χρήσεων καὶ μείζω τὰ σφάλματα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστεριζόντων ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν καιρῷ
παραγγειλομένων πλείστου ἄξια πλεονεκτήματα ἐ̣
έφορα γνυόμενα ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς· διὰ ταύτα
οὖν καὶ ἐπεμέλειτο ταύτης τῆς εὐθημοσύνης μάλι-
στα.
8. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ
κατετίθετο τοῦ στρατопέδου, ὡς ταύτης τῆς χώ-
ρας ἐξυρωτάτης οὕσης· ἐπείτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν
πιστοτάτους ὡσπερ εἰδὼθει περὶ ἑαυτὸν εἰχὲ, τού-
των ὃ ἐν κύκλῳ ἑχομένους ἱππεὰς τ᾽ εἰχὲ καὶ
ἀρματηλάτας. 9. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἐξυρᾶς ἐνόμιζε
χώρας δεῖοθαί, ὡς χάρι ὃς μάχονται ὁπλίως οὐδὲν
πρόκειντο ἔχοντες τούτων στρατοπεδεύονται, ἀλλὰ
πολλοῦ χρόνου δέονται εἰς τὴν ἐξοπλισίν, εἰ μέλ-
λουσι χρησίμως ἔξειν.
10. Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ
tῶν ἱππεῶν πελτασταῖς χώρα ἢν· τοξιτῶν δὲ αὐθ
χώρα ἢ πρόσθεν ἢν καὶ ὀπίσθεν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν
ἱππεῶν. 11. ὅπλατα δὲ καὶ τοὺς μεγάλα
γέρρα ἔχοντας κύκλῳ πάντων εἰχὲν ὡσπερ τεῖχος,
ὅπως καὶ εἰ δέοι τι ἐνυπανάξεσθαι τοὺς ἱππεὰς,
οἱ μονιμώτατοι πρόσθεν ὄντες παρέχουν αὐτοῖς
ἀσφαλῆ τὴν καθόπλισιν.
12. Ἐκάθενδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξει ὡσπερ οἱ
ὅπλαται, οὔτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξίται,

1 πλεονεκτήματα Schneider, recent Edd.; τὰ κτήματα zV, Dindorf, Breitenbach; ταύτα (τὰ D) κτήματα χλ.

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also; for whenever any one wants a thing, he then knows where he must go to find it; but he believed that orderliness in all the departments of an army was a much better thing, inasmuch as the chances of a successful stroke in war come and go more quickly and the losses occasioned by those who are behindhand in military matters are more serious. He also saw that the advantages gained in war by prompt attention to duty were most important. It was for this reason, therefore, that he took especial pains to secure this sort of orderliness.

8. Accordingly, he himself first took up his position in the middle of the camp in the belief that this situation was the most secure. Then came his most trusty followers, just as he was accustomed to have them about him at home, and next to them in a circle he had his horsemen and charioteers; 9. for those troops also, he thought, need a secure position, because when they are in camp they do not have ready at hand any of the arms with which they fight, but need considerable time to arm, if they are to render effective service.

10. To the right and left from him and the cavalry was the place for the targeteers; before and behind him and the cavalry, the place for the bowmen. 11. The hoplites and those armed with the large shields he arranged around all the rest like a wall, so that those who could best hold their ground might, by being in front of them, make it possible for the cavalry to arm in safety, if it should be necessary.

12. Moreover, he had the peltasts and the bowmen sleep on their arms, like the hoplites, in order that,
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όπως καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν, εἴ δέοι τι, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ παῖειν τὸν εἰς χείρας ἰόντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ ἄκοντισται, εἰ τινὲς προσίοιεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἄκοντίζοιεν καὶ τοξεύοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

13. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ σημεία πάντες οἱ ἀρχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς: οἱ δὲ ύπηρέται ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ σώφρονες ἔσασι μὲν καὶ τῶν πλείστων τὰς οἰκήσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπικατηρίων, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰς τε χώρας τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡπίσταντο οἱ Κύρων ὑπηρέται καὶ τὰ σημεία ἐγίγνωσκον ὃ ἐκάστους ἦν· ὡστε ὅτου δέοιτο Κύρων, οὐκ ἔξητον, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐφ’ ἐκαστόν ἔθεον. 14. καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῆ ἐκαστα εἶναι τὰ φύλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἦν δῆλα καὶ ὅποτε τις εὐτακτοὶ καὶ εἰ τις μὴ πράττοι τὸ προστατόμενον. οὕτω δὴ ἐχόντων ἡγεῖτο, εἰ τις καὶ ἐπίθοιτο νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας, ὡσπερ ἄν εἰς ἐνέδραν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐμπίπτειν.

15. Καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν δὲ εἶναι οὐ τούτῳ μονον ἡγεῖτο εἰ τις ἐκτείναι φάλαγγα εὐπόρως δύναετο ἢ βαθύναι ἢ ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι ἢ ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ὀπισθεὶς ἐπιφανέντων πολεμίων ὀρθῶς ἔξελιζαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διασπᾶν

1 [οἱ σώφρονες] Hug.

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if there should be occasion to go into action even at night, they might be ready for it. And just as the hoplites were prepared to do battle if any one came within arm's reach of them, so these troops also were to be ready to let fly their lances and arrows over the heads of the hoplites, if any one attacked.

13. And all the officers had banners over their tents; and just as in the cities well-informed officials know the residences of most of the inhabitants and especially those of the most prominent citizens, so also in camp the aides under Cyrus were acquainted with the location of the various officers and were familiar with the banner of each one; and so if Cyrus wanted one of his officers, they did not have to search for him but would run to him by the shortest way. 14. And as every division was so well distinguished, it was much more easy to see where good order prevailed and where commands were not being executed. Therefore, as things were arranged, he believed that if any enemy were to attack him either by night or by day, the attacking party would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

15. He believed also that tactics did not consist solely in being able easily to extend one's line or increase its depth, or to change it from a long column into a phalanx, or without error to change the front by a counter march according as the enemy came up on the right or the left or behind;¹ but he considered

¹ "We learn from Aelian (Tact. 27) that this was either a countermarch by files (κατὰ ζυγά), in which the wings only changed places, or a countermarch by companies (κατὰ λόχους or στίχους) when the whole line turned and the rearguard marched in front, so that there was a change of front as well as of wings. The object of the last-named movement was to put τοὺς κρατιστοὺς [the best men] forward." (Holden.)
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΟΝ

ὅπως δέοι τακτικοῦ ἴγειτο, καὶ τὸ τιθέναι γε τὸ μέρος ἐκαστον ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὑφελείᾳ ἄν εἰη, καὶ τὸ ταχύνειν δὲ ὅπου φθάσαι δέοι, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τακτικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι καὶ ἐπεμέλετο τοῦτων πάντων ὁμοίως.

16. Καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πορείαις πρὸς τὸ συμπίπτον ἀεὶ διατάττων ἐπορεύετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὀσπερ ἔρηται κατεχῶριζεν.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι γίγνονται κατὰ τὴν Μηδίκην, τρέπεται ὁ Κύρος πρὸς Κυαξάρην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὁ Κύρος εἰπε τῷ Κυαξάρῃ ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῷ ἐξηρημενός εἴη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ἀρχεῖα, ὅπως ἔχη καὶ ὅταν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθη εἰς οὔκεια κατάγεσθαι ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ δώρα ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλά. 18. ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐδέχετο, προσέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα στέφανον τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλλα κέρουσαν καὶ στρεπτοῦν καὶ στολὴν Μηδίκην ὡς δυνατὸν καλλίστην. 19. καὶ ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἐστεφάνων τὸν Κύρον, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης εἰπε, Δίδωμι δὲ σοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κύρος, καὶ αὐτὴν ταῦτην γυναῖκα, ἐμὴν οὔσαι θυγατέρα· καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατὴρ ἔγνημε τὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἦς σὺ ἐγένους αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἂν σὺ πολλάκις παῖς ὃν ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν ἴσθα ἐτεθηνήσω· καὶ ὅποτε τῆς ἐρωτήσῃ αὐτὴν των γαμοῦτο, ἐλεγεν ὅτι Κύρῳ· ἐπιδίδωμι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ φερνὴν Μηδίαν τὴν πᾶσαν· οὖνδε γὰρ ἔστι μοι ἁρρην παῖς γνήσιος.

20. Ὁ μὲν οὖτως εἰπεν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀπεκρίνατο,
it also a part of good tactics to break up one’s army into several divisions whenever occasion demanded, and to place each division, too, where it would do the most good, and to make speed when it was necessary to reach a place before the enemy—all these and other such qualifications were essential, he believed, to a skilful tactician, and he devoted himself to them all alike.

16. And so on his marches he always proceeded giving out his orders with a view to existing circumstances; but in camp his arrangements were made, for the most part, as has been described.

17. As they continued their march and came near to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. And when they had exchanged greetings, the first thing Cyrus told Cyaxares was that a palace had been selected for him in Babylon, and official headquarters, so that he might occupy a residence of his own whenever he came there; and then he also gave him many splendid presents. 18. Cyaxares accepted them and then introduced to him his daughter, who brought him a golden crown and bracelets and a necklace and the most beautiful Median robe that could be found. 19. As the princess placed the crown on Cyrus’s head, Cyaxares said, “And the maiden herself, my own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father’s daughter, whose son you are. This is she whom you used often to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. And whenever anybody asked her whom she was going to marry, she would say ‘Cyrus.’ And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue.”

20. Thus he spoke, and Cyrus answered: “Well,
ΧΕΝΟΡΩΝΟΝ

'Ἀλλ' ὁ Κυαξάρης, τὸ τε γένος ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν παιδὰ καὶ τὰ δῶρα. βουλομαι δὲ, ἐφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συνανείσαι.

Εἰπε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ Κῦρος, ὃμως δὲ τῇ παιδὶ πάντα ἐδωρήσατο ὅποσα φέτο καὶ τῷ Κυαξάρῃ χαριεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας εἰς Πέρσας ἐπορεύετο.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὅριοις ἐγένετο πορεύόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπορεύετο, ἵππα ἡ πόλις ἄγων ὃς πᾶς Πέρσαις ἦκαν θύειν τε καὶ ἐστιάσαθαι. δόρα δ' ἤγεν οἷα μὲν ἐπρεπε τὸ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, οἷα δ' ἐπρεπεν ἄρχαίς καὶ γεραιτέρους καὶ τοῖς ὀμοτίμοις πᾶσιν ἑδώκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσι Πέρσαις καὶ Περσίσιν ὄσαπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δίδωσιν ὅτανπερ ἄφικηται βασιλεὺς εἰς Πέρσας.

22. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον συνέλεξε Καμβύσης τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἄρχας, οὔπερ τῶν μεγιστῶν κύριοί εἰσιν. παρεκάλεσε δὲ καὶ Κῦρον, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε: Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ σὺ, ὁ Κῦρε, ἐγώ ἀμφοτέρους ὑμῶν εἰκότως εὖνους εἰμί. ὑμῶν μὲν γὰρ βασιλεῖς, σὺ δὲ, ὁ Κῦρε, παῖς ἐμὸς εἰ. δίκαιος οὖν εἰμί, ὅτα γιγνώσκειν δοκῶ ἀγαθὰ ἀμφοτέρους, ταῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον λέγειν.

23. Ἡ παρελθὼν ὑμεῖς ἡ πάσιν γὰρ Κῦρον ἡγέσατε στρατευμα δόντες καὶ ἄρχοντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν καταστήσαντες. Κῦρος δὲ ἡγούμενος τοῦτον σὺν θεοῖς εὐκλεεῖς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὁ Πέρσαι, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν, ἐντίμους δ' ἐν τῇ Ἁσίᾳ.
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Cyaxares, I heartily approve of your family and your daughter and your gifts. And I desire, with the approval of my father and mother, to accept your offer.”

Thus Cyrus answered; but still he made the young lady presents of everything that he thought would please Cyaxares as well as herself. And when he had done so, he proceeded on his way to Persia.

21. And when, as he continued his journey, he came to the boundaries of Persia, he left the main body of his army there, while he went on with his friends to the capital; and he took along animals enough for all the Persians to sacrifice and make a feast, and brought with him such gifts as were appropriate for his father and mother and his friends besides and such as were suitable for the authorities and the elders and all the peers. And he gave presents also to all the Persians, men and women, such as even to this day the great king bestows whenever he comes to Persia.

22. Then Cambyses assembled the Persian elders and the highest of the chief magistrates; he called in Cyrus also and then addressed them as follows: “Toward you, my Persian friends, I cherish, as is natural, feelings of good-will, for I am your king; and no less toward you, Cyrus, for you are my son. It is right, therefore, that I should declare frankly to you what I think I recognize to be for the good of both.

23. “In the past you advanced the fortunes of Cyrus by giving him an army and placing him in command of it. And at its head Cyrus has with the help of the gods given you, Persians, a good report among all men and made you honoured throughout
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πάση τῶν δὲ συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἁρίστους καὶ πεπλούτικε, τοὺς δὲ πολλοῖς μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν παρεσκεύακεν. Ἰππικὸν δὲ καταστήσας Περσῶν πεποίηκε Πέρσαις καὶ πε-
δίων εἶναι μετουσίαν.

24. Ἡμ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω γιγνώ-
σκητε, πολλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν αἰτιοὶ ἀλλήλοις ἔσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἢ σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἔπαρθες ταῖς παρ-
ούσαις τύχαις ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ Περσῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλεονεξία ὅστερ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ ὑμεῖς, ὦ πο-
λίται, φθονήσαντες τούτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως κατα-
λύειν πειράσεσθε τούτον τῆς ἄρχης, εὖ ἰστε ὦτι ἐμποδῶν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν ἔσεσθε. 25. ὥς οὖν μὴ ταύτα γίγνηται, ἄλλα τάγαθά,
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐφη, θύσαντας ὕμας κοινῇ καὶ θεοῦς ἐπιμαρτυραμένους συνθέσθαι, σὲ μέν, ὦ Κῦρε,
ἡν τις ἐπιστρατεύῃται χῶρα Περσίδι ἤ Περσῶν νόμους διασπάν πειράται, βοηθήσεως παντὶ σθένει,
ὕμας δὲ, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢν τις ἢ ἄρχης Κῦρον ἐπι-
χειρὴ καταπάυειν ἢ ἀφίστασθαι τις τῶν ὑπο-
χειρῶν, βοηθήσεως καὶ ὕμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ Κῦρῳ.
καθ' ὃ τι ἂν οὗτοι ἐπαγγέλλης.

26. Καὶ ἐως μὲν ἂν ἐγώ ζῶ, ἐμὴ γίγνεται ἢ ἐν 
Pερσαῖς βασιλεία· ὅταν δὲ ἐγὼ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὦτι 
Κῦρον, ἐὰν ζή. καὶ ὅταν μὲν οὖτος ἀφίκηται 
eἰς Περσαῖ, ὁσίος ἂν ὑμῖν ἔχοι τοῦτον θέειν τὰ 
ἰερὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀπερ νῦν ἐγὼ θύω· ὅταν δ' οὖτος 
ἐκδημος ἢ, καλῶς ἂν οἴμαι ὑμῖν ἔχειν εἰ ἐκ τοῦ

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all Asia. Of those who went with him on his campaigns he has enriched the most deserving and to the commoners he has given wages and support; and by establishing a Persian cavalry force he has made the Persians masters also of the plains.

24. "If, therefore, you continue to be of the same mind also in the future, you will be the cause of much good to each other. But, Cyrus, if you on your part become puffed up by your present successes and attempt to govern the Persians as you do those other nations, with a view to self-aggrandizement, or if you, fellow-citizens, become jealous of his power and attempt to depose him from his sovereignty, be sure that you will hinder one another from receiving much good. 25. And that this may not befall you, but the good, it seems best to me for you to perform a common sacrifice and to make a covenant, first calling the gods to witness. You, Cyrus, on your part, must covenant that if any one sets hostile foot in Persia or attempts to subvert the Persian constitution, you will come to her aid with all your strength; and you, Persians, on your part, are to covenant that if any one attempts to put an end to Cyrus's sovereignty or if any one of his subjects attempts to revolt, you will come to your own rescue as well as Cyrus's in whatsoever way he may call upon you.

26. "As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me. And as often as he comes to Persia, it should be a sacred custom with you that he sacrifice on your behalf even as I do now. And when he is away, it might be well for you, I think, that that one of our family who seems
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γένοις δ' ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἀριστος εἶναι, οὕτως τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελεῖν.

27. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος Καμβύσου συνέδοξε Κύρως τε καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν τέλεσι: καὶ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα τότε καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσι ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Πέρσαι τε καὶ βασιλεύς. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπῆλε ὁ Κύρος.

28. Ὡς δ' ἀπίων ἐγένετο ἐν Μῆδοις, συνδόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ γαμεῖ τὴν Κυναξάρου θυγατέρα, ἦς ἔτι καὶ νῦν λόγος ὡς παγκάλης γενομένης. [ἐνοί δὲ τῶν λογοποιῶν λέγουσιν ὡς τὴν τής μητρὸς ἀδελφὴν ἐγήμεν· ἀλλὰ γραῦς ἂν καὶ παντάπασιν ἢν ἢ παις.]¹ γῆμας δ' εὐθὺς ἔχων ἀνεξεύρημεν.²

VI

1. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἦν, ἐδόκει αὐτῷ σατράπας ἢδη πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἔθνη. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ἀκραις φρουράρχους καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακῶν οὐκ ἄλλου ἢ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξούλετο ἀκούειν· ταῦτα δὲ προεστάτο ἐνοῦν ὅπως εἰ τίς τῶν σατραπῶν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐξυβρίσει καὶ ἐπιχειρήσει μὴ πείθεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. 2. ταῦτ' οὖν βουλόμενος πρᾶξαι ἐγνω συγκαλέσαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπικαὶ-

¹ ἐνοί . . . παῖς MSS.; omitted by Dindorf, Edd.
² ἀνεξεύρημεν MSS., most Edd.; ἀνεξεύρημον Hug.

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to you the most worthy should perform that sacred office.”

27. When Cambyses had finished speaking, Cyrus and the Persian magistrates accepted his proposal. And as they then covenanted, with the gods as their witnesses, so the Persians and their king still continue to this day to act toward one another. And when this had all been completed, Cyrus took his departure.

28. When, on his way back, he came to Media, Cyrus wedded the daughter of Cyaxares, for he had obtained the consent of his father and mother. And to this day people still tell of her wonderful beauty. [But some historians say that he married his mother’s sister. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid.] And when he was married he at once departed with his bride for Babylon.

VI

1. When he arrived in Babylon, he decided to send out satraps to govern the nations he had subdued. But the commanders of the garrisons in the citadels and the colonels in command of the guards throughout the country he wished to be responsible to no one but himself. This provision he made with the purpose that if any of the satraps, on the strength of the wealth or the men at their command, should break out into open insolence or attempt to refuse obedience, they might at once find opposition in their province. 2. In the wish, therefore, to secure this result, he resolved first to call together his
ρίους καὶ προειπεῖν, ὅπως εἴδειεν ἐφ’ οἷς ίασιν ἱόντες· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ οὕτω ῥᾶν φέρειν ἀν αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταίη τις ἄρχων καὶ αἰσθάνοιτο ταῦτα, χαλεπῶς ἄν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φέρειν, νομίζοντες δὲ ἑαυτῶν ἀπιστίαις ταῦτα γενέσθαι. 3. οὕτω δὴ συλλέξας λέγει αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

Ἀνδρείς ὕλοι, εἰσίν ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κατεστραμμέναις πόλεσι φρουροὶ καὶ φρούραρχοι, οὐς τότε κατελέπομεν· καὶ τούτοις ἐγὼ προστάξας ἀπῆλθον ἄλλο μὲν μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ τειχὶς διασώζειν. τούτους μὲν οὐν οὐ παύσω τῆς ἄρχης, ἐπεὶ καλῶς διαπεφυλάξασί τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἅλλους δὲ σατράπας πέμψαι μοι δοκεῖ, οὔτως ἀρξούσι τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τῶν δασμὸν λαμβάνοντες τοὺς τε φρουροῖς δῶσον μισθὸν καὶ ἄλλο τελοῦσιν ὃ τι ἂν δῆ. 4. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε μενόντων ὑμῶν, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ πράγματα παρέχω πέμπων πράξοντας τι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, χώρας γενέσθαι καὶ οἶκους ἐκεῖ, ὅπως δασμοφορήται τε αὐτοῖς δεῦρο, ὅταν τε ἴσων ἐκείσε, εἰς οἰκεῖα ἔχωσι κατάγεσθαι.

5. Ταῦτα εἰπεὶ καὶ ἔδωκε πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων κατὰ πάσας τὰς καταστραφείσας πόλεις οἰκοὺς καὶ ὑπηκόους· καὶ νῦν εἰσίν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τῶν τότε λαβόντων αἱ χώραι καταμένουσαι ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἰκοῦσι παρὰ βασιλεῖ.
chief officers and inform them in advance, so that when they went they might know on what understanding they were going; for he believed that if he did so, they would take it more kindly; whereas he thought that they might take it ill, if any of them discovered the conditions after being installed as satraps, for then they would think that this policy had been adopted from distrust of them personally. 3. And so he called them together and spoke as follows:

"My friends, we have in the subjugated states garrisons with their officers, whom we left behind there at the time; and when I came away I left them with orders not to trouble themselves with any business other than to hold the forts. These, therefore, I will not remove from their positions, for they have carried out my instructions faithfully; but I have decided to send satraps there, besides, to govern the people, receive the tribute, pay the militia, and attend to any other business that needs attention. 4. I have further decided that any of you who remain here, and to whom I may occasionally give the trouble of going on business for me to those nations, shall have lands and houses there; so that they may have tribute paid to them here and, whenever they go there, they may lodge in residences of their own."

5. Thus he spoke, and to many of his friends he gave houses and servants in the various states which he had subdued. And even to this day those properties, some in one land, some in another, continue in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them, while the owners themselves reside at court.
6. Δεί δέ, έφη, τοὺς ἴόντας σατράπας ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς χώρας τοιούτους ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν οὕτως ὅτι ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκάστῃ καλῶν ἢ ἀγαθῶν ἢ, μεμνησονται καὶ δεύρῳ ἀποπέμπειν, ὡς μετέχωμεν καὶ οἱ ἑνθάδε οὖντες τῶν πανταχοῦ γυνομένων ἀγαθῶν καὶ γὰρ ἦν τί που δεινον γίγνεται, ἡμῖν ἔσται ἀμυντέον.

7. Ταύτ' εἰπὼν τότε μὲν ἔπαυσε τὸν λόγον, ἔπευτα δὲ οὐς ἐγύγνωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους ἐπιθυμούντας οἴναι, ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι ἐπεμπε σατράπας εἰς 'Αραβίαν μὲν Μεγάβυζον, εἰς Καππαδοκίαν δὲ 'Αρταβάταν, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην 'Αρτακάμαν, εἰς Λυδίαν δὲ καὶ Ἱωνίαν Χρυσάνταν, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ Ἀδούσιον, ὄπερ ἤτούντο, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν παρ' Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ Αἰολίδα Φαρνούχον. 8. Κιλικίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἐπεμψε Πέρσας σατράπας, ὅτι ἐκόντες ἐδόκουν συστατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Βαβυλόνα· δασμοὺς μέντοι συνετάξει ἀποφέρειν καὶ τούτους.

9. Ἡς δὲ τότε Κύρος κατεστήσατο, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλέως εἰσίν αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φυλακαὶ καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι τῶν φυλακῶν ἐκ βασιλέως εἰσὶ καθεστηκότες καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπογεγραμμένοι.

10. Προείπε δὲ πάσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις σατράπαις, ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐώρων ποιοῦντα, πάντα μιμεῖσθαι πρῶτον μὲν ἰππεὰς καθιστάναι ἐκ τῶν συνεπιστομένων Περσῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ

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6. "And then," Cyrus resumed, "we must take care that those who go as satraps to such countries shall be men of the right sort, who will bear in mind to send back here what there is good and desirable in their several provinces, in order that we also who remain here may have a share of the good things that are to be found everywhere. And that will be no more than fair; for if any danger threatens anywhere, it is we who shall have to ward it off."

7. With these words he concluded his address on that occasion; and then he chose out from the number of his friends those whom he saw eager to go on the conditions named and who seemed to him best qualified, and sent them as satraps to the following countries: Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to Phrygia Major, Chryssantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria (it was he for whom the Carians had petitioned), and Pharnuchus to Aeolia and Phrygia on the Hellespont.

8. He sent out no Persians as satraps over Cilicia or Cyprus or Paphlagonia, because these he thought joined his expedition against Babylon voluntarily; he did, however, require even these nations to pay tribute.

9. As Cyrus then organized the service, so is it even to this day: the garrisons upon the citadels are immediately under the king's control, and the colonels in command of the garrisons receive their appointment from the king and are enrolled upon the king's list.

10. And he gave orders to all the satraps he sent out to imitate him in everything that they saw him do: they were, in the first place, to organize companies of cavalry and charioteers from the Persians.
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άρματηλάτας· ὁπόσοι δ' ἄν γῆν καὶ ἄρχεια λά-
βωσιν, ἀναγκάζειν τούτους ἐπὶ θύρας ἴεναι καὶ
σωφροσύνης ἐπιμελομένους παρέχειν ἐαυτούς τῷ
σατράπῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢν τι δέσται· παιδεύειν δὲ καὶ
τοὺς γυνομένους παιδας ἐπὶ θύραις,1 ὡσπερ παρ'
αὐτῷ. ἔξαγεν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην
tοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἁσκείν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς
σὺν ἐαυτῷ τὰ πολεμικά.

11. "Ὡς δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ, ἐφή, κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνά-
μεως πλείστα μὲν ἄρματα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ
ἀρίστους ὑπέεις ἀποδεικνύῃ, τούτων ἐγὼ ὡς
ἀγαθὸν σύμμαχον καὶ ὡς ἀγαθὸν συμφύλακα
Πέρσαις τε καὶ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἄρχης τιμήσω. ἔστων δὲ
παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἔδραις 2 ὡσπερ παρ' ἐμοὶ ὅι ἂριστοι
προτετήμενοι, καὶ τράπεζα, ὡσπερ ἡ ἐμὴ, τρέ-
φουσα μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὡς
φίλους μεταδιδόναι ἰκανῶς κεκοσμημένη καὶ ὡς
τὸν καλὸν τι ποιοῦντα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγεραίρειν.

12. Κτάσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ θηρία
τρέφετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοῖ ποτὲ ἄνευ πόνου σῶτον
παραθήσθε μήτε ὑποτοὺς ἀγυμνάστους χόρτον ἐμ-
βάλλετε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυνάμην ἐγὼ εἰς ὅν ἀνθρω-
πίνῃ ἄρετή τα πάντων ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ διασώζειν,
ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐμὲ μὲν ἀγαθὸν δὗτα σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς
παρ' ἐμοὶ ὑμῖν ἐπίκουρον εἶναι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡμοίως
αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς οὐντας σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν
ἐμοὶ συμμάχους εἶναι.

13. Βουλοῦμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ τούτο κατανοῆσαι
ὅτι τούτων ὧν νῦν ὑμῖν παρακελεύομαι οὐδὲν τοῖς

1 θύρας Reiske, Edd.; θύρας MSS.
2 ἔδραι Stephanus, Edd.; ἔδραι MSS.

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who went with them and from the allies; to require as many as received lands and palaces to attend at the satrap's court and exercising proper self-restraint to put themselves at his disposal in whatever he demanded; to have the boys that were born to them educated at the local court, just as was done at the royal court; and to take the retinue at his gates out hunting and to exercise himself and them in the arts of war.

11. "And whoever I find has the largest number of chariots to show and the largest number of the most efficient horsemen in proportion to his power," Cyrus added, "him will I honour as a valuable ally and as a valuable fellow-protector of the sovereignty of the Persians and myself. And with you also, just as with me, let the most deserving be set in the most honourable seats; and let your tables, like mine, feed first your own household and then, too, be bountifully arrayed so as to give a share to your friends and to confer some distinction day by day upon any one who does some noble act.

12. "Have parks, too, and keep wild animals in them; and do not have your food served you unless you have first taken exercise, nor have fodder given to your horses unless they have been exercised. For I should not be able with merely human strength single-handed to ensure the permanence of the fortunes of all of you; but as I must be valiant and have those about me valiant, in order to help you; so you likewise must be valiant yourselves and have those about you valiant, in order to be my allies.

13. "Please observe also that among all the directions I am now giving you, I give no orders to
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doúlois προστάττω· δ' ύμᾶς φημι χρήναι ποιεῖν, τάντα καὶ αὐτὸς πειρὼμαι πάντα πράττειν. ὥσπερ δ' ἐγὼ ύμᾶς κελεύω ἐμὲ μιμεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς υφ' ύμων ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας μιμεῖσθαι ύμᾶς διδάσκετε.

14. [Ταῦτα δὲ Κύρου οὖν τότε τάξαντος ἐτί καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ κυλεῖ φυλακαὶ ὀμοίως φυλάττονται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν θύραι ὀμοίως θεραπεύονται, πάντες δὲ οἱ οἶκοι καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ὀμοίως συναίνουνται, πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἀριστοὶ τῶν παρόντων ἕδραις προτείμηνται, πᾶσι δὲ αἱ πορεῖαι συν-τεταγμέναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰς, πᾶσι δὲ συγκεφαλαίωνται πολιτικὰ τράξεις εἰς ὀλιγοὺς ἐπιστάτας.]

15. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὡς χρὴ ποιεῖν ἕκάστους καὶ δύναμιν ἐκάστῳ προσθεῖς εξέπεμπτε, καὶ προεῖπεν ἀπασι παρασκενάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς νέωτα στρατείας ἐσομένης καὶ ἀποδείξεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀρμάτων.

16. Κατευνάσατο δὲ καὶ τούτο ὅτι Κύρου κατάρξαντος, ὡς φασι, καὶ νῦν ἐτί διαμένει· ἐφοδεύει γὰρ ἄνὴρ κατ' ἐναντίον ἀδει στράτευμα ἐχον, ὡς ἦν μὲν τοῖς τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπικουρίας δέχεται, ἐπικουρῆ, ἢ δὲ τὰς ὑβρίσθησιν, σωφρονίζῃ, ἢ δὲ τὶς δασμῶν φθάνῃς ἢ μελη ἢ τῶν ἐνοίκων φυλακῆς ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν χώρα ἐνεργῶς ἢ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τεταγμένων παραλίπη, ταῦτα πάντα κατευ-

1 πολιτικά Eichler, recent Edd.; πολλαὶ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.
2 ταῦτα . . . ἐπιστάτας MSS., most Edd.; bracketed by Lincke, Hug.

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slaves. I try to do myself everything that I say you ought to do. And even as I bid you follow my example, so do you also instruct those whom you appoint to office to follow yours."

14. [And as Cyrus then effected his organization, even so unto this day all the garrisons under the king are kept up, and all the courts of the governors are attended with service in the same way; so all households, great and small, are managed; and by all men in authority the most deserving of their guests are given preference with seats of honour; all the official journeyings are conducted on the same plan and all the political business is centralized in a few heads of departments.]

15. When he had told them how they should proceed to carry out his instructions, he gave each one a force of soldiers and sent them off; and he directed them all to make preparations, with the expectation that there would be an expedition the next year and a review of the men, arms, horses, and chariots.

16. We have noticed also that this regulation is still in force, whether it was instituted by Cyrus, as they affirm, or not: year by year a man makes the circuit of the provinces with an army, to help any satrap that may need help, to humble any one that may be growing rebellious, and to adjust matters if any one is careless about seeing the taxes paid or protecting the inhabitants, or to see that the land is kept under cultivation, or if any one is neglectful of anything else that he has been ordered to attend to; but if he cannot set it right, it is his business to
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τρεπίζης ἢν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀκούων βουλεύεται περὶ τοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος. καὶ οἱ πολλάκις λεγόμενοι ὅτι βασιλέως νῦν καταβαίνει, βασιλέως ἀδελφός, βασιλέως ὁφθαλ-
μός, καὶ ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἐκφαινόμενοι, οὔτοι τῶν ἐφόδων εἰσίν· ἀποτρέπεται γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὅποθεν ἀν
βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.

17. Κατεμάθομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῳ μηχάνημα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἁρχῆς, ἐξ οὗ ταχείως ἠσθά-
νετο καὶ τὰ πάμπολυ ἀπέχοντα ὅπως ἔχοι. σκεφάμενοι γὰρ πόσην ἄν ὅδον ἱππὸς κατανύτοι
tῆς ἡμέρας ἐλαυνόμενος ὡστε διαρκεῖν, ἐποιήσατο ἱππόνας τὸσοῦτον διαλείποντας καὶ ἱπποὺς ἐν
αὐτοῖς κατέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἑπιμελομένους τούτων, καὶ ἄνδρα ἐφ’ ἑκάστῳ τῶν τόπων ἔταξε τὸ
ἕπτήδειον παραδέχεσθαι τὰ φερόμενα γράμματα καὶ παραδιδόναι καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπει-
ρηκότας ἱπποὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄλλους πέμ-
πειν νεαλεῖς. 18. ἔστι δ’ οὗτοι οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας
φασίν ἵστασθαι ταῦτη τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἄγγέλῳ τῶν νυκτερίνων διαδέχεσθαι.
τούτων δὲ οὕτω γιγανμένων φασὶ τινες θάττον
tῶν γεράνων ταὐτὴ τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτειν’ εἰ
dὲ τούτῳ ψεύδονται, ἀλλ’ ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
πεζῷ πορείων αὕτη ταχίστη, τούτῳ εὐδηλον. ἀγαθὸν
dὲ ὡς τάχιστα ἔκαστον αἰσθανόμενον ὡς
τάχιστα ἐπιμέλεσθαι.

19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιήλθεν ὁ ἐμαυτός, συνήγειρε
στρατιὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ λέγεται αὐτῷ γενε-
σθαι εἰς δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέων μυριάδας, εἰς δισχίλια

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report it to the king, and he, when he hears of it, 
takes measures in regard to the offender. And those 
of whom the report often goes out that “the king’s 
son is coming,” or “the king’s brother” or “the king’s 
eye,” these belong to the circuit commissioners; 
though sometimes they do not put in an appearance 
at all, for each of them turns back, wherever he may 
be, when the king commands.

17. We have observed still another device of 
Cyrus to cope with the magnitude of his empire; 
by means of this institution he would speedily 
discover the condition of affairs, no matter how far 
distant they might be from him: he experimented 
to find out how great a distance a horse could cover 
in a day when ridden hard but so as not to break 
down, and then he erected post-stations at just such 
distances and equipped them with horses and men 
to take care of them; at each one of the stations he 
had the proper official appointed to receive the 
letters that were delivered and to forward them on, 
to take in the exhausted horses and riders and send 
on fresh ones. 18. They say, moreover, that some-
times this express does not stop all night, but the 
night-messengers succeed the day-messengers in 
relays, and when that is the case, this express, some 
say, gets over the ground faster than the cranes. If 
their story is not literally true, it is at all events un-
deniable that this is the fastest overland travelling 
on earth; and it is a fine thing to have immediate 
intelligence of everything, in order to attend to it 
as quickly as possible.

19. Now, when the year had gone round, he 
collected his army together at Babylon, containing, it 
is said, about one hundred and twenty thousand
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δὲ ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα, πεζῶν δὲ εἰς μυριάδας ἔξηκοντα. 20. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτα συνεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ, ὥρμα δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἧ λέγεται καταστρέψασθαι πάντα τὰ ἐθνη ὡσα Συρίαν ἐκβάντη οὐκεὶ μέχρι Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἦ εἰς Ἀγυπτον στρατεία λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ καταστρέψασθαι Ἀγυπτον.

21. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑριζέν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐω μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, πρὸς ἀρκτον δὲ ὁ Ἐδέξεως πόντος, πρὸς ἑσπέραν δὲ Κύπρος καὶ Ἀγυπτος, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία. τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψῦχος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δὲ ἀνυδρίαν δυσοίκητα. 22. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τὴν διάταν ποιησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ἄμφι τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνου διήγεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπτὰ μῆνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἀλειωθη ὁ χώρα· τὸν δὲ ἄμφι τὸ ἔαρ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σούσοις· τὴν δὴ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις· οὕτω δὴ ποιοῦντ’ αὐτὸν λέγοντι ἐν ἐαρινῷ θάλπτει καὶ ψύχει διάγειν αἰεί.

23. Οὕτω δὲ διεκεῖτο πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὡς πάν μὲν ἔθνος μειονεκτεῖν ἐδόκει, εἰ μὴ Κύρῳ πέμψειν ὁ τι καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡ φύοιτο ἡ τρέφοιτο ἡ τεχνῆ, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ὁσαύτως, πᾶς δὲ ἰδιωτὴς πλοῦσιος ἄν φετο γενέσθαι, εἰ τι Κύρῳ χαρίσαιτο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος λαμβάνων παρ’ ἐκάστων δὲ ἀφθονίαν εἴχον οἱ διδόντες ἀντεδίδου ὑπεπανιζοντας αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο.
horse, about two thousand scythe-bearing chariots and about six hundred thousand foot. 20. And when these had been made ready for him, he started out on that expedition on which he is said to have subjugated all the nations that fill the earth from where one leaves Syria even to the Indian Ocean. His next expedition is said to have gone to Egypt and to have subjugated that country also.

21. From that time on his empire was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. The extremes of his empire are uninhabitable, on the one side because of the heat, on another because of the cold, on another because of too much water, and on the fourth because of too little. 22. Cyrus himself made his home in the centre of his domain, and in the winter season he spent seven months in Babylon, for there the climate is warm; in the spring he spent three months in Susa, and in the height of summer two months in Ecbatana. By so doing, they say, he enjoyed the warmth and coolness of perpetual spring-time.

23. People, moreover, were so devoted to him that those of every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send to Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether the fruits of the earth, or animals bred there, or manufactures of their own arts; and every city did the same. And every private individual thought he should become a rich man if he should do something to please Cyrus. And his theory was correct; for Cyrus would always accept that of which the givers had an abundance, and he would give in return that of which he saw that they were in want.
ΧΕΝΟΨΗΟΝ

VII

1. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ πρεσβύτης ὃν ὦ Κῦρος ἀφικεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δὴ ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἐτετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ· ὦ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυσε τὰ νομιζόμενα ἱερὰ καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὰ δάφα πᾶσι διεδώκει ὡσπερ εἰώθει.

2. Κοιμηθεὶς δ’ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὄναρ εἴδε τοιόνδε· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσέλθων κρείττων τις ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρωπὸν εἰπεῖν, Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἡδὴ γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἀπει. τούτῳ δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ ὄναρ ἐξηγήσεν καὶ σχεδὸν ἔδοξε εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ βίου ἡ τελευτὴ παρεῖ. 3. εὐθὺς σὺν λαβὼν ἱερεία ἔθυε Διὸ τε πατρίῳ καὶ Ἑλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύσιν ποιοῦν, ὅτε ἐπευχόμενος, Ζεὺς πατρὶ καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστήρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων καὶ χαριστήρια ότι ἐσημαίνετέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις ἄ τ’ ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν καὶ ἄ οὐκ ἔχρην. πολλή δ’ ὑμῖν χάρις ὅτι κάγω ἐγίγνωσκον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ οὔδε- πώποτε ἐπὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ἐφρο- νησα. αἰτοῦμαι δ’ ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικί καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαι- 

1 αὐτοῦ Edd.; αὐτοῦ MSS.
2 ἐσημαίνετε y, Hug, Marchant; ἐσημάνετε xx, Dindorf, Breitenbach, Gemoll.

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VII

1. When his life was far spent amid such achievements and Cyrus was now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and his mother were in the course of nature long since dead; so Cyrus performed the customary sacrifice and led the Persians in their national dance and distributed presents among them all, as had been his custom.

2. As he slept in the palace, he saw a vision: a figure of more than human majesty appeared to him in a dream and said: "Make ready, Cyrus; for thou shalt soon depart to the gods." When the vision was past, he awoke and seemed almost to know that the end of his life was at hand. 3. Accordingly, he at once took victims and offered sacrifice in the high places to ancestral Zeus, to Helius, and to the rest of the gods, even as the Persians are wont to make sacrifice; and as he sacrificed, he prayed, saying: "O ancestral Zeus and Helius and all the gods, accept these offerings as tokens of gratitude for help in achieving many glorious enterprises; for in omens in the sacrifice, in signs from heaven, in the flight of birds, and in ominous words, ye ever showed me what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And I render heartfelt thanks to you that I have never failed to recognize your fostering care and never in my successes entertained proud thoughts transcending human bounds. And I beseech of you that ye will now also grant prosperity and happiness to my children, my wife, my friends, and my country,

1 Literally "Be packing up"; cf. Varro, de R.R. I. 1: annus octogesimus admonet me ut sarcinas colligam antequam proficisciar e vita.
μοινάν, ἕμοι δὲ οἴοντες αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην καὶ τελευτήν δοῦναι.

4. Ὅ μὲν δὲ τοιαύτα ποιήσας καὶ οἴκαδε ἔλθὼν ἔδοξεν ἥδεως ἀναπαύσεσθαι ¹ καὶ κατεκλίνῃ.² ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρὰ ἦν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσίτες λούσαντο αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ὃ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἥδεως ἀναπαύσω. οἱ δ' αὐ τεταγμένοι, ἐπεὶ ὁρὰ ἦν, δεῖπνον παρετίθεσαν τῷ δὲ ἡ γυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὗ προσίτες, διψήν δ' ἔδοκει, καὶ ἔπιεν ἥδεως.

5. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ ταύτα ³ καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παιδάς: οἱ δ' ἔτυχον συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντες ἐν Πέρσαις: ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς Περσῶν ἀρχάς: παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἠρχετο τοιούτες λόγον.

6. Παιδεῖς ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλου, ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἦδη πάρεστιν· ἐκ πολλῶν τούτῳ σαφῶς γνωστῶν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ, ὅταν τελευτήσω, ὡς περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ παῖς τε ὧν τὰ ἐν παισὶ νομίζομεν καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπώσθαι, ἐπεὶ τε ἡβησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκοις, τελείος τε ἐν ἄνηρ γενόμενος τὰ ἐν ἀνδράσι· σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι ἀεὶ συναυξαμομένην ἐπιγνωσκόν ἔδοκοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ τοῦμον γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ἡσθόμην τής ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενεστέρον γνωρίμενον, καὶ οὕτ' ἐπιχειρήσας οὕτ' ἑπιθυμήσας οἴδα ὧτον ἡτύχησα.

¹ ἀναπαύσασθαι Stephanus, most Edd.; ἀναπαύσασθαι xzV, Hug, Breitenbach; ἀναπαύσασθαι y.
² κατεκλίνῃ Cobet, most Edd.; κατεκλίθη MSS., Breitenbach.
³ ταῦτα Zeune, recent Edd.; ταῦτα ταῦτα F; ταῦτα xzDV, Dindorf, Breitenbach.
and to me myself an end befitting the life that ye have given me."

4. Then after he had concluded his rites and come home, he thought he would be glad to rest and so lay down; and when the hour came, those whose office it was came in and bade him go to his bath. But he told them that he was resting happily. And then again, when the hour came, those whose office it was set dinner before him. But his soul had no desire for food, but he seemed thirsty and drank with pleasure.

5. And when the same thing befell him on the next day and the day after that, he summoned his sons; for they had accompanied him, as it chanced, and were still in Persia. He summoned also his friends and the Persian magistrates; and when they were all come, he began to speak as follows:

6. "My sons, and all you my friends about me, the end of my life is now at hand; I am quite sure of this for many reasons; and when I am dead, you must always speak and act in regard to me as of one blessed of fortune. For when I was a boy, I think I plucked all the fruits that among boys count for the best; when I became a youth, I enjoyed what is accounted best among young men; and when I became a mature man, I had the best that men can have. And as time went on, it seemed to me that I recognized that my own strength was always increasing with my years, so that I never found my old age growing any more feeble than my youth had been; and, so far as I know, there is nothing that I ever attempted or desired and yet failed to secure.

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7. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπείδου δὲ ἐμοῦ εὐδαι-μονας γενομένου, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δουλωθέντας. καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρόσθεν ἰδιωτεύ-ουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ νῦν προτειμημένην καταλείπω-άων τ’ ἐκτησάμην οὔδεν. [οἶδα] 1 ο’ τι οὐ διεσωσάμην. καὶ τὸν μὲν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐπραττὼν οὕτως ὅσπερ ηὐχόμην· φόβος δὲ μοι συμπαραμαρτών μή τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἢ ἠδομμί ἢ ἀκούσαμί ἢ πάθοιμι χαλεπόν, οὖν εἰ σει ἑλέως με μέγα φρονεῖν οὔδ’ εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπετταμένοι.

8. Νῦν δ’ ἂν τελευτήσω, καταλείπω μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὡ παῖδες, ζῶντας οὕσπερ ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενέ-σθαι· καταλείπω δὲ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους εὐδαι-μονοῦντας. 9. ὡστε πῶς οὖν ἂν ἐγὼ δικαίως μακαριζόμενος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον μνήμης τυγ-χάνομι;

Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν με ήδη σαφῆναςαντα καταλιπεῖν, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἄμφιλογος γενομένη πράγ-ματα ὑμῖν παράσχῃ. ἐγὼ δ’ οὖν 2 φιλῶ μὲν ἄμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὡ παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προ-βουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἰσχεῖσθαι ἐφ’ ο’ τι ἂν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι, τούτῳ προστάτῳ τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλείωνοιν κατὰ τὸ εἴκος ἐμπείρῳ. 10. ἑπαιδεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοὺς πρεσβύτερους οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοῖς ἄλλα καὶ πολίταις καὶ οὐδῶν καὶ ἠμῶν καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ, ὡ παῖδες, οὕτως ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἑπαίδευνον, τοὺς μὲν γεραίτερος προτε-
Moreover, I have lived to see my friends made prosperous and happy through my efforts and my enemies reduced by me to subjection; and my country, which once played no great part in Asia, I now leave honoured above all. Of all my conquests, there is not one that I have not maintained. Throughout the past I have fared even as I have wished; but a fear that was ever at my side, lest in the time to come I might see or hear or experience something unpleasant, would not let me become overweeningly proud or extravagantly happy.

But now, if I die, I leave you, my sons, whom the gods have given me, to survive me, and I leave my friends and country happy; and so why should I not be justly accounted blessed and enjoy an immortality of fame?

But I must also declare my will about the disposition of my throne, that the succession may not become a matter of dispute and cause you trouble. Now, I love you both alike, my sons; but precedence in counsel and leadership in everything that may be thought expedient, that I commit to the first born, who naturally has a wider experience. I, too, was thus trained by my country and yours to give precedence to my elders—not merely to brothers but to all fellow-citizens—on the street, in the matter of seats, and in speaking; and so from the beginning, my children, I have been training you also to honour your elders above yourselves and to
μάν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμήσθαι· ὡς οὐν παλαία καὶ εἰδισμένα καὶ ἐννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. 11. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὁ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ ὅσον ἐν ἐμοὶ.

Σοι δ', ὁ Ταναξάρη, σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μῆδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τρίτων Καδουσίων ταύτα δὲ σοὶ διδοὺς νομίζω ἄρχην μὲν μείζω καὶ τοῦνα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταλυτεῖν, εὐδαιμονιάν δὲ σοὶ ἀλυστότεραν. 12. ὅποιας μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐνδεχὴς ἔσει οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἀλλὰ πάντα σοι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτότερον τε ἐρᾶν καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἥσυχαι ἐχεῖν κεντριζόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰμα ἐργα φιλονικίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ταύτα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν, ἃ σάφει ἦσθι τοῦ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει.

13. Οἰσθα μὲν οὐν καὶ σὺ, ὁ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκηντρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασώζον ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκηντρον βασιλεύσων ἀληθεστατον καὶ ἀσφαλεστατον. πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πᾶσι γὰρ ἄν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοντο, ὥσπερ καὶ τἀλλα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαινει· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἐκαστὸν ἑαυτῷ· ἢ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἐστὶν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. 14. εἰ οὖν καὶ ἀλλους τινὰς πειράσει συμφόλακας τῆς βασιλείας

1 τοῦ Schneider, recent Edd.; τῷ MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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be honoured above those who are younger. Take what I say, therefore, as that which is approved by time, by custom, and by the law. 11. So you, Cambyses, shall have the throne, the gift of the gods and of myself, in so far as it is mine to give.

"To you, Tanaoxares, I give the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and, in addition to those two, Cadusia. And in giving you this office, I consider that I leave to your older brother greater power and the title of king, while to you I leave a happiness disturbed by fewer cares; 12. for I cannot see what human pleasure you will lack; on the contrary, everything that is thought to bring pleasure to man will be yours. But to set one's heart on more difficult undertakings, to be cumbered with many cares, and to be able to find no rest, because spurred on by emulation of what I have done, to lay plots and to be plotted against, all that must necessarily go hand in hand with royal power more than with your station; and, let me assure you, it brings many interruptions to happiness.

13. "As for you, Cambyses, you must also know that it is not this golden sceptre that maintains your empire; but faithful friends are a monarch's truest and surest sceptre. But do not think that man is naturally faithful; else all men would find the same persons faithful, just as all find the other properties of nature the same. But every one must create for himself faithfulness in his friends; and the winning of such friends comes in no wise by compulsion, but by kindness. 14. If, then, you shall en-deavour to make others also fellow-guardians of
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ποιεῖσθαι μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμόθεν γενομένου. καὶ πολίται τοι ἀνθρωποι ἄλλοδαπών οἰκείοτεροι καὶ σύσσιτοι ἄποσκήνων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὔξηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ἀγαπώμενοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πατέρα προσαγορεύουντες, πῶς οὐ πάντων οὕτω οἰκείότατοι; 15. μή οὖν ἃ οἱ θεοὶ υφήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκείοτητα ἄδελφοίς μάταια ποτε ποιήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτα εὕθυς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως οἰκείω ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. ἔαυτου τοι κήδεται ὁ προνοῦν ἄδελφόν· τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἄδελφὸς μέγας ὁν οὕτω καλὸν ὡς ἄδελφῳ; τίς δὲ ἄλλος τιμήσεται δὲ ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως ὡς ἄδελφὸς; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεται τοι ἀδικεῖν ἄδελφοὐ μεγάλου οὕτω οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἄδελφὸν; 16. Μήτε οὖν θάττων μηδεῖς σοῦ τούτῳ ὑπακούετω μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστω· οὐδεὶ γὰρ οἰκείοτερα τὰ τούτου οὐτε ἀγαθὰ οὐτε δεινὰ ἢ σοὶ. ἐννέα δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίνι χαρισάμενος ἐλπίσαις ἄν μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἢ τούτῳ· τίνι δὲ ἅν βοηθήσας ἵσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις; τίνα δ᾽ αἰσχίνοι μή φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἄδελφον; τίνα 430
your sovereignty, make a beginning nowhere sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens, you know, stand nearer than foreigners do, and messmates nearer than those who eat elsewhere; but those who are sprung from the same seed, nursed by the same mother, reared in the same home, loved by the same parents, and who address the same persons as father and mother, how are they not the closest of all? 15. Do not you two, therefore, ever make of no effect those blessings whereby the gods have led the way to knitting close the bonds between brothers, but do you build at once upon that foundation still other works of love; and thus the love between you will always be a love that no other men can ever surpass. Surely he that has forethought for his brother is taking care for himself; for to whom else is a brother’s greatness more of an honour than to a brother? And who else will be honoured by the power of a great man so much as that man’s brother? And if a man’s brother is a great man, whom will any one so much fear to injure as that man’s brother?

16. "Therefore, Tanaoxares, let no one more readily than yourself yield obedience to your brother or more zealously support him. For his fortunes, good or ill, will touch no one more closely than yourself. And bear this also in mind: whom could you favour in the hope of getting more from him than from your brother? Where could you lend help and get in return a surer ally than you would find in him? Whom would it be a more shameful thing for you not to love than your own brother? And who is there in all the world whom
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dè ἀπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφὸν; μόνον τοι, ὁ Καμβύση, πρωτεύοντος ἀδελφὸν παρ' ἀδελφῷ οὔδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφικνεῖται.¹

17. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρών, ὃ παιδεῖς, τιμᾶτε ἄλληλους, εἰ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ύμῖν' οὐ γὰρ δῆπον τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι ὡς οὔδὲν ἔτι ἐγὼ ἐσομαι,² ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω· οὔδε γὰρ νῦν τοι τὴν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐωρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεσπάττετο, τούτοις αὐτὴν ὡς οὖσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. 18. τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀδίκα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὔπω κατενοήσατε οἶνους μὲν φόβους τοῖς μαίαφονοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἶνους δὲ παλαμαίαν τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσιν; τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἐτι δὲν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν; 19. οὔτωι ἐγὼγε, ὃ παιδεῖς, οὔδε τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπείσθην ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ ἔοις μὲν ἄν ἐν θυτῷ σώματι ἔτι, ξῆ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθυηκεν· ὁ ὅρῳ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θυτὰ σώματα ὅσον ἄν ἐν αὐτοῖς χρόνον ἢ ἡ ψυχή, ξώντα παρέχεται. 20. οὔδε γε ὅτις ἀφρὼν ἐσται ἡ ψυχή, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὔδε τοῦτο πέ- πεσμαι· ἄλλ' ὅταν ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον αὐτῶν εἰκὸς εἶναι. διαλυμένου δὲ ἀνθρώπων δηλά ἐστιν ἐκαστα ἱπτόντα πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλον πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε ἀπιοῦσα ὀρᾶται.

¹ ἐφικνεῖται Dindorf, Edd.; ἀφικνεῖται MSS.
² ἢ τι ἐγὼ ἐσομαι x, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ei μὲ ἐγὼ ἐτι xzVe, Dindorf, Breitenbach.

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it would be a more noble thing to prefer in honour than your brother? It is only a brother, you know, Cambyses, whom, if he holds the first place of love in his brother's heart, the envy of others cannot reach.

17. "Nay by our fathers' gods I implore you, my sons, honour one another, if you care at all to give me pleasure. For assuredly, this one thing, so it seems to me, you do not know clearly, that I shall have no further being when I have finished this earthly life; for not even in this life have you seen my soul, but you have detected its existence by what it accomplished. 18. Have you never yet observed what terror the souls of those who have been foully dealt with strike into the hearts of those who have shed their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon the track of the wicked? And do you think that the honours paid to the dead would continue, if their souls had no part in any of them? 19. I am sure I do not; nor yet, my sons, have I ever convinced myself of this—that only as long as it is contained in a mortal body is the soul alive, but when it has been freed from it, is dead; for I see that it is the soul that endues mortal bodies with life, as long as it is in them. 20. Neither have I been able to convince myself of this—that the soul will want intelligence just when it is separated from this unintelligent body; but when the spirit is set free, pure and untrammeled by matter, then it is likely to be most intelligent. And when man is resolved into his primal elements, it is clear that every part returns to kindred matter, except the soul; that alone cannot be seen, either when present or when departing.
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21. Ἐννοήσατε δ’, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὑπνοῦ· ἢ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆς τότε δήπον θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τί τῶν μελλόντων προορᾶ· τότε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται.

22. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα ὡσπερ ἐγὼ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταδεόμενοι ποιεῖτε ἅ ἐγώ δέομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθνῄσκει, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ ὄντας καὶ πάντες ἔφοράντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων τάξιν συνεχουσὶν ἀτριβή καὶ ἀγήρατον¹ καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἄδεηγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι μήποτε ἁσθεῖς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλεύσητε.

23. Μετὰ μὲντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιγυγομένον αἰδεύειθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτουνται, ἀλλ’ ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἄναγκη ἀεὶ ξῆν τὰ υμέτερα ἑργᾶ· ἢ ἢν μὲν καθαρά καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἠδικών φαινηται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπως ἀναδείξει· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄδικον τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε. οὐδείς γὰρ ἄν ἐτί πιστεύσαι δύνατο ὑμῖν, οὐδ’ εἰ πάνω προβυμοίτο, ἵδιν ἄδικομενον τὸν μάλιστα φιλία προσήκοντα.

24. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἰκανῶς διδάσκω οἶνος χρῆ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη

¹ ἀγήρατον F, Photius, Edd.; ἀκήρατον xzV; ἀκρατον D.
21. "Consider again," he continued, "that there is nothing in the world more nearly akin to death than is sleep; and the soul of man at just such times is revealed in its most divine aspect and at such times, too, it looks forward into the future; for then, it seems, it is most untramelled by the bonds of the flesh.

22. "Now if this is true, as I think it is, and if the soul does leave the body, then do what I request of you and show reverence for my soul. But if it is not so, and if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, then at least fear the gods, eternal, all-seeing, omnipotent, who keep this ordered universe together, unimpaired, ageless, unerring, indescribable in its beauty and its grandeur; and never allow yourselves to do or purpose anything wicked or unholy.

23. "Next to the gods, however, show respect also to all the race of men as they continue in perpetual succession; for the gods do not hide you away in darkness, but your works must ever live on in the sight of all men; and if they are pure and untainted with unrighteousness, they will make your power manifest among all mankind. But if you conceive any unrighteous schemes against each other, you will forfeit in the eyes of all men your right to be trusted. For no one would be able any longer to trust you—not even if he very much desired to do so—if he saw either of you wronging that one who has the first claim to the other's love.

24. "Now, if I am giving you sufficient instructions as to what manner of men you ought to be one towards the other—well and good; if not, then
διδασκαλία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηται φίλοι μὲν γονεῖς παισὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἄδελφοι ἄδελ-
φοίς. ἡδη δὲ τινὲς τούτων καὶ ἑαυτία ἀλλήλοις ἐπραξαν ὁποτέροις ἀν ὁιν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχ-
θέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ αἱροῦμενοι ὁρθῶς ἀν βουλεύοισθε.

25. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἵσως ἡδῆ ἄλις.
Τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὁ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ σθήτε μήτε ἐν ἀργυρῷ μήτε ἐν ἀλλη 
μηδεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. τι γὰρ 
τούτου μακριώτερον τοῦ γῆ μιχθήμαι, ἢ πάντα 
μὲν τὰ καλά, πάντα δὲ τάγαθα φύει τε καὶ τρέ-
φει; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόνθρωπος ἐγενόμην 
καὶ νῦν ἥδεως ἀν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνήσαί τού ἐνερ-
γετοῦντος ἀνθρώπους.

26. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡδῆ, ἑφη, ἐκλείπειν μοι φαί-
νει τι ἡ ψυχή οἴδεντερ, ὡς έσικε, πάσιν ἀρχεται 
ἀπολείπουσα. εἰ τις οὐν ύμὼν ἡ δεξιὰς βούλεται 
τῆς ἑμῆς ἀναφαίνῃ ἡ ὑμα τοῦμον ζῶντος ἀτι 
προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει, προσίτων ὅταν δὲ ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύ-
ψωμαι, αὐτοῦμα ύμᾶς, ὁ παῖδες, μηδεῖς ἐτ᾿ ἀν-
θρώπων τοῦμον σῶμα Ἰδέτω, μηδ᾿ αὐτοί ύμεῖς.

27. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους 
ἔπι τὸ μνήμα τοῦμον παρακαλεῖτε συνηθε-
σόμενος ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἡδῆ ἔσομαι, ὡς 
μηδὲν ἀν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἢν μετὰ τοῦ 
θείου γένωμαι μήτε ἢν μηδὲν ἔτι ὃς ὁπόσοι δὲ ἀν 
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you must learn it from the history of the past, for this is the best source of instruction. For, as a rule, parents have always been friends to their children, brothers to their brothers; but ere now some of them have been at enmity one with another. Whichever, therefore, of these two courses you shall find to have been profitable, choose that, and you would counsel well.

25. "But of this, perhaps, enough.

"Now as to my body, when I am dead, my sons, lay it away neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but commit it to the earth as soon as may be. For what is more blessed than to be united with the earth, which brings forth and nourishes all things beautiful and all things good? I have always been a friend to man, and I think I should gladly now become a part of that which does him so much good.

26. "But I must conclude," he said; "for my soul seems to me to be slipping away from those parts of my body, from which, as it appears, it is wont to begin its departure. So if any one wishes to take my hand or desires to look into my face while I yet live, let him come near; but after I have covered myself over, I beg of you, my children, let no one look upon my body, not even yourselves.

27. "Invite, however, all the Persians and our allies to my burial, to joy with me in that I shall henceforth be in security such that no evil can ever again come nigh me, whether I shall be in the divine presence or whether I shall no longer have any being; and to all those who come show all the courtesies that are usual in honour of a man
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ἐλθὼν, τούτους εὐ ποιήσαντες ὅπόσα ἐπὶ ἄνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται ἀποπέμπετε.

28. Καὶ τούτο, ἐφη, μέμνησθέ μοι τελευταῖον, τοὺς φίλους ἐυεργετοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν. καὶ χαίρετε, ὦ φίλοι παῖδες, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ’ ἐμοῦ· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι χαίρετε.

Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν καὶ πάντας δεξιώσαμενος ἐνεκαλύψατο ὁ καὶ οὔτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

Chapter VIII can be considered only as a later addition to Xenophon’s work—a bit of historical criticism in a review accompanying the book reviewed. It spoils the perfect unity of the work up to this chapter: Cyrus is born, grows to manhood, completes his conquests, establishes his kingdom, organizes the various departments of his empire, dies. Some violent opponent of Medic influence in Athens could not

VIII

[1. "Ότι μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἢ Κῦρον βασιλεία ἐγένετο αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆ μαρτυρεῖ. ὥρισθη γὰρ πρὸς ἐω μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἐστέραν δὲ Κῦρῳ καὶ Ἀιγύπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία. τοσάττη δὲ γενομένη μιᾶ γνώμη τῇ Κῦρου ἐκυβερνάτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τε τοὺς ὑφ’ ἑαυτῆ ὀσπερ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἐτιμᾷ τε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν, οὐ τὲ ἀρχόμενοι Κῦρον ὦς

1 ἐνεκαλύψατο Cobet, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; συνεκαλύψατο MSS., Dindorf, Breitenbach.

2 Chapter viii came under the suspicion of Valckenaer first;
that has been blessed of fortune, and then dismiss them.

28. "Remember also this last word of mine," he said: "if you do good to your friends, you will also be able to punish your enemies. And now farewell, my children, and say farewell to your mother as from me. And to all my friends, both present and absent, I bid farewell."

After these words, he shook hands with them all, covered himself over, and so died.

leave all this glorification of Persian institutions unchallenged, and so in this appendix he has supplied an account of the degeneracy of the descendants of the virtuous Persians of the earlier day.

The chapter is included here in accord with all the manuscripts and editions. But the reader is recommended to close the book at this point and read no further.

VIII

[1. That Cyrus's empire was the greatest and most glorious of all the kingdoms in Asia—of that it may be its own witness. For it was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. And although it was of such magnitude, it was governed by the single will of Cyrus; and he honoured his subjects and cared for them as if they were his own children; and they, on their part, it is rejected by most Edd.; it is defended by Cobet, Eichler, Marchant.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

πατέρα ἐσέβοντο. 2. ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κύρος ἐτέλευτησεν, εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ οἱ παιδεῖς ἐστασίαζον, εὐθὺς δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἔθηκ ἀφίσταντο, πάντα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἐτρέπτετο. ὡς δὲ ἅληθῇ λέγω ἀρξομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θεῶν.

Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοίς τὰ ἐσχάτα πεποιηκόσιν εἶτε ὅρκους ὀμόσειαν, ἡμπέδων, εἶτε δεξιὰς δοῦεν, ἐβεβαίουν. 3. εἰ δὲ μῆ τοιούτοι ἦσαν καὶ τοιαῦτην δόξαν εἶχον οὐδ’ ἄν εἰς αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευσεν,1 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν πιστεύει οὐδὲ εἰς ἐτι, ἐπεὶ ἤγνωσται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὐδὲ τότε ἐπίστευσαν ἀν οἱ τῶν σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντων στρατηγοῦ: νῦν δὲ δὴ τῇ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν δόξῃ πιστεύσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἀναχθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλὰς. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων βαρβάρων ἄλλοι ἄλλαις πίστευσιν ἐξαπατηθέντες ἀπόλολοντο.

4. Πολὺ δὲ καὶ τάδε χείρονες νῦν εἰσὶ. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τις ἡ διακινδυνεύσει εἰς πρὸ βασιλέως ἡ πόλις ἡ ἔθος ύποχείριον ποιήσειν ἡ ἄλλο τι καλὸν ἡ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ διαπράξειν, οὕτω τις ἦσαν οἱ τιμώμενοι: νῦν δὲ καὶ ἦν τις ὅσπερ Ἄιδραδάτης τῶν πατέρα Ἀριμοβαρζάνην προδούς, καὶ ἦν τις

1 ἐπίστευσεν Hug, Gemoll; ἐπίστευσεν MSS., other Edd.
reverenced Cyrus as a father. 2. Still, as soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate. And that what I say is the truth, I will prove, beginning with the Persians’ attitude toward religion.

I know, for example, that in early times the kings and their officers, in their dealings with even the worst offenders, would abide by an oath that they might have given, and be true to any pledge they might have made. 3. For had they not had such a character for honour, and had they not been true to their reputation, not a man would have trusted them, just as not a single person any longer trusts them, now that their lack of character is notorious; and the generals of the Greeks who joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger would not have had such confidence in them even on that occasion. But, as it was, trusting in the previous reputation of the Persian kings, they placed themselves in the king’s power, were led into his presence, and had their heads cut off. And many also of the barbarians who joined that expedition went to their doom, some deluded by one promise, others by another.

4. But at the present time they are still worse, as the following will show: if, for example, any one in the olden times risked his life for the king, or if any one reduced a state or a nation to submission to him, or effected anything else of good or glory for him, such an one received honour and preferment; now, on the other hand, if any one seems to bring some advantage to the king by evil-doing, whether as Mithradates did, by betraying his own father Ario-
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δόσπερ Ρεομίθρης τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ὁμήρους παρὰ τῷ Αἴγυπτῳ ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὁρκοὺς παραβὰς βασιλεῖ δόξη τι σύμφορον ποιῆσαι, οὐτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς γεραιρόμενοι.

5. Ταῦτα οὖν ὅρωντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσέβες καὶ τὸ ἄδικον τετραμένοι εἰσίν· ὁποῖοι τινες γὰρ ἂν οἱ προστάται ὁσὶ, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς ὃς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίγνονται. ἄθεμοστότεροι δὴ νῦν ἡ πρόσθεν ταύτῃ γεγένηται.

6. Εἰς γε μὴν χρήματα τῇδε ἄδικωτεροι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ’ ἤδη τοὺς οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότας συναμβάνουτες ἀναγκάζουσι πρὸς οὐδὲν δίκαιον χρήματα ἀποτίνει· ὡστε οὐδὲν ἤτον οἱ πολλὰ ἐχεῖν δοκοῦντες τῶν πολλὰ ἡδικηκότων φοβοῦνται· καὶ εἰς χεῖρας οὐδ’ οὕτωι ἐθέλουσι τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἱέναι. οὐδὲ γε ἄθροιζε-σθαι εἰς βασιλικήν στρατιὰν θαρροῦσι. 7. τογγαρ-οῦν ὅσις ἂν πολεμῇ αὐτοῖς, πάσιν ἔξεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἀνευ μάχης ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θείους ἀσέ-βειαν, περὶ δὲ ἄνθρωπους ἄδικιαν. αἰ μὲν δὴ γνῶμαι ταύτῃ τῷ παντὶ χείρους νῦν ἡ τὸ παλαιῶν αὐτῶν.

8. Ὡς δὲ οὖν οἱ σωμάτων ἐπιμέλευσαι ὁσπερ πρόσθεν, νῦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο διηγήσομαι. νόμι-μον γὰρ δὴ ἢν αὐτοῖς μῆτε πτύειν μῆτε ἀπομύτ-τεσθαι. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι
barzanes, or as a certain Rheomithres did, in violating his most sacred oaths and leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends behind as hostages in the power of the king of Egypt—such are the ones who now have the highest honours heaped upon them.

5. Witnessing such a state of morality, all the inhabitants of Asia have been turned to wickedness and wrong-doing. For, whatever the character of the rulers is, such also that of the people under them for the most part becomes. In this respect they are now even more unprincipled than before.

6. In money matters, too, they are more dishonest in this particular: they arrest not merely those who have committed many offences, but even those who have done no wrong, and against all justice compel them to pay fines; and so those who are supposed to be rich are kept in a state of terror no less than those who have committed many crimes, and they are no more willing than malefactors are to come into close relations with their superiors in power; in fact, they do not even venture to enlist in the royal army. 7. Accordingly, owing to their impiety toward the gods and their iniquity toward man, any one who is engaged in war with them can, if he desire, range up and down their country without having to strike a blow. Their principles in so far, therefore, are in every respect worse now than they were in antiquity.

8. In the next place, as I will now show, they do not care for their physical strength as they used to do. For example, it used to be their custom neither to spit nor to blow the nose. It is obvious that they

1 Tachos; see Index, s.v. Ariobarzanes.
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ήγοροι φειδόμενοι ενόμισαν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι διὰ τούτων καὶ ἱδρώτος τὰ σώματα στερεοῦσαί. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ πτύειν μηδὲ ἀπομύττεσθαι ἐτί διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἐκπονεῖν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιτηδεύεται. 9. καὶ μὴν πρόσθεν μὲν ἣν αὐτοῖς μονοσιτεῖν νόμιμον, ὅπως ὅλη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρόνῳ εἰς τὰς πράξεις καὶ εἰς τὸ διαπονεῖσθαι. νῦν γε μὴν τὸ μὲν μονοσιτεῖν ἐτὶ διαμένει, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ τοῦ σίτου ἡνίκαπερ οἱ προφαίτατα ἀρισττώντες μέχρι τούτου ἐσθιόντες καὶ πίνοντες διάγουσιν ἐστεπερ οἱ ὑπειράτατα κοιμώμενοι.

10. Ἡν δ’ αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μηδὲ προχοίδας εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἢττον ἀν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλειν. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεσθαι ἐτὶ αὐτὶ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὡστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδάν μηκέτι δύνονται ὀρθούμενοι ἐξιέναι.

11. Ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκειν όντας ἐπιχώριων τὸ μεταξὺ πορευομένων μήτε ἐσθίειν μήτε πίνειν μήτε τῶν διὰ ταύτα ἀναγκαίων μηδὲν ποιοῦντας φανερώς εἶναι. νῦν δ’ αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἐτί διαμένει, τὰς μέντοι πορείας οὔτω βραχείαις ποιοῦνται ὡς μηδέν ἄν ἐτὶ θαυμάσαι τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

12. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν πρόσθεν μὲν τοσαυτάκις ἔξησαν ὡστε ἀρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἱπποὺς γυμνάσια τὰς θήρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄρταξέρξης 444
observed this custom not for the sake of saving the moisture in the body, but from the wish to harden the body by labour and perspiration. But now the custom of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still continues, but they never give themselves the trouble to work off the moisture in some other direction. 9. In former times it was their custom also to eat but once in the day, so that they might devote the whole day to business and hard work. Now, to be sure, the custom of eating but once a day still prevails, but they begin to eat at the hour when those who breakfast earliest begin their morning meal, and they keep on eating and drinking until the hour when those who stay up latest go to bed.

10. They had also the custom of not bringing pots into their banquets, evidently because they thought that if one did not drink to excess, both mind and body would be less uncertain. So even now the custom of not bringing in the pots still obtains, but they drink so much that, instead of carrying anything in, they are themselves carried out when they are no longer able to stand straight enough to walk out.

11. Again, this also was a native custom of theirs, neither to eat nor drink while on a march, nor yet to be seen doing any of the necessary consequences of eating or drinking. Even yet that same abstinence prevails, but they make their journeys so short that no one would be surprised at their ability to resist those calls of nature.

12. Again, in times past they used to go out hunting so often that the hunts afforded sufficient exercise for both men and horses. But since Ar-
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ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἦττος τοῦ οἴνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὔτ' αὐτοὶ ἐξῆσαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας· ἄλλα καὶ εἰ τινες φιλόπονοι γενόμενοι σὺν¹ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἵππευσι θαμὰ θηρίων,² φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δήλοι ἦσαν καὶ ὡς βελτίωνας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

13. Ἀλλ' τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιδεύεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐτί διαμένει· τὸ μὲν τὸ ἵππικὰ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν ἀπέσβηκε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὅπου ἄν ἀποφαίνομενοι εὐδοκιμοῦν. καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες ἀκούοντες ἐκεῖ πρόσθεν τὰς δίκας δικαίως δικαζομένας ἑδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαίωτητα, καὶ τούτῳ παντάπασι ἀνέστραπται· σαφῶς γὰρ ὅρωσι νικῶντας ὑπότεροι ἄν πλείον διδόσιν. 14. ἄλλα καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ παῖδες πρόσθεν μὲν ἐμάνθανον, ὅπως τοῖς μὲν ὡφελίμοις χρῶτο, τῶν δὲ βλαβερῶν ἀπέχοντο· τῶν δὲ ἐοίκασι ταύτα διδασκομένων, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστα κακοποίωσιν· οὐδαμοὺ γοῦν πλείους ἦ ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἀποθνῄσκουσιν οὔτ' διαφθείρονται ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

15. Ἀλλ' μὴν καὶ θρυμματικῶτεροι πολὺ νῦν ἢ ἐπὶ Κύρου εἰςί. τὸτε μὲν γὰρ ἐτὶ τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδεία καὶ ἐγκρατεία ἐχρῶτο, τῇ δὲ Μῆδων στολῇ καὶ ἀβρότητι· νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν πειρωμῶσιν ἀποσβεβυμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Μῆδων μαλακίαν διασώζονται.

¹ σὺν Dindorf, Hug; [κα]ὶ σὺν Marchant, Gemoll; καὶ σὺν MSS. (except Med. 55. 19).
² θαμὰ θηρίων Dindorf, Edd.; ἄμα θηρίων xyGV; μαρτυρόθεν ΑΗε.
taxerxes and his court became the victims of wine, they have neither gone out themselves in the old way nor taken the others out hunting; on the contrary, if any one often went hunting with his friends out of sheer love for physical exertion, the courtiers would not hide their jealousy and would hate him as presuming to be a better man than they.

13. Again, it is still the custom for the boys to be educated at court; but instruction and practice in horsemanship have died out, because there are no occasions on which they may give an exhibition and win distinction for skill. And while anciently the boys used there to hear cases at law justly decided and so to learn justice, as they believed—that also has been entirely reversed; for now they see all too clearly that whichever party gives the larger bribe wins the case. 14. The boys of that time used also to learn the properties of the products of the earth, so as to avail themselves of the useful ones and keep away from those that were harmful. But now it looks as if they learned them only in order to do as much harm as possible; at any rate, there is no place where more people die or lose their lives from poisons than there.

15. Furthermore, they are much more effeminate now than they were in Cyrus’s day. For at that time they still adhered to the old discipline and the old abstinence that they received from the Persians, but adopted the Median garb and Median luxury; now, on the contrary, they are allowing the rigour of the Persians to die out, while they keep up the effeminacy of the Medes.
16. Σαφηνώσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνους γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς εὐνάς οὐ μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρυψαι, ἀλλ' ἢ δὴ καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ δαπίδων τιθέασιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερείδη τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ' ὑπείκωσιν αἱ δάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρόσθεν εὐρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται, ἀλλὰ τε ἀνεὶ καὶ καὶ ἐπιμηχανῶνται· καὶ ὅφα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηται.

17. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλῆς καὶ σώματι καὶ πόδας ἀρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκρας ταῖς χερσὶ χειρίδας, δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἐξουσιν. ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἄρκοϋσιν αὐτοῖς οὐθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὐθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις έτέρας σκιὰς ἀνθρώπων μηχανῶνται αὐτοῖς παρεστάσι.

18. Καὶ μὴν ἐκπώματα ἢν μὲν ὡς πλείστα ἔχωσι, τούτω καλλωπίζονται· ἢν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκου φανερὸς ἡ μεμηχανμένα, οὐδὲν τούτο αἰσχύνονται· πολὺ γὰρ ηὔξηται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρδεια.

19. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἢν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀράσθαι πεζῇ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἀλλοι τινὸς ἐνεκα ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἱππικωτάτους γίγνεσθαι· μὴν δὲ στρώματα πλείον ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἱππείας οὕτως ὁσπερ τοῦ μαλακῶς καθήσαθαι ἐπιμέλεισθαι. 20. τά γε μὴν πολεμικὰ πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως νῦν τῷ παντὶ

1 δαπίδων Dindorf, Breitenbach, Hug; ταπίδων xyV, Marchant, Gemoll; ταπήτων G; ταπήδων ΑΗ.
16. I should like to explain their effeminacy more in detail. In the first place, they are not satisfied with only having their couches upholstered with down, but they actually set the posts of their beds upon carpets, so that the floor may offer no resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Again, whatever sorts of bread and pastry for the table had been discovered before, none of all those have fallen into disuse, but they keep on always inventing something new besides; and it is the same way with meats; for in both branches of cookery they actually have artists to invent new dishes.

17. Again, in winter they are not satisfied with having clothing on their heads and bodies and legs, but they must have also sleeves thickly lined to the very tips of their fingers, and gloves besides. In summer, on the other hand, they are not satisfied with the shade afforded by the trees and rocks, but amid these they have people stand by them to provide artificial shade.

18. They take great pride also in having as many cups as possible; but they are not ashamed if it transpire that they came by them by dishonest means, for dishonesty and sordid love of gain have greatly increased among them.

19. Furthermore, it was of old a national custom not to be seen going anywhere on foot; and that was for no other purpose than to make themselves as knightly as possible. But now they have more coverings upon their horses than upon their beds, for they do not care so much for knighthood as for a soft seat. 20. And so is it not to be expected, that in military prowess they should be wholly
χείρος ἡ πρόσθεν εἰσίν; οἷς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ ἐπιχώριον εἶναι ὑπήρχε τοὺς μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ταύτης ἱπτότας παρέχεσθαι, οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰ δέοι στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φρουροῦντας πρὸ τῆς χώρας μισθοφόρους εἶναι· νῦν δὲ τοὺς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς σίτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ψυποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας καὶ κατακομβίζοντας καὶ ἀναστάντας, καὶ τοὺς κοσμητάς, οὗ ὑποχρίσιτε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τᾶλα ῥυθμίζουσι, τούτους πάντας ἱππέας οἱ δυνάσται πεποιήκασιν, ὅπως μισθοφορῶσιν αὐτοῖς. 21. πλῆθος μὲν οὖν καὶ έκ τούτων φαίνεται, οὐ μέντοι ὕφελος γε οὔθεν αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον· δὴλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γιγαντεῖα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ῥάον οἱ πολέμοι ἢ οἱ φίλοι ἀναστρέφονται. 22. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίστασι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ ἐν παλτῶν ἐκάστῳ διὸς εἰς χείρα ὁμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὕτω ἀκροβολίζονται ἐτι οὕτε εἰς χειρας συνιόντες μάχονται. 23. καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἔχουσι μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ῥάμπερ οἱ· ἄτη Κῦρου τὴν μάχην ποιησάμενοι· εἰς χειρας δὲ ἱέναι οὐδ᾽ οὕτοι έθέλουσιν.

24. Οὔτε γε τοῖς δριπανηθόρους ἀρμασίν ἐτι χρώνται ἐφ᾽ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὰ ἐποιήσατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τιμαῖς αὐξήσας τοὺς ἡμόχους καὶ ἀγαστούς

1 οἱ Nitsche, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; not in MSS., other Edd.
2 ἀγαστοῦς Dindorf4, Hug, Marchant, Gemoll; ἀγαθοὺς MSS., Dindorf8, Breitenbach.

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inferior to what they used to be? In times past it was their national custom that those who held lands should furnish cavalrymen from their possessions and that these, in case of war, should also take the field, while those who performed outpost duty in defence of the country received pay for their services. But now the rulers make knights out of their porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bath-room attendants, butlers, waiters, chamberlains who assist them in retiring at night and in rising in the morning, and beauty-doctors who pencil their eyes and rouge their cheeks for them and otherwise beautify them; these are the sort that they make into knights to serve for pay for them. 21. From such recruits, therefore, a host is obtained, but they are of no use in war; and that is clear from actual occurrences: for enemies may range up and down their land with less hindrance than friends. 22. For Cyrus had abolished skirmishing at a distance, had armed both horses and men with breastplates, had put a javelin into each man's hand, and had introduced the method of fighting hand to hand. But now they neither skirmish at a distance any longer, nor yet do they fight in a hand-to-hand engagement. 23. The infantry still have their wicker shields and bills and sabres, just as those had who set the battle in array in the times of Cyrus; but not even they are willing to come into a hand-to-hand conflict.

24. Neither do they employ the scythed chariot any longer for the purpose for which Cyrus had it made. For he advanced the charioteers to honour and made them objects of admiration and so had
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ποιήσας εἴχε τοὺς εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἐμβαλοῦντας· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ γυγνώσκοντες τοὺς ἔπι τοῖς ἀρμασίων οἴονται σφίσιν ὁμοίως τοὺς ἄνασκήτους τοῖς ἥσκηκόσιν ἔσεσθαι. 25. οἱ δὲ ὁρμῶσι μὲν, πρὶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες ἐκπί-πτοσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐξάλλονται, ὡστε ἁνευ ἡμῖν ὑμῶν γυγνόμενα τὰ ξεύγη πολλάκις πλεῖώ κακὰ τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖ. 26. ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸι γυγνώσκονσιν οἷα σφίζι τὰ πολεμι-στήρια ὑπάρχει, ὑφίενται, καὶ οὖδεὶς ἐτὶ ἁνευ Ἑλλήνων εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταται, οὗτοι ὅταν ἀλλήλους πολεμῶσιν οὕτε ὅταν οἳ Ἑλλήνες αὐτοῖς ἀντιστρατεύονται· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐγνώ-κασι μεθ’ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πολέμους ποιεῖσθαι.

27. Ἔγώ δὲ νῦν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειρ-γάσθαι μοι. φημὶ γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσεβεστέρους περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιω-τέρους περὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄδικωτέρους περὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς καὶ ἀνανδροτέρους τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νῦν ἡ πρόσθεν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι. εἰ δὲ τὶς τάναντία ἐμὸι γυγνῶσκοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὐρήσει αὕτα μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις.]

1 ἄκοντες Muretus, Edd.; ἄκοντες MSS.
men who were ready to hurl themselves against even a heavy-armed line. The officers of the present day, however, do not so much as know the men in the chariots, and they think that untrained drivers will be just as serviceable to them as trained charioteers. 25. Such untrained men do indeed charge, but before they penetrate the enemy’s lines some of them are unintentionally thrown out, some of them jump out on purpose, and so the teams without drivers often create more havoc on their own side than on the enemy’s. 26. However, inasmuch as even they understand what sort of material for war they have, they abandon the effort; and no one ever goes to war any more without the help of Greek mercenaries, be it when they are at war with one another or when the Greeks make war upon them; but even against Greeks they recognize that they can conduct their wars only with the assistance of Greeks.

27. I think now that I have accomplished the task that I set before myself. For I maintain that I have proved that the Persians of the present day and those living in their dependencies are less reverent toward the gods, less dutiful to their relatives, less upright in their dealings with all men, and less brave in war than they were of old. But if any one should entertain an opinion contrary to my own, let him examine their deeds and he will find that these testify to the truth of my statements.
The manœuvre is not quite clear because Xenophon assumes that his readers will take it for granted where the light-armed troops ("the poorest") will be stationed. The first position is:

The second position is:
APPENDIX II

To make clearer the relations between Xenophon's kings in Babylon and those of Bible story and the Babylonian inscriptions, the following tables of succession are added (the vertical lines denote sonship):

Nabopolassar  Ναβοπολάςσαρος  Nabu-apal-usur
             (625–600 B.C.)
             (Nabu protect the son)

Nebuchadnezzar  Ναβουχοδονώσσαρος  Nabu-kuduri-usur
             (604–561 B.C.)
             (Nabu protect the boundary)

Evil Merodach  Αμιλμαρδόκκος  Amil-Marduk
             (561–559 B.C.)
             (Man of Marduk)

Neriglissar¹  Νηριγλίσσαρος  Nergal-shar-usur
             (559–556 B.C.)
             (Nergal protect the king)

Labosoarchod  Λαβασοάραχος  Labashi-Marduk
             (556 B.C.)

Nabonidus  Λαβώνητος  Nabu-naid
             (558–538 B.C.)
             (Nabu is exalted)

Belshazzar  Βαλτάςσαρος  Bel-shar-usur
             (slain 539 or 538 B.C.)
             (Bel protect the king)

The relationship between Xenophon's "old king" and "young king" and the historical succession is not clear. His "old king" is slain in the first battle and can, therefore, be neither Nabonidus nor Belshazzar (for both (?

¹ Neriglissar was brother to Evil-Merodach.
were in Babylon at its fall), but ought to be Labashi-Marduk. But if Labashi-Marduk were the "old king," the "young king" would be Nabonidus, and Nabonidus was not the "son" of his predecessor. By the "old king" Xenophon probably means Nabonidus, and by the "young king" Belshazzar, though the chronology is not in order, for Nabonidus was not slain in that earlier battle. There seems to be an inextricable snarl, in any case.

Cyrus's line, tabulated from his genealogy given by himself on his famous clay cylinder found in the ruins of his palace, from Xenophon's statements, and from well-known facts of history, is as follows:

```
Deioces
   (Hdt. I. 101-109)
Phraortes
   Achaemenes (Jamshid)
   Teisopes
Cyaxares (684-584 B.C.)
   Cyrus I
   Arianthes
   Amytis Mandane
   Cassandane
   Daughter of Cyaxares
   Cyaxares (?)
   Cambyses I
   Arsamas
   Cyrus II
   (the Great)
   (558-529 B.C.)
   Hystaspas (Daughter of Gobryas)
   Hystaspas
   Smerdis (Mardiya)
   Cambyses II
   (Bardiya)
   Atossa
   Darus I
   (521-486 B.C.)
   Xerxes
   (486-465)
```

For the sake of further comparison the following striking parallels to Xenophon's story are added from two official documents of the kings themselves, discovered in the ruins of their palace:
APPENDIX II

I. The Nabu-naid Chronicle: "6th year. [His troops] he collected and marched against Cyrus, King of Anshan, to conquer him. . . . The troops of Astyages rebelled against him, and, taking him prisoner, they handed him over to Cyrus. Cyrus (went) to Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, possessions, property . . . of Ecbatana they carried away as spoil, and he brought (it) to Anshan . . .

"9th year . . . In Nisan, Cyrus, King of Parsu, mustered his troops and crossed over the Tigris below Arbela. In Iyyar . . . he slew its king (and) took away its possessions. He stationed his own garrison there. After this time his garrison remained there with that of the king . . .

"17th year . . . In the month Tammuz, when Cyrus gave battle in Opis (and) on the river Salsallat to the troops of Akkad, the people of Akkad he subdued (?). Whenever the people collected themselves, he slew them. On the fourteenth day Sippar was taken without battle. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, because of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month, the shields of Gutium surrounded the gates of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples, and no standard was advanced. On the third day of Marcheshvan Cyrus entered Babylon. The harine lay down before him. Peace was established for the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. He appointed Gobryas, his governor, governor in Babylon . . . On the night of the eleventh day of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against . . . (and) he killed the son of the king."

II. The Cylinder of Cyrus, now in the British Museum: "He [Marduk] searched through all lands, he saw him [Cyrus], and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, King of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. The country of Qutu,
APPENDIX II

all the Ummman-manda, he made submissive to him. As for the Black-headed People, whom he [Marduk] caused his [Cyrus’s] hands to conquer, in justice and right he cared for them. Marduk, the great lord, guardian of his people, looked with joy on his pious works and his upright heart; he commanded him to go to his city, Babylon, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion. His numerous troops, the numbers of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be known, in full armour, marched at his side. Without skirmish or battle he permitted him to enter Babylon. He spared his city Babylon in (its) calamity. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, all Sumer, and Akkad, nobles and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty, showed happiness in their faces. The lord, who by his power brings the dead to life, who with (his) care and protection benefits all men—they gladly did him homage, they heeded his command. I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world), son of Cambyses, the great king, King of Anshan; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, King of Anshan; great grandson of Teispid, the great king, King of Anshan, of ancient seed-royal, whose reign Bel and Nabu love, whose sovereignty they regard necessary to their happiness. When I made my gracious entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the royal palace. Marduk, the great lord, [granted] me favour among the Babylonians, and I gave daily care to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon. In all Sumer and Akkad, the noble race, I permitted no unfriendly treatment. I gave proper attention to the needs of Babylon and its cities . . . the servitude, which was not honourable, was removed from them. I quieted their sighing (and) soothed their sorrow. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced over my
APPENDIX II

[pious] deeds, and he graciously blessed me, Cyrus, the
king who worships him, and Cambyses, my own son, and
all my troops, while we, in his presence, and with
sincerity, gladly lauded his exalted [divinity]. All the
kings dwelling in royal halls, of all quarters (of the
world) . . . brought me their heavy taxes and in
Babylon kissed my feet . . . I collected all their people
and restored (them) to their dwelling-places . . .”¹

¹ The translations are from Assyrian and Babylonian
Literature, Selected Translations, by Robert F. Harper. New
York: D. Appleton and Co.
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References are to Book, Chapter, and Section. The bracketed form of the name is that which appears in the cuneiform inscriptions.

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Aegyptian. See Egyptian

Aeolis, the northern division of Greek western Asia Minor, vi. ii. 10; with lesser Phrygia a satrapy, viii. vi. 7

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Alceinas, an officer commanding Cusian cavalry, v. iii. 42

Andamyas, a Mede, an infantry officer, v. iii. 38

Apollo, the great god of light, the giver of oracles, vii. ii. 15, 16, 25, 28

Arabia [arabāya = the level country], not the Arabian peninsula, but the land along the left bank of the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia; subject to Assyria, i. v. 2; joins the Assyrian, ii. i. 5; subdued by Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 16; its war chariots, vi. i. 27; a satrapy, viii. vi. 7. See Arabian

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Arilbaeus, king of Cappadocia, allied with the Assyrian, ii. i. 5; slain, iv. ii. 31

Arliobarzanes [Arliyavarzana], satrap of Lydia, Ionia, and Phrygia; revolts from Artaxerxes Mnemon
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(b.c. 387) and is supported by Agesilaus and the Athenian fleet under Timotheus; sends Rheomithres to Tachos, king of Egypt, for help; Rheomithres gets troops and money, leaves his wife and children and the sons of other revolutionists as hostages in Egypt, returns to Asia, makes his peace with the king of Persia by delivering the money and the troops and some of the revolutionists to him, unenconcerned about the fate of his hostages. Arisobarzanes, betrayed to the king by his son Mithradates, was crucified, viii. viii. 4

Armenia [Armania], the country of the upper Euphrates and Tigris, east of Cappadocia and northwest of Media, ii. 6; ii. iv. 16, 21; subdued by the Medes, iii. 1. 10; a tributary of Media, iv. 12; iii. i. 10; troops furnished, ii. 6; at war with Chaldaea, iii. 1. 34; iii. ii. 4; reconciled, iii. ii. 17–25; a satrapy under Tanaoxares, vii. 11. Its chief mountain is Ararat. See Armenian

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Arsamas [ArsbAma], a general under Cyrus, commanding the left wing, vii. ii. 32; vii. 6, 38. Probably the father of Hystaspas and grandfather of Darius I. See Appendix II

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Artacamas, ruler of greater Phrygia, ii. i. 5; satrap, viii. vii. 7. Possibly a vassal prince; Phrygia had no independent king at the time of Cyrus, but was dependent of Lydia after the death of the last Midas, about 681 B.C.

Artagases, an infantry colonel, vii. iii. 31; vii. i. 22; in the battle, vii. i. 27, 28


Artuchas, an officer commanding Hyrcanian troops, v. iii. 38

Asia, the continent, iv. ii. 2; iv. ii. 16; iv. vi. ii. 11; v. i. 8; vi. i. 27; vii. v. 23; viii. vii. 7; western Asia Minor, i. i. 4; ii. i. 5; vii. ii. 10; vii. 7; viii. i. 6

Asiadatas, a cavalry colonel, vii. iii. 32

Asiatic, pertaining to Asia; Greeks, tributary to Cyrus, i. i. 4; vii. iv. 9
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Assyria [Ashshur = the well watered plain, Athura], the country lying mainly along the east bank of the middle Tigris, west of Media and Mesopotamia and extending up into the piedmont country bordering on Armenia, I. iv. 10; II. i. 5; II. iv. 17; VI. i. 17; plans world conquest, I. v. 2; invaded by Cyrus, III. iii. 22 ff.; its wealth, V. ii. 12; conquered, I. i. 4; VII. v. 53. With the destruction of Nineveh at the hands of the older Cyaxares and Nabopolassar (B.C. 607–6), Assyria, as an independent nation, had ceased to exist. By Assyria, Xenophon means the land governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia.

Assyrian, belonging to Assyria, V. iv. 1; an inhabitant of Assyria, III. iii. 43; IV. v. 56; VI. ii. 10; the king of Assyria (see Babylonia); (1) the old king (see Appendix), I. iv. 16; I. v. 2; II. i. 5; II. iv. 7, 8; IV. v. 40; a good king, IV. vi. 2; at war with Media, II. iv. 7; III. iii. 26; exhorts his troops, III. iii. 43–45; defeated, III. iii. 63; slain in battle (B.C. 561), IV. i. 8; (2) the young king, as crown-prince, makes a foray into Media, I. iv. 16–24; defeated by the boy Cyrus, I. iv. 17–24; succeeds to the throne, IV. vi. 2; murders Gobryas’s son, IV. vi. 3–5; emasculates Gadas, V. ii. 28; v. iv. 1; his offence against Panthea, VI. i. 45; defeated in Gadatas’s province, v. iv. 4–8; starts for Lydia, VI. i. 25; defeated in the great battle, VII. i. 5–45; slain (B.C. 538), VII. v. 30; his wickedness, V. ii. 27; v. iv. 35; VII. v. 32; his cowardice, V. iii. 6. See Assyria.

Astyages [Istu-vegu], son of the elder Cyaxares, king of Media (B.C. 584–550) and grandfather of Cyrus, I. i. 1; III–IV; III. i. 10; IV. ii. 10; his personal appearance, I. iii. 2; absolute despot, I. iii. 18; his excesses in eating and drinking, I. iii. 4–5, 10–11; father of the younger Cyaxares, I. v. 2, 4; his death, I. v. 2.

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Babylon [Hebrew, Babel; Babylonian, bab-il=the gate of God; Old Persian, Bā-bīrūz], the capital of Babylonia, II. i. 5; v. ii. 29; v. iii. 5; v. iv. 16, 24, 34, 41; VI. i. 25; VI. ii. 10; VII. v. 1; its wealth, v. ii. 8; VII. ii. 11; its size, v. ii. 30; VII. v. 4; its strength, VII. v. 7; 8; the goal of Cyrus, v. ii. 31, 37; VII. iv. 16; VIII. vi. 8; captured (B.C. 538), VII. v. 15–34, 53; made Cyrus’s winter residence, VII. v. 57; VIII. v. 1; VIII. vi. 1, 10, 22; garrisoned, VII. v. 69.

Babylonia, the rich valley between the lower Euphrates and Tigris, the centre of oriental power.

1 The walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, were 40 miles in circumference, 335 feet high, 85 feet wide at the top, and were broken by 100 gates —25 on each side. His account and Xenophon’s are in keeping with the documents of Nebuchadnezzar himself, who says in the Babylon, the Winckler, and the Grotefend inscriptions: “The great walls of Babylon I set in order, and I built the wall of its most mountain-high with burned brick and bitumen and threw it around the city for protection. . . . In the upper . . . of the city gate of Ishtar from the bank of the Euphrates up to the city gate, for the protection of the sides of the city I built with bitumen and burned brick a mighty citadel, and I laid its foundation at the water’s edge in the depth of clear water. I raised its turrets mountain-high and skilfully strengthened the watch-tower and thus protected Babylon.”
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subdued by Cyrus, i. i. 4. Babylonia is strictly not a geographical, but a political-historical designation, and is often used interchangeably with Assyria (cf. n. i. 5)
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Bactrian, a native of Bactria, i. i. 4; l. v. 2; the king of Bactria, a friend of Abradatas, v. i. 3
Bees, devotion of to their queen, v. l. 24
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Black Sea, the northern boundary of Cyrus’s empire, viii. vi. 21; viii. viii. 1
Cadusia, the land of the Cadusians (q.v.), a satrapy under Tanaoxares, viii. viii. 11
Cadusians, a semi-civilized tribe in the mountains of Media Atropene on the south-west coast of the Caspian Sea, enemies of Assyria, v. ii. 25; v. iii. 22; in Cyrus’s army, v. iii. 22, 38, 42; v. iv. 13; vii. v. 51; their disastrous foray, v. iv. 15-18, 22; they beg Cyrus to continue the war, vi. 1. 8; in Cyrus’s procession, vii. i. 18, 32
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Carians, the people of Caria, i. i. 4; i. v. 3; ii. i. 5; at civil war, vii. iv. 1-5; loyal to Cyrus, vii. iv. 7. See Caria
Cajster, a river of Asia, emptying into the sea at Ephesus, i. i. 5
Cajstru Pedulum, “Cajsterfield,” a town on the Cajster, ii. i. 5
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Although confused by the earlier Greek writers and most modern scholars with the Chaldeans of Babylon (in scripture), there was no connection, as is shown by the later Greek use of Χαλδαία, by an entirely different form in the Armenian writings, and by the form Harold instead of Haldun in their own writings. See Chaldeans

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1 Herodotus (i. 46-48) tells how Croesus put the various oracles to the test to see if they could tell the truth. He sent various envos out from...
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Cyme, an Aeolian city on the coast of Mysia, colonized by Achaean, assigned to the Egyptians, VII. i. 45

Cyprian, an inhabitant of Cyprus, I. i. 4; in the Assyrian army, VI. ii. 10; in Cyrus's army against Caria, VII. iv. 1. See Cyprus

Cyprus, the large island in the eastern Mediterranean, governed by Cyrus, I. i. 4; tributary to him, VIII. vi. 8; but independent, VII. iv. 2; the western boundary of his empire, VIII. vi. 21; VIII. vii. 1. See Cyprian

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Hyrcania [Varkana = Wolf-land], the land on the southeast of the Caspian Sea; subdued by Assyria, i. v. 2; iv. ii. 1; called neighbour of Assyria, although all Media lay between, iv. ii. 1; submitted to Cyrus, i. i. 4. Hystaspas, the father of Darius I, was satrap of Hyrcania at the time of his son’s accession to the throne of the great king. This was, therefore, the fatherland of the Darius dynasty.

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